EDUCATION MARGINALIZATION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Policies, Politics, and Marginality

OBED MFUM-MENSAH

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LEXINGTON BOOKS
Lanham • Boulder • New York • London

Published by Lexington Books
An imprint of The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.
4501 Forbes Boulevard, Suite 200, Lanham, Maryland 20706
www.rowman.com

Unit A, Whitacre Mews, 26-34 Stannary Street, London SE11 4AB

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Information Available

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data Is Available

ISBN 978-1-4985-7404-4 (cloth: alk. paper)
ISBN 978-1-4985-7405-1 (electronic)

♾™ The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992.

Printed in the United States of America

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Preface

Readers should be aware that my previous book, *Education, Social Progress and Marginalized Children in Sub-Saharan Africa* is different from this one. While I make brief references to some of the issues discussed in the first book I want to avoid repetition. This book employs critical discourse of "marginality" as a framework to analyze ways sub-Saharan African governments' policy frameworks address the educational needs of marginalized children in the region. The objective of analyzing any of the policies is to understand the ways they are linked to education and impact education of marginalized children. Critical discourse can be a useful tool in social change. There are two objectives of this second book: to interrogate education policy development and implementation frameworks currently in place in SSA; and engage education policy makers and practitioners about the need to re-conceptualize education policy making to incorporate the sociocultural, socioeconomic, and sociopolitical contexts of marginalized children in policy development.

There are many categories of "marginalized" children and "marginalized" communities in the context of SSA. These categories of children include children in urban informal settlements, children in high poverty areas, internally displaced children and refuges, children in Arid and Semi-arid lands (ASAL), children with disabilities, girls from poor households, children belonging to religious communities outside the mainstream religion in their respective societies, children from ethnic or racial minority groups, and children orphaned by HIV/AIDS among other children (Mfum-Mensah 2017). My focus on education of marginalized children and marginalized communities in this book is specifically children in rural remote and urban poor communities, girls from poor households, children belonging to religious communities outside the mainstream religion in their respective societies, children belonging to ethnic and/or racial and linguistic minorities, and children in displaced

situations such as in refugee settlements (or camps) or in societies ravaged by protracted wars. I also make brief references to children with disabilities.

COLONIALISM AND MARGINALITY

Colonialism, imperialism and exploitation have created relations of marginality in economic processes and provision of social services such as education (Seif 2013). Marginality as a discourse in SSA provides analysis of the ways the introduction of Western forms of education in the region created systemic inequalities and inequities in societies in sub-Saharan Africa. Discourse also helps us to examine ways the history and realities of economics practices of slavery, Christian proselytizing agenda, colonialism, and subjugation have impacted groups and communities in SSA. Furthermore, the discourse of marginality helps us understand the ways Western forms of schooling was instrumental in dismantling, dislocating, and reconfiguring the social structures of colonized societies and in the process marginalized many groups and communities. The web of legacies and imprints "hollowed out" by colonial forces and colonial education on indigenous Africans are complicated to untether. In elaborating the vestiges of colonial education, Sanjay Seth describes it as a mechanical process that made the child the target of dry lessons like "hailstones on flowers" (Seth 2007, cited in Ghosh 2015, 402). Colonial education bequeathed to former colonial territories elitist pyramidal school systems that "dropped and discarded" all who could not "keep up or put up" with the classical, foreign abstractions and production-driven education that sometimes never made sense to the beneficiaries. Almost all forms of colonial education in all colonized territories in SSA were based on the ideology of providing education for few Africans to serve in the colonial administration. Racism was also a mind-set of the colonists who saw the African "other" as inferior and unintelligent and should be confined to the cultivation of the "land" in the colonial production process. French colonial education policies which emphasized assimilation bifurcated Africans into two categories—the select few urban elites were supposed to be assimilated and the masses were provided with rudimentary education. The agendas of Portuguese, Belgian, and German colonial administration were not strikingly different from those of the British and French. Underlying the broader agenda of the colonial educational expansion was capitalist expansion. For the longest time school expansion was tied to the available positions needed to fill up in the colonial administration until the wind of global liberal and humanistic ideologies of the post-World War II period offered less options for the colonial administration regarding education expansion in SSA. Colonial education policies ensured that few indigenous Africans received

education and participated in the colonial production process while the masses cultivated the "land."

Colonial education policies instituted systems of education which left legacies where much of children's learning now occurs within the framework of "borrowed languages" that treat the student's minds as captive birds whose sole value is judged according to the mechanical repetition of lessons prescribed by an educational dispensation foreign to the soul, in many former colonial societies (White 1996; Brock-Utne 2000; Mfum-Mensah 2005; Seth 2007, 165, cited by Ghosh 2015, 402; Babace-Wilhite 2015; and Ghosh 2015; Mfum-Mensh 2017). Colonial legacies have complicated educational processes and practices in SSA with the effect of continuously marginalizing many groups in the provision of education.

EDUCATION TRANSFORMATION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

A lot of social changes have swept SSA which we can attribute to the expansion of the education systems. From early introduction of Western education to the twenty-first century, education as a process and tool has set the pace of social transformation in SSA societies. Participation in education in SSA since the Jomtien World Education Conference of 1990 has been extremely encouraging. Joel Samoff notes that the 1990 World Education Conference resulted in the intentional global strategy to promote education to marginalized children and groups whom national education systems have not captured (Samoff 1993). In the contexts of economic challenges of the 1970s which resulted in the World Bank and International Monetary Fund implementing austere economic measures in the 1980s, one can argue that SSA has witnessed massive expansion in the educational sector in the twenty-first century. Governments in SSA have increased their expenditure on education which now ranges between 11 percent to 28 percent and an average of 18.3 percent. The region also devotes 5 percent of the total GDP (about $1.5 trillion) to public education, which is the second highest percentage globally. Overall, nations in SSA spend a relatively large proportion of the government budgets in the education sector despite their relatively low GDPs per capita (UNESCO-UIS 2011; The Africa-America Institute 2015). This expenditure notwithstanding, governments in the region are not able to fully fund education programs that will target especially marginalized groups and communities.

Provision of educational services and programs in marginalized communities in sub-Saharan Africa continues to be a challenging endeavor for meeting Education for All. Lack of programs that specifically target marginalized

children makes many children from marginalized communities continue to be out of the school system. It will be simplistic to use a single factor to explain why SSA still has a sizeable number of people who do not participate in the social transformation that others have been experiencing because of access to education. However, all can agree that government policies, services provided by governments, and policy makers' lack of the political will to implement policies enacted by governments, partly explain the marginality experienced by some people, groups, and communities. Due to sub-Saharan African governments' limited financial resources some of the education policies enacted by governments which would have addressed the educational needs of marginalized children and groups are not implemented (examples of policies that governments have enacted but not strongly implemented include the integration of non-formal approaches in the school system, re-entry policies for teenage mothers, feeding programs, and menstrual hygiene management policies). Policy makers also hardly enlist the input of marginalized communities in the policy development process. Recent studies from Ghana and Kenya among other nations show that input from marginalized groups and communities in the formulation, design, and implementation of policies is crucial for strong local participation in education in marginalized contexts in the region (see Mfum-Mensah 2011; Mfum-Mensah and Friedson-Ridenour 2014; Nyariro 2016).

Historically, many governments in SSA have employed human capital ideologies to rationalize expansion of educational services. When nations in SSA attained political independence in the 1950s and 1960s many governments used economic rationalization to drive their education expansion agenda. Over the years there have been tensions between the human rights ideologies (which created the environment for education reforms during the 1940s which was revived in the 1990s after the Jomtien World Education Conference) and human capital ideology of the early post-independent SSA in education policy making (for extensive debates on this issue, see Hanushek 2008; Lockheed 2008; Mfum-Mensah 2017). The question of whether to provide education to all children to fulfill the democratic equality role of education and/or shore up national economic development, continues to shape the debates around education policy making in SSA. Some policy makers (a greater majority) entertain the view that given the complexities of the global and local economies and the limited resources, governments should focus on production-oriented education and emphasize the kind of knowledge and skills that the youth will need to compete globally (Kunzman 2012). Such ideological views shape education policies which focus on children in the mainstream culture and leave those whose context and lived experiences "are outside" the mainstream social, economic, cultural, and political structures. Other scholars see production-oriented ideological views of education policy

making as undermining the efforts to promote context-specific education that bridges traditional and informal forms of education (which are the foundational knowledge of many children) with production-oriented education (Sun and Zhang 2015). In the current global contexts, provision of educational services that address the educational needs of all citizens including marginalized children and marginalized groups, is not an option but a matter of human rights and part of the global mandate of Education for All (EFA), and achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

IDEOLOGIES AND EDUCATION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

The history of Western educational development in SSA provides elaborate contours of ideological influences on education policy making. Proselytization ideologies shaped the early Christian missionary education enterprise. Later, social uplift became a major prop for protestant Christian missionary activities in some colonial territories (Madeira 2005). The early pleas from Christian missions to governments of their countries to get involved in education were not heeded until after World War I. At the heart of colonial involvement in the education of colonial SSA was civilization but more importantly for economic benefits and political assertion of the region. Bob White explains that the colonial governments became involved partly for economic reasons. African territories became more profitable and were also increasing in geo-political importance as European powers scrambled to take the spoils of the continent (White 1996). The colonial economic agenda meant that colonial administrations employ human capital ideologies to expand education to serve the colonial economy. The human capital ideology existed up to the 1940s when global liberal and humanistic ideologies led to popular demand for education. In the late 1950s and early 1960s governments of the newly independent nation in SSA employed production-oriented frameworks to provide education to their citizens with the assurance the mass education will drive the national economies.

Education has tended to support the existing power relations. Therefore, a reconceptualization of ideologies on education to make it a liberating tool for accommodating the lived experiences of marginalized groups is needed. Some scholars propose for an education which draws from "human-oriented" frameworks and which outlines the utility of developing children's education on their sociocultural, socioeconomic and sociopolitical contexts (Nussbaum 2012; Ghosh 2015; Sun and Zhang 2015; Zhao 2015). Ranjan Ghosh compares a "human-oriented" education to engendering connections between the

child's education with nature and the child's teacher. He contends that such an education is a connection that does not conform to the template of professional, mostly predestined growth but allows for development of both the body and the mind (Ghosh 2015, 402). In their book *The "New Culture": From a Modern Perspective*, Weiping Sun and Mingcang Zhang present the principles of human-oriented education as one that is supposed to benefit all people and educate and cultivate them equally and comprehensively to the greatest extent: education that is lifelong; all education activities are people oriented and have the aim of educating and molding "humans" with indomitable spirits; education is implemented by people and therefore policy makers and practitioners at all levels are people oriented; education that has the duty to enlighten people arousing the curiosity of learning, and molding students' personality through knowledge and cultivating their creativity; education that affirms a person's unique cultural identity; and promotion of future-oriented education reforms (Sun and Zhang 2015, 159).

The argument for incorporating the contexts of marginalized children in the policy framework is because the overemphasis of productive-oriented education leaves many children out of the policy formulation framework because such an approach does not address the lived experiences of these children. Effective policy strategies that employ human-oriented approaches and consider the contexts of children in the development and implementation of policy and curriculum and organization of schools may address the EFA, MDGs, and SDGs in marginalized communities. Human-oriented approach is akin to what Vandra Masemann conceptualizes as the connections between the micro-level of the local school experience and which considers the existence of contradictions and multiplicity in the children as necessary elements toward the development of their inner realities (Masemann 1999, 116).

The education process must be contextual and because humans are involved, education must occur in contexts of relationships, sharing, exchanging and transferring of skills, knowledge, ideas, and attitudes sometimes among peers and sometimes from those who are experienced to those who are less experienced (Murphy 1980; Musambachime 1994; Fanthorpe 2007). The conceptualization of education as I describe here draws on the intersections of indigenous knowledges, spirituality, culture, and identity in the learning process. It explicates the need for interactions between the child, home, school, and the wider community in the learning process. I acknowledge that in many traditional and marginalized societies, the process of interactions, of sharing, exchange, and transfer are executed both informally and formally, which means that organization of the learning process will be effective if educators incorporate both formal and informal approaches (Coombs and Ahmed 1974; Wilson 1997; Nath, Silva, and

Grimes 1999; and Yasunaga 2014). Both should be governments' endeavor and government-supported education in the education systems in SSA.

As an endeavor of human relationships, education that is human-oriented draws the connection to learners' culture in a sense that it is within the rubric of culture that education occurs. Culture itself entails all the tangible and intangible aspects of all humanity developed over time through human interactions. Such tangible elements of humanity as food, clothing, language, religion, and intangible elements as values, mores, beliefs, attitudes, emotions, and ways of doing things all shape human behaviors. Vandra Masemann (1999) points out that culture expresses the value system(s) of a society or group. She notes that the content of what is through socialization or education reflects the basic value orientations of any culture. She points out that values are not individuals' psychological attitudes but socially structured orientations that pattern in relation to the structures of the society in which people played out their roles.

ORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK

This book uses "marginality" as a sociological construct and critical discourse framework to highlight the complicated ways the education process and education policy making in sub-Saharan Africa have constructed and perfected marginality in the region since Africa's encounters with Europe. The book makes two arguments: education policies in SSA fail to address the educational needs of marginalized children because the policy development frameworks do not examine the colonial policies which created the existing marginality in order to implement policies that will address the issue of marginality; and strong synergies between education policy makers, other education stakeholders, and marginalized communities in formulating, designing, and implementing education policies and programs would be more effective in addressing the policy gaps and educational needs of marginalized children.

The book is organized in two parts. Part I is *Theorizations on Marginality and Education* and includes chapters 1 through 3. The introductory chapter discusses "marginality" as a conceptual framework and outlines the different layers of marginality. It provides examples of ways the layers of marginality affect the education of children in marginalized communities. In chapter 1, I use the social structures of a rural Ghanaian context to outline the varied ways and dimensions children from indigenous and traditional African societies acquired knowledge and education and how children's education is shaped by the social structures. Chapter 2 provides an outline of the varied ways the European Christian missions and colonial administrators constructed marginality to perpetuate colonization and the African's marginality from the

social, economic, and political processes. The goal of the chapter is to help readers understand ways marginality as a sociological phenomenon in SSA was a colonial creation to hollow out and reconfigure indigenous African societies so the colonizers would gain control of the indigenous Africans and proselytize them, and dominate them socially, culturally, politically, and economically and ultimately, domination of Africa's physical spaces. Chapter 3 continues the conversation by drawing a link between colonial and postcolonial policies and the complex and intricate ways contemporary governments in SSA have used policies to strengthen the existing marginality created by the colonial administration.

Part II is *Marginality and Education: Linking Policy and Practice*. This part highlights the ways the policies of the Christian missions, colonial governments, and postcolonial governments shaped the educational development, schooling processes and educational outcomes of selected marginalized communities and groups. Chapter 4 discusses educational achievements in SSA with a context of schools' exclusionary practices. It discusses educational outcomes and marginalized children and focuses on ways community structures and forces, socialization, long distances to school, and lack of role models affect the school outcomes of marginalized children. Chapter 5 discusses some of the challenges faced by girls in a rural remote community in contexts of greater achievement in girls' education in SSA. The chapter provides social, cultural, and economic nuances and other community factors that intersect to create barriers that undermine girls' education. In chapter 6, I outline the ways religion, ethnicity, and spatiality overlap to create a hostile school environment for children from ethnic and religious minority communities. The chapter focuses on provision of education in Zongo Islamic migrant communities in Ghana. Chapter 7 draws from feminist and gender frameworks to discuss ways policy makers and curriculum developers could draw from community cultural practices and rituals to introduce and implement culturally relevant pedagogical strategies in the schooling process in marginalized communities. The chapter discusses ways to change the schooling process from being a colonizing process to an empowering and decolonizing process which deconstructs ideologies in classroom pedagogies while promoting culturally relevant pedagogies that connect students' lived experiences to the classrooms, affirm students' identities, and build students' confidence in the classroom and learning spaces. Chapter 8 re-conceptualizes school-based violence as it relates to marginalized children's schooling. The chapter discusses blatant, systemic, and symbolic forms of violence in schools. Chapter 9 examines the nature of transformation resulting from the partnership between policy makers, non-governmental organizations, and marginalized communities in promoting school participation in rural northern Ghana. The chapter discusses the benefits and challenges of promoting

synergies of policies and practice to promote schooling in marginalized communities. Chapter 10 ties the overall themes together and provides reflections and recommendations for education policy makers, stakeholders, and education researchers with the objective to continue the policy dialogue on re-conceptualize education policy framework.

Acknowledgments

The process of writing a book is personal and sometimes solitary. At the same time the process requires considerable patience, support, and encouragement from professional colleagues, friends, and family. This book would not have been accomplished without the support of many individuals, organizations, and institutions. For lack of space I would highlight a few of these individuals and entities. Messiah College provided much of the support and the release time for me to embark on numerous overseas trips to collect data for the book. Similarly, I am grateful to the University of Toronto for allowing me to use its library systems freely as an alumnus. I also acknowledge with much appreciation several organizations and communities, some of whom I have cited in the book, for their tremendous support during my continuous research. To the academic mentors I met at the universities of Alberta, Western Ontario, and the Ontario Institute for the Studies in Education of the University of Toronto, I thank you for helping me to think beyond the conventional way of looking at and conceptualizing educational issues in the developing world contexts. My profound thanks go to David Radcliffe, Professor Emeritus at the University of Western Ontario, and the late Joseph (Joe) Farrell, my former supervisor and friend at OISE/University of Toronto who in their diverse ways taught me to exemplify thoroughness. To my long-standing professional colleagues and friends Dr. Martha Donkor and Ms. Milka Perez Nyariro who constantly bore the brunt of listening to my crazy ideas and exercising the patience to provide constructive criticism of this work, I cannot thank you enough for your unmeasurable support and love.

To Nadine, Louisa, and Roseline, I completed this project because you created the environment for me to progress without much interruptions. I thank you so much for helping me to complete this project.

Obed Mfum-Mensah
April 2018

Part I

THEORIZATIONS ON MARGINALITY AND EDUCATION

Introduction

Marginality and Education Policy Frameworks in Sub-Saharan Africa

This introduction discusses the theoretical framework of the book. It focuses on three themes including marginality, theories on policy implementation, and positionality and marginality studies. Theme one discusses the four layers of marginality which includes socioeconomic, epistemological, cultural, and educational marginality. The discussion outlines how these four layers of marginality interact to marginalize marginalized communities in SSA in the provision of educational services. The second theme helps readers to engage the theoretical debates on policy changes and implementation. The goal is to situate the book's discussion within the policy implementation literature. I highlight some of the theories explaining the challenges to policy implementation. In the final theme I draw a connection between positionality and marginality. I draw from the "insider-outsider" positionality to discuss the contradictions and paradoxes of identifying with the marginalized as well as the privileged and ways these multiple positionalities shape research in marginality studies.

I use marginality framework but my intention is not to revive positivism, or re-essentializing oppositions from the "side" of the marginal, and prematurely celebrating differences rather than continuing to deconstruct differences as Jonathan Crewe (1991) suggests. Philippa Williams, Bhaskar Vira, and Deepta Chopra point out that embracing marginality as a discourse is important for it is from the view of the margins that may also expose the fractured and heterogeneous nature of the state. It is within the margins that the state becomes differentially visible, both in terms of its presence but also its absence to the plight of the marginalized (Williams, Vira, and Chopra 2011). My goal therefore is to call attention to the inequities that have for years been at the core of education policy framework in SSA which continue to disenfranchise groups and communities from social, economic, political, and

cultural engagement in the region. I also provide a context to make the case of why it is important to take more pragmatic approaches that will address the educational needs of marginalized groups and communities. The objective of this introduction is to outline the complexity of the construct "marginality," its limits, and ways to re-conceptualize it to provide new perspectives for implementing effective initiatives to shore up the education of marginalized children. The introduction outlines ways marginality as a critical discourse, provides an understanding of the historical, cultural, social, economic, political contexts within which a policy is developed and which in turn creates marginality. I suppose this approach will help to implement policies and programs that address those overlapping factors that create marginality, and to have a better understanding of the situation of marginalized communities.

How does one explain why education polices and initiatives implemented in many sub-Saharan African nations tend to be less effective in addressing the educational needs of marginalized children? Education policy initiatives implemented in the sub-region after the 1990 Jomtien World Education Conference helped to improve the schooling status of the mainstream children but not the same effects on children in marginalized communities in the region. Reports indicate that in 2012 about 38 million of the global 58 million children of primary school age who were out of school were in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). Despite the efforts and improvements in SSA in the campaigns to promote universal basic education, a sizeable number of children in marginalized communities in the region are still out of school (UNESCO 2015a, b; United Nations Millennium Goals Report 2015; The Africa-America Institute 2015; and Kinyanjui 2016). I make two observations regarding why sizeable numbers of marginalized children are not in school. First, a detailed analysis of the education policies and strategies that exist in sub-Saharan African nations have been crafted to address the educational needs of children in mainstream societies, but not that of marginalized children. Second, in many of the sub-Saharan African nations marginalized children have access to educational services but they struggle to stay in school because the education made available to them does not address their lived experiences.

CONCEPTUALIZING MARGINALITY

The term "marginality" is used in sociological literature to denote limitations, restrictions, and power relations and positions in society between individuals or groups considered in relation to the mainstream society (Baczko and Raichlen 1978; Weisberger 1992; Grant and Breese 1997; Brodwin 2003; Messiou 2006; UNESCO 2010a; Williams et al. 2011; FitzGerald and Godfrey 2013; and Young 2013). Marginal groups occupy an unequal

and disadvantaged position within common fields of knowledge and power. They are also excluded from full participation in social life even though they have normative claims of equality and belonging to the society (Tsing 1993; Brodwin 2003; Williams et al. 2011). The social dimension of marginality encompasses the areas of demography, religion, culture, economics access to resources, and social structure such as class, gender, ethnicity, spatial marginality such as location, distance from centers of development, and degrees of connectivity and integration. Adam Weisberger uses the example of immigrant positions in a host nation to discuss marginality as a relationship between immigrant groups and the culture. Marginality in this case, is a state of limbo between at least two cultural life-worlds (Weisberger 1992). In this sense, Weisberger (1992) sees marginality as a set of social coordinates within which marginal persons construct responses designed to resolve or alleviate their double ambivalence. He provides a typology which highlights four ways marginal actors respond to marginality: assimilation; return; poise; and transcendence. "Assimilation" denotes the marginal person's absorption of the host's cultural standards. In "return," the marginal person may double back to his or her original group after confronting the host culture. "Transcendence" constitutes an attempt to overcome the opposition of the two cultures through creating a third way which is supposed to surpass them or reconcile them. Finally, "poise" represents abiding in the ambivalence, refusing to resolve it, despite the cost in loneliness or anxiety.

Sociological literature also explains marginality as a mechanism of rejection by which a society produces some groups as its outsiders. Assefa Mehretu, Bruce Pigozzi, and Lawrence Sommers provide two typologies of marginality, namely, "contingent marginality" and "systematic marginality" (Mehretu, Pigozzi, and Sommers 2000). Contingent marginality is a condition that results from competitive inequality in which individuals and communities are placed at a disadvantage because of the dynamics of the free market and ways the uncertainty of free markets adversely affects communities. They explain that communities become vulnerable to contingent marginality because of the spontaneous disadvantages that develop due to social, cultural, locational, and ecological limitations in dealing with the market. They also point out that contingent marginality can be self-inflicted if a community deliberately refrains from engaging in mainstream development such as in the case of ghetto youths, some of whom may be unwilling to seize opportunities for educational and occupational advancement. Systematic marginality results from disadvantages which people and communities experience in a socially constructed system of inequitable relations within a hegemonic order that allows one set of individuals and communities to exercise undue power and control over another. Mehretu et al. (2000, 92) note that vulnerability to systematic marginality is due to social construction of stereotypes that uses

both mutable and indelible markers like culture, ethnicity, immigration status, gender, and age to exclude and marginalize. Mehretu et al. (2000) point out that in developing countries ethno-cultural factors of vulnerability to systematic marginality are characterized by positional polarities that exist between colonial and indigenous populations and internal tribal cleavages sometimes exacerbated by religion.

The literature highlights marginality as a process and system which enforces economic inequality and creates dependent positions within hierarchically ranked groups which is enforced by active rejection from the labor market and other opportunities (Baczko and Raichlen 1978; Brodwin 2003; Young 2013). Marginalized groups occupy unequal and disadvantaged position economically and are excluded from full participation in the economic process and social life despite their normative claims of equality. Young (2013) delineates marginalization from the framework of economic processes as a deliberate strategy to confine some people in a situation the system of labor cannot or will not use. She notes that in many societies there is a growing underclass of people permanently confined to lives of social marginality. Young suggests that marginalization is a deliberate strategy to expel people from useful participation in social life and thus potentially subject them to severe material deprivation and even extermination.

Marginality is also a systemic way by which dominant and powerful people place limitations on individuals and groups. Kyriaki Messiou conceptualizes marginalization from a perspective of the marginal situation and how it affects the structure and functioning of groups. He notes that the idea of "marginal" suggests limits or boundaries of some kind as well as the juxtaposition of entities. Messiou argues that a focus on marginalization in education is heuristic because within an inclusive education dialogue there is a plurality of voices devoid of existing hierarchies of status and privilege (Messiou 2006, 306). Similarly, Kathleen Grant and Jeffry Breese intimate that social structures can induce marginality by creating inequalities of access to social resources and opportunities. Marginality constricts full participation within a social domain which generates social psychological reactions. Social psychological reactions to marginality therefore influence behavior (Grant and Breese 1997, 193–194). The next sub-sections briefly touch on four layers of marginality—socioeconomic, epistemological. transcultural, and educational marginality—as complicated layers of marginality which interact in the schooling experiences of children at the margins of societies experiencing social, economic, political, and technological transformation.

Some scholars conceptualize marginality as a situation where a group is part of the whole but still outside the main body and therefore create the marginalized situation as a site of resistance (hooks 1990; Khapoya 2013; Hoel 2016; Nwosu and Arinse-Umobi 2016). bell hooks outlines ways the racialized system

that operated in her hometown in Kentucky ensured that Blacks only worked in service capacity to support the White racial system in place. She argued that even though Blacks were marginalized, their marginality became a site of radical possibility and a space of resistance. She argued further that the marginality framework became a central location which produced counter hegemonic discourse. Hooks points out that understanding marginality not only as a process of repression but also a space of resistance is crucial for oppressed, exploited, and colonized people. It also helps to analyzing ways marginalized communities are not passive recipients of policies and programs but can become active participants in policy discourses and initiative political engagement.

Marginality is also a fluid and hybrid situation in societies where a group lives on the margins of two (often antagonistic) societies (Brodwin 2003; Williams et al. 2011). Williams et al. (2011) point out that marginality from this conceptualization constitutes a process and patterns of marginality configured and reconfigured through time and space, just as they are lived and perceived from within shifting individual and collective personalities. Both Brodwin (2003) and William et al. (2011) explain here that conceptualizing marginality as a hybrid situation is the result of historical product of large-scale migration of imperialism and therefore the marginalized is not willing to break with her or his past and her or his traditions, and not quite accepted because of prejudice in the new society in which the person now seeks to find a place. Similarly, marginality occurs in urban modernizing cities where you find traditional enclaves which yet remain unintegrated with urban institutions and whose residents are politically apathetic, anomic, and socially disorganized (Perlman 1976, cited by Brodwin 2003). Williams et al. (2011) point out that marginality and margins can serve as dynamic sites to raise attention about the individuals and populations that constitute marginal space or the subalterns. While subaltern agencies are both informed by the social and special circumstances of marginality, they also possess the capacity to shape these conditions. I devote the next sections to discuss four layers of marginality which overlap to pose challenges to the provision of education in marginalized communities. The layers include socioeconomic marginality, epistemological marginality, cultural marginality, and educational marginality.

Socioeconomic Marginality

Socioeconomic marginality occurs when there is socioeconomic disadvantage in which inequality and inequity are treated as synonymous (Mehretu et al. 2000; Wacquant 2010). This layer of marginality translates into the corrosion of the self, the rasping of interpersonal ties, and the skewing of public policy through the mediation of sulfurous cognition fastened onto a

defamed place (Wacquant 2010). Mehretu et al. (2000) discuss socioeconomic marginality as a complex condition of disadvantage which individuals and communities experience because of vulnerabilities that may arise from unfavorable environmental, cultural, social, political, and economic factors. They note that the nature of marginality experienced by a specific community or territory will depend on its political, social, and economic history, and on its natural and human resource endowment. Furthermore, marginality occurs in areas which experience a convergence of political, cultural, economic, and environmental problems. Marginality occurs when hegemonic containment produces "spaces of exclusion" (Mehretu et al. 2000). Both colonial and postcolonial governments in SSA have systematically implemented socioeconomic marginality in SSA societies and excluded some communities from the mainstream social and economic life because these communities are culturally or ethnically different, express different political ideologies and vote certain ways, or belong to some religious communities. Examples of this occurred in the Sudan region before South Sudan was carved out as a country. We also witnessed elements of socioeconomic marginality in Islamic Zongo communities in urban spaces in Ghana and predominantly Islamic communities in northern Ghana during the colonial era when the colonial administration systematically marginalized Islamic communities in northern Ghana. The Apartheid regime in South Africa was a blatant way to disenfranchise Blacks of meaningful participation of the socioeconomic and political life of the society. The de jure segregated school systems that existed in the United States in the nineteenth century and the de facto segregation that currently operates due to the model for funding public schools continue to perpetuate the subordinated status of many Black, Brown, and poor White communities in urban and rural spaces and marginalized them socioeconomically. The long-term and cumulative effects of this systemic marginalization are that children from communities that experience socioeconomic marginality also experience low participation in education and lower achievement.

The literature from the Western world contexts links socioeconomic marginality to educational status and particularly outlined the ways family's socioeconomic status affects children's educational achievement (Bernstein 1973; Bowles and Gintis 1976; Anyon 1980; Abdi and Cleghorn 2005; Jensen 2010; Lareau and Calarco 2012). This literature points out how in advanced capitalist societies, children whose parents have higher income and children from communities with high socioeconomic status have greater educational participation and have overall higher educational achievement while children from low-income communities tend to participate minimally in school and have overall low achievement in education. The nexus between social status and education is not clear in the developing world context (see Banerji 2000; Karlsson 2009; Mfum-Mensah and Friedson-Ridenour 2014). Jenni Karlsson

outlines ways gender combines with socioeconomic status to disadvantage girls and marginalize them educationally. Her study in South Africa reveals that while school policies safeguard rights to education and make enrollment and attendance compulsory, illiteracy is prevalent among poor women because as teenagers these women are often pressed by their poverty and oppressive sexual practices and then they fall pregnant and drop out (Karlsson 2009, 73).

Epistemological Marginality

Epistemological marginality is the tangential treatment of certain kinds of epistemic processes, knowledge, scholarship, and methodologies in the educational, curriculum, and development processes (Barsh 2001; Briggs and Sharp 2004; Rodriguez 2013). In certain contexts, the assault of local knowledge extends to outright banning of such forms of knowledge. Arizona in the United States provides an interesting example where in 2012 the state passed HB 2281 which banned the teaching of indigenous knowledge and all artifacts and relics like the Aztec Calendar in the school system. The reason was because the state authorities consider indigenous knowledge as outside of Western civilization (Rodriguez 2013). Epistemological marginality occurs in schools in SSA when colonial histories, civilization, and cultures are emphasized over local histories and when the curriculum and the learning processes which children receive tend to undermine the informal learning processes that children get at home which are at the heart of community identity.

The growing body of literature which highlights the utility of integrating indigenous frameworks in the development process contradicts the policies that promote epistemological marginality (see Deng 1985; Hall 1985; Castellano 2000; Wane 2000; Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2002; Briggs and Sharp 2004; Omolewa 2007; Kanu 2007). Epistemological marginality occurs in schooling and education because education policymakers conflate formal schooling with "education" (Folson 1995; Dei, Hall, and Rosenberg 2000; Reagan 2005). George Dei and others attribute the marginality of indigenous knowledge to colonial, patriarchal, corporate, exploitative, and ecological destructive development models (Dei et al. 2000, 8; Briggs and Sharp 2004). Briggs and Sharp (2004) point out that, ideologues have socially constructed knowledge production and made it to become near monopoly from which ordinary people are excluded. Knowledge has been constructed as a source of power to exclude indigenous peoples from the global economic and social discourse.

Both Rose Folson and Timothy Reagan share the sentiment that the delegitimacy of African indigenous knowledge amounts to epistemological ethnocentrism—conflation of "education" with "formal schooling" to the detriment of traditional education in Africa, which has been informal in nature (Folson 1995; Reagan 2005, 7). Folson notes that to conflate education with

formal schooling not only distorts the African experience but is a form of cultural ethnocentrism especially in presenting colonialism and imperialism as progressive in nature while indigenous practices and ideals are categorized as underdeveloped (Folson 1995). The focus on Western forms of schooling has led to the privileging of Eurocentric knowledge as the legitimate form of education by which all other forms of education are measured and ascertained for their legitimacy (Minh-ha 1989; Anzaldua 1990; Collins 1991; Folson 1995; Scheurich and Young 1997; Reagan 2005). Such a position has led to indigenous forms of knowledge being marginalized, dismissed, and classified as inapplicable to world standards. The academy fails to incorporate indigenous knowledge into the scholarships because they label such knowledge as unscientific (Reyes and Halcon 1988).

The mainstream research community has branded indigenous culture and traditional ways as "backward" and "unprogressive" while Eurocentric schooling has come to represent civilization and progress and its knowledge forms have become the final arbiter of legitimate knowledge. Reagan (2005) points out that the recognition that our own tradition is simply one among many and not the only primacy, is something hard for some to swallow, however, such a recognition is what is required if the study of educational thought and practice is to be more than a parochial artifact (Regan 2005, 7). African scholars have pointed out the systematic and potential erosion of identity and African epistemologies by Western educational tradition. As far back as in the 1960s some postcolonialists including Ghana's former Prime Minister Kofi Abrefa Busia and Julius Nyerere made the call for the re-appropriation of African indigenous educational traditions that were marginalized and dismantled by the colonizers. Other scholars like Ali Mazrui caution the urban-rural divide created by contemporary education (see Kanu 2007). Stakeholders of non-formal primary education programs implemented to address the educational needs of marginalized children in some sub-Saharan African contexts have realized the merits of integrating community epistemologies into the classroom and therefore are implementing oral cultural approaches including lore, community histories, other traditional epistemologies as part of the classroom socializing processes (see Mfum-Mensah 2003, 2009, for extensive discussion on these approaches).

Cultural Marginality in Education

In these days of globalization and cross-border movements between cultural and social groups within a nation we cannot overemphasize the need for cultural framework as a discursive approach in education policy and curriculum discourses (Abdi and Cleghorn 2005; Epstein 2009; Casinader and Walsh 2015; Giffard 2016). While culture is an old phenomenon, the

global shifts in identity and interconnection among groups have led to the creation of a new sphere of cultural development that transcends the borders of traditional cultures such as ethnic, national, racial, religious, gender, sexual, and professional cultures (Epstein 2009). The increasing diversity created by identity shifts means education policy making should incorporate the diversity of student population in the school systems. This means that teachers must be prepared to teach diverse student groups that have range of backgrounds stemming from their social class, language, and culture. Culture as a way of seeing, thinking, speaking, believing, and behaving (which characterizes the members of a social or ethnic group) should be seen as an important framework for education policy and practice (Abdi and Cleghorn 2005). Analyzing educational discourses in SSA within cultural frameworks enables education policy makers to think intentionally about culture as another lens for overcoming the isolation of traditional and local cultures' symbolic systems and value determinations and broadens the field of supra-cultural creativity (Epstein 2009). It will be a mistake for anybody to assume that a given society in SSA has a homogeneous culture. History teaches us that diverse nations and cultures were brought together as one nation during colonization. Global interactions have also complicated the concept of the African "culture" and African "identity." Cultural marginality occurs in social analysis when policy makers ignore the complicated ways local cultures shape education in national educational discourses and essentialize cultural communities and presume that communities and societies are homogeneous. Cultural framework enables policy makers to see transculturalism as a phenomenon that is not new in the contexts of SSA. From colonial times through the era of globalization and information and communication technology, local communities have intensified contacts with other cultures. Similarly, cross-border movements from rural to urban spaces and vice versa, and between social, ethnic, tribal, gender, religious lines—a situation driven by conditions of poverty, overpopulation, economic insecurity, geopolitical, and global dynamics, among others, have also promoted contacts between cultures. Education arenas have become "contact zones" or "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other" (Edelstein 2005; Giffard 2016). Despite the increasing cultural exchanges which create shifts and tensions, policy makers continue to make the mistake of not critically examining the effects of the cultural shifts as a phenomenon on policy, planning, and provision of social welfare and services such as education. A comprehensive and effective policy which is sensitive to the diversities of culture in the society and ensures access to social welfare, health, education, and other benefits and services by all cultural groups and integration of all cultural groups into the society, is crucial in promoting human rights and social justice.

Education Marginality

The concept of education marginality has been extensively discussed in my recent book *Education and Social Progress and Marginalized Children in Sub-Saharan Africa*. However, I have taken the liberty to engender more discussion in this paragraph. The 2010 United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) documents define education marginality as a form of acute and persistent disadvantage rooted in underlying social inequalities" (UNESCO 2010a, 135; 2010b). The documents outline the dimensions and layers of marginalization in education and clusters marginalization into five categories: gender-related; culture-related; location-related; poverty-related; and special groups (UNESCO 2010b, 5). The UNESCO documents and other literature note that marginalization in education is systemic, institutionalized, and embedded in social, economic, and political policies and processes that restrict life changes for some peoples and groups (Banerji 2000; UNESCO 2010a). In a study in India, Rukmini Banerji outlines the ways in-school factors systematically marginalize poor children educationally. In many parts of sub-Saharan Africa children from rural remote and urban poor communities, girls, children with disabilities, children belonging to religious communities outside the mainstream religion in their respective societies, children belonging to ethnic and/or racial and linguistic minorities, and children in displaced situations such as in refugee settlements (or camps) or in societies ravaged by protracted wars, and children orphaned by HIV/AIDS are marginalized educationally. Educational marginality and systemic marginalization of marginalized children in the delivery of educational services is a sociopolitical phenomenon with ramifications on the social, cultural, economic, and political development of the sub-region. Despite the greater improvements in primary education enrollment in SSA in the past three decades compared to other regions of the world (World Bank 2007), there are striking disparities in educational services provided to children belonging to the mainstream populations and marginalized children (United Nations Millennium Development Goals 2014). While many nations in SSA have shown improvements in enrollments rates from the lower primary, studies show that the average primary completion rates continue to lag compared to other regions (see Lewin and Sabates 2011; Majgaard and Mingat 2012). Many of these children at the margins of societies in SSA enroll in school but do not complete. The situation has economic implications for the sub-region. Given that education determines children's future participation in the global social and economic processes, children from marginalized communities are less likely to participate meaningfully in the national and global socioeconomic processes in their future adult lives.

Delivery of education services and programs in marginalized communities can be complicated and therefore input from marginalized communities in the formulation, design, and implementation of policies is crucial for strong local participation in education in marginalized contexts (see Mfum-Mensah 2011; Mfum-Mensah and Friedson-Ridenour 2014). While local communities' input in education policies may not guarantee success, it can help minimize the challenges that come with implementing education initiatives in marginalized communities. This book focuses on policy issues in the efforts to promote education for all. Therefore, it is useful to highlight the literature on public policy which is the focus of the next section.

INTERROGATING EXISTING EDUCATION POLICY FRAMEWORKS

I want to clarify what I mean by the concept "public policy" in this book. I draw from Leslie Pal's conceptualization of "public policy" for the discussion of education policy which is the focus of the book. Pal defines public policy as a course of action or inaction chosen by public authorities to address a given problem or an interrelated set of problems (Pal 1997, 1). He notes that viewing policy as a course of action means that it is an idea, a framework or a pattern. This suggests that policy is a guide to a range of related actions in a field such as education. Pal points out that a public policy is a course of inaction when an issue is raised directly and policy makers face the choice to amend an act or legislation but fail to act, then the failure to act becomes a policy stance. Pal conceptualizes public policy as a tool that addresses interrelated sets of problems. He points out that public policy acts as an instrument or tool to tackle issues of concern to the political community. He notes that public policy is not just an instrument but also reflects the values of the government and society. In this sense policy serves as a tool that is consistent with a morally acceptable range of government behaviors.

The need to interrogate the current education policy frameworks in SSA is based on the simple reason that education policy must be a tool that leads to the fulfilment of the democratic equality role of education. Policy decisions have implications for students' learning, and therefore employing critical approaches to interrogate education policy frameworks is necessary. The approach may lead to formulation of a new policy framework that incorporates the contextual needs of marginalized children and groups to shore up their participation in education. By participation, I am referring to a group's access to all levels of education and easy progression through these levels so they can acquire the requisite skills, knowledge, and attitudes that will enable them to transition to the labor market like their peers in the mainstream of

society. Critical theory points out that knowledge must be a basis for transforming, liberating, and alleviating oppression. It views the act and process of interrogating educational policies as a political process which liberates those who are oppressed (Abdi and Cleghorn 2005). The idea of employing critical framework to interrogate policy also stems from the fact that many policies enacted by governments are not implemented. Nelly Stromquist and Romina da Costa (2017) argue that while public policies are enacted to enable a democratic life and at the same time promote national practices, unfortunately increasing evidence points to weak or non-implementation as frequently following enactment.

The policy literature discusses the challenges to policy reforms and implementation and factors which impede policy implementation. Let me take the space here to discuss three useful theories: "*path dependency theory*"; "*advocacy coalition framework*"; and "*policy diffusion*" (Cerna 2013). *Path dependency theory* explains that it is generally difficult to change policies because institutions are sticky and actors protect the existing model. Pierson (2000) points out that public policies are usually designed to be difficult to change because their goal is to maintain the status quo and ensure the continuity of policy. *Advocacy coalition framework* explains that there are core ideas about causation and values in public policy. Actors form coalitions (to protect the core ideas) because certain interests are linked to the ideas and values of the policy. Change comes from the ability of these ideas to adapt, ranging from a whole series of operational questions and what works in any one time or place (Sabatier 1986; Jenkins-Smith and Sabatier 1994). *Policy diffusion* also views policy as a process in which policy innovations spread from one government to another. In order words, the knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, and institutions in one time and/or place is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements, and institutions in another time and/or place. The above frameworks paint the picture that efforts to interrogate policies with the goal to effect changes can be arduous especially given the way public institutions are political and reflect the ideological needs of powerful political elites. Sub-Saharan African governments' education policy frameworks do not address most of the educational challenges faced by marginalized children in their societies. Education policies that have the potential to promote democratic engagement of all members of the society require the collective will of policy makers to make change happen (Hope 2002; Hargreaves 1998, cited in Cerna 2013; Cerna 2013; Mehta 2013). Policy change is a political process because it addresses issues of conflict and representation among multiple actors. Both Jal Mehta and Lucie Cerna point out that policy changes and reforms require significant changes to long-standing institutions and require political will, favorable timing, and suitable institutions to push through change.

Let me devote few lines to review the theories on education policy implementation. Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983, 20) define implementation as the "carrying out of a basic policy decision, usually incorporated in a statute but which can also take the form of important executive orders or court decisions." The policy implementation literature provides a wide range of frameworks on why implementation sometimes does not happen (see Mazmanian and Sabatier 1983; Cerna 2013; Lindquist and Wanna 2015). Frameworks such as *top-down perspective*; *bottom up perspective*; *backward-mapping*; *contingency and implementation*; *ambiguity and conflict*; *embracing complexity*; *interdependence and task requirements*; *exchange and bargaining*; and *information and incentives*, all help to explain the challenges to implementation (Lindquist and Wanna 2015). The *top-down perspective* explains that people view policy outcomes that differed from the intended goals of the policy as failures, distortions, evidence of lack of willingness on the part of the staff in field operations, evidence of legislative interference, and evidence of other levels of government and their-party providers to comply with central policy edicts. *Top-down perspective* seeks to find better ways for central authorities to anticipate implementation challenges and the behaviors of delivering agents, to better coordinate implementation activities within and across governments and to identify better tools and instruments for achieving policy goals and objectives. "*Bottom-up perspectives*" focus on the behavior of actors in the implementation chain. *Backward-mapping* explains that policy makers need to view policy as emergent and that successful implementation requires bargaining and negotiation with frontline staff. "*Contingency and implementation*" perspectives points out that policy implementation strategies differ depending on the scope of change, degree of technical certainty, degree of consensus, amount of coordination required, and the stability of environment. *Ambiguity and conflict* frameworks explain that different implementation styles are effective for different contexts. *Embracing complexity* framework combines *top-down* and *bottom-up* factors and notes that implementation can be evaluated from many different vantage points including the center, periphery, and target groups. *Interdependence and task requirements* framework considers the different kinds of interdependence among organizations flowing from the nature of the policy, the distribution of authorities, and task requirements. *Exchange and bargaining* perspective also explains that policy implementation is cast as an exchange process where value can be added by different actors, and does not presume that all politics is completed in the design phase. The process of policy making deals with unanticipated or insufficiently acknowledged matters, and sees implementation as a bargaining game and local participants as problem-solvers. While there are different views on why education policy implementation is difficult, they all agree that the complexity of the policy process, actors' lack of understanding and

comprehension, agents' bias toward their prior beliefs and values, lack of clarity, needs, practicality, and contexts all make implementation a complex and intricate process (Marris 1975; Majone and Wildavsky 1978; Spillane, Reiser, and Reimer 2002; Fullan 2007).

POSITIONALITY AND MARGINALITY STUDIES

I now turn to discuss how a researcher's positionality may shape her or his understanding of marginality. I want to clarify that *marginalized children* and *marginalized communities* are two different concepts but they are not mutually exclusive when it comes to provision of educational services. Marginalized children are children who are systematically disenfranchised in the society because the social, economic, and political system in place locates them in a place in the society that makes it difficult for them to have access to the services that are provided to other children. Marginalized communities on the other hand are primarily from geographical, social, or cultural locations that systematically create differences. In other words, employing a geography of difference to position some communities at the fringes of the social, economic, and political structure of the society. Both education of marginalized children and marginalized community reflect the connection between education and power relations and ways education becomes a process for oppressing groups and communities in the society. Studies focusing on education and marginality have contributed immensely to shaping the educational discourse in SSA within the contexts and conversations of EFA. For the most part, some of the works (and many of them) have been developed and analyzed within the rubric of Western hierarchical frameworks and therefore discuss marginality within dominant discourses, privilege, and dominant-Western representation in scholarship and epistemology even within the marginalized discourse (Nagar 2014). Therefore, there is the need for a reflexive "radical consciousness" of the self to inject political dimension of works in marginalized contexts (see Nagar 2014). A plethora of literature discusses both the utility and challenges of using "positionality" and "standpoint" multicultural frameworks in marginality studies (Edelstein 2005; Kezar and Lester 2010; Foote and Bartell 2011; Bender 2014; Barreyre, Berg, and Middleton 2014; Nagar 2014). Marilyn Edelstein for instance argues that our identities, experiences, and subject positions shape our perceptions of ourselves and others, and our relations to new knowledge. Adrianna Kezar and Jaime Lester also point out the need to view identity as intersectional, fluid, dynamic, contextually bound and tied to power. Other feminist scholars also draw from such positionality and standpoint frameworks to discuss the production of knowledge and the practices of power to critiquing the claims to "objective

knowledge" and "universality" by those who primarily belong to the dominant groups within a culture. The approach suggests a new epistemology that looks at issues from the standpoint of those who have been historically marginalized and thus may see in important ways.

Let me explain why I am so enamored of marginality studies and particularly marginalized children's education and education in marginalized communities. My liberty to discuss education of marginalized children draws from the Akan proverb which says that "*Sɛ aboa gyata anhu ne abakwasem ka a, abakwasem no nyinaa beyi obomofoo ayɛ*" (until lions become their own historians, tales about hunting will always glorify the hunter). I am a Ghanaian native—a positionality which reinforces my marginality from global geopolitical and economic positionality—to invoke Taiye Selassie's piece "*Don't ask me where I am from, ask where I'm a local*." I have had the experience as one who grew up and experienced part of my schooling at the margins of the Ghanaian society.

However, my dilemma here is that unlike many of the marginalized children that I have written about, I was also born into two families with two diametrically different socioeconomic statuses in this poor rural community: a middle-class Ghanaian household on my father's side of the family and a very poor household on my mother's side of the family. I experienced an excellent middle-class education when my family lived in Kumasi. I also experienced the kind of education that children from rural remote poor communities in Ghana routinely received during my schooling days when my family relocated to my rural ancestral village community by co-incidence of geography and circumstances. These two incontrovertible backgrounds put me in a paradoxical and contradictory position when I make the claim about my marginality position. I belonged to the elite and privileged few in the Ghanaian society in a context where I also lived in a community where most of the community members are poor (I have discussed the two backgrounds more extensively in chapter 1 and made references in other chapters). My cultural and socioeconomic roots entail two distinct families on both my father's and mother's side. The social relations and social dynamics of each side of the family are complicated and run deep. In complicated ways these different sides of the family provided the cultural capital and social environments which pushed me for success in my schooling. By cultural capital here I am talking about the kinds of attitudes, behaviors, and dispositions that a given society values and which translate into a favorable asset for children's school and educational success (Barakett and Cleghorn 2000; Rury 2016). Cultural capital also includes all the home-based ways of perceiving, thinking, speaking, believing, and behaving that all children bring to school. It is also linked to social status in the sense that cultural capital is a command of information and abilities that are valued by others with social status (Rury

2016). Because schools are designed and reflect the values and beliefs of the dominant group, cultural capital as it is used by the mainstream Western capitalist contexts focuses on those values subscribed by the middle class. This capitalist construction of cultural capital of course does not mean that children from the working-class background in the Western contexts do not have some cultural capital and it indicts schools to implement culturally relevant pedagogies to help connect diverse groups of students to their sociocultural backgrounds (Ladson-Billings 1998; Barakett and Cleghorn 2000, 56; Howard 2003).

It is also useful to discuss social capital here. Social capital is the advantages that we derive from relationships. But in many contexts in SSA social capital can only be effective if it includes both "horizontal" and "vertical" networks and relationships. One needs to have the village and community support within a context where one also must have the connections to the higher echelons of the society to access most of the government services. I learned later in life that social networks of my village enclave were enriching but not enough to help me navigate the layers and complexities of the operations of Ghanaian public institutions. In postcolonial SSA, knowing the right people and having supportive networks of association and influence are crucial and critical for some people to succeed in the educational process.

The different methodological approaches to researching the schooling status of marginalized children are didactic and pedagogically useful but nothing comes close to a researcher who has lived the experience. As a rooted African, I cherish the stories, oral memoirs, lore, and all the complex and layered forms of interactions and communications from the people and community I grew up in. Therefore, my approach of sharing some of the "raw" stories as I experienced and/or received from those community sages brings freshness to the discourse and enables readers who lived such experiences to relive it again even as they return to their communities to serve in advocacy and activism roles. I also hope that such stories will create useful imaginations for those who never experienced such a life but nonetheless have the passion to continue to work to empower marginalized communities to be their own advocates and activists in their struggle to fulfill the democratic equality role of education. It is my hope that these storied accounts will provide a recipe for scholars in the field of education, international development, sociology, and anthropology to understand how EFA discourses and policies on one hand, and implementation of education initiatives for marginalized communities on the other hand, both enlist marginalized communities' input to address the overlapping barriers that hinder their education.

CONCLUSION AND POLICY REFLECTIONS

Engaging in conversations on marginality can be both an excruciating and a reflective process for participants but more importantly, the process should enable participants to extend gratitude and appreciation to communities that provide such lessons. I reflect on critical questions on marginality as I pen this book. How do researchers whose experiences are geographically, economically, politically, and experientially different from the lived experiences of thousands of marginalized children but nonetheless work and write about marginalized children grasp and conceptualize the problems these children face? Does our research in marginalized communities provide us the insights on how in-school and outside-school barriers interact in marginalized children's schooling? How might local community members' narratives, which are repositories of knowledge, serve as a lens for policy makers to develop educational initiatives that promote strong school participation and learning? How might such knowledge provide new insights about the connection between communities' "contexts" and the school contexts? By "contexts" here I am referring to marginalized communities' epistemologies, worldviews, and sociocultural systems including their cultural traditions, belief systems, mores, values, practices, social arrangements, social relations, and power relations which shape the learning processes, and knowledge and attitudes of members of a cultural community, and which in many cases get pushed to the margins of the mainstream educational process. The next chapters attempt to address some of these questions.

Chapter 1

Social Structures and Children's Education in Sub-Saharan Africa

Many African and other scholars whose research focuses on SSA emphasize the need to incorporate indigenous African social structures and worldviews in the planning of the education established by the Christian missionaries and colonial governments (see Onwuachi 1966; Fafunwa and Aisiku 1982; Deng 1985; Bledsoe 1992; Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2002; Kanu 2007; Omolewa 2007). About five decades ago, the African scholar Chike Onwuachi stated that:

> "Western civilization in Africa has created many problems and changes . . . problems of cultural adaptation and the incorporation of western . . . customs into existing tribal ones . . . the problems of urbanization which have brought about a radical transformation of the character of social life." (Onwuachi 1966).

Fifty years have come and gone since Onwuachi made this compelling statement and the region is still confronted with some of those same issues. I want to add to the clarion call for policy makers to explore effective ways of integrating the "old" (traditional social structures and traditional education) and the "new" (Western social structures and modern education processes). I do so also acknowledging that the process of incorporating the "old" and the "new" can be intricate. To provide a useful discussion I draw from the positionality framework to highlight the intricacies of incorporating both traditional social structures and traditional education on one hand and modern education process on the other hand and the challenges that the Western education policy framework poses to marginalized communities as they are plugged into the "modern" education systems because of the complexities of social structures in rural traditional communities (Grosz-Ngate 2014). I have divided the chapter into three sections: The first section draws from

sociological literature to engage readers about how children's social status may influence their education. Section two discusses the complicated ways traditional social structures in many societies in SSA may complicate marginalized children's schooling. I use the social structures and social arrangements in my village as an example to highlight ways the Akan social structures may impact children's education in rural southern Ghanaian. The final section discusses indigenous ways of learning in an African context. I have developed this chapter to discuss the complexities of social structures in sub-Saharan African societies in relations to children's education in the context of increasing cultural globalization. The chapter makes the argument that provision of education in marginalized communities in sub-Saharan Africa is complicated by the complexities of the traditional social structures of most of these communities.

SOCIAL STRUCTURES AND EDUCATION

Western forms of schooling provide avenues for children to acquire the skills, knowledge, attitudes, and socialization for competing in the global community that is increasingly experiencing technological, economic, and social transformation. The contradiction here is that schools also maintain and perpetuate the existing power relations in societies and the institutional structures that support those relations (Durkheim 1956; Bowles and Gintis 1976; Anyon 1980; Shujaa 1993; Abdi and Cleghorn 2005; Barakett and Cleghorn 2000; Parsons 2012). The role of school in perpetuating and maintaining the social relations makes school reforms to have little effects in producing the fundamental changes in the role that schooling plays in reproducing both the value systems of the politically dominant cultures and the social ordering that serves that group (Shujaa 1993, 337). Education, as is broadly conceived, on the other hand, shapes children's worldviews and ethical and moral mindsets for functioning as compassionate humans in an increasingly competitive global community. Wyatt MacGaffey explains it clearly that:

> Education besides equipping successive generations individually and categorically with differential values and competences, teaches and confirms the scheme or model of the whole, the world view appropriate to the society in question. (MacGaffey 1982, 239).

Schooling and education overlap but they are not necessarily the same and a person can have one without the other (Shujaa 1993). For people from traditional and collective cultures in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) schooling plugs us into the new social order constructed by the state and provides us the tools for competing

in a global world. However, the education we acquire through family and community relationships informs and etches a mind-set that makes us to be dutiful to our immediate and extended family and our community (Shujaa 1993).

Sociological literature outlines the interpersonal relations that mediate children's learning and their experience of schooling. Furthermore, the literature outlines how a person's social status potentially influences her or his educational success. The body of literature accumulated over the past six decades reveals that in advanced capitalist societies family status potentially influences children's schooling (Bowles and Gintis 1976; Anyon 1980; Hillis 1995; Lloyd and Blanc 1996; Banerji 2000; Weber, Marre, Fisher, Gibbs, and Cromartie 2007; Karlsson 2009; Jensen 2010; Vasquez and Bohara 2010; Mfum-Mensah and Friedson-Ridenour 2014). Since the 1940s works in the Western societies including that of Allison Davies which focused on African Americans in the deep South of the United States, Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis' work in 1976, and Jean Anyon's work in 1980 have all documented the complicated ways socioeconomic status affects students' education. Weber et al. (2007) on the other hand note that education has the potential to change one's status. They argue that improving the quality of education and encouraging students to stay in school is one possible strategy for reducing poverty and raising local well-being.

The relationship between family status and children's education in more traditional contexts is complex and complicated. Studies in the developing world highlight the complexities of family status and education, how the social structures may predict how students respond to education, and how the social configuration of a given society may complicate one's participation in education (Foster 1964; Lloyd and Blanc 1996; Stephens 2000; Vasquez and Bohara 2010; Mfum-Mensah 2003; Jensen 2010; Grosz-Ngate 2014; Mfum-Mensah and Friedson-Ridenour 2014). Robert Jensen points out that children and parents that possess knowledge about the rate of return to education are likely to benefit from education. He notes that in the developing world, the possibility of children and parents understanding the rate of return to education is not certain. He intimates however that youth in rural communities or small towns where few or no adults have any education will have little information from which to infer the returns to education (Jensen 2010, 517). Social learning or role model explanatory framework also discusses ways children's family status may create a disposition that affects their education. The social learning framework explains further that parental characteristics which are associated with status are conceptually associated with social indicators of their children (Kohn 1969; Bourdieu 1977; Vygotsky 1978; Wiggan 2007; Thomas 2009; Panofsky 2003). The framework posits further that children's desire to imitate their parents is crucial to understanding the process by which social indicators are transmitted across generations (Thomas 2009).

In relations to education the literature shows that children whose parents are middle-class, white-collar workers adopt parenting styles that allow their children to be more self-directed therefore making their children more skilled at thinking independently and critically and therefore improving their school performance (Wiggan 2007). Vigotsky (1978, 88) highlights the importance of social relations in the learning and education of children. He notes that "children grow into the intellectual life of those around them." Those life spaces are multiple and varied and may include not only the home and family, but also the community and the school. In the community and school environment, children also develop shared interests and life activity with a specific socioeconomic group. Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 82) also discusses ways a person's system of lasting dispositions or "habitus" which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions. Habitus, which is a function and product of the person's social status, shapes their schooling. He notes that an individual's habitus internalizes the commonsense rule, logic, and obviousness of the field—a process which is most powerful during childhood. One's habitus shapes and influences the participation and interaction with others in education.

Findings from the study by William Vasquez and Alok Bohara in Guatemala and Obed Mfum-Mensah and Sophia Friedson-Ridenour's study in Ghana reveal that children from poor households experience low levels of school participation due to the complexities of community-based factors which overlap with school-based factors. These studies point to such issues as a household's engagement of children in household economic activities, child labor, child fostering and other sociocultural issues as determining factors that shape a children's participation in school. Furthermore, Philip Foster's classical work in Ghana five decades ago reveals how a community's response to schooling may correspond with parents' views about the potential for school to offer occupational rewards for children when they complete school. A 1996 study in sub-Saharan Africa by Cynthia Lloyd and Ann Blanc also reveals that the education of the household head (not necessarily the father) and the household standard of living are determining factors in explaining differences among children in their school outcome. Cynthia Lloyd and Ann Blanc note that a child's biological parents appear to play a less critical role in a child's educational outcome (Lloyd and Blanc 1996).

COMPLEXITIES OF TRADITIONAL AFRICAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND EDUCATION

I have devoted the next two sections to outline the contrasting aspects of my cultural roots to discuss how the social structures within which children grow

up may mediate and influence their school participation. Let me give a caution here to my readers. African societies and their social structures are diverse and complex. While we can make some generalizations when it comes to African social structures, social arrangement, the family, and the community, it is important to also highlight how diverse these structures are from one community to another community (for extensive discussions of social structure, see Kilson 1976; Murphy 1980; Nimtz 1980; MacGaffey 1982). The definition of "family" in traditional African context is broader than in Western societies, and issues of who is to be considered as one's sibling, and who oversees and supports a child's education are usually determined by the complexities of patrilineal and matrilineal arrangements as well as the family households. The concept of "household" is also complicated and currently becoming even more fluid instead of the traditional male- or female-headed households. There are also now child-headed households in many communities in South Africa, South Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Liberia, Rwanda, and Uganda among other societies because children who have lost both parents to AIDS or to civil and political unrest and have no living grandparents have assumed the care for their younger siblings (Grosz-Ngate 2014).

While Europeans succeeded in undermining some aspects of the traditional African social structures, they did not completely reconfigure the precolonial social structures, practices, and arrangements that were in place and many of these social structures are intact in many rural communities in SSA. The traditional social structures have great influence on children's education in rural communities and urban communities that tend to be homogeneous and communal. Therefore, policy makers need to incorporate how traditional social structures shape education and the potential challenges, in policy formulation and implementation that aims to address marginalized children's educational needs (see Wiredu 1996; and Grosz-Ngate 2014).

RURAL ELITES AND EDUCATION

There were few people in my rural village who were considered as the elite in the community. They all had certain things in common. They were mostly men who were entrepreneurs who owned a store in the village. They also operated a transport business and were known to be shrewd and predatory lenders who lend money to the poor rural community folks with killer interests. They owned large acres of cocoa, coffee, palm, or other cash crops and they had many laborers usually from northern Ghana who took charge of their cash crop plantations. These elites also had anywhere from four to eight wives and many children. In our rural village, there were about six or seven of those men and Grandpa was probably the first among this village elite

group. Many of our community members were mostly subsistent farmers who depended on their small-scale cash crops and the family's subsistent farms usually under the control of the wives for the family's economic sustenance.

Grandpa was married to six women and had twenty-eight children. He was the head of this large, highly structured, extended kinfolks. A major social arrangement of polygamous families in our village was that men had different domains and the different wives and children also had their domains. Grandpa lived in his own space away from his wives and children at his small suite which he built at the back of his store which was at the center of our small rural community. Grandpa's wives had their own houses where they resided with their children. The arrangement between Grandpa and his wives was one where the women took turns to cook for him as was typical of most polygamous families in our village. Each woman was assigned a schedule of two weeks where she cooked Grandpa's evening meals and one of the children or grandchildren took the food to Grandpa. The height of any of Grandpa's wives' marital joy was when it came to her turn to cook. Cooking for Grandpa provided the picture of polygamous relations and its social relations and power dynamics and was a sort of competition for these women. The wife whose turn it was to cook assumed a temporary power and authority over the rest. She had the sole attention of Grandpa during her two-week period and slept at Grandpa's store during the period. The rest of the women only waited until it was their turn to also claim their temporary power and authority. Njoki Wane points out that the central role played by women in food preparation is universal and a major component of female identity and an important source of women's links to other family members. Through food, women indirectly exercise a certain degree of power and authority. She notes that this power is accrued not through force or the ability to deny, but rather through giving and the obligations created in that process (Wane 2000, 63). After Grandpa and the company finished the meal, the grandchildren ate the leftovers.

What I recall about Grandpa is that he was a man of status in our village community being one of the few wealthy people (*asikafoo*) in that village. He was a village entrepreneur and his lucrative business practices put him ahead of his peers in the village and he routinely loaned money to the village folks with "killer" interests on the loan. Most of his lending clients were vulnerable cocoa farmers who needed cash for survival before the cocoa harvesting season began. Grandpa had deeper knowledge and understanding of lending practices and his shrewd lending practices placed him ahead of his peers. Loathe him or love him, the poor came to him for loans at a time where the only banks available were the colonial banks in Accra and other few urban centers. Grandpa owned massive acres of land and engaged his numerous wives and children to develop much of the acres of land for cocoa and coffee plantations and other cash crops and he probably may have sired the children

for social support (Boserup 1970; Grosz-Ngate 2014). In politico-cultural economies that were largely agrarian such as the contexts I describe here, control of land signified both symbolic and material autonomy. Land ownership is tied to agency and identity as well as to history or genealogical connections (Boserup 1970; Crentsil 2007, 7; Seif 2013). Crentsil (2007) points out that the economic function of Akan lineage focuses mainly on land ownership. Land is bestowed as an important means of production in rural Akan.

Despite the support from his wives and children which made his businesses and farming thrive, Grandpa was a product of the complexities of the Akan matrilineal tradition and social structure. Let me narrate a story to highlight the intricacies of the Akan traditional social structure and family. I was in the company of one of my young uncles (my father's half-brother from another mother) standing in front of my paternal grandpa's store in our village. My uncle is the last in birth-order rank of his mother and the last but one of my paternal grandfather's (Grandpa) twenty-eight children. In two days all of us would return to our respective boarding secondary schools and my uncle needed to give his father (Grandpa) some heads up regarding his school fees. My uncle's only source of financial support at that time was either his older brother (my older uncle) or his father because his mother had passed. My older uncle had his own share of immediate family responsibilities to take care of, which put a strain on his purse. When we got to the store, my young uncle informed Grandpa that he would be returning to school on Thursday and therefore needed school fees. The tuition and boarding fees combined was about thirty Ghana cedis then (equivalent of $15). Grandpa's facial expression changed and he became so furious and agitated that his son had come to demand school fees from him. He made the following remark: "Why do you always come to disturb me with school fees? Why should 'I' and not your *abusuafoo* (matrilineal relatives) or older brother pay for your fees? You are one of their *odehyie*!" (kinfolks). The significance of the term is to draw an important concept that the relationship that exists between him and his son was more distant than the relationship between the son and the son's maternal family. At this point my uncle muted his voice and stared at his father (Grandpa)—I know it sounds ridiculous. But wait a minute until I finished narrating the story. Throughout the summer months, my uncle worked alongside Grandpa's laborers and sharecroppers the acres of cocoa farm that Grandpa owns. He assisted in weeding and uprooting the shrubs around the crops, and in harvesting the maize and cocoa pods. My young uncle also routinely assisted in managing the store when he was not with the laborers or when Grandpa traveled to a nearby town to undertake other businesses. Grandpa's remark that my uncle's own maternal relatives or my older uncle should be the one to provide the financial support for his own son's education because my young uncle was their *odehyie* provides

a glimpse of the Akan social arrangement which was (and still is) strongly upheld by many people. The concept *odehyie* simply means "blood" or "royal" and signifies the matrilineal relations "of the Akan social arrangement." Grandpa's use of the word *odehyie* was deliberate, purposeful, and culturally deep and a way to absolve himself of any financial responsibility of his own biological child.

As my uncle and Grandpa continued back and forth on the school fee issue, a young man who was one of Grandpa's maternal kinfolks who also attended a boarding secondary school, showed up at the store to ask for school fees from Grandpa. Now this was getting ridiculous. What amazed me was that Grandpa never engaged this supposedly extended "relative" in the kind of back and forth deliberation that he did with his own son but went inside the store and counted the amount of money the boy needed and handed it to him. After the young man had left, Grandpa turned to my uncle and invoked the matrilineal social structure in place to justify why he was obligated and committed to support this extended relative of his and not his own son. If you think this social arrangement is complicated, then it is, but we have to be careful not to engage in the sin of ethnocentrism. We must put this conversation I am narrating here in the contexts of the traditional Akan social structure which still exists in many shapes and forms. The complexity of this issue partly stems from the matrilineal social structure of the Akan society which traces one's family along the lines of maternal nephews and nieces and maternal uncles and aunts (Foster 1964; Oppong 1974; Kludze 1988; Gyekye 1995; Nkansa-Kyeremateng 1996; Wiredu 1996; Offei 1998). This lineage operates as a corporate fashion and serves as the basic building block of the whole political and social structure and foundation of the Akan kingdom.

Such social structures are gradually changing in the urban communities with the changing times but they are still highly revered traditions in many traditional Akan rural enclaves. At least, that was the case of my paternal grandfather who was more committed to the welfare of his extended maternal kinfolks than those of his own numerous wives and children. In such contexts, in most cases it was complicated to determine which aspect of the social structure determines children's education. What determines a child's education may be a combination of the child's father's status and that of the matrilineal family. Philip Foster points out that the Akan social structure made it difficult for Western education to make quantitative progress among Akan people of southern Ghana irrespective of the precise form it took and was antithetical to the assumptions upon which the Akan social structure is based. He notes that there is an inherent and inevitable conflict between institutions of formal education and the persistence of traditional values and forms of authority because the development of one presupposes the disintegration of the latter (Foster 1964, 163).

A major qualm that Grandpa's children had with him was that he neither connected with them nor paid heed to their social and educational needs as they expected their father to do. His relationship with his own children was that of those folks who believed that "children should be seen and not heard" (Bystydzienski 2011, 23). Jill Bystydzienski points out that when one comes out from a culture where parents and children have very separate domains that do not cross over or merge, it is difficult to cross over if one wants to do so. Like other members of the elite people in my rural village, Grandpa had the financial means to support all his children to enroll in school but he did not involve himself in his children's education when schooling was still developing in the village. Some of his children never enrolled in school but considering our village contexts, Grandpa was still one of the few elite village folks that had many of his sons and few of his daughters enrolled in school. To date many of the village community members make reference to Grandpa and accord him respect for the number of his children that enrolled in the village school, some of whom later came to work in the public service in postcolonial Ghana. What many people did not know was that it was those children's mothers that took the initiative and bore the burden of educating their own children in school. The independent living of Grandpa's wives meant that for the most part they had the autonomy and took decisions about their children's schooling without Grandpa's approval (Haddad, Hoddinott, and Alderman 1997; Mukudi 2002; Quisumbing 2003; Luz and Agadjanian 2015). Grandpa's attitude toward his children's schooling was typical of the men of his generation and a few generations that came after in our village who did not pay much attention to their children's education whether they had the means to do it or not. Mukudi (2002) points out that in spite of economic challenges that women in rural Africa face, many sometimes borrow money to pay for the education of their children, allowing themselves to be indebted to the schools. Sometimes women go to the extent of putting their marriages on the line to ensure their children enroll in school.

COMMUNITY EPISTEMOLOGIES

It was usually Saturday evenings after dinner that my maternal grandfather (Oldman) always gathered us grandchildren and "bathed" us with educative folklores mostly about the fictive character Ananse (the spider), an enigmatic personality who is the main character of 90 percent of the Akan folklore. We always looked forward to hearing Ananse stories from "Oldman" as his grandchildren referred to him. My maternal grandparents were poor even by the village standards. One needed not explain to us about the magnitude of poverty of my maternal family because the family's low socioeconomic

status stared in our faces everywhere we looked. My maternal homestead was built with mud and roofed with raffia palm or *bammuru* as the locals call it. The *Kotokoli* people who resided at the Zongo side of the village (I have discussed the Zongo community in chapter 6) mostly wove the raffia palm roofing materials and sold them to Oldman. Oldman replaced the raffia palm roof every three to six months to avoid rainwater leaking through the roof when it rained. Anytime people in our town wanted to heap insults on any of our family members, the person mentioned the raffia palm roofing of our house. I got to know Oldman on a very personal and relational level because he demonstrated and showed interest in every member of the household. Poverty did not deter him from connecting with his immediate and extended family. Oldman always had the desire to roof the family house with aluminum roofing sheets but he carried that dream to his grave because of poverty. It was thirty-six years after Oldman passed and I embarked on a research trip to Mombasa, Kenya, that I saw that raffia palms are an exotic roofing material. The very roofing material my village people so despised and which made us look so poor. Thousands of miles away in Mombasa, I realized that we would not be classified as poor just because our house is roofed with raffia palm branches.

Throughout the time I knew and related to Oldman on a personal level, I learnt about his honesty and love of family. He was poor but he placed a high premium on family. He lived in the same domain with his family and embraced monogamous relationship with my maternal grandma and had eleven children with her. I saw Oldman as an inspiration because he loved to educate his grandchildren. He was patient in responding to the seemingly foolish and probing questions we the grandchildren threw at him all the time. He loved his grandchildren, and encouraged and nudged us to pursue education—whatever form it takes—to the best of our abilities. He narrated that when *sukuu* came to the village he was already very old so he saw no need to enroll. Somehow, Oldman was shaped by the contradictions of the European encounters which also swept through our village community like a tornado that acted its strange deeds on lonely trees on a plain landscape. Oldman entertained some naiveté when it came to the treachery of colonialism. He bought into the colonized mind-set which embraced everything colonial as good. Colonialism is an ideological disposition that does not leave when the colonizers pack and leave (Mfum-Mensah 2005). As I recall, Oldman used to say that "if you are on your way to church (*asore*) and you meet the White man (*Kwasi Broni*) don't bother going to church because you have seen one of the gods." Somehow, the Europeans worked in subtle ways to win the hearts and minds of these old rural folks but turned around and hit them hard at the back through the way they configured traditional African societies and implemented economic forms that marginalized many of these rural folks

during the colonial era. As part of his education for us grandchildren Oldman narrated his several encounters with the White missionaries and colonizers in the village and in the urban communities in Ghana where he took his sacks of cocoa and coffee produce to sell. Being the sage he was, Oldman provided balanced views about the Europeans and the contradictions of European colonization of the Gold Coast.

As Oldman's days numbered he was so preoccupied with ensuring that his grandchildren did not lose the "education" that made people more humane. His lack of financial resources was compensated for by his deep knowledge and insights. In our village homestead that went through complicated transitions and changes at that time and confronted new social, economic, and political forces in the 1950s and 1960s, Oldman demonstrated astuteness to preserve the forms of indigenous knowledge bequeathed to him by his own progenitors to the next generation of grandchildren (Minh-ha 1989; Anzaldua 1990; Collins 1991; Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2002; Omolewa 2007; Kanu 2007).

Oldman viewed education as a means of providing for the intergenerational transmission of values, beliefs, traditions, customs, rituals, and sensibilities along with the knowledge of why these things must be sustained (Shujaa 1994, 10). This belief made him to creatively combine histories, folklores, and proverbs, and connect myths with legends to teach his grandchildren the basic things about life and living. Oldman conceptualized knowledge as encompassing the "old" and the "new." The "old" being the traditional ways of knowing which one had to acquire from community elders and community sages. The "new" representing the knowledge that "young" people draw from going to school and reading a book. He always captured this very well by reminding his three boys (my maternal uncles) who thought they had it all because they had gone to school, by saying "*nyansa nko na nwoma nko*" which means that there is a difference between Wisdom (which one acquires from elders) and book knowledge (which one acquires from school). Nketia (2002, 61) explains that many traditional African communities entertained the belief that wisdom is gained through oral traditions and social experience. Hence a person who has not acquired this is regarded as ignorant or ill-bred when his or her ignorance or disregard for social customs or the traditional political order becomes evident. Oldman never discounted school knowledge but always emphasized that the young generation needs to combine the knowledge of elders with book knowledge. His conventional pedagogical strategies for imparting the important indigenous forms of knowledge were perceptive and effective. They surpassed the disconnected pedagogical strategies that many of my teachers who went through the vestiges of the colonial formal teacher training colleges shoved into our brains through stale memorization and

repetition at the school classroom that did not have any connection whatsoever with our lived experiences.

Saturday evenings provided the sacred space and a welcoming environment for Oldman to teach his grandchildren about the vicissitudes of the life within our village confines, and ways colonization "hollowed" out the village enclave and connected it to the colonial economic forms and production processes. He made history alive through his narration of the several miles they trekked down to towns such as *Akyemfo*, *Simpa*, *Oguaa*, and *Apaa* (coastal towns which the colonial people renamed as Saltpond, Winneba, Cape Coast, and Apam) to trade and buy salt, or up north to the forest region of *Brofoyedru* (a town in the Adanse area of Ashante Region) to sell coffee. Around the sacredness of a small kerosene-lit lamp Oldman narrated lore and stories that captivated the imaginations of his grandchildren. He provided his erudite lore with succinctness, precision, concreteness, and suspense that only took the exceptionally creative sage he was to dramatize. Kwame Appiah captured it very well when he noted that proverbs, riddles, myths, and storytelling are repositories of knowledge and have the technical and pedagogical sophistication for teaching and learning (Appiah 2006). There was no movement or shrill as Oldman employed the literary styles of metaphors and similes, alliterations and parallelisms, paradoxes, ironies, analogies, riddles, and contradictions while sometimes alluding to other events and characters in the Ananse folklore that he narrated. Oldman employed pretexts and subtexts to make the context of a literary element easy to grasp. He demonstrated philosophic sagacity and was a sage in his own right (Gbolonyo 2009). Justice Gbolonyo explains that philosophic sages are people who do not conform in their beliefs and behavior from their members but reach a particularly high level of knowledge and understanding of their culture's worldviews. These people are sages because they go beyond mere knowledge and understanding to reflection and questioning. Njoke Nathane Wane intimates that it is easy to listen to the stories of other people but it is not always simple to make sense of them and this is true in the case of the stories we sometimes heard from Oldman (Wane 2000). Somehow, some of those stories never made sense to us at the time. But Oldman knew exactly what he wanted to infer from the stories. He loved to speak in proverbs and used folklore and proverbs to encourage and scold his grandchildren. J. P. Occiti, Patience Elabor-Idemudia, and other African scholars point out that ritualistic chants, riddles, songs, folktales, proverbs, and parables articulate a distinct cultural identity and give voice to a range of cultural, social, and political, aesthetic and linguistic systems—systems long muted by centuries of colonialism and cultural imperialism (Ocitti 1973; Omolewa 2007; Elabor-Idemudia 2000, 102).

Status knowledge is not confined to school environment and Western education alone but also resides in indigenous bodies of knowledge (Murphy

1980; Smith 1999; Wane 2000; Bledsoe 1992). Oldman understood the power and place of knowledge in our village community. He was always consulted in matters that required critical and dialectic thinking. Interestingly, he did everything possible to teach local histories, traditional and community etiquettes, agricultural knowledge, and basic survival skills which he himself received from his forbears to his grandchildren. He also cautioned his grandchildren to take advantage of the "wind" of Western forms of education that was sweeping through the village and the new society. He entertained the believe that "in the not so distant future" *sukuu* (school) would be the key to competing in the new Gold Coast (Ghana) society that was undergoing transformation because of the establishment of churches and schools and attainment of independence from the colonial rule.

TRANSITIONS AND TRANSFORMATION

Children accrue a lot of knowledge and experience from the family dynamics, their community social structures, and community traditional practices. The transformation that many local communities in Ghana have experienced from the colonial era to the present time has reconfigured many of the Ghanaian social arrangements to reflect those of the European society. Some of the changes have been so positive but others have posed challenges to some communities. Many Ghanaians who live in the urban communities who are rooted in the matrilineal social structures find themselves in positions where they must renegotiate such social arrangements especially when it comes to support for their children's education and education of their extended kin. Many of the urban populace do not rigidly apply the matrilineal arrangements when it comes to education because family members who have comparative social advantage see it as part of their responsibilities to support their extended families that are not socioeconomically grounded. Such responsibilities include supporting children of their sisters and brothers. Yatta Kanu points out that tradition has been modified to suit the contexts of the changing society (Kanu 2007). The village, on the other hand, is the bastion of rooted and non-negotiating traditionalism.

CONCLUSION AND POLICY REFLECTIONS

The assumption that rural enclaves are being morphed into globalization needs to be nuanced. The structure of many traditional rural communities in SSA have not changed much and therefore present some intricacies in a context where in the same society the urban contexts experience massive

transformation compared to the rural contexts. There are some policy implications here that we can consider in our discussion: The first is the idea of enlisting more women to become part of the local school management committees. Research from rural Mozambique and other contexts reveals that women's decision-making autonomy shores up their children's education, particularly the education of their daughters (see Haddad, Hoddinott, and Alderman 1997; Quisumbing 2003; Luz and Agadjanian 2015). These studies show that women's ability to formulate, negotiate, and carry out their preferences helps with other aspects of social structures including children's school participation. Women in rural Africa continue to serve as the bedrock of their children's education. Policies that aim to shore up children's education should include ways to enlist rural women to become actors in the policy conversations and implementation. Larson and Murtadha (2002, 146 cited by Bates 2007, 141) point out that "many well-intentioned leaders maintain institutionalized inequity because they are committed to hierarchical logics that not only fail to question established norms but keep impoverished citizens out of decision making." The approach of enlisting greater participation of women in educational leadership in rural and marginalized communities is already happening in some contexts. The works of Obed Mfum-Mensah and Sophia Friedson-Ridenour in northern Ghana outline ways complementary education programs provide opportunities for women to have equal representation on the local leadership positions of education initiative to promote children's education (see Mfum-Mensah 2003; Mfum-Mensah and Friedson-Ridenour 2014). Edith Mukudi points out that in the postcolonial era, women continue to "interact with the educational policy environment by navigating through constraints and opportunities as they seek to restructure their positions in the context of their daily life experiences" (Mukudi 2002, 236).

Second, policy makers should be aware that children from the rural communities and urban poor communities are still rooted in their communities and such an understanding calls for policy frameworks that break from the one-size-fits-all strategies of policy making when it comes to education initiatives. The idea of developing and organizing schooling around the marginalized children's contextual backgrounds is pedagogically sound and socially and culturally expedient (Deng 1985; Hall 1986; Ladson-Billings 1998; Mfum-Mensah 2009; Kolb 2015). Education policy makers and practitioners sometimes miss the point of making stronger connections between children's lived experiences outside of school and their schooling experiences. The idea of creating a binary between the home and community on one hand and the school on the other is a policy and pedagogically flawed strategy to promote marginalized children's learning. Effective education strategy must create a fluid relationship and easy movement between the school and children's social, economic, and cultural reality but also not depend on such realities

to shortchange marginalized children educationally. Policy makers should implement initiatives in the education process that will enable high school students to do community work to get acquainted with their or other communities. Currently, there are some countries in SSA that have national service programs for university graduates to volunteer in a community of their choice or a community assigned to them which help to absorb these graduates temporarily. As part of linking the school curriculum to the community, policy makers should explore ways of introducing community service programs and experiential learning initiatives in both secondary and university levels that might help students acquire practical knowledge and skills from their communities, understand their communities and their social structures, and engage with their communities as informed and patriotic citizens.

There is also the need for education policy makers in SSA to deliberately develop policy frameworks to incorporate local epistemologies. As I outlined in the introduction, some scholars from SSA and others who are interested in indigenous epistemologies analyze the nature of epistemological ethnocentrism which has created the marginalization of indigenous epistemologies in knowledge discourse within the framework of power and hegemony (Folson 1995; Dei et al. 2000; Barsh 2001; Briggs and Sharp 2004; Reagan 2005; Kanu 2007; Omolewa 2007; Rodriguez 2013). These scholars do this in contexts where policy makers in many sub-Saharan African nations fail to integrate indigenous African epistemologies into the school organization, classroom socialization, pedagogies and curriculum, and national education frameworks. Nations in SSA have the capacity to dismantle the blatant and benign cultural imperialism and epistemological ethnocentrism perpetrated against the region's educational systems if they have the political will. Kathryn Birdwell Wester (n.d.) argues succinctly that regardless of the colonial experience and manner of its conclusion nothing stops nations and policy makers in SSA from incorporating native epistemologies into the institutions that colonization transported or created and bequeathed to former colonized territories because all nations in SSA today have plural legal systems that incorporate native African customs with Western-style legal courts.

Debates about the need to incorporate indigenous knowledge in the global knowledge discourse would gain traction if education policy makers from regions with high populations of indigenous people such as SSA can take the lead and move indigenous forms of knowledge from the margins to the center in their own education frameworks. History should have taught policy makers in SSA that the old colonial guards have no desire to keep indigenous forms of knowledge in the knowledge discourse. In the twenty-first century, sub-Saharan Africa's education policy makers continue to fall into the trap of the cultural imperialism of the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and other global governing bodies who use foreign aids and grants as a bait

to impose a slew of conditionality to systematically transport Western educational models and practices that sometimes (and many times) do not meet the learning needs of many African children, to education systems in SSA. Eurodad calls this conditionality a development injustice (Eurodad 2006). I am not suggesting that nations in SSA embark on educational and cultural exclusivism and isolation. What I am suggesting is the implementation of the Asante concept of *sankofa* which Kanu (2007) points out as the embrace of the new without discarding the old even as we make progress toward economic and cultural globalization and technological innovations. In his documentary *The Clash of Cultures*, the late Ali Mazrui shows the example of how the Medical School at University of Ibadan in Nigeria incorporates traditional healing approaches to Western orthodox medical practices. Education systems in SSA need education policies that embrace African epistemologies as an important framework for discussing curriculum, technology, and knowledge production.

Chapter 2

Marginality and Colonial Discourse in Sub-Saharan Africa

The story of the colonized is complex and complicated because the colonized are not just a homogeneous group of people with the same experiences. The colonized include diverse groups of people who were brought together rather subtly through three ways: European expansion agenda in the form of explorations; European deculturalization in the garb of Christian religion and "civilization"; and European capitalism and economic greed in the form of mercantilism. In the process, the colonized were made to believe that their social structure, political arrangements, economic forms, and more importantly, their forms of religion were primitive, uncultured, and superstitious. Such a belief began a century of colonization which stamped indelible marks on the colonized in complicated and unimaginable ways. The period of colonization in Africa was brief but it has left a lasting imprint on Africa and its people in tremendous ways. Judith Marshall captures the impacts of colonization in a historicized edict.

> The colonized . . . is a person without a temporal dimension. He [*sic*] is a person unable to locate himself historically within this society and unable to locate his society historically . . . the lack of historical dimension is the result of deliberate and planned action of colonialism. (Marshall 1990, 28)

This chapter highlights the complicated ways Christian missionaries and colonial administrators constructed and established marginality in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). The chapter is divided into three sections. Section one outlines the marginality framework of both Christian missionaries and colonial governments. In section two I outline the ways colonial administration used education as a tool to construct marginalization in SSA. Section three outlines the ways colonial governments used the "divide and rule" strategy to

marginalize and hollow out the diverse African groups which were brought together through colonization to gain and maintain control of indigenous Africans for their easy governance. I discuss marginality in sub-Saharan Africa during the colonial era recognizing that marginalized communities and groups in sub-Saharan Africa are not a homogeneous, unified, and monolithic group that encountered identical issues (Blakemore and Cooksey 1981; Anunobi 2002). I am also cognizant of the fact that marginalized groups in sub-Saharan Africa encountered diverse historical experiences, political climates, and development levels. Within each country, marginality varies based on gender, race, ethnicity, tribe, socioeconomic status, sociopolitical status, religion, and place of residence or regional areas. Furthermore, it is expedient to situate the discussion of marginality in SSA within the frameworks of Christian missions, colonization, and colonial territories.

MARGINALITY AS A COLONIAL DISCOURSE IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Marginality as a social phenomenon in colonial and postcolonial SSA is a social reconfiguration executed by Europeans to systematically "hollow out" out traditional African societies to gain social and political control, plunder African lands and its people, and determine who was to be engaged in the European capitalist economic productive processes. Construction of marginality was also a "divide and rule" tactic used by Christian missionaries and colonial administration to separate and segregate African societies sociopolitically, socioeconomically, and regionally. Nwosu and Arinze-Umobi (2016, 104) amplified the rationale behind the construction of marginality in colonial territories:

> Colonial alienation . . . was a deliberate strategy to marginalize the indigenous people, subjugate and make them powerless economically and politically to pave way for colonial dictatorial tendencies and exploitation that characterized the period.

The construction of marginality was the result of visible and invisible "borderization" which had the sole purpose to construct racism and nationalism and create ethnicity, tribalism, religious wars, genocides, and gender-based violence. On one hand, the Christian missionaries and colonial establishments attempted to homogenize differences using visible borders created thousands of miles away in 1884–1885 while at the same time creating human boundaries to marginalize groups and communities (Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Mhlanga 2013).

One of the insidious ways the early Europeans constructed marginality was that they misrepresented Africa and its people. They lumped this vast

continent and its complex societies and cultures as one—an idea which is still propagated by many Westerners. By doing so the Europeans portrayed Africans as monolithic and without history (Marshall 1990; Finnegan 2012). Rupe Simms has compared the colonizers' use of institutions (church, schools, press, and popular culture) to propagate a religious worldview that legitimized and justified colonial rule, as well as compliance and accommodation from the Black population. In these two contexts, the indigenous population internalized a hegemonic ideology of the colonial ruling class (Simme 2010). Simme cites the example of Kenya where the colonialists used Christianity through the institutions of the state and civil society to enforce a hegemonic religious worldview that also elicited docility and accommodation in the Kenyan society. He notes that the Bible, musket, and ship represented the ways the three props of Euro-Christian culture, the international trade and exploitation of the natural human resources or the political, the cultural and the economic became the driving forces behind the conquest, domination, and marginality.

THE COLONIAL MARGINALITY FRAMEWORK

The Christian missions and colonial governments constructed marginality within a framework that overlapped factors such as ethnicity, religion, and regions. Examples from the British colonial territories of Kenya, Nigeria, and Ghana provide some clues. For instance, in these three British territories Christian missionaries and colonial governments displayed some hesitancy and/or employed the "slow pace" approach and attitude in extending services such as schools to some groups and regions. In these three countries, the Europeans rapidly expanded schools to some communities but deliberately slowed in expanding education in northern pastoralists communities. The Europeans (both Christians and colonial governments) used the slow pace approach not only because those northern pastoral communities were arid lands but it was a deliberate and systematic strategy to leave those majority Islamic communities alone educationally to facilitate their proselytizing and colonial activities. For example in 1902, British Commissioner of Northern Nigeria Sir Frederick Lugard promised the emir of Adamawa that

> Government will in no way interfere with the Mohammedan religion. All men are free to worship God as they please. Mosques and prayer places will be treated with respect by us. (Plessis 1921, 6)

This promise was not a general prohibition of Christian mission in Muslim areas, but an agreement that missionaries could work in Muslim areas with

the agreement of the local emir. As history later confirmed, the motive behind Lugard's promise to the emir was the Christian missionaries' and colonial administrations' calculated choices not to extend their evangelizing activities—which also included the establishment of schools—to northern and pastoral arid areas because of their apprehension that it might impede their proselytizing and colonial agenda. This strategy resulted in the late development of schools and underdevelopment of education in those areas and the ultimate marginality of the communities and groups that lived in those areas and regions. Generally, the colonial governments deliberately supported Christian missions' education but failed to provide any support to Islamic education during the colonial era and therefore left Islamic forms of education underdeveloped (Sanderson 1975; Imam 2012; Ruto, Ongwenyi, and Mugo 2009; Mfum-Mensah 2017). Hauwa Imam (2012) notes that the British colonial government used grant-in-aid to support mission schools in British territories and other voluntary agencies but they did not extend the same support to Koranic schools, with the argument that Koranic schools had peculiar curriculum. Where it supported education in an Islamic community, that education was still Western education which was aimed to carry the grand agenda of the Europeans. For instance, Lord Lugard, the governor of Nigeria developed two types of educational programs, one for the Muslim areas and another for non-Muslim areas. Since the educational agenda of the colonial government was based on preparing indigenous Africans to serve administrative needs, the colonial government saw Koranic schools as useless. The education policies that Lord Cromer, the colonial overseer of Sudan and Northern Nigeria implemented between 1898 and 1919 was to promote the administrative needs of British colonial administration (Sanderson 1975). This policy configuration contributed to the strong development of education in areas where Christian missions established schools.

In Kenya and elsewhere policies of marginalization extended to the provision of education. The Christian missionaries that worked in the now Tana River County restricted their evangelistic activities in Tana River district to Pokomo but left out their pastoralist and Muslim neighbors. Similarly, the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Christian missionaries in Nigeria did not extend their evangelistic activities to the predominantly Islamic northern Nigeria. The British colonial government continued the practice of withholding education in northern Nigeria basically for political calculation to sustain the indirect rule of the northern territories. In Ghana the Christian missionaries restricted education to urban communities and later to the rural communities in southern Ghana but made little efforts to extend education to northern Ghana because of their fear of Islamic resistance. When Britain formally colonized Ghana, it used the situation of educational underdevelopment in northern Ghana to maintain the area as a pool to draw laborers to support the colonial

capitalist economic forms. In the Belgian territory of Congo, the Christian missionaries deliberately withheld education from the rural communities for fear that rural folks might migrate to the urban centers and taste the trappings of the European lifestyle. Colonial governments also implemented spatial policies that systematically marginalized some groups in colonial territories. For instance, colonial governments seized lands belonging to many communities and in the process pushed those communities to unfavorable lands. British colonial administration in Kenya territory seized the land of the Maasai of Kenya and pushed them to arid zones, driving them from more fertile places like Nakuru, Laikipia, and Naivasha (Ruto, Ongwenyi, and Mugo 2009).

EDUCATION AS A COLONIAL MARGINALITY FRAMEWORK

During one of my presentations on the colonial project where I outlined the contradiction of Christian missionary enterprise in Africa, an apologist of Christian missionary activity pointed to the European institutions such as hospitals, schools, and other development initiatives that have come to SSA due to missions and colonization (something all apologists do). I laughed the comments off because I picked the camp this colleague belonged to. To make the argument simple, I clarified my position that granted SSA has all the best schools and hospitals and other institutions (which it doesn't). I do not believe the end justifies the means. The Christian missions and colonial system of education systematically helped to create marginality in African societies. Walter Rodney points out strongly that

> Education in Europe was dominated by the capitalist class and such class. The same class bias was transferred to Africa; and to make matters worse the racism and cultural boastfulness harbored by capitalism were also included in the package of colonial education. Colonial schooling was education for subordination, exploitation, the creation of mental confusion and the development of underdevelopment. (Rodney 1988, 241)

The words of Mousinho de Albuquerque, the Portuguese colonial commissioner and governor who pacified Mozambique, revealed the real motive of the Portuguese educational goal, which was to exploit the indigenous Africans in Angola, Mozambique, and Sao Tome and plunder them economically and politically:

> Schools are a fiction. . . . As far as I am concerned, what we have to do to educate and civilize the indigena is to develop his aptitude for manual profession in

> a practical way and to take advantage of him for the exploitation of the province. (Sistemas de Educacao 15, 22, cited in Johnston 1984, 20)

The Europeans' grand agenda, which formed the basis of school organization, implementation of curriculum, educational access, and children's transition from school to the colonial labor market, was to reconfigure African societies and establish and perpetuate marginality. European education was an instrument purposely designed to create hierarchy and marginalize some groups (White 1996; Simme 2010; Finnegan 2012). Both the Christian missions and colonial administrators used schools to create social and economic hierarchies between the Europeans and the Africans on one hand and between Africans and other Africans on the other hand. Both Richard Corby and Kingsley Banya provide the case of Sierra Leone as an example to explain how the British colonial administration blatantly and systematically created marginality through the extension and restriction of colonial education to elite Krio families and the ex-slaves in Freetown (Corby 1990; Banya 1993). Similarly, Hauwa Imam points out that both the Christian missionaries and the British colonial administration implemented a policy of non-uniform provision of education between the south and the north in the British territory of Nigeria in the 1940s as a deliberate strategy to marginalize northern Nigeria in educational development. In German Cameroon, school was restricted to the sons of the "rich" as a way to maintain the political and commercial supremacy. Moses Oketch and Caine Rolleston also explain how the colonial administration in East Africa systematically constructed marginality through its use of examination to deny many of the rural and urban folks in the region from gaining entry to education. The colonial government's argument was that the rural subsistent economy on one hand, or many educated people on the other hand, would not serve the colonial interests (Oketch and Rolleston 2007; Imam 2012). Furthermore, Anna Madeira, Bob White, and Remi Clignet all outline the notoriety of the French colonial administration in its construction of marginality as a "divide and rule" strategy including its creation of a tier education system. French colonial government in West Africa established the elite *Ecole de fils de chefs* in French West Africa to train the sons of kings to assume administrative elite of the French colonial territories. This was a way to appease the kings who could have been a major barrier to the French colonial agenda. When the French colonial administration finally opened up education in the territories in West Africa, it created a tier system which provided inferior education for rural folks, education for clerical and specified occupations, and urban education for Europeans and assimilated elements (Clignet 1968, 1974; White 1996; Madeira 2005).

Colonial marginality also occurred in the design of the curriculum content to ensure that African epistemologies, histories, languages, and learning processes

were marginalized in the school curriculum. Cultural imperialism was at the root of colonial education. The establishment of colonial schools had the goal to train clerks and interpreters and employees of European traders. The nature of education and the curriculum content provided to boys who attended both missions and colonial schools made them view themselves as at the pinnacle of society. From those pinnacles they surveyed their ancestral culture with high contempt, obeying no laws, and observing no rules but the Englishman's rule. This contempt for culture and institutions of their own people then became the sign of "education" (American Historical Association n.d.). The British government sensed this as a problem and wanted to use education policy to change this mind-set of the few educated Africans as the 1925 Advisory Committee's memorandum of educational policy for tropical Africa outlined:

> It [adapted education] must include the raising of capable, trustworthy, public-spirited leaders of the people, belonging to their own race. Education thus defined will narrow the hiatus between the educated class and the rest of the community whether chiefs or peasants. (Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical African Dependencies 1925, 4)

Not only did the newly "educated" young men defy laws, they used the Christian and colonial education provided them as the basis to defy their traditional African rulers (MacGaffey 1982; Madeira 2005). The sole aim of the boarding schools was to take the young Africans from their cultural roots, educate them in the European philosophies and ideologies, and use them to change the traditional worldviews. Wyatt MacGaffey (1982) reports that in Belgian Congo for instance early modern Jesuit missions developed the *ferme-chapelle*, a type of rural community in which young converts were to be isolated from their pagan fellows. The goal of the European Christian missions and colonial administrators was to use the indigenous young boys to win Africa for Christianity and the capitalist ethos that colonialism stood for. Sadly, most of these educated people went as far as to distance themselves from their traditional roots and sometimes even fought traditional authorities in place. MacGaffey (1982) points out that in Belgian Congo, these educated and Christian catechists became the representatives of the European regime and often supplanted existing local authorities and became village headsmen. It was basically working from within to hollow out the center of African tradition and culture. And truly, the introduction of the modern education system in colonial areas gave rise to African educators who wrestled power from traditional rulers. James Coleman (cited by Bassey 1999, 1) explains it very coherently when he noted that:

> from the modern educational system emerged an indigenous elite which demanded the transfer of political power to itself on the basis of political values

> of the Western liberal tradition or the ethical imperatives of Christianity, both of which had been learned in the school . . . designed essentially to serve only evangelizing or imperial purposes, Western education became a prime contributor to the emergence of new independent nations.

Bassey (1999, 2) also points out that secondary education became a tool for sorting and selecting young Africans for rapid upward mobility based almost exclusively on their academic abilities. These few fortunate people were able to use their education to gain power at the state and national levels and used their acquired power to obtain the best education for their children who also assumed the elite status. So one realizes how education became a new social order creating marginality in all colonial societies and later postcolonial societies in SSA. One realizes the carving of "natural aristocrats" or a sort of social hereditary group with the education system as the tool.

"DIVIDE AND RULE" AS A MARGINALITY STRATEGY

The Christian missions and colonial governments implemented policies that divided African societies and groups in order to construct and perfect marginality in colonial territories. Apart from the grand colonization that bifurcated tribes, peoples, societies, and clans, the Europeans succeeded and divided and pitted Africans against each other along the lines of race, gender, social class, ethnicity, religion, ability, and spatial residence for political purposes and to hollow out African societies in order to gain control of African social, cultural, economic, political processes (Snyder and Tadesse 1995). Analysis of the Christian missionary and colonial governments' activities in places like the Matabeleland and other southern African societies, Sierra Leone, Cameroon, Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya, French West Africa, Sudan, Uganda, Mozambique, the Belgian territories in central Africa, and other colonial territories confirms the subtle and overt (albeit systematic) ways the Europeans pitted indigenous Africans against each other and divided African societies in order to gain control (VanderPloeg 1977; Blakemore and Cooksey 1981; Barthel 1985; Corby 1990; Banya 1993; Anunobi 2002; Madeira 2005; Mfum-Mensah 2005; Oketch and Rolleston 2007; Imam 2012; Skinner 2013; Ylonen 2013; Hoel 2016).

In the colonial territories, colonial administrators combined race with ethnicity and economic class to determine the extent of groups' marginality and ultimately the nature of education provided to groups and communities. Marginality by race became the most obvious as colonial societies were socially structured by layers with Europeans at the top followed by intermediate groups and then indigenous Africans. Within the indigenous African

society, colonial administrators created further bifurcation in the society along the lines of education, ethnicity, spatial residence, religion, gender, ability among others. Racial bifurcation complicated with other sociocultural variables to ensure that even the educated Africans were marginalized in the colonial economic establishment. Kenneth Blakemore and Brian Cooksey outline the alienation of indigenous educated Africans in the British colonial territories of Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Nigeria, and Zimbabwe (Blakemore and Cooksey 1981). Accounts of aggressive marginality policies in SSA are also chronicled (Khapoya 2013). Vincent Khapoya outlines the systemic ways Portuguese colonial administrators divided the African populations in Mozambique and Angola into two subgroups including the *assimilados* who adopted the Portuguese way of life as defined by Portuguese law, and *indigenas*. *Indigenas* were required by law to carry a pass at all times, and were drafted into labor camps in the colonies or in South Africa. Portuguese colonial establishment also excluded *indigenas* from attending government schools, subjected them to curfew hours after dark in certain towns of the country, and segregated them in many social facilities. In Mozambique, the *indigenas* could open accounts in post office banks but they could not withdraw without the permission of the local Portuguese colonial administrator.

The nation of South Africa presents a peculiar context of marginalization in that it was full occupation and a mixture of deliberate development and underdevelopment in which policies ensured that Whites and White spaces were developed while Black Africans were systematically underdeveloped. This was reinforced by Apartheid laws in which colonial governments not only "disenfranchised the colonized" but also created poverty out of the Black Africans and pushed them to Black communities with the hope to trap Black Africans in perpetual underclass and eternal poverty (see Abdi 1998; Hoel 2016). In colonial and Apartheid South Africa, the National Party implemented the Bantu Education which led to the racially segregated education systems that separated "White," "African," "Indian," and "Colored" children into different schools (Hoel 2016). Colonial South Africa also used Apartheid laws to construct spatial marginality by creating exclusive areas with adequate infrastructural facilities for White habitation even though South Africa land belong to Black South Africans by natural right (Abdi 1998; Nwosu and Arinse-Umobi 2016). This systematic marginality saw Blacks move from their ancestral homelands to shanty towns subjugating and subjecting Blacks to life of misery. While Apartheid officially ended in 1994, the marginality and the bifurcation created by that system may take years to level up and now we experience Blacks pit against Blacks and Blacks pit against Whites.

The colonial "divide and rule" worked well in predominantly Islamic societies and overlapped with ethnicity or religion to create an effective

framework for alienating Africans and pitting Africans against Africans in heavily populated Islamic communities in places like Senegal, Sudan and Nigeria, and the Eastern African region. Within the overlap of the "divide and rule" and religion strategy, the Europeans alienated the Muslim populations in colonial-controlled territories where there was a majority Muslim populations so that the Muslim populations did not have the same civil rights as the European colonial masters. Loimeier explains, however, that the colonial masters used a different kind "divide and rule" strategy in territories like Senegal, Nigeria, and East Africa where the colonial government privileged Muslim rulers and scholars and masked them as allies in administrative matters (Loimeier 2013, 273). Roman Loimeier points out clearly the nature of the "divide and rule" tactics used to alienate and marginalize groups in the colonial territories:

> It was often easy for the colonial powers to establish colonial rule by the principle of "divide and rule" and to install those local leaders as brokers who were willing to cooperate with the colonial power. As a consequence, the imposition and practice of colonial rule produced multiple paths of accommodation. . . . These paths of accommodation were never static but continued to be negotiated throughout the colonial period and in postcolonial times: some religious scholars were willing to cooperate with the colonial state, while others continued to resist state encroachment or withdrew into political non-activity, indifference, or conscious isolation.

In northern Nigeria, the British colonial administration employed indirect rule to divide and rule the vast and predominantly Islamic communities. The British were able to get the emirs and native African leaders and representatives to work in collecting taxes for the British. For the emirs to stay in power they had to execute the biddings of the colonizers. These small groups of British puppets used the British "divide and rule" strategy not only to enrich themselves and preserve their power and position, but also to oppress their own people. In the case of Senegal and other French West African nations, the assimilation policy of the French colonial administration helped to create a mentality of superiority among some native Africans because they were made to understand that through French acculturation they would assimilate and become French citizens. Loimeier (2013) also provides an example that in Sudan the Britain colonial administration, which was seen as an enemy, used the "divide and rule" tactic to their benefit. In 1898 Britain defeated the Muslim leader Madhi, killing him and eliminating all traces of him including the destruction of his tomb and prohibition of a set of prayers organized in his memory. In 1914 the British forged a relationship with the surviving son of Madhi and appointed him as an official leader of the Ansar group. The British colonial administration did this because it realized that the vastness of the

Sudan territory required that they forge an ally to control and develop the huge territory. The British colonial administration also implemented indirect rule in both the Kordofan and Darfur regions of central and western Sudan and northern Nigeria territories and used the local leaders as puppets of the colonial administration. What was amazing in northern Nigeria was that a region of over 9 million was ruled by fewer than one hundred British political officers.

Britain also used the "divide and rule" tactics in Zanzibar and sometimes coercively if it suited the colonial administration. In some cases, they used local Muslims as figureheads with direct administrations of the British administrative representative. What made the "divide and rule" work in many of the heavily Islamic populations, but also in non-Muslim communities, was the use of schools. Roman Loimeier points out for instance that the French colonial administrator in Senegal General Louis Faidherbe used schools to raise an elite of loyal Muslim clerks, notables, and qadis which could be used for the effective administration of a growing number of Muslim subjects (2013, 283). These colonial administrators educated some of these indigenous leaders in colonial schools and created the impression to those educated in colonial schools that they were better than their fellow Africans who were not educated. In spite of the "divide and rule" tactics and atrocities of the colonial conquests, the colonial administrators presented themselves as the protectors of Islam in order to win the respect of Muslim colonial subjects as allies, which was the case in both world wars (Loimeier 2013).

The "divide and rule" strategy that combined religion and ethnicity also worked in the British territory of the Gold Coast and Kenya. In the Gold Coast (Ghana), the colonial government created the Zongo-Muslim migrant communities in a way that defined their "otherness" even within the Gold Coast society in ways that constructed their marginality in the economic, educational, and political discourse of the society. The colonial creation of marginality of Zongo communities in the Gold Coast society created the snobbish and patronizing attitudes toward the Zongo-Muslim communities in the Gold Coast during colonization into independent Ghana portraying Zongo-Muslim communities as poor and backward in education and economic development (Price 1956, 33). In Kenya, the colonizers seized African lands and imposed taxes on the African people. They seized Maasai land and forcefully took some Maasai young men and educated them in colonial schools after which they used them to execute the colonizers biddings serving as tax clerks on Maasai land.

Colonial Marginality and Sex

In my first book I have detailed the intricate ways Europeans employed sociocultural markers of gender and disability to construct marginality and

deprive many Africans from the capitalist economic productive processes. Other literature provides more elaboration on how colonial structures served to construct women and people with disabilities (Boserup 1970; Snyder and Tadesse 1995; Obiakor 1998; Anunobi 2002; Muyaa 2002; Mpofu, Oakland, and Chimedza 2007; Mfum-Mensah 2017). Women's participation in the political life of diverse African societies can be attested to by women leaders who exercised considerable influence in their societies including the Dinka women who understood law and order and settled quarrels, market women in Nigeria who fixed prices and settled quarrels, and other powerful women in Cameroon and Mozambique and individuals like Yaa Asantewaa of Ghana, Queen Ranavalona III of Madagascar, Empress Taitu of Ethiopia, and Amina Zazzou of Nigeria who resisted foreign incursion in their respective societies (Beswick 1994; Snyder and Tadesse 1995). This notwithstanding, European colonizers made all calculated attempts through the implementation of combined policies that were rooted in sexism, misogyny, and ethnocentrism to refashion women's gender identities and roles to approximate those prescribed by the European ideology of domesticity (Schulman 1992). Both the Christian missions and the colonial administration had the agenda to reconfigure the sex differential roles in Africa to reflect the European secular society and the Christian tradition that prevailed in Europe. Gwendolyn Schulman points out that the system of doing this in the French colony include implementation of science training centers that aimed to change the very social definition of African women to reconfigure them according to the Euro-Christian, patriarchal ideal of mother, wife, and housekeeper to carry the French values, mores, and ethos and submission to the French hegemony. Ester Boserup (1970) outlines the systematic ways Europeans reconfigured the roles played by African women in African societies in the area of agriculture, where the Europeans used policies that discriminated against women as we see in Uganda, Central Africa, and Senegal. The colonial agricultural sector provided new technology, equipment, new and innovative methods and training to men who were able to monopolize their use of new technology and equipment, and their knowledge in modern agricultural methods to have more earning power. Europeans also ensured that in the rural economies, men used their modern methods to produce cash crops while women used their traditional farming methods to produce food crops for family consumption all in the attempt to ensure that men enter the productive process and limit women's engagement in the productive process and where women participated, to advantage men over women in earnings and widen the gap between men and women—men handled the industrial inputs while women performed the degrading manual jobs. Europeans also commercialized agriculture as a way to kick women out of the agricultural sector. Another example is Uganda, where women used to be the ones that cultivated cotton and yet in 1923 the

European Director of Agriculture in the territory stated that cotton growing could not be left to the women and old people but a decade later, the cotton industry was taken over by men and they imported hired labor from other tribes to do most of the work when women could have been engaged to do the work (Boserup 1970). Boserup noted that in the regions in Uganda where women continued to do cotton, the Europeans neglected to instruct the female cultivators when they introduced new agricultural methods, teaching only men in agricultural settings of the traditional female farming. The colonial administration also implemented the policy that engaged only men in colonial administration. European-style land reforms were also implemented in SSA which created opportunities for men to own lands and women the crops on the land in many African communities including Nigeria, Congo, Rhodesia, and the Union of South Africa. The land reforms ensured that women lost their right to land which previously they owned (Forde 1946; Boserup 1970, 58–60; Snyder and Tadesse 1995). Where it was difficult for men to take over land due to customs and traditions the Europeans attempted to dismantle the traditions. An example of this is the case of Congo where Suzanne Comhire-Sylvian (cited by Boserup 1970, 60) outlines how the mission and Belgian colonial administration launched propaganda against the customarily matrilineal social arrangement. Land reform discrimination also occurred in Rhodesia where land was allocated to absentee men who worked as laborers outside the region while their wives lived as cultivators in the reserve. In the Union of South Africa Europeans implemented land reforms in 1898 that saw the transfer of land from women to men. Snyder and Tadesse point out that the setback for women was the consolidated and settlement schemes which transferred land title deeds to men even when they were absent from the farm. This policy systematically ensured men's right to the proceeds of land including the products of women's labor. Snyder and Tadesse (1995, 23) point out that with this policy in place, the prestige accorded to women's work in the parallel-society system of the earlier era was consequently downgraded even though women often worked continuous and for more hours than the men.

Colonial administrators also created African industrial towns and urban spaces as the "man's world" where European recruitment policies disenfranchised women and women had to struggle to live and participate in the areas of market trade labor in places such as Ghana, Nigeria, and Senegal. Where women engaged in agricultural work, they sold food crops (Boserup 1970). Women who migrated to towns where the modern economy offered opportunities were discriminated against. Ester Boserup and Van der Horst (1964) cited evidence from places like Zambia, Central and West Africa, and South Africa where African women were expelled from towns or forbidden from migrating to towns without special permission (Van der Horst 1964, 35; Boserup 1970). Something noteworthy of mention is the fact that the

Europeans used all means to marginalize African women in the economic and productive processes, but when women had to be roped in to pay taxes for the colonial administration, the Europeans saw African women as equals to men. African women were not passive recipients of the colonial reconfiguration, as in 1929 when the colonial administration decided to count women and children for taxation purposes in Nigeria, eastern Nigeria women protested the attempted unfair taxation placed on women by the colonial administration because they had been marginalized and disadvantaged by the reconfigured society and confined to market trading. Women used the same European policies which introduced a new reconfiguration of the African society in relation to men and women to their advantage by constantly saying "we depend upon our husbands, we cannot buy food or clothes ourselves and how shall we get money to pay tax?" The result was that the protests resulted in shooting in which eighteen women died and many more were injured (Adu Boahen 1989, 87).

Colonial Marginality and Human Bodies

The Europeans also systematically used people's bodies to create marginality, defining who was to be engaged in the labor sector and who was to be alienated. The systemic marginalization of people with disabilities in education and the productive processes of the colonial capitalist economic system were systemic constructions of marginality in colonial territories. Colonial administration tangentially treated people with disabilities in educational discourse, which resulted in their marginalization in educational discourses even in the postcolonial times (Obiakor 1998; Muuya 2002; Mpofu et al. 2007). The introduction of industrial forms of work in SSA during the colonial era introduced new meanings and construction of who was able-bodied. This approach was part of colonial governments' human capital ideology which strategized and systematically marginalized people with disabilities from participating in the European capitalists' economic forms and productive processes because their physical bodies did not meet the requirements of the colonial productive processes (Livingstone 2006; Malakpa 2009; Mfum-Mensah 2017). Livingstone reports that in the 1930s and 1940s the standardization of bodies and minds and the ranking of human bodies and their capabilities became part of the colonial capitalist and productive order of British colonial culture in Botswana and South Africa.

CONCLUSION AND POLICY REFLECTIONS

Marginality as a critical colonial discourse enables us to understand ways Christian missionary and colonial activities and policies were part of the

strategies to place limitations on the diverse indigenous African communities and groups. Through calculated design and strategy, Christian missions and colonial education systems disenfranchised many communities and groups and complicated the education marginality of marginalized children. There is always the argument that discussions focusing on colonial encounters in SSA must highlight the benefits accrued from European forms of education that were implemented in SSA. This book rather takes a critical discourse approach to outline contemporary educational policies and practices. It uses the colonial discourse as a lens and rubric to explore ways to decolonize some of the contemporary policies and practices that continue to marginalize some communities and children educationally. Addressing marginality in SSA requires dismantling the same old structures that colonization bequeathed to the region. It also requires policy makers to historicize and contextualize marginality in their respective societies to grasp the complicated and indelible ways colonial policies and practices impacted colonized people and various communities in the colonial discourse. It also means the vestiges of colonial policies must be interrogated and shirked. There is a clarion call for policy makers to focus on ways to develop education around the contexts and lived experiences of marginalized groups and communities in order to transform their living conditions and promote their social progress. Given the history of marginality in many societies in SSA education, policy makers should provide marginalized communities more resources and education that provides children the needed skills and knowledge to enter the occupational process, and create more opportunities for them to integrate into the government and private sector productive processes to build the confidence that education leads to occupational rewards.

Chapter 3

Marginality and Postcolonial Discourse in Sub-Saharan Africa

Since attaining political independence postcolonial governments in sub-Saharan Africa have implemented a wide range of policies which have the goals to promote citizenship participation in education and to ensure egalitarian societies. Some of these policies have been effective in mitigating the inequities created by the colonial administration. Many policies have also blatantly or benignly strengthened and perpetuated the existing marginality created during the colonial era. This chapter highlights governments' education policies and other policies that have impacted education and how the implementation of such policies have addressed the existing marginalization in sub-Saharan African societies. The chapter is divided into three sections. Section one outlines the complicated layers of marginality in postcolonial societies in SSA that were extensions of the anachronistic holdover of the policies of the colonial era. Section two examines the ways postcolonial sub-Saharan African governments' policies perpetuate marginality in the diverse societies in the region. It cites examples of policies of marginality. Finally, section three outlines some of the affirmative strategies introduced in some countries in the region to address the educational inequalities in the region.

POSTCOLONIAL POLICIES AS EXTENSION OF COLONIAL MARGINALITY

The attainment of independence in many nations in SSA in the 1950s and 1960s did not dismantle the colonial structures that supported the construction of marginality in the region. African societies attained political independence but the former colonial powers continued to exploit them at will politically, culturally, and economically (Mwaura 2005; Friedson-Ridenour

2015; Nwosu and Arinse-Uwobi 2016). Nwosu and Arinse-Uwobi (2016) point out that both colonialism and postcolonialism are twin concepts of colonial imperialism. I use Sophia Friedson-Ridenour's conceptualization of "shell state" to explain the relationships between societies in SSA and the colonial/imperial guards. Nations in SSA are viewed as "shell states" because they are mapped onto the remains of the more robust models that existed before, remaining legible to people within the shell as well as recognizable to the international community as conforming to the basic benchmarks of statehood (Friedson-Ridenour 2015). Sophia Friedson-Ridenour argues, for instance, that the shell state's education system is built on and modeled after the public education system that existed previously. She points out how the same old imperial guards implement policies to trap these states:

> Once the shell state is established, aggressive policies of roll-out neoliberalism, strongly influenced by supra-state actors, can then utilize the shell and its architecture to cultivate a hospitable ecology for the global market and its capitalist logics to penetrate and govern social, political, and economic life. (Friedson-Ridenour 2015, 2)

The preoccupation of early postcolonial governments in SSA was to implement the same capitalist policies of the colonial administration which used human capital rationalization as the framework for provision of social services including education. The economic rationalization frameworks that accompanied the early post-independence education initiatives meant that sub-Saharan African governments' make education available to communities and groups which were deemed to have the capacity to contribute to the national economic processes (Weis 1979). In doing so, many of the governments in the region portrayed some groups and communities negatively and implemented anti-social policies which alienated and marginalized these groups and communities in the national socioeconomic discourse and the production process. While European colonizers started the alienation and marginality of African communities and groups, postcolonial governments perfected it in diverse ways to further the alienation agenda. The alienation and marginalization of communities and groups contributed immensely to the numerous protracted conflicts and political instability in SSA (Maphosa 2013; Nwosu and Arinze-Umobi 2016). Take the case of Zimbabwe where over the years the Matabele ethnic group was labeled as "dissidents," "detractors," and "enemies of the state," as a justification to exclude Matabeles from participation in political and economic life and protection by the state. Documented evidence shows that postcolonial government of Zimbabwe systematically marginalized Matabeleland in the distribution of national resources (Mhlanga 2010; Maphosa 2013). This situation also was the case in Togo, Nigeria,

pre-genocide Rwanda, Burundi, and Democratic Republic of the Congo, among other nations where some groups were marginalized and alienated politically. While the Zimbabwe and other cases I mention here are more obvious and blatant, there are cases of subtle and benign marginalization of ethnic, religious, and linguistic groups in places like Togo, Kenya, Cameroon, Nigeria, and many other societies as a way of repressing these groups.

Formal colonialism ceased in sub-Saharan African societies over four decades ago but all other forms of colonialism (neocolonialism) did not cease when colonial governments left the territory (Mfum-Mensah 2005; Mwaura 2005; Aning and Salihu 2013). Ndirangu Mwaura explains the new form of colonialism (neocolonialism) very succinctly this way:

> After African countries normally acquired independence, the former colonial powers continued to exploit them at will, politically, culturally and economically. The African remain dependent on the imperialistic powers in every sector. Financially, the dependence is seen in the form of loans and "aid" tied to the donor, culturally, in the practice and spread of European culture, militarily, through the permanent occupation of Africa by foreign armies. (Mwaura 2005, 5)

These former colonial masters have sometimes used blatant and subtle ways to interfere in the political and economic affairs of the former territories using the agenda of divisiveness (Aning and Salihu 2013). Kwesi Aning and Naila Salihu cite the example of France to explain how formerly colonized administrations used the divide and rule strategy to create marginality to continue to meddle in the affairs of formerly colonized territories. France, as a former colonizer, ceaselessly interfered in Togo's governance and political discourse after the country's political independence. Aning and Salihu (2013) note that during Togo's colonization, the southern ethnic groups were considered the commercial and intellectual elite who were recruited to fill skilled administrative positions of the colonial establishment. At independence, the Ewes played a significant role in the country's civil service and became the political establishment. However, the northern ethnic groups were recruited for military service during colonial French rule and at the time of independence, the Kabres of northern Togo formed the majority of Togo's army. France worked with the northern Togolese army against the newly independent government whose president was from southern majority Ewe ethnic groups, and toppled and took over the government. From the reins of Senior Eyadema Togo political and economic life became organized along ethnic lines. Eyadema appointed members of his ethnic Kabre to key positions in the military, economic institutions, and the civil service. He also instituted a policy of economic support for the development of northern Togo to create an advantage for the Kabre minority ethnic group (Aning and Salihu 2013). This situation

has not only created the north-south divide and political tensions in Togo but also resulted in the systemic marginalization of southern Togolese in the government. As recently as February of 2018, Ghana's president had to travel to Togo to broker peace between the government and opposition factions.

Uganda presents another example of how postcolonial political strategies perfected the established colonial marginality. During the reigns of Idi Amin and Obote the governments strengthened marginality in Uganda through the politicization of ethnicity. These two leaders used repressive policies and intimidation to marginalize ethnic groups and communities and ensured that other ethnic groups in the country that did not support them were marginalized. The takeover of Yuweri Museveni halted the situation for a while only for Museveni's government to implement displacement of people mainly in areas occupied by minorities. Wairama Baker (2001) points out that Museveni's policies led to economic and social prosperity in the south which contrasted sharply with the abductions, land mines, mutilations, rapes, thefts of property, and threats from groups in the 1980s and 1990s including the Lords Resistant Army (LRA), Allied Democratic Front (ADF), and attacks on civilians by West Nile Bank Front in marginalized and dispossessed regions of the northern, western, and north-western districts. Baker (2002) notes that postcolonial Ugandan government played a similar role as that played by the British colonial administration, which was to be unpredictable. The successive governments accepted ethnic diversity, but also suppressed particular ethnic groups.

Formal colonization of SSA, which resulted in the creation of physical borders, also brought different ethnic groups together in rather complicated ways and created problems in many societies during the colonial era. The problems compounded when the colonial governments left. Europeans acknowledged in the twentieth century that capitalism did not require colonialism to serve its purposes. Therefore, European morphed into a new form of colonialism where it used economic and cultural policies to continue to dominate African societies. What made the colonizing project succeed was the use of "reliable" Africans to take over the artificial states that were carved out during colonization. Those who were chosen could be trusted to subvert their own people's interests in favor of the old colonial powers (Mwaura 2005, 6). The attainment of independence in many of the countries only served to alienate and repress some groups. Mwaura (2005) points out that at independence, a majority of Africa's new rulers were, in a sense, traitors, pretending to a false patriotism. He explained that African leaders who took over affairs after independence only sought to betray their own people as is evidenced in former Sudan where after independence from the British rule, the Arabized and Islamized government of Sudan systematically made all efforts to enforce Islam on the indigenous Africans of the southern region which was resisted and also systematically carried out atrocities on indigenous Africans who

were predominantly Muslims in the Darfur regions. The issue of marginalization of the Sudan and the attempt to marginalize the local communities politically and economically created brutal wars that lasted for decades.

It is also important to analyze the construction of marginality through the repressive tactics of the postcolonial educated Africans who took over the helm of affairs after independence. In many societies in SSA, this group of Africans became as worse as the oppressor, assumed the role of the new colonizer, and intimidated those who challenged them. Bassey (1999, 3) notes that these educated elites who became the new colonial powers used all sorts of repressive tactics to cow the masses into docility because they were the controllers of the political establishment and social institutions. They created marginality to ensure that "their power is never threatened because they deny the poor the necessary knowledge to protect the political and economic rights that would enable the poor to advance in society."

POSTCOLONIAL EDUCATION AND MARGINALITY

Postcolonial governments used education as an important arena and a necessary instrument to strengthen, solidify, and perfect the marginality created by colonial administration but to also create postcolonial elitism in African societies. This was done through the unequal distribution of educational services and facilities. African elites have used education as an instrument to allocate societal privileges (Fuller 1991; Bassey 1999; Mwaura 2005; Imam 2012). Bassey (1999) argues that the kind of stratification created by education in SSA makes African society the most unequal in the world. He explains that within the region itself, the existing education infrastructure of diverse subregions and areas shows a disparity. He gives the example that education infrastructure is better developed in Western African than in East and Central Africa, and there is disparity in educational opportunities between the rural areas and urban centers, between the areas of missionary activities and those that lacked them. Similarly, Hauwa Imam outlines ways the early postcolonial education policies of Nigeria, for instance, served to focus on human power development and economic development and in the process disenfranchised many groups that did not fit within the human capital framework, disenfranchising them of their human right to education. After almost sixty years of political independence, postcolonial education in SSA became the appendage of colonial cultural marginality and the systemic deculturalization pursued by colonial administration. In the attempt to further their marginality agenda in postcolonial sub-Saharan Africa, the West systemically morphed colonialism to cultural imperialism to continue to strengthen the established marginality in the region (Bassey 1999; Mwaura 2005).

When the European rule ended in the late 1950s and early 1960s the new independent governments also implemented policies that led to rapid expansion of schools. Both Bruce Fuller and Joel Samoff have provided some rationales for the massive expansion of school during the time. Expanded access to education was both a premise and a promise of the nationalist movement (Fuller 1991; Samoff 1993). The newly postcolonial African governments needed to expand school to confirm their own legitimacy. We saw this rationale of legitimacy as a basis for school expansion in Ghana where the Convention People's Party of the Kwame Nkrumah's transitional government promised the Zongo marginalized Muslim communities in Ghana of its dedication to expand schooling in these communities. Secondly, the citizenry of these newly independent nations viewed schooling as the single most important route to individual and social benefits. And thirdly, schools were needed to develop the pool of educated skilled and personnel that progress required. However, the expansion required more capital than those governments envisaged and SSA governments had to turn to the former colonizers for financial support for the new phenomenon of school expansion. The reliance on external provision of assistance funds became the center of gravity for education and development initiatives and a new opportunity for funding agencies to promote their agenda for funding (Samoff 1993, 185; Mwaura 2005). Joel Samoff expresses his belief that investors in African education acquire a structural capability to influence both the content and the orientation not only in schooling in the present but also of fundamental values, worldviews, and ways of knowing far into the future (Samoff 1993, 185). And surely, that has been the case in education in SSA as we all realize the complicated ways transnational groups have dictated and shoved their agendas in educational discourse in SSA.

CURRICULUM AND MARGINALITY

Since schools are a process of cultural transmission, Western societies have employed cultural imperialism as a process to transfer and establish Western cultures through Western agendas into Africa (Mwaura 2005). There was no other area where cultural imperialism has been felt more than in education. As I pointed out in an earlier chapter, Western forms of education that the Christian missionaries and colonial administrators introduced in Africa had the objective to change the indigenous African worldviews and cognitive processes. Bassey (1999) points out that through the manipulation of the curriculum, colonial schools exposed the colonized to elements of the colonizer's culture to facilitate the perpetuation of the colonial exploitation on Africa. In African school classrooms, histories of European figures were emphasized

while that of the African "other" was discounted. African epistemologies which form the basis of African identities were pushed to the margins. The emergence of economic and cultural globalization strengthened the cultural imperialism perpetrated in African school systems. Similarly, agents of education such as entertainment, the media, religion, and the economy, became the areas those cultural imperialists strengthened the existing marginality through the undermining of African cultural values and practices. Bassey (1999) explains that the use of education for cultural imperialism alienated Africans from the cultures and instead enabled them to embrace foreign cultures. Secondly, the selective nature of the elements of colonial culture with which the Africans were confronted alienated them. In postcolonial Africa, not much has changed as we witnessed in school organization including the transplant of Western forms of decentralization, use of Western frameworks and constructs, among other things.

Since independence, SSA school curricula contents are dictated by the policies and economic agendas of the industrial powers and global governance institutions. These capitalist-minded Western stakeholders and investors use loans and foreign aids dictate how nations in SSA should organize their schools and the knowledge to provide to children (Samoff 1993; Mwaura 2005). Indigenous African forms of formal and informal education have given way to Western institutions. Initially, the British and French systems of education were imposed on Africans. Currently, there is a shift toward the American system of education in many nations in SSA. Curriculum content, subjects taught, language used, and assessment methods are all imposed from the West and serve to marginalize African children from their epistemologies, lived experiences, and African cognitive processes. Mwaura (2005) argues that all neocolonial education systems are designed to frustrate students and prevent them from developing talents which therefore create in students, negative attitudes to school.

Educational Policy Making and Marginality

Sub-Saharan African nations attained political independence but the vestiges of the colonial school system which created marginality was left intact after colonization. Bassey (1999) outlines the colonial model which continues to operate in education systems in the region: centralized Ministry of Education which determines the appointment of teachers, curriculum, textbooks, teaching materials, and philosophy. The centralized educational systems in SSA serve the political interests of politicians. Education systems are bureaucratic, authoritarian, and are tools for promoting the ideologies of politicians. Education is a social control mechanism transmitting and preserving the beliefs and views of the educated ruling elites. Bassey (1999, 85) argues that SSA

schools are sites of cultural and social inequalities, disempowerment, sexism, domination, and hegemony.

The series of education policies implemented in SSA since the 1980s have two major flaws in my estimation that perfect marginality in the region: the nature of global policies, and the nature of national policies. Regarding the nature of global policies, one realizes that the economic and educational policies implemented by sub-Saharan African governments from 1980 onward were dictated by the same colonial and imperialistic nations that gained control using marginality as a weapon to bifurcate the region. The West continues to dictate the economic and education policies implemented in the region to steer the affairs of the region even though all the regions now enjoy political independence. The region's macroeconomic policies have been shaped by the neoliberal agendas of World Bank and International Monetary Bank. These global governance bodies have pushed sub-Saharan African governments to implement economic policies to mitigate the economic austerity in the nations. The resulting introduction of structural adjustment programs (SAPs) in the 1980s and 1990s in the guise of responsible economics have only served to marginalize many rural folks in the economic processes. These policies exacerbated the already economic imbalance in many sub-Saharan African nations between the urban middle class and the rural folks, and dwindled governments' efforts to provide equitable social services including education in SSA nations (Dei 1993; Mwaura 2005; Kanu 2007; World Bank 2008). The World Bank (2008) admitted that the SAPs had negative effects on girls' education as school fees, which became part of the cost-sharing regime, led to dropouts with families opting to forgo the education of girls in contexts of financial constraints. This is evidenced in the lower enrollment rates of girls in the 1980s and 1990s and creating their further marginality.

In areas of local policies, the efforts and initiatives of policy makers in sub-Saharan Africa to address the educational marginality in the region over the past three decades have served to exacerbate the marginality situation. A careful analysis of the education initiatives in the region shows that education policies and strategies implemented by governments in the region have ignored the social, economic, political, and religious issues that have created marginality in the first place and rather focused on integration of marginalized communities and groups in the mainstream societies. Such strategies also ignore the sociocultural structures of communities and groups and rather focus on the agenda to "fit" and integrate marginalized groups in the mainstream culture and society. As an example, the objective of governments' education policies and initiatives for pastoralists and other nomadic groups in South Sudan, Kenya, Tanzania, Ghana, Nigeria, and other places is to sedentarize and integrate these populations into the mainstream society without considering the lived experienced and contexts of the nomadic pastoralists.

Because policy makers implement policies with limited opportunities for marginalized groups to engage with the policy process, policy makers fail to factor the social, economic, and political implications of policies on marginalized groups in policy development and implementation. The lack of synergies between policy makers and marginalized communities and groups creates policy disconnection. It also makes marginalized communities to become further disengaged from the policy discourse and therefore exacerbating the existing marginality.

Current school enrollment statistics in SSA mask the insidious marginality existing in the school systems and the inequalities in school attendance and retention among marginalized groups and communities. A closer analysis of education statistics in Kenya for instance reveals that eleven of the forty-seven counties have over half of school-going age not in schools. Many governments in SSA argue that government has provided intervention in the forms of equity, quality, and relevance but it also becomes obvious that those initiatives have focused on access initiative such as free education, tuition waiver for secondary school as is the case in northern Kenya, northern Ghana in the past, and now free secondary school initiatives in Ghana (Ruto et al. 2009; Ghana Ministry of Education 2017). In Kenya for instance, the 2001 Children's Act Cap 586 provided KES 1020 per child to support instructional materials, co-curricular activities, and support wages of non-teaching staff (Republic of Kenya 2003). But those initiatives continue to benefit the children in the mainstream of societies.

A major policy flaw of the postcolonial education policies regarding the educational needs of marginalized communities is governments' failure to introduce economic revitalization programs as part of education strategies to promote education in marginalized communities. The economic activities in many marginalized communities are incapable of sustaining livelihoods (Ruto et al. 2009). The economy of many of the marginalized communities depends on local subsistent agricultural activities. Education policies and strategies should include formulation of responsible economic frameworks and implementation of economic policies that incorporate and address the economic needs of marginalized groups. It should also be linked to national economic frameworks in order to provide revitalization programs for marginalized communities (Mfum-Mensah 2003). Some scholars suggest that governments implement multi-sectional approaches that connect culture, religion, poverty, and other community structures and education. Redesigning school calendar and daily schedule to accommodate the structural life and patterns of marginalized children and implementation of culturally responsive pedagogies in the schooling process will be viable strategies (Kinyanjui 2016; United States Government 2016).

AFFIRMATIVE STRATEGIES AND MARGINALITY

Given the complexities of how marginality was constructed in SSA in the colonial era, postcolonial governments in SSA have employed affirmative strategies to address the more obvious forms of marginalization in their societies with the objective to ensure an egalitarian society. In the early days of independence, the affirmative strategy implemented many societies in SSA focused on Africanization policies (I have explained this policy in the section below). Constitutions that have emerged in many countries of SSA since the 1990s have emphasized the need for implementing affirmative principles to ensure egalitarian society. Below I highlight affirmative strategies as enshrined in the constitution of selected countries in SSA. The affirmative strategy of the 2005 amended Ugandan constitution stipulates that:

> Notwithstanding anything in this constitution, the state shall take affirmative action in favor of groups marginalized on the basis of gender, age, disability or any other reasons created by history, tradition or custom, for the purpose of redressing imbalances which exists against them. (Article 32.1 of Ugandan Constitution)

Article 33.5 of the Constitution of Uganda is explicit regarding affirmative strategy and gives preference to women for the purpose of redressing the imbalances created by history, tradition, or custom. The 2010 Constitution of Kenya also highlights the importance of using affirmative strategies to reverse the discrimination against some people and groups and offset the imbalances created by such discrimination.

> To give full effect to the realization of the rights guaranteed under this Article, the State shall take legislative and other measures including affirmative action programmes and policies designed to redress any disadvantage suffered by individuals or groups because of past discrimination. (Kenyan Constitution 2010 Article 27.6)

Article 56 of the Kenyan Constitution outlines that affirmative strategies should target minorities and marginalized groups and regions and should encompass the areas of representation in governance and other areas, such as education, economy, employment, and social services. Both Ghana's amended 1996 Constitution and Nigeria's 1999 Constitution do not explicitly discuss affirmative action but implicitly discuss affirmative strategies within the rubric of addressing discrimination and promoting equality and social justice for all people. Chapter 15.2 of the Nigerian constitution states that:

> Accordingly, national integration shall be actively encouraged, whilst discrimination on the grounds of place of origin, sex, religion, status, ethnic or linguistic association or ties shall be prohibited.

The scan of literature also shows that affirmative strategies in SSA span across the areas of education, recruitment into the public and private sectors, gender balance, promoting ethnic and regional balance, ethnic and regional representation in politics and governance (Rothchild 1970; Ahikire 1994; Nzomo 1994; Furley and Katalikawe 1997; Ndegwa 1997; Goetz 1998; Fobanjong 2003; Johnson, Kabuchu, and Kayonga 2003; Obonyo 2007; Macharia 2011; Muriaas and Wang 2012; Josefsson 2014; Ocran 2014; Clayton 2015; Stotsky, Kolovich, and Kebhaj 2016). Affirmative strategies on education have included the use of quotas for enrollment of women in schools, specific programs that target enrollment of ethnic minorities and people from marginal regions to offset ethnic and regional imbalances in higher education; use of government loan schemes to provide pathways for people from low-income communities to enroll in school. In the areas of hiring, affirmative strategies have included quotas for hiring ethnic minorities, women, and people from deprived areas to bring regional balance in government and private sectors, and hiring people with disabilities. In the subsequent subsections I discuss the diverse affirmative strategies in SSA and the groups and communities targeted by the implemented initiatives.

Africanization Initiatives

The earliest form of affirmative initiatives was the implementation of "Africanization" policies which occurred in almost all countries in SSA after independence. Many postcolonial governments in SSA implemented "Africanization" polities to address the problems of the marginality created by colonial administration. After independence these governments were caught between the conflicts in two demand situations—Africanization of the public and private sectors of the economy where African citizens who were marginalized socially, economically, and politically took over the nation-building agenda, and for economic development. Donald Rothchild explains the situation more elaborately:

> African countries, fresh from an encounter with powerful, privileged European states, carry over a wide range of liberal commitments into the post-independence period. They are naturally determined to continue the struggle against remaining manifestations of colonialism on the continent—white settler oligarchies, neocolonialist military and economic arrangements. . . . Their leaders proclaim both nationalist and pan-Africanist objectives and call simultaneously for a leveling egalitarianism and rapid economic growth. The extent to which they can reconcile these somewhat overlapping, and even conflicting goals with the compelling claims implicit in nation-building remains a crucial question with broad implications for regime stability. (Rothchild 1970, 737)

Africanization as a legislation enabled Africans to replace Europeans in key public and private sectors. It legislated against discrimination practices that characterized colonial markets, giving preference to indigenous black Africans (Rothchild 1970; Nzomo 1994; Ndegwa 1997; Fobanjong 2003; Obonyo 2007; Macharia 2011; Ocran 2014; Stotsky, Kolovich, and Kebhaj 2016). Donald Rothchild cited the example of Kenya where at the time of independence the country had a three-tiered pyramidal structure of European at the top, followed lower down by Asians and then Africans in areas of education, welfare, and income policies. After independence, the government implemented Africanization policies to address the inequities in the society.

Countries like Namibia, Zimbabwe, and South Africa represent recent acts of Africanization due to their recent independence. Zimbabwe implemented a form of Africanization which the government branded as "Black Advancement" policy which focused mainly on correcting for past discrimination in the public sector. The 1980 presidential directive which authorized the public service commission to recruit Blacks who had the qualifications but lacked the experience led to the migration of many Whites (Fobanjong 2003). The nature of Africanization strategies implemented in South Africa is complicated given the country's history. There are two forms of affirmative strategies. The nature of affirmative action in South Africa is that it is a majority group that is going to benefit by the fact that it was denied by past injustices of colonization and Apartheid. The first form of affirmative action is an implementation of "remedial measures" to offset the lack of educational skills and knowledge needed to work. Early signs of implementation of affirmative action in South Africa was in 1976 when some foundations and foreign companies and a few local employers began implementing affirmative action programs as a means of providing education and training to Blacks who were denied equal access to educational and employment opportunities by the exclusionary policies of Apartheid. The second form of affirmative action in South Africa is "preferential hiring" only if the remedial measures provided for in the first model fail to develop the skills and qualifications that will enable historically deprived groups to compete on merit with historically advantaged groups (Fobanjong 2003).

Affirmative Strategies and Gender

Postcolonial affirmative strategies in many sub-Saharan African societies targeted gender representation in education, politics, and socioeconomic discourse. Specifically, such initiatives have been used to improve the underrepresentation of women and girls more than other disadvantaged groups (Ahikire 1994; Nzomo 1994; Goetz 1998; Johnson, Kabuchu, and Kayonga 2003; Obonyo 2007; Macharia 2011; Ocran 2014; Clayton 2015; Stotsky,

Kolovich, and Kebhaj 2016). Affirmative action initiative on gender in SSA occurs within a context of gender disparities, some of which date to pre-colonial times. The diversity of African societies requires that discussions on affirmative strategies on gender must be historicized within the contexts of various societies and their colonial encounters. It also should be viewed within a context of production and governance that has always been patriarchal and dominated by men (Nzomo 1994). Affirmative initiatives focusing on gender are an important step made in Sub-Saharan Africa. These strategies have helped to address the issue of gender imbalance, inequities, and inequalities in areas such as economic and social development, education, politics, and leadership. Countries such as Uganda, Ghana, Tanzania, Rwanda, and Senegal, among others, have implemented affirmative strategies which focus specifically on women's equitable participation, school enrollment for girls, hiring and promotion of women in leadership positions, and political participation (Macharia 2011; Ocran 2014; Stotsky, Kolovich, and Kebhaj 2016). Sub-Saharan Africa is a leader in the world of announcing quotas for women's representation in politics. International Knowledge Network of Women in Politics points out that women's representation in politics in countries like Rwanda, Mozambique, Burundi, and South Africa has exceeded the global threshold. These achievements are the result of the introduction of electoral gender quotas in the region. Early implementation of the quota initiative occurred in Ghana in the 1960s followed by Tanzania in 1975 (Ocran 2014). The objective is to have a critical mass of women leaders in all sectors of the society. Such affirmative strategies for women have been undertaken to introduce corrective changes to the history of discrimination meted to women, ensuring that special attention is given to enable women to participate and compete equally with men in the political. The strategy is also to shore up women's participation in the economic and social fields within the public and private sectors to ensure an egalitarian nation.

The affirmative action strategies for women in SSA have come about due to social movements and pressure from civil society groups and women's groups. Take Ghana as a case in point. The 31st December Women's Movement in Ghana was a force that pushed for women's equality in Ghana's political and development discourse in the 1980s and 1990s. In Tanzania, the Kilimanjaro Women's Information and Education Corporation (KWIECO) is a regionally linked institution that coordinates the affairs of women's associations together to discuss issues of women's economic participation. In Kenya, Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE) works with many partners to ensure implementation of initiatives to address girls' and women's education in urban Kenya. FAWE Kenya works to ensure that gender equity and equality is built into all educational policies that where gender imbalances in education persist, positive and specific short-term affirmative action

is taken to redress them (Birch and Wachter 2011). The affirmative strategies which women groups participated in fighting for them to become a reality, have helped to improve the status of many women in SSA especially in the areas of higher education and recently in politics. In many societies in SSA, including Tanzania and Uganda, affirmative strategies have helped to widen women's access to science and technical courses through bridging courses, lowering cut-off points, and funding students (Obonyo 2007).

Affirmative Strategies and Regional/Ethnic Balance

Many countries in SSA have implemented affirmative initiatives to address ethnic and regional representation and to bring regional/ethnic balance in areas of education, public-sector employment, and political participation. In the early days of their histories, countries like Nigeria, Kenya, and Côte d'Ivoire implemented forms of affirmative strategies to promote ethnic and regional balance in the country's politics. For instance, during the presidency of Daniel Arap Moi, the Kenyan government implemented forms of political affirmative strategies to provide access for minority groups to higher education, administrative recruitment, and allocation of public funds (Ndegwa 1997). Currently, Kenya's government's affirmative strategy encompasses quotas in admissions to secondary school and hiring. Kenyan government ensures that the best student in every region or county is automatically selected and admitted to the national secondary school. Similarly, in areas of employment, government ensures that applicants from deprived regions are given preference in hiring to bring regional balance. Nigeria's affirmative strategy is primarily geared toward promoting regional balance in all areas of the society. Nigerian's affirmative strategy is rooted in the country's Federal Character Principles and the constitution. The 1999 constitution is explicit on affirmative action:

> The composition of the Government of the Federation or any of its agencies and the conduct of its affairs shall be carried out in such a manner as to reflect the Federal Character of Nigeria and the need to promote national unity, and also to command national loyalty, thereby ensuring that there shall be no predominance of persons from a few states or from a few ethnic or other sectional groups in that government or any of its agencies. (1999 Nigeria Constitution, Second Chapter)

Sadly, Nigeria's affirmative strategies to promote regional balance in hiring and university recruitment has met challenges for the most part for a couple reasons. To bring regional balance in the public sector, the Nigerian government makes the effort to recruit people from the northern region—an area that has historically had lower representation. However, sometimes it is very

difficult to get the imposed quotas to fill from the northern region and so southerners are temporarily used to fill the slot until a northerner who is qualified emerges and the southerner is let go. Overseas Development Institute (2006) reports that Nigeria's regional affirmative strategy creates challenges because of the lack of political will to make this happen, which reflects the politics of patronage that is practiced, and the lack of functional transparency and accountability mechanisms. The document notes that positive discrimination for one group is often read as negative discrimination by others, which creates a backlash.

In the early days of Ghana's independence, the government of Kwame Nkrumah implemented affirmative strategy through the provision of full tuition and feeding scholarships to northern Ghanaian students to promote equity in educational attainment and address the educational imbalance between the north and south and to shore up secondary school enrollment in the northern part of Ghana where historically, many people did not participate in the education system because of the history of education disenfranchisement during the Christian missions and colonial educational expansion. Nkrumah's government affirmative action initiative provided free scholarship for all northerners who enrolled in secondary schools to promote ethnic and regional balance in the school system. Many countries in SSA also have in place affirmative strategies for regional/ethnic balance that are similar to and different from the ones I have described in this section.

Affirmative Strategies: What Is Missing?

The affirmative strategies implemented in SSA have been effective in some societies but not in other societies. First, the constitutional mandates of many countries in SSA require those countries to implement affirmative strategies to ensure an egalitarian society and to offset the regional and other imbalances but governments and policy makers of some of these societies lack the political will to implement the strategies. Second, the complexities of many of the societies and their histories of colonization make implementation a more complicated endeavor. For instance, implementation of affirmative strategies in South Africa is complicated given the history of Apartheid and the reality that a majority of the population would have to benefit from such strategies. Third, in many of the societies the nature of affirmative strategy itself is another strategy to advantaging some groups and disenfranchising other groups. Take the case of Uganda where the government emphasized the need for affirmative strategies for women. It is possible for women from urban middle class to benefit from the strategy more than women from urban poor and rural and marginalized communities. Let me take the case of Ghana to discuss the issue of employing affirmative strategies to address regional

imbalances. In the 1960s the government of Ghana used affirmative strategies and scholarship schemes to address the regional imbalances. Many children from the northern region who enjoyed the northern scholarship were those from comparatively wealthy households in that region. Many of the rural children that the affirmative strategies would have benefitted never benefitted from the policy because the policy targeted children who made it to secondary school. Rural children still had to pass the Common Entrance Examination to access the affirmative program. Therefore, many adolescents from the north who accessed the program were those living in urban communities in the northern region. It is possible that affirmative strategies for marginalized children in the Arid and Semi-Arid lands (ASAL) region in Kenya and pastoral communities in northern Nigeria also have similar outcomes.

CONCLUSION AND POLICY REFLECTIONS

The discussions of "marginality" as a critical discourse enables us to understand ways government policies, politics, and education policies and initiatives can place limitations on groups and communities. Whether by design or ignorance, education initiatives and policies implemented in many societies disenfranchise many communities and groups and complicate the education marginality of marginalized children. Addressing marginality in SSA will entail dismantling some of the same old structures that colonization bequeathed to the region. It means the policy makers should get rid of the vestiges of colonial policies. It also means education scholars should critically analyze and interrogate some of the postcolonial policies in place. Education policy reforms that have the goal to promoting equitable schooling and strong participation in marginalized contexts should work to strike a balance between theory and practice, and enlist local communities and outsiders that are strongly connected to local marginalized communities.

Governments and policy makers must implement affirmative strategies to shore up the educational participation of marginalized communities and groups. It is also a matter of moral right of governments to implement strong affirmative strategies when it comes to employment, to demonstrate to marginalized communities that the system works, and that there is occupational reward for school participation irrespective of peoples' social status. But the discussion here brings me to the point I want to make. Given the complexities of the histories of marginality in societies in SSA, any affirmative framework should consider the intersectionality of marginality. The assumption and practice of categorizing marginality from a one-dimensional approach obscures the complexities of marginality and the intersectional and overlapping nature of marginality. Therefore, having affirmative strategies for

women does not necessary provide opportunities for women who are also marginalized in other areas. Similarly, implementing affirmative strategies to shore up regional/ethnic balance does not mean all marginalized groups in a deprived region are going to benefit from the policy (or benefit the same way). Therefore, effective affirmative strategies should be an intersectionality approach and should entail a multidimensional approach.

Part II

MARGINALITY AND EDUCATION

Linking Policy and Practice

Chapter 4

Schooling and Marginality in a Sub-Saharan African Context

Marginalized children in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) face insurmountable challenges that complicate their school participation. The complex ways sociopolitical, socioeconomic, and sociocultural factors create marginality mean that education that aims to address the learning needs of marginalized children has to incorporate the contexts of these children. This chapter highlights how complicated forces pertaining to a specific local community overlap to pose barriers to children's school attendance, retention, progression, and occupational rewards. Because SSA is a region with diverse communities that have unique structures and challenges, these local forces that I describe in the chapter may not be generalized to other contexts. However, education policy makers and planners can learn some lessons about how contextual nuances could shape education policy making in order to provide education programs that address the educational needs of diverse groups of children. The chapter is organized around four sections. Section one provides a picture of education marginality within a context of greater achievements in the EFA campaigns in SSA. In section two, I discuss the educational development in a rural poor community within the rubric of colonial educational expansion. I outline the ways the early arrangements of school created layers of marginalization. This is followed by section three which discusses some of the early exclusionary practices implemented in this particular rural community school. The final section then discusses the impact of educational outcomes on marginalized children, and examines how community structures, socialization, long distances to school, and lack of role models may complicate the educational outcomes of children's schooling and ultimately determine the students' occupational rewards.

MANY CHILDREN ARE STILL NOT IN SCHOOL

There are many children from marginalized communities in SSA that are still not in school. Sub-Saharan Africa currently has an estimate of over 34 million children between the ages of six and eleven that are out of school. The region also has the highest rate of exclusion with 21 percent of children of primary school age denied the right to education. The groups of children that are not in school include those in rural remote and poor communities, teenage mothers, other girls from poor households, internally displaced children, children in refugee camps, children with disabilities, children orphaned by HIV/AIDS, children-headed households, and street children. For instance, there are constitutional mandates for EFA but children living in urban informal settlements in affluent cities like Nairobi, Lusaka, Kampala, Johannesburg, Addis Ababa, Accra, and Lagos are faced with the challenge of accessing quality education that their few peers in middle-class and affluent neighborhoods have. Longitudinal studies conducted by the African Population and Health Research Center in Nairobi outline the educational challenges faced by children in Korogocho and Viwandani urban informal settlements. Across SSA, there is documented evidence of ways children who live in rural remote communities continue to be shortchanged in educational services. In her 2015 studies Sophia Friedson-Ridenour in Ghana outlines the challenges of promoting universal primary school in Ghana after twenty years of Ghana's free compulsory universal education (*f*CUBE). She noted that:

> Universal basic education remains elusive and the government continues to struggle to make *f*CUBE a reality for all, particularly for the most vulnerable and marginalized. (Friedson-Ridenour 2015, 130)

For most of these children, access to school and progression to the next level of the school system is still a struggle. The country-specific reports from SSA show that in spite of the great achievement, the number of children that are still out of school after the implementation of EFA and the 2000 Dakar Declaration requires more strategic policies and implementation (see, for instance, the United Republic of Tanzania 2008; 2014; Republic of Kenya 2013; Kenya Ministry of Education, Science and Technology 2014a, 2014b; Zambia Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational Training and Early Childhood Education 2014; Uganda Ministry of Education and Sports 2015; and UNESCO 2016a, b). UNESCO (2016a) reports that Nigeria has 8.7 million, Sudan has 2.7 million, and Ethiopia has 2.1 million out-of-school children of primary age. These numbers happen to be the highest of the countries in SSA that have available statistics. The recent education reports from SSA countries show that the implementation of EFA goals and the 2000 Dakar

Declaration policy makers have not fully addressed the identified in-school and out-of-school factors such as poverty, early marriages, teenage pregnancy, inadequate school infrastructure, school violence, and cultural and religious misinterpretation that exacerbate the educational marginalization of children attending school in rural remote and urban poor communities. Furthermore, factors such as gender discrimination, spatial or place of residence, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, language, religion, among others overlap to determine children's educational enrollment, retention, and outcomes in marginalized communities in the region (Lloyd and Hewett 2003; Kazeem, Jensen, and Stokes 2010; Mabika and Shapiro 2012). These factors are not exhaustive and there are many other issues depending on the context one investigates. Country reports across SSA over the past few years show that while there has been massive transformation in the schooling in the mainstream society, some of the perennial challenges related to schooling encountered by marginalized children have not changed. Besides access, the regional and country specific reports show that many children who stay in school are not learning. The Learning Barometer of Brookings Institution indicates that of the Africa's 128 million school-aged children, only half will have the opportunity to attend school and learn basic skills (Brookings Institution Center for Universal Education 2012). Brookings Institution reports that SSA has the world's lowest secondary school enrollment rates. The region has 28 percent of youth enrolled in secondary school, leaving 90 million teenagers struggling to enter employment in low-paid, informal sector jobs.

The review of sub-Saharan African governments' White Papers on education confirms the need for alternative approaches to provide quality education that provides the youth with skills to access the labor market. Apart from few exceptions school models in SSA reflect the traditional colonial linear and one-dimensional "one-size-fits-all" model which does not address the educational needs of many out-of-reach children. In countries like Kenya, Ghana, Uganda, Tanzania, and Zambia, where some form of structured alternative programs which target marginalized children have been implemented, those programs operate outside the government mainstream education systems (see the United Republic of Tanzania 2008; 2014; Republic of Kenya 2013; Kenya Ministry of Education, Science and Technology 2014a, 2014b; Zambia Ministry of Education, Science, Vocational Training and Early Childhood Education 2014; Uganda Ministry of Education and Sports 2015). After many years of attaining independence, many of the nations in SSA have done little to address the economic and social marginality that the colonial governments established and left behind. Instead, policies of some governments in SSA have rather exacerbated the plight of their citizens, particularly the marginalized in ways that make provision of social services such as education a tall feat. The contexts of marginalized communities make it a challenge for

these communities to use the traditional school model as they are currently organized. In many (not all) cases, the alternative programs provided by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and other civil societies in marginalized communities do little to provide marginalized children's advancement beyond the rudiments of what they receive from these programs. As I have highlighted over and over, in the 1970s when I attended school in a rural poor community, children who were enrolled in school faced insurmountable challenges (Mfum-Mensah 2003; Mitchell 2009; Mulkeen and Higgins 2009; Mfum-Mensah and Friedson-Ridenour 2014; Graham, Hirai, and Kim 2016).

CHALLENGES TO SCHOOLING IN RURAL AFRICA

The story of Western educational transfer to my small rural community in Ghana—a neoliberal shell state which practices participatory democracy, decentralization, and privatization principles—shows the nature of transformation that ensued and the part played by schools to engender such social transformation. Sophia Friedson-Ridenour sums it up very well when she outlined that:

> The shell state and its citizens . . . are enmeshed in a struggle for mutual survival, and the most predominant and visible place that struggle unfolds is education—the single largest sector of the shell state. (Friedson-Ridenour 2015, 1)

The history and genealogy of Western education in Ghana is a lens that may help readers to grasp the effects of education on a rural marginalized student that is gradually transforming to become part of the neoliberal project of the global capitalist economy. By genealogy I am not referring to the linear and inevitable trajectory of history, but rather the accounting of the multiple and often contradictory accounts of the past that reveal not the origins of truth, but the impact that power has had on our understanding of it (Foucault 1977). Foucault points out that genealogy requires patience and knowledge of details and it depends on a vast accumulation of source material and relentless erudition. Western education was introduced in the Gold Coast on a large scale in the early nineteenth century within a context where it favored communities along the coastal regions, those in the coastal areas, the urban populace, males, and those who had the disposition to be proselytized into the Christian religion which in this case ruled out many Islamic communities. I have extensively discussed how the proselytizing ideology of Christian-colonial education shaped Muslim community's reception in my village in chapter 6.

The Christian missions and colonial administration restricted education to the coastal areas where their activities were concentrated. It took some

time before these Europeans expanded education to communities in the forest areas. It was almost a century after the first school was established at the coastal region of the Gold Coast that the Roman Catholic mission opened a school at Ofoase in 1925 (personal interview with Kojo Salisu, June 7, 2017). The delay in expanding schools in the interior regions of the Gold Coast supports Aden and Hanson's (2014) and White's (1996) argument that despite the "civilizing missions espoused during the scramble for Africa, colonial administrators initially devoted few resources to provide education for Africans (White 1996; Aden and Hanson 2014). The Roman Catholics were supported by the British colonial government through its district commissioner. Given the stipulations and objectives of the British educational policy at that time, the mission school served as an arm of the British government. The objective of the British grant-in-aid, which formed the basis for the British colonial government's financial support, was that "aided schools should be regarded as the filling place in the scheme of education as important as the schools conducted by the Government" (Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical African Dependencies 1925, 5). The broader mission of the colonial government notwithstanding, the Roman Catholic missions also used the school to push for its agenda to expand work in the Akyem Bosome area of the Akyem land (Bassey 1999). Gwendolyn Schulman points out that the Catholic missionaries played an instrumental role in the colonial project where in their scramble for the African souls, they participated in the colonial conquest of West Africa. Their mission was one of mass conversion and cultural imperialism (Schulman 1992).

The primary school in this village extended from primary class one through class three for decades before primary classes four through six were added. The partnership between the Christian missionaries and colonial administration made the Zongo Muslim community to refuse to allow their children to enroll in the school. Recounting this partnership between religion and state (colonial government), one of the Muslim elders who lived through this arrangement explained succinctly:

> The Roman Catholic missionaries and the White people who owned the United African Company worked together to forcibly enroll children in the village who were six years in school. Some children always had to run into the bush so they would not be taken to school. Those Europeans did not care whether the child wanted to go to school or not. They threatened my father to enroll me in school or else they would jail him even though I am a Muslim. (personal conversation, June 5, 2017)

With time the student population increased and the Roman Catholic mission organized the school on a shift system (one group of children attended

school in the morning and another in the afternoon) for some time as the school infrastructure could not accommodate all the children from the village, and its surrounding villages. Children were forcibly enrolled in the school. In the early stages of the school's development in the community many of the schoolchildren ended their schools at primary three. Later when the school was expanded to primary six the few boys whose parents had the financial means to push their children past the primary school sent their children to Oda, Akim Swedru, or Akyem Awisa after they completed primary six where they continued their middle school education.

The Roman Catholic mission's school in the village gave priority to boys. The focus on boys was generally the situation in most colonial territories. One of the reasons why colonial administrators placed much emphasis on boys' education was because European societies bifurcated their social structures into economic and domestic spheres. Boys were to be educated to participate in the capitalist production process while women were to be restricted to the domestic sphere. In colonial African contexts, boys and men received education and became translators, clerks, and assistants to colonial business and capitalist enterprise (Schulman 1992; Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical African Dependences 1925). The memorandum of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa made the following recommendation about boys' education:

> Provision must also be made for the training of those who are required to fill posts in the administrative and technical services . . . and as resources permit, the door of advancement, through higher education, in Africa must be increasingly opened for those who by character, ability and temperament show themselves to profit by such education.
>
> It is essential, therefore, that the status and conditions of service of the Education Department should be such as to attract the best available men, both British and Africans. By such men only can the policy contemplated in this memorandum be carried into effect. (Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical African Dependencies 1925, 4–5)

The French's emphasis on boys' education was also clearly articulated by Mr. Albert Sarraut, Minister of Colonies in France during the 1920s when he stated that:

> In fact the first effect of education is to improve the values of colonial production by raising the level of intelligence among the mass of indigenous workers, as well as the number of skills, it should, moreover, set free and raise above the masses of laborers the elites of collaborators who, as technical staff, foremen or overseers, employed of commission by the management, will make up the numerical shortage of Europeans and satisfy the growing demand of

> the agricultural, industrial or commercial enterprises of colonization. (Jean Suret-Canale 380–81, cited in Schulman 1992, 7)

Similar ideology of educating boys took prominence in Portuguese and Belgian colonies. For instance, in 1873, 456 boys were attending schools in Angola compared to thirty-three girls. In Mozambique there were forty-eight primary schools for boys and eight for girls in 1909 (Ferreira 1974). The focus on boys notwithstanding, the British acknowledged the need to address the problem of education of girls but such an education was to focus on domesticity as the British memorandum for Native Education in Tropical African Dependencies (1925) stated:

> It is obvious that better education of native girls and women in Tropical Africa is urgently needed, but it is almost impossible to over-state the delicacy and difficulties of the problem . . . more should be done at once (not at least in regard to the teaching of personal and domestic hygiene) . . . the high rates of infant mortality in Africa, and the unhygienic conditions which are widely prevalent make instruction in hygiene and public health . . . and child welfare and in domestic economy, and the care of the home, among the first essentials, and these, wherever possible, should be taught by well qualified women teachers. (8)

In the early days of school development parents in rural communities were concerned with occupational rewards accruing to formal schooling. Many parents saw the essential purpose of the "White Man's education" as an avenue to enable the boys to enter the "modern" sector of the economy and acquire remunerative employment outside the village community (Foster 1964; Mfum-Mensah 2003). Girls were not particularly encouraged to enroll past primary 2 or 3 in our village school (a few of them later moved through the system) and withdrew from school to learn traditional "generational" skills they needed for marriage (personal narrative, Akua Boatemaa June 7, 2017). It is not surprising that the very older generation in our village (but also in many rural communities in the Akan areas of Ghana) still use the term *Aboose foo* (a-boys-foo) to refer to schoolchildren. This term is an adulteration of the word "boys," which means that schooling in the town was mostly a socialization process for boys because they were the ones "ordained" to attend. The very use of the term *Aboose foo* in rural and remote communities in Akan areas to these contemporary times provides insights into the gender relations and education and traditional community members' attitudes toward girls' education (I have discussed this extensively in chapter 5). When Western education was introduced in Africa, many indigenous African communities came to view it as a reserve of boys (Njoku 1980; Mfum-Mensah 2017). John Njoku (1980) points out that when the Europeans introduced Western education in African societies, the European ideologies regarding females' domestic roles comingled

with some cultural traditions and practices to create a situation where mostly males were given the opportunity to go to school initially. This situation began when missionaries working in many African societies initially opened schools for male children as was the common practice in Europe and colonial Americas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many of the indigenous African communities also were hesitant to have their girls educated in Western schools because of the traditional Africans' belief (when the book was introduced) that book knowledge was a power and such a power should be reserved only for the males, who will inherit the land (Njoku 1980, 10).

The educational expansion in British colonial Gold Coast after World War II, which came about because of the liberal movement to promote a global universal education, impacted our village community in no small way (Mundy 2016). This progressive agenda was exacerbated by Ghana attaining political independence in 1957. At independence in 1957, Ghana emerged as a socialist-led developmental state with a strong nationalist spirit; a well-educated class and a diverse populist base; and a good economy, factors which were conducive for educational expansion in the newly independent nation (Friedson-Ridenour 2015). In the early years after independence, Ghana had a higher per capita income that was among the highest on the continent. Ghana had the financial resources that other countries lacked in their post-independence years. Nkrumah aggressively grew the public service seeking to further develop the country through rapid state-led industrialization, large investments in infrastructure development, and public spending on sectors like education and health. Nkrumah expanded the secondary school system through the Ghana Education Trust which became a watershed moment for many young people from rural communities in Ghana who previously were shut out of the opportunity to enroll in secondary school. My father and many of his contemporaries from our rural town seized upon the school expansion phenomenon that engulfed Ghana in the late 1950s during Ghana's transition to political independence, to advance and become part of the educated minority. Like many of those educated Africans who became "middle figures" with knowledge of multiple cultures who acted on their own vision of the future (Aden and Hanson 2014), my father went on to further his education in the Netherlands and Canada in the 1960s and 1970s. For the rest of the community members from the village, it was the 1970s that saw the first generation of children (mostly boys) enroll in the middle school. A few of them also continued to the secondary school who now act as the community's advocates and development leaders.

School Practices and Marginalization

When I was about to enroll in primary school, Ghana's glorious days as the education "giant" of Africa was descending into the abyss due to the

economic decline caused by political instability and economic mismanagement and price drop of cocoa and other key exports in the world market. The expansion in schools had not maintained the pace that it used to be in the 1950s and 1960s. Some people attributed this to Nkrumah's increase of educational access at the cost of quality (Friedson-Ridenour 2015). I enrolled in school in my rural remote village within that context of macroeconomic decline and decline in enrollment and expansion of the educational system. When it was time for me to enroll in the first grade my father moved to the Netherlands for further studies and my mother relocated the family to our village. I was little over four and the smallest in age and because of my height, so my physical appearance made me inadmissible. I recall during my first day at school in the rural community, my mother accompanied me to the school to register me because there was no pre-registration process. When we went to the school, the schoolmaster asked few questions and documented the information my mother provided in a register book supplied by the government education ministry. Afterward, the head teacher asked me to put my right hand over my head to touch my left ear and the same on the other ear. In those days, that was how the school authorities determined the age of the child.

Until quite recently, most parents in rural villages in Ghana did not register the birth of their children. Many of the children were born at home and even for those who were born at the clinics, there was no birth registry in the rural community to register these children so many of our village folks enrolled their children in school without a clue about the child's age. So the hand measurement strategy that the teachers used in rural communities in Ghana was meant to ensure that all children in that class met the age-graded requirement which is a major part of the "grammar" of schooling and ways the political anatomy of the body (to borrow from David Tyack and Larry Cuban 1995 and Foucault 1979) was introduced to children just before they become part of the schooling process. A child's chances of getting enrolled in the school in this rural community were tied to the child's body measurements. The opportunity for children with smaller bodies to enroll in school was always a delicate issue of its own. Julie Livingstone outlines the ways beginning in the 1930s British colonial cultures in southern Africa began to standardize and rank human bodies by physical "types" according to scientific standards of measurement, a practice which gradually crept into public understandings of bodies and their capacities. She notes that this social construction picked up pace in the 1940s and led to the categorization and plotting of children against "normal" (metropolitan) growth curve (Livingstone 2006). The French philosopher Michel Foucault notes that the sorting of students' bodies based on age, ability, among other things served as a control mechanism of children. If the hand measurement was a control mechanism, somehow my mother found

a way to circumvent this control mechanism. My parents had documentation to prove when I was born but that documentation would have served to disadvantage me because I was a little over four years when I enrolled in the first grade. Instead, my mother used the social and cultural capital available to her by drawing on my father's education and status in the community and the fact that I was relocating from the city and having gone to kindergarten for two years as a leverage to get me enrolled. At the end of the school year we relocated to Kumasi.

EDUCATIONAL OUTCOME AND MARGINALIZED CHILDREN

Children's educational outcome is as crucial as access and output for both policy and pragmatic purposes. Parents and all the various education constituencies and stakeholders and students want to see that some level of education leads to occupational rewards (Foster 1964; Farrell 1998; Stephens 2000; Mfum-Mensah 2003). Joseph Farrell defines equality of *outcome* as the probability that children from various social groups will live relatively similar lives subsequent to and as a result of schooling. Farrell (1998) posits that in societies where the economy is expanding, and where there is no dominant group in the society, formal education becomes a predominant influence on the level of employment acquired. Schooling as a process shapes or determines children's destinies creating avenues for some of them to advance and participate productively in the social, economic, and political discourse while ratifying the low statuses of children from remote rural marginalized communities and poor households (Parsons 1959; Anyon 1980; Farrell 2003). As social institutions, schools are social spaces where children get the orientation about how the skills and knowledge they acquire may translate into how they are likely to participate in the future productive processes as adults and engage in the economic discourse. For those "fortunate" few children, the orientation reinforces and shapes their future success in the economic and productive process. For many other children, the orientation only ratifies their subordinated status. This has been the case for many people who have gone through our village school. The spatial geography of our village overlaps with community-based cultural, social, and economic forces to instill passive dispositions and mind-sets about schooling in many of the children. Nonetheless, schooling in the community has also provided avenues for plugging a few of the community members into the global community.

Let me employ a narrative epistemology to discuss how local community forces shaped some children's educational outcomes in my village. Narrative is a useful approach for empowering marginalized children and their

communities to outline ways their contextual backgrounds and lived experiences shape their schooling. Goleman (1992) points out that telling a story is such an artful way to instruct because it is so disarming and the tales seem to be about someone else, and yet the mind automatically draws the parallels to one's life. He notes that it is easier to hear about another person's dilemma than it is to look hard at one's own quirks (viii). Expressions in stories are also narratives of hope, providing opportunities for reflections and serving as metaphors which guide the choices people make. While reflections on stories are mirrors for seeing things in a particular way, they also serve as prisms that throw light on the concrete reality of lived experiences (Cebik 1986; Connelly and Clandinin, 1990; Goleman 1992; Braid 1996; Conle 1999, 2000; Kanu, 2007). My appropriation of stories for this discussion is also based on the recognition that humans are storytelling beings who individually and socially lead storied lives. I also recognize that [my] "history and the story of [our] lives are always embedded in the story of communities from which we derive our identity" (Conle 2000, 209). Providing a storied account of a few of my classmates helps to illustrate ways the challenges of marginality, ways community socialization impact marginalized children's schooling and how overlapping community factors on one hand and the contradictory roles of schooling and Ghana's education policies of the era which served to disadvantage the rural child on the other hand interrogated children's schooling in our rural community.

Community Structures and School Outcome

Schooling in my village in the 1970s was not a particularly great environment for children. Ghana's economic decline took an even harder toll on rural communities. The transformation and hope that greeted children that went to school in the 1950s and 1960s was not the same in the 1970s. Ghana's macroeconomic climate was not so exciting for farming communities. Agricultural production had receded and Ghana's fiscal deficits had soured. Inflation was terrible and corruption had been institutionalized. This era presented less promise and hope for children in Ghana and for those who lived in the rural enclave; the future held a slim promise. The wind of transformation and development that was sweeping through the new nation had suddenly halted. Our village never experienced the promise of the running water, excellent hospitals, electrification, and infrastructural development that had begun in many urban communities. Children from our rural enclave still woke up in the morning with a tall list of chores waiting for them to do. Before they went to school, some of these children went to the farm and helped their parents carry food and the same cash crops that did not attract any good prices. Children woke up and walked for distances and fetched water and then swept the house

before they set off to school (Pickering and Davis 2012; Graham, Hirai, and Kim 2016). It is inconceivable how the lack of access to drinking water itself took a toll on children's well-being and their educational participation. Lack of good drinking water sometimes resulted in children getting diarrhea, other illnesses, and, in extreme cases, cholera outbreak in our village community, which prevented children from going to school (Pickering and Davis 2012). In the late 1960s into the mid-1970s, a guinea worm outbreak struck the Ofoase community due to an underground well which the community used as its source of water supply. The outbreak lingered in the community for over six years or more before it was finally eradicated. The outbreak spared neither young nor old in the community. The outbreak interrupted many children's school attendance as children regularly visited the nearby clinics for treatment.

As one will expect from farming and poor communities, many children from this village contributed to the household's socioeconomic activities. Some woke up early in the mornings and sold or carried food crops to the market before they went to school. These children went back to the market after school and sold into the wee hours of the evening and once they came home, continued with other household chores before they retired to bed. Some children also went to the farm after school and helped their parents carry food crops, assisted in food preparation, fetched water in the evening, and cleaned the utensils before they settled down to do any homework. By the time these schoolchildren completed the evening activities, darkness had set in already. Up until the middle of the 2000s when the government's rural electrification project expanded to the community, households used the kerosene lamp. Some of the households afforded only one or two lamps which the children also depended on for their homework. Schoolchildren had to wait for a lamp to become available when a member of the household also needed it to visit the community toilet which was always constructed at the outskirts of the town, or when they wanted it to do other errands at night. By the time the child had access to the lamp to do her or his homework, she or he was already exhausted and ready to sleep. The factors I have described here worked in tandem with other in-school factors to make the children's schooling a game of chance.

To say that some marginalized children in many parts of SSA live in social, economic, and cultural contexts that sometimes are antithesis to school attendance is not an overstatement. Within the economically and socially challenging contexts many parents do not have the luxury to negotiate how the household is going to survive and therefore getting a child to school ranks lower on the list of the family's survival tool kit (Stephens 2000; Lockeed 2008). These challenges are part of the reasons why some advocacy groups recommend the provision of incentives for households to support

marginalized children's schooling. However, because the provision of incentives can also be a way to perpetuate the marginality of marginalized communities and groups, policy makers should see such an approach as a temporary measure and instead develop effective multifaceted policies in marginalized communities that promote integrated development including education and economic revitalization in marginalized communities.

Socialization and School Outcome

Some of the very brilliant classmates of mine included Kwabena, Paul, and Kwame. If these classmates of mine had lived in a different geographical and socioeconomic context or era within the Ghanaian society, they would have probably had the opportunity to pursue education beyond the middle school. They all became successful in the Common Entrance Examination that they wrote in the 1970s when we had just begun the middle school and while I went on to secondary school, parents of these classmates could not afford to enroll them in secondary school. They completed middle school and joined the caravan of skilled and unskilled Ghanaian citizens that migrated to Nigeria in the late 1970s in search of job opportunities when Ghana's economy nearly collapsed. The economic picture of Ghana during that time only paints well by narrating the ensuing intervention in the democratic regime by a former military leader John Jerry Rawlings in 1981. Rawlings called for a revolution to transform the social and economic conditions of the country. Because of the economic decline many teachers left Ghana for Nigeria. It is estimated that as many as 50 percent of trained teachers left Ghana due to the declining economic and working conditions (Friedson-Ridenour 2015).

In 1983, the Nigerian government repatriated immigrants from the neighboring countries who did not have proper work and resident permits. These friends of mine came back from Nigeria and settled in our little community with no hope of access to an occupation. Without much education and skill, they all took to subsistent farming and entered into the local distilling *akpeteshie* industry, a business which usually trapped many of the new generation of young people who received "half-baked education" in my village community (Foster 1965; Blakemore 1975; Njoku 1980; Blakemore and Cooksey 1981; Stephens 2000; Mfum-Mensah 2017). They became alcoholic and within a short period of time, they all died of alcohol-related diseases. Paul's situation paints a pathetic picture. His mother was prepared to support him to enroll in secondary school but just when Paul was about to be enrolled, the family learned that Paul's teenage sister was pregnant. In poor households where a child's education means a family has to use its limited income, the pregnancy of a teenager could demoralize parents from taking their other children to school (Kazeem, Jensen, and Stokes 2010). Paul's

mother explained to me years later that with her limited income, she could not have catered for her pregnant teenage daughter and supported Paul's secondary education at the same time (personal communications, June 16, 2012). The factors that led to Paul's sister becoming pregnant have been extensively documented in the literature. The literature (see, for instance, Leach 2003; Bhana 2008; Sathiparsad and Taylor 2011; Bhana and Mcambi 2013; Muma, Kabiru, Izugbara, and Mukiira 2014; Wekesa 2014; Onyango, Kioli, and Nyambedha 2015) outlines the overlap of community-based, school-based, and policy-based factors that lead to adolescent pregnancies in rural and poor communities. Kenya, Tanzania, and Zambia are some of the few countries that have developed a wide range of policies to address teenage pregnancies.

Long Distances and School Outcome

It is insightful to get a firsthand experience about the risks and dangers that many children from rural remote communities get exposed to as they trek for long distances to attend school. Two half-brothers who were my classmates and few other children from *Supom* and other nearby villages walked for miles to come to school. One weekend, I trekked with these friends to spend the weekend with them in their village. *Supom* is a very remote community where many children who attended our community school came from. The community is a cluster of tiny villages spread along the banks of the River Pra, which is some five miles away from Ofoase and populated by migrant Ewes and Krobos from Volta and eastern regions of Ghana. These migrant groups have settled in the community as caretakers of cocoa farms. The path that leads from our village to *Supom* is very narrow and a child can be bitten by a snake (which happened once in a while). Children had to also cross the River Pra, which is always dangerous to cross especially during the wet season. My two friends trekked these five miles each way for almost three years to attend school. Aidann Mulkeen and Cathal Higgins (2009) point out that accessibility of school declines not just with distance, but with the physical difficulty of the travel. Physical barriers such as rivers, mountains, and forests may deter attendance. The resilience, dedication, and fortitude of children from *Supom* and countless children in similar circumstances across SSA to attend school needs highlighting. In 2010 four schoolchildren in similar contexts in Ghana drowned in the River Tain when the canoe on which they were crossing the River Tain at Kanaase to attend school at Badu capsized. Five of the children were rescued. In 2015 three schoolchildren drowned in the eastern region because they were swimming to school. It only had to take children who were passionate about education and who understood the promise of education to have the dedication to attend school in such contexts and under such conditions and circumstances (Grannis 2011).

In their 1991 document for the World Bank Marlaine Lockheed and Adriaan Verspoor highlighted that "the single most important determinant of primary school enrollment is the proximity of a school to primary school-age children" (Lockheed and Verspoor 1991, 146). This revelation shows that the deck is stacked against children in rural remote communities where children need physical strength to trek to attend school. Many countries in SSA are rural, which means that many children likely reside in the rural and remote communities. This means that education policy framework needs to focus on the educational needs of children in rural contexts. Sometimes it is so hard to imagine the formidable challenges and the calculated risks that children from rural remote communities endure to access school. Many of the rural children may not have the physical strength to commute to school, and trekking long distances exposes children to all sorts of dangers and hazards (Vuri 1998, 2007; FAO/UNESCO-IIEP 2006; and Grannis 2011). Some nations have established satellite, one room, or multigrade schools as an innovation in primary schools or as feeder schools for communities where there are no complete primary schools. The educational facilities and/or resources provided to support the education of children who are distances away from schools in these contexts are sometimes comparable to those provided to their peers in urban communities but sometimes the story is different (Little 2006; Ministry of Education, Senegal 2009). In places where those education strategies are not available, children must trek for long distances to access any available school.

Role Models and School Outcome

The literature highlights the complex ways neighborhood characteristics affect children's schooling (Wilson 1996, cited in Ainsworth 2002; Brody et al. 2001). The studies point out that community characteristics influence collective socialization processes and shape the type of mentors and role models that youth are exposed to outside the home. Furthermore, communities with more educated people foster behaviors and attitudes that are conducive to success in school. Communities with strong social capital or social networks also influence positively on children's education (Sampson and Groves 1989; Wilson 1996; Ainsworth 2002).

Unlike some areas of the Akyem traditional jurisdictions that were exposed to Western forms of education earlier, the establishment of schools in my village community was a later development. When schools finally became part of the children's socializing process in the community, teachers who were posted to teach in the community became the children's role models by default. The community did not have educated sons and daughters to inspire children in the school to aspire for higher education. During my recent visit to

the town I took the opportunity to visit all the schools and introduced myself to the school authorities as a son of the community who is a professor in the United States. The teachers and principals expressed their gratitude for my taking the time to visit the schools. I interacted with the schoolchildren and provided my usual snippet of advice. There are many contextual settings where students do not need much push or encouragement for them to stay in school. Marginalized children on the other hand need encouragement from successful community members to change children's and parents' dispositions toward schooling.

Three veteran male teachers from our community acted as role models for the new generation of schoolchildren for a while. These three individuals served their time very well and inspired many young men to pursue education. Many scholars point out that education was the instrument used by African elites to allocate societal privileges (Bassey 1999) but this was not the case with these three teachers from my village. It is inconceivable how these people could not push their own children to school beyond middle school. Even though these individuals set the pace educationally for the new generation of schoolchildren, their families are not considered as educated from the community. Back in those days, these veteran teachers were paid a pittance and over the years not much has improved (Samoff 2003; Bourdon, Frolich, and Michaelowa 2010; UNESCO-IICBA 2016). Jean Bourdon, Markus Frolich, and Kathrina Michaelowa compare the wages of teachers to other civil servants in twelve countries in SSA and realize that teachers in those countries are consistently paid lower than the average of other civil servants. Poor conditions of teaching in many nations in SSA have led to a dwindling recruitment of young people into the teaching profession (UNESCO-IICBA 2016). In the contexts of low salaries and lousy compensation, teachers are still blamed for everything in the society. These three teachers could not educate many of their own children beyond standard seven (middle school).

My father was the first male to make it to the university in the village, pursued university education in the Netherlands and Canada before he settled in Ghana in the 1980s. My father's schooling not only gave him the opportunity to advance socially, occupationally, and economically, it also inspired hope for the new generation of young people in the rural village about the opportunities for occupational reward that education could bring. The 1970s and 1980s saw a few of the new generation of young boys enrolled in secondary schools that went on to complete higher education. This new generation drew their inspiration from the successes of the 1950s and 1960s generation. They had the practical evidence about the promise of school to bring change and transformation to their lives and that of their own households. The new generation of students had others to look up to in their own educational endeavors. But unfortunately, the role models and mentors were mostly males.

Girls' education was a challenge then and continues to be a challenge now. Marginalized communities need effective policies that approach marginality from a multifaceted approach. For our rural community setting, the approach included having successful community members as practical examples of the transformative process of education.

CONCLUSION AND POLICY REFLECTIONS

This chapter has provided examples of the overlapping community factors which mediate and complicate children's schooling in a rural remote community. I have provided the vignette to help readers grasp how community-based and school-based factors overlap to marginalize marginalized children educationally in SSA. Education sector reports from countries in SSA outline the complicated challenges that children in marginalized communities face. However, policies tend to focus on ways of addressing the challenges faced by children from the mainstream of society. A scan of the country reports reveals that governments devote less time for marginalized communities and little resources to address the challenges of schooling in marginalized communities. Brookings Institution reports that part of the problem is because governments in the region are failing to extend opportunities to the region's most marginalized children. In Ghana for instance, children from the richest 20 percent of households average six more years in school than those from the poorest households. The reports also show that some governments implement initiatives to address those overlapping challenges only to phase it out after a few years because of budgetary issues. Take for instance the example of Kenya where the government introduced grants to promote primary education in marginalized communities in the early 2000s and phased out the program by 2010 without substituting it with other programs to address the long-term needs of such communities. Policy makers should acknowledge that after many years of independence and strategic implementation of EFA, any lack of success to extend quality basic education to all children is a failure on their part.

My point here is that the policies enacted to promote Univeral Education, MDGs and SDGs require policy makers to also understand the complicated contexts of marginalized children in order to address their educational needs. The picture I have painted in the chapter outlines the need for policy makers to ensure implementation and multifaceted approaches to shore up marginalized children's education for reasons that are not only economic but also matters of human rights. In the developing parts of the world, community-based factors such as gender, spatial residence, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, language, religion, among others overlap to determine children's educational

enrollment, retention, and outcomes. These community factors impede children's schooling. Children's sociocultural responsibilities such as the routine chores that children have to do in the household and the level of children's involvement in the household economic processes affect their schooling. Other factors including a family's level of understanding of the investments in a child's education, and extraneous issues such as family and community mentors determine how children participate in education. I present these narratives to highlight the complicated ways community forces such as a household's understanding of the rate of return to education are crucial as children go through school. One policy strategy that governments can implement is to recruit and work with educated and learned people from local marginalized communities to serve as leaders of education initiatives as a way of their giving back to their communities. I experienced this firsthand when I worked in a rural community to open a community secondary school. The collaboration that three professors from the rural community provided me, the church, and community members to provide leadership to the school planning and implementation was astounding. Once the school began, they also routinely visited the school classrooms, taught, and occasionally spoke to inspired students.

Chapter 5

Contextual Nuances and Girls′ Education

I want readers to beware that the issues around girls' education in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) are extensive, layered, intricate and sometimes convoluted. Women and girls in SSA do not speak in one voice. Therefore, all the different groups of women and girls must take own their voices and stories and speak. I do not intend to use a big brushstroke to paint the picture that all girls in SSA face the same issues. Such a step will simplify the issues affecting girls in different contexts of the region. While I draw from gender and feminist literature to frame the issues faced by girls in this chapter, the issues I present here are nuanced and based on my own familiar knowledge and experience. I also want to highlight the fact that many communities in SSA have made gains on girls' education and governments and other stakeholders continue to work hard to ensure that their societies achieve gender equality in schools. Some of the gains have been achieved sometimes outside the structured government initiatives. Much of the achievements have not come easily but are the result of the resilience of women and girls to contest, interrogate, and challenge powerful forces to improve their social status and contribute strongly to the productive processes in the region. The use of narrative epistemology in this chapter is very useful. The narrative helps to outline the intricate ways education policies and practices do overlap with local factors (in some contexts) to complicate girls' education. The chapter is divided into four sections. Section one juxtaposes the frameworks of women's education in the precolonial era with that of colonial and postcolonial eras. It outlines the frameworks within which the debates on girls' education have been carried during these three eras. This is followed by discussions of the overlap of local community factors which affect girls' education in a rural marginalized community in Ghana. Next, the chapter situates the discussion of girls' education within the framework of community dispositions to help readers

understand how external and local factors may shape dispositions about education of girls. The chapter also historicizes girls' school participation within the framework of girls' roles in precolonial and colonial African societies and feminist scholarship and girls' education in SSA.

CONTEXTUALIZING WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

There is the need to situate the discussions of girls' education and campaigns for gender equality in education in SSA within the ideology of women's education during precolonial, colonial, and early postcolonial eras and the global discourse on gender (see Boserup 1970; Ocitti 1973; Murphy 1980; Njoku 1980; Blakemore and Cooksey 1981; Fafunwa and Aisiku 1982; Deng 1985; World Bank 1996, 2012, 2015; Dennis 1987; Nussbaum 2000; Gengenbach 2002; Mianda 2002; Adams 2006; Omolewa 2007; Hanushek 2008; Lockheed 2008; Shoola 2014). Debates around girls' education are complicated by the tensions around views that see "education" as the engine for economic development vis-à-vis those that see education as a human right. In many societies in SSA the precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial frameworks on gender continue to engage the policy discourse about the role of African women in the national socioeconomic processes and development. These issues are complicated by the fact that in the twenty-first century women in SSA continue to experience marginalization within the contexts of important commitments of governments of SSA to the gender equality goal of the "Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa" (African Union 2004; African Partnership Forum 2007).

There are more girls out of school in SSA than boys. Many of the girls that are out of school live in rural and urban poor communities and many are from marginalized communities. There are fewer opportunities for women and girls, which affects them in multiple ways. Women and girls are sexually violated and receive all forms of mistreatment in schools, at workplaces, and in societies in the region because of the entrenched patriarchal power asymmetry in their societies. Women and girls experience all forms of discrimination in the national socioeconomic processes in the region. Legislatures and policies are patriarchal and meant to maintain the existing social order. These observations are facts that we need to interrogate (for extensive literature detailing experiences of girls and how women and girls are treated in the region, see Birdwell-Wester n.d.; Sharkey 2008; Shoola 2014; Cools, Flato, and Kotsadam 2015).

The overlapping work being done because of the global campaigns on education, bilateral and multilateral agencies and transnational organizations,

non-governmental organizations (NGOs), national governments and policy makers, communities, and women organizations, have led to great achievements in girls' education in SSA and continue to reinforce the need to promote girls' enrollment in schools in achieving the goal of gender education (World Bank 1996; World Bank 2012; World Bank 2015). The analysis of women's education in SSA both as human capital and human rights endeavor emerged after the 1990 Jomtien World Education Conference. At Jomtien national governments in SSA and global education stakeholders made the commitment to make education a regional strategy (Samoff 1993; Leach 1998; Schultz 1999; Stromquist 2003). Furthermore, for the first time, the global and local forces began to employ productive-economistic and humanistic frameworks to forcefully discuss provision of education and particularly, the multifaceted ways gender parity in education in SSA will promote women's contribution to the nations' economic processes, engage in the democratic processes, and play critical roles in the social, maternal health, agricultural, and financial sectors (see Browne and Barrett 1991; Ainsworth, Beegle, and Nyamete 1996; World Bank 1996; Leach 1998; Schultz 1999; Mukudi 2002). Furthermore, women were seen as a pool of untapped labor that could contribute to shore up the national economies. The perceived rates of economic return to women's education have motivated governments, local communities, local and international NGOs, and women's groups to take responsibilities to serve as key actors in promoting girls' education (Browne et al. 1991, 275; Hanushek 2008; Shoola 2014).

Since the 2000 Dakar Declaration, analysis of girls' education in SSA has focused on the intersectional factors which contribute to girls' lower participation in schools in order to provide strategies to ameliorate those challenges. Focus and attention has concentrated on girls in rural remote and urban poor communities and other marginalized groups (Browne et al. 1991; World Bank 1996; Stromquist 2003; Lockheed 2008). Education stakeholders have identified ways in-school factors affect access to girls' education and learning achievements and levels of outcome; socioeconomic factors such as the opportunity cost of schooling which may be prohibitive to some families, and the priority given to girls' future roles as mothers and wives; and sociocultural factors, as factors which overlap and compound to create educational inequalities for girls in SSA (Mukudi 2002; Mfum-Mensah 2003b; Stromquist 2003; Nyariro 2016). Edith Mukudi (2002) contends that factors including poverty, in-school factors such as lack of educational facilities, long distances to attend schools, and lack of menstrual hygiene management, are barriers that affect girls' progression to the next levels of schooling. Other research identifies the complicated ways global forces including the conditionality that come with foreign aids and grants from donor groups may complicate girls' education in SSA (see Eurodad 2006; Shoola 2014). The gender parity targets that

the World Bank, the United Nation's 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and other global education stakeholders have set can be met by introducing and implementing policies that enlist all stakeholders in the process. The World Bank 2016–2023 gender strategy calls for stronger and better-resourced efforts to address gender inequalities in access to economic and productive processes, and enhancing women's voice and agency (World Bank 2012, 2015). I now turn to contextualize girls' education in marginalized communities drawing from the experiences of my village as a way to outline the intricate factors that shape girls' education in the community.

CONTEXTUALIZING GIRLS′ EDUCATION IN MARGINALIZED COMMUNITIES

Most of the girls from our village community who attended school during our time never made it past standard seven (it is also called middle school form four). It was a challenge for the few girls who graduated from the middle school to even make it. Back in the 1960s and 1970s many parents in the village were ambivalent about girls' school enrollment. During a recent visit to the village the resident Roman Catholic priest informed me about the church's initiatives to promote school enrollment among adolescent girls and transition them to secondary schools. Despite the global efforts to promote girls' school enrollment which began after the 1990 Jomtien World Education Conference and the Ghanaian Government's 1995 Full Compulsory Universal Education (*f*CUBE) initiative, girls' school participation in my village is below the national average. A major achievement the Ghana Government's *f*CUBE policy made in the village in the 1990s was that it kept many girls in our village community in school to complete junior secondary school (JSS). However, many of the girls did not transition to the next level of the school system after JSS. There are many reasons why many teenage girls in our village never transitioned from JSS to senior secondary school (SSS). The girls' socioeconomic and sociocultural contexts, and policy issues all combined and intersected in complicated ways. Feminist scholars like Edith Mukudi, Nelly Stromquist, Milka Nyariro, Claudia Mitchell, and others outline the intersectional nature of the contemporary challenges that serve to marginalize girls in education (Mukudi 2002; Stromquist 2003; Mitchell 2009; Nyariro 2016). These scholars acknowledge that factors including poverty, lack of educational facilities, long distances to attend schools, lack of menstrual hygiene management, and lack of toilet facilities at the school are barriers that affect girls' progression to the next levels of schooling. Similarly, cultural factors such as asymmetry power relations that lead to sexual harassment, teenage pregnancies, and the practice of early marriages, overlap and intersect to

create girls' low enrollment in school. Girls' education in SSA in the twenty-first century is still a complex initiative and apart from the global and national forces, girls' education is complicated by local forces; cultural, social, and religious factors; in-school and out-of-school factors; and regional factors. In the subsequent subsections I outline powerful local forces that shape girls' education in my village.

Nuanced Community Dispositions

Many community members in marginalized communities entertain varied dispositions toward girls' education which range from outright resistance, benign doubts about girls' capabilities to pursue education, and a few favorable views on girls' education. These ambivalent dispositions around girls' education by community members do not emerge from nowhere overnight. It is the outworking of external forces, community forces, school's socializing processes, and policy which all overlap to create those ambivalent and divergent views about girls' schooling. The interesting thing (albeit unfortunate) is that many girls in many marginalize communities come to accept a disposition that they "will not succeed" in school. The girls' views on gender and schooling highlight the complex overlap of family socioeconomic status and patriarchal ideologies that create different dispositions on education for males and females. Let me discuss the external forces which directly and indirectly shape girls' dispositions about education in my village. Parents in my village entertain a strong belief that there are roles for the different genders and their daughters will ultimately take the domestic role required of every good woman while their boys as husbands, take the economic roles of the family. The domestic roles in the family require generational skills that girls learn from their mothers and grandmothers. Boys on the other hand need to complete school and get book knowledge to be able to move to the urban community to look for a government job. If a parent has a son and a daughter and they both show apathy toward schooling the mother will usually makes the statement that "*wo obarima dea wo anko sukuu a wo beye mmobo esan se wo de wo ahooden na ebeye adwuma adidi. Obaa not dee obi beware no do no ako kurum*." The meaning is that a male who chooses not to enroll in school will have to rely on his physical strength to work. If a girl chooses not to enroll in school she can still get an educated husband to marry and take her to the urban community.

Men who complete secondary school in the village usually move out to the urban communities to get a job. When it is time for them to marry, they usually return to take a wife from the village. There are many options for girls even if they do not complete school. They could marry, have children, provide food for their families, support their husbands in the farm (if they

stay in the village), and sell in the village market. They believed that these roles—were also crucial in a village community undergoing transformation. John Njoku points out that when the Europeans introduced Western education in African societies, cultural traditions allowed only the male to go to the school. In many African societies, missionary education was initially opened to the male children as most townspeople did not want to have their girls educated (Njoku 1980). Njoku posits that women in traditional African societies were accorded special respect as long as they played their prescribed roles. The aspiration of many of these girls from the village was for one of the village young men who had moved to the city to come back and marry them and take them to the city. During the time we attended school, any initiative to shore up girls' education in Ghana's educational system was the 1950s early postcolonial framework. Since the 1990s there have been initiatives in place that specifically target girls and yet that community continues to encounter the struggle to get girls to transition to secondary school.

Community members' conventional views and cultural practices in our small community create a mind-set and disposition in many of the young girls that it is acceptable if they do not make it past the basic education level. Of course, we are all the product of the communities we are a part of but women in my village community play versatile and fluid roles in the community which make the defeatist mind-set demonstrated by many girls in our community toward education somehow contradictory. It seems contradictory in the sense that women in the community have for ages demonstrated their resilience and made substantial contributions to the local economic ventures. Despite the documented evidence about the roles education plays in transforming women's lives, interestingly, the girls did not transfer the successes of our community women into success in the schooling system (Bledsoe 1992; Mfum-Mensah 2003, 2005, 2009; Sharkey 2008; Mfum-Mensah and Friedson-Ridenour 2014). I have had the opportunity to engage in series of conversations with many of the contemporary generation of women from the town over the years and the theme that always stands out from the conversations is that they second-guessed their capability when it came to performance in school. Self-fulfilling prophesy weighed these young ladies down to the extent that they entertained the perception that they did not have the capability to succeed in school.

Complex Local Forces

Community socioeconomic factors played layered benign roles to deter girls' interests in schooling. These girls usually considered their families' economic situation and therefore decided not to push further because they feared the consequences if they did not successfully complete their education.

They expressed that it would be a waste of the family's resources if they fail. Parents as well as the girls calculated the opportunity cost of schooling and sometimes determined that it would be wise to focus on the males. The females would certainly marry and the husband will take care of her. The male would have to prepare well to get a job that will enable him to take his duty of supporting both his wife and children and the other family members.

Some of the community members in the village vehemently were opposed to girls pursuing education beyond the primary level as a mask of their poverty situation and inability to financially support their children's education. For many of the family households in the community that demonstrated extreme poverty, it did not matter the policy strategies in place to promote girls' education. They loathed talking about education in general and girls' education in particular for the simple reason that they could not afford to support their children's education and it dented their self-esteem to see that they could not support their children's education in a context where they also saw their neighbors send their children and nephews to school. Rather than some of these households accept their economic situation, and the fact that they could not afford their children's education they rather opposed education in general.

Matrilineal social structure of our village was a traditional practice that inhibited some girls' education in the community. I have provided extensive discussion of the social system in chapter 2. Many women from my village always look forward to having their daughters marry early and give birth to daughters to continue the generational line. There is always a sense of urgency here and that a girl's extended stay in school may delay her marriage and her potential to bear a child. The hope that families place on their daughters to extend the family lineage far outweighed that of the daughters acquiring an education, and participating in the urban economic processes. In the rural communities, family members would go as far as to intentionally discourage other family members who had the desire and wanted to support their girl-child to stay in school longer from doing so. Conversely, few community members also believed that the important roles of women marrying and having children should not prevent girls from pursuing education if they wished and had the ability to do so.

Vignette

I recall the community gossips in the town when Agnes's parents decided to financially support her to enroll in secondary school after middle school education. Agnes was an average student academically (even by the village standards) like few of the girls in our community school. Not many people had hope in her ability to pass the Common Entrance Examination but she did pass the exam, which was not just a surprise to her parents but the entire school and

community members who got to know about Agnes's success. Her success in the Common Entrance Examination motivated her parents to enroll her in secondary school. Agnes's parents' socioeconomic status was like most of the community members. They were subsistent farmers who owned a few acres of cocoa farm which they banked on to support Agnes's education. The history of women's education in SSA documents that within the patriarchal contexts with hierarchies, women from high status and wealthy households had more opportunities for education than those who came from poor households but that was not the case for Agnes's family (Decker 2010; Ricketts 2013).

None of Agnes's siblings ever enrolled beyond middle schooling. So, the family's decision to enroll her in secondary school was very progressive in our village community that for the most part community members expressed doubts on women's education. Such a decision defied the community traditions. If this "not-so-wealthy" family (even by the village's standards) wanted to invest in one of its children, conventional wisdom dictated that it should be one of the males and not Agnes. Even one of the "revered" village educators advised against the parents' decision to take Agnes to secondary school. Other community members also persuaded the parents not to "put all their eggs in that one basket" because girls' education was not necessary. Some even inquired about when she was going to complete school and get married. The picture I provide here shows how education in my village in those days was not just a family affair but the community's business. Traditional African communities promote collective responsibilities. The collective responsibility of community members is important because Africans traditionally define themselves according to their social obligation to the wider community (Wiredu 1996; Gyekye 1995; Elabor-Idumedia 2000). But collective responsibility can go both ways and pose some barriers in certain situations even as it is a supportive practice. The popular mantra here was "let us wait and see what is going to happen." This demonstration of "collective responsibility" by community members to influence against Agnes's parents' decision to enroll her in secondary school emotionally drained both Agnes and her parents. Through collective responsibility, members in a community may influence other members by organizing themselves in ways that protect other members of the community from making what they deem as unfavorable decisions (Sampson and Groves 1989; Brody et al. 2001, 1232). It is important to underscore that communities do affect the educational outcomes of young residents in ways that socially reproduce the existing structures of inequalities. Community support networks, conversations, gossips, and lore all combine in intricate ways to create a form of collective socialization and collective decision which influence decisions around girls' schooling in traditional communities. Could it also be that few community members believed in girls' education but made the decision not to support their girl-children to further their education because of pressure from other community members?

I picked up the dilemma Agnes's parents were in from the usual evening conversations between Agnes's parents and my maternal grandparents. These two families had a bond of friendship that usually after the evening meals Oldman Asante (Agnes's father) visited with Oldman (my grandfather). Anytime the two pals visited each other they discussed a broad range of topics usually beginning with the village chieftaincy issues, traditions, recollection of some of the things of historical significance, farming and daily activities, the local market mechanisms, among other things and always ended on their children and grandchildren. We grandchildren picked a lot of wisdom and literary strategies and skills from the conversations of these two great community elders. In their discussions of contrasting issues, their deliberate use of paradoxical and contradictory scenarios all infused with proverbs, myths, alliteration, ironies, parallelism, and other literary skills with precision helped to develop our own critical thinking skills. I picked a lot of historical information from these informal but intensely rich conversations. In *Things Fall Apart*, the notable literary Nigerian scholar Chinua Achebe succinctly captures the richness of such routine local village meetings which is also akin to these two families and pals:

> When we gather together in the moonlit village ground it is not because of the moon. Every man can see it in his own compound. We come together because it is good for kinsmen to do so. (Achibe 1959, 125)

Interestingly, after all the naysayers and the divergent advice from all the different corners, Oldman's recommendation nailed the family's ultimate decision. It became a big sigh of relief for Agnes when her parents finally gave money to her older brother to accompany her to Accra to purchase most of the items written in the school prospectus to enable her finally to embark on this life-changing journey. From the very first time my own father trail blazed and enrolled in secondary school up to our own era, secondary school in our small village assumed a high status and prestige. When schools reopened and the few secondary school students brought the "trunk or airtight" boxes (as boxes specifically designed for students to use for the Ghanaian boarding secondary were called) to the roadside and boarded cars to go to school, it was usually a time of pride for families who supported their children to enroll in secondary school. Secondary school attendance also brought validation to the students themselves as belonging to the "fortunate" few who had that chance in our small village. Since Dad's time, little had changed in terms of the hoops and hurdles that people went through to get access to secondary schooling (Mfum-Mensah 2005, 2017). Aside from the pyramidal school structure that the British colonial administration bequeathed to its colonial territories which in many ways disenfranchised many people and communities at the margins of colonial and global contexts including our town, the socioeconomic and

sociocultural contexts of local communities complicated access to schooling and retention of children in school in many ways (Arnove and Torres 2003; Mfum-Mensah 2003, 2017).

On one bright day in September in the 1970s when the six or seven secondary school students from my village waited at the roadside with their boxes to board one of those "lorries" (wooden trucks that then served as transportation in rural communities in Ghana) to their respective secondary schools, there was a young girl in her red checkered dress among "the numbers on the way to Canaan." The young women in my village finally had a role model and mentor in Agnes. Her success was bound up with the success of all the young ladies who would follow later. The ammunition of some community members who cited the failure of girls as excuses to not push for their girl-children's education would be dismantled. Conversely, Agnes's failure would be catastrophic for the schooling of the next generation of young girls who would come up after her. Accomplished women and women who have succeeded educationally can play critical mentoring roles in marginalized communities where girls' education is a challenge. Some have identified the need for implementing mentorship programs to consolidate the government's efforts and initiatives to achieve gender equality in education (Friedson-Ridenour 2015). Agnes boarded the "lorry" that headed in the southern direction. She was on the way to Koforidua to enroll in secondary school for the first time. For this small village girl, enrolling in secondary school in the early 1970s was such a big deal. It had been almost twenty years after Ghana's independence but for our small village, a girl attending a secondary school was still unheard of. Up to that time, the village had been impervious to the global liberal movement to promote universal education for all which also included education of girls (Ricketts 2013; Mundy 2016; Mfum-Mensah 2017). Contrary to the village community's expectations of that era, Agnes never became pregnant. She stayed in school even after repeating a grade twice and completed secondary school. She went on to enroll in the teachers training college after completion of secondary school and became a teacher and later enrolled and completed the Bachelor of Education degree.

While many of the community members had extreme traditional views on educating girls a few progressive ones had positive dispositions toward girls' schooling but their socioeconomic contexts meant that they had to make important choices regarding which of their children's education they needed to use their limited resources to support and in most of the time the choices fell on the boys. Education in this community was and still is an investment for parents and the family (Stephens 2000). During my father's era, women never made it past primary three or four. Besides Agnes few girls also went on to enroll in secondary schools in the 1970s and 1980s. The stories of Agnes and a few other girls from the village who pursued secondary school

and higher education demonstrate the resilience of young women from our small town to shatter the formidable community barriers to pursue education. Certainly, the power relations and the disposition that women fulfill their domestic roles could not undermined these village girls' desire to pursue formal education (see Wane 2000, 63).

HISTORICIZING WOMEN'S ROLE IN COLONIAL AFRICA

If the schooling of most girls in the mainstream is a challenge, then that of girls who school at the margins of society is a double whammy and girls in our small town who enrolled in school were not exempted from this situation. They were marginalized within the marginalized environment where patriarchal norms ruled. The context of our town offered limited opportunities and incentives for girls and women to have the desire for schooling. As I pointed out in a section above, girls from my village were born into and brought up in a household where women's schooling was in many ways neither viewed as a priority nor important. Of course, it could be argued that those views were the product of a different era. However, our village has not witnessed drastic transformation regarding those entrenched traditional views and dispositions on girls' education after all these years of independence and the massive campaigns for gender parity. It could be argued that the dispositions were the result of the European encounters in Africa and introduction of missionary and colonial schools that reconfigured the precolonial social arrangement and in the process deprived African women of the productive processes that came with Western forms of schooling (Njoku 1980; Deng 1985; Dennis 1987; Gengenbach 2002; Mianda 2002; and Adams 2006).

Years before the European encounters in our town, women's domestic roles did not define any subordinated status. It was a role crucial to the traditional precolonial division of labor where males, females, and children played their crucial roles to sustain the home, the family, and the society. The emergence of Europeans introduced European patriarchal norms and traditions that redefined the roles played by African women. The European patriarchy was based on European capitalist forms with its production-oriented processes that marginalized women from the productive processes. Over time, men and women who were born and grew up in colonial systems came to embrace the domestic ideology. It is inconceivable to grasp the idea of how both men and women from our community could be "rooted" in the ideology or could have entertained the belief that women should be confined to the domestic sphere in a context where these women rubbed shoulders with men when it came to farm work and even worked harder (in some cases) than

men to sustain (not supplement) their households (Boserup 1970). But such an ideology entertained by both women and men alike can be understood within the framework of colonialism. Such a view is part of the "colonial traumas that seep into bodies, spirits, relations, structures, systems and places (Finney 2016, 20). Colonialism and colonial configurations did not go away even after independence (Said 1993, cited in London 2003). This ideological thinking began when colonizers arrived on the scene and did not end when they went home. The nature of independence that colonial territories achieved was political and not ideological and psychological independence.

Some African feminist scholars argue for education policies and particularly, policies on gender parity to be situated within African feminist framework to help bring marginalized women from the shadows to the center in educational discourse. African feminist framework views the male not as the other but a similar human being and a part of humanity noting that each gender constitutes a critical half that makes humanity whole and that neither gender is complete (Nnaemeka 1998; Agyepong 2001). Nnaemeka (1998) points out that African feminism is an ideology that evokes the power of African women and tells triumphs and obstacles. The African feminists' approach is a lens to challenge and repudiates Western feminism in its focus solely on gender, drawing a dichotomy between males and females and discounting the critical, important, and complementary roles played by females and males to make a coherent whole. Rosina Agyepong notes that while African feminism challenges men's domination in government, economic, and social institutions, it also resists exclusion of men from women's issues. It invites men as partners in problem solving and change. African feminist framework underscores the intersectionality of feminist issues and brings the conversation about ways contextual discourse is important for discussing feminism given the way colonial, postcolonial, and immigration all impact women differently in our global geopolitical contexts (Agyepong 2001).

CONCLUSION AND POLICY REFLECTIONS

I return to discuss some of the initiatives that policy makers and other stakeholders have put in place and what they could work together with parents, and the community to shore up girls' education in marginalized communities. Some of the initiatives I mention here are working in some SSA contexts but they are worth the telling to remind policy makers and other education stakeholders about lessons we can draw from those policies. First, I focus on policy makers. Policy makers could improve girls' education in marginalized communities that have similar social profiles and exhibit similar demographics by partnering with other stakeholders and local community members to

make this happen. A few years ago, UNICEF implemented some initiatives to promote girls' education in the hamlets of Upper Egypt. After engaging in anthropological studies to investigate why girls in the hamlets of Egypt did not attend school, it became clear that parents were hesitant to let their girls trek to school because of the distance from the communities to the available school. Schools were not in the community and parents were apprehensive that their girls trekking for long distances to school might encounter situations including being raped and therefore, they were very hesitant to allow their children to attend school (Zaalouk 1995; and Farrell 2008). The result was that UNICEF implemented community schools in Egypt which has since addressed the educational needs of girls in Upper Egypt. In 1996, the School for Life—a local non-governmental organization in northern Ghana—embarked on an educational initiative that specifically targeted marginalized children in rural remote and urban poor communities including girls. This has resulted in mainstreaming both girls and boys in the public school system in rural and urban poor communities in northern Ghana (Akorful 2013; Mfum-Mensah and Friedson-Ridenour 2014; Mfum-Mensah 2017). The lesson we can learn from these two initiatives is that it helps us understand the need to strengthen the enacted policies of incorporating alternative forms of schooling in national frameworks. Such a policy exists in almost all national policies in SSA but they are not implemented because of the lack of financial resources and political will. Alternative approaches to reaching marginalized children including girls might help achieve the desired ends of gender equality. Regarding addressing girls' educational survival in rural remote communities, some possible options that need exploration include enrolling as many girls as possible who reach the upper primary schools in an "all girls'" boarding schools as is the case of many community boarding schools in some countries like Kenya. Enrollment of girls in junior secondary school (during girls' adolescent years) is so critical in many societies in SSA. That is why initiatives that will target a critical mass of girls to enroll in school might be an effective policy initiative. Another layer of this initiative might entail recruiting female teachers from rural communities to return to teach in their communities to serve as role models in their rural communities. Any of these initiatives will require some broader affirmative action initiatives in teacher education programs in the country where the government will give applicants from marginalized communities a priority in teacher education at the diploma and university levels.

All parents want their children to have some level of education but parents in poor households in urban and rural communities are always faced with the decision of whether to use their meager resources to finance their children's education or something pressing (Foster 1964; Stephens 2000). Even when it comes to supporting the children's education, sometimes (and many times)

most of the parents must make the decision of which of the children to provide further support. In situations like this, parents are more likely to invest in their children who demonstrate the promise to make greater contribution to the household's economic needs in the future. In the past, such children have tended to be boys. Therefore, any initiatives toward promoting girls' education must include parents, especially the mothers. Historical and other documented evidence shows that African women have played contradictory roles when it comes to education (Njoku 1980; Mianda 2002). Both John Njoku and Gertrude Mianda explain how on one hand women have used the process of girls' education to challenge entrenched cultural and patriarchal norms but at the same time have used the provision of girls' education to reinforce patriarchal and cultural norms. Njoku (1980) points out that as the wind of initiatives to promote girls' education blew at the time of independence, some African mothers encouraged their female children to go to school and get proper education rather than engaging in vocational skills such as sewing. At the same time, there were other voices of African mothers who felt that too much education would turn their daughters away from their family duties. In all honesty, not many men and fathers in my village community desired girls' education during the early days of establishment of schooling in our village community. And over the course of seventy plus years of school establishment in the community, many of our fathers' conversations regarding girls' education have been rhetoric and not backed by action.

Policy makers in SSA have implemented a slew of gender parity and gender equality programs which show the evidence that they are committed to the gender equality agenda (see Federal Republic of Nigeria 2008; The United Republic of Tanzania 2008, 2014; Government of Ghana 2010a, 2010b; Republic of Kenya 2013, 2014a, 2014b; Republic of Zambia 2014; The Republic of Uganda 2014). However, policy makers also acknowledge that marginalized communities continue to be disadvantaged when it comes to the provision and implementation of gender equality programs. As an example, Kenya has stopped many gender parity initiatives because of lack of funds to support those initiatives. The Kenyan government reports that those programs were not able to reach girls in Arid and Semi-Arid lands (ASAL) when they were implemented because of lack of resources. The Kenyan example is typical of what is going on in many nations in SSA. Such situations present an interesting contradiction because those girls who most needed these gender equality initiatives were the very ones who sometimes did not access the programs because of resource constraints.

Besides resource allocation, it is also becoming clear that teenage early and unintended pregnancy is another challenge to the initiative to achieve gender equality in SSA. Birungi, Undie, MacKenzie, Katahoire, and Obare (2015) point out that in many societies in SSA, nearly all adolescent girls who

become pregnant, drop out of school and do not reenter school after they have given birth. There are complicated social, economic, cultural, and in-school and policy-level factors that make these girls not to return to school, which is unfortunate for a region that seeks to promote gender equality. Many of these adolescent pregnant girls are from the same rural remote and urban poor communities and poor households and are the group that gender parity policies aim to capture. The strategy to promote gender parity therefore definitely requires a comprehensive multifaceted framework which clearly outlines how to address the occurrences of teenage and unintended pregnancies as well as how to get teenage mothers back to school. Policy makers are not naïve and know that unless robust initiatives are implemented many unintended and early pregnancies would occur with all adolescents from poor and marginalized communities. Despite the complexities of the community, school-based, and policy-based factors that create the climate for adolescent pregnancies, effective programs and policies that address the issues are not currently present in many societies in SSA. The scan of policies shows that governments and policy makers in countries like South Africa, Kenya, and Uganda, Botswana, Malawi, Zambia, and Tanzania have at least launched policies for girls (Undie, Birungi, and Obare 2015; Mirago 2014; Birungi, Undie, MacKenzie, Katahoire, and Obare, 2015). In the 2015 study on six African studies Harriet Birungi and her colleagues found that three countries (Botswana, Kenya, and Zambia) have official re-entry policies that are not in draft form. Their study also revealed that the current policies of all countries reviewed show that those policies are not clearly mapped and have inconsistencies and ambiguities (Birungi et al. 2015). Furthermore, a 2002 study by Undie, Birungi, and Obare to explore re-entry policies in selected countries in East and Southern Africa shows that Tanzania had punitive policies on adolescent pregnancy in place. The study also shows that only Zambia allows adolescent girls to continue schooling once they become pregnant. The government and policy makers in Tanzania on the other hand have placed a moratorium on re-entry policy. The new president is only implementing a policy that had been in existence in the school system since the 1960s (see Center for Reproductive Rights 2013). There are overlapping factors which lead to early pregnancies and part of the processes of addressing the unintended and early pregnancy would need to investigate those overlapping factors and address them. Governments and policy makers can make the efforts to minimize the occurrences of teenage pregnancies. Policies on re-entry for adolescent girls who become pregnant in countries such as Nigeria and Ghana are not so clear.

The entrenched patriarchy in many African societies dictates that governments employ feminist frameworks in the creation and organization of government bureaucracies and institutions and national development agenda. The School for Life's model of engaging local women in the education and

development is a great model to explore further. Women serve on school committees where they work alongside the School for Life organization and other men to plan ways to promote girls' education. This strategy has had a fair chance to improve girls' education in the local community because women continue to be the mediating force between old world cultural attitudes of the male population toward educating women and the new educational opportunities opening for women that they wanted their daughters to take advantage of (Njoku 1980, 32). One of the initial challenges that development stakeholders may encounter with the women participatory model in more traditional communities is when men decide not to accord women the space and respect in the participatory process.

Finally, governments and policy makers should know that the campaigns for gender parity and gender equality in SSA are not restricted to the education sector and do not end at the school arena. This means that a gender parity approach that is multifaceted for public and private sectors, organizations, institutions, and government processes should be the framework for sub-Saharan African countries' strategic plan. Governments in SSA and the diverse societies at large should also understand that the campaigns for gender equality especially for marginalized women and girls should also translate to providing opportunities for girls from marginalized communities who have the requisite credentials to seek employment at all levels of the government apparatus including the legislature, judiciary, security, health, education, and politics, among others without discrimination. It also means the private sector should create avenues for women from marginalized communities to compete and thrive in leadership positions to provide the concrete evidence that the society cares about social justice for all.

Chapter 6

Educational Development and Marginalized Zongo Muslim Communities

I devote this chapter to outline the tensions of the Christian missionary and colonial education discourses when juxtaposed with Islamic education, and how religion, ethnicity, and spatiality overlap to create dynamic Zongo Muslim communities as cultural spaces in Ghana. The chapter also highlights the ways the marginal school participation of children from Ofoase Zongo community fits into the broader discourse on Islamic communities' resistance to Western education in sub-Saharan Africa. Focusing on Zongo Muslim "communities" as a unit of analysis in this chapter helps readers to conceptualize the complexities of the colonial encounters, colonial economic productive processes, community development in indigenous Ghanaian societies, and extension of social services including education to diverse marginalized communities in Ghana. Analysis of educational development in Zongo communities is particularly important because discussions about educational development in Ghana have not given much attention to how education was provided in Zongo communities in colonial and postcolonial educational discourse. There is not much literature on Zongo communities in general and the paucity of literature is staggering when it comes to education of Zongo communities in Ghana. The development of Zongo communities in the contexts of the Christian missionary enterprise and colonial encounters, and expansion of Western forms of education in Zongo communities provides a glimpse of the calculated marginalization of Islamic communities in sub-Saharan Africa and Islamic communities' resistance to colonial forms of socialization.

Zongo Muslim communities in urban and rural spaces in Ghana reveal a settlement phenomenon that began in the colonial era. In recent years, the development of Zongo communities has taken a center stage that one of the

early initiatives taken by the newly elected Ghanaian government's New Patriotic Party after its inauguration was the establishment of the Zongo Development Fund. As "stranger communities" in Ghana, the "Zongo" provides a lens for analyzing the complex ways migration and immigration in the colonial era overlapped with religion, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status to create a marginalized "space" and culture and the impact of this social arrangement on community development in urban and rural Ghanaian societies (Silver 1983; Sarfoh 1986; Allman 1991; Pellow 1991, 2001; Obeng 2002; Williamson 2013).

"ZONGO" AS A "CULTURAL SPACE"

The Zongo as a spatial settlement and spatial culture in Ghana is the result of migration and immigration, transnational, and transcultural processes and shifts created by colonial economic forms in colonial productive processes (Silver 1983). Zongo first emerged as a settler community that the colonial administration created to organize and restrict and contain new migrants in search of opportunities to participate in colonial economic and productive processes in colonial territories. The word "Zongo" is a Hausa term which means "foreign settlers," "travelers' camp," or "stopover." Zongo is a sort of "ghettoization" created in Ghanaian urban and rural communities which began as an informal settlement (slum) in Ghanaian spatial settlement where Muslim immigrants temporarily squatted during the British colonization of the Gold Coast. The colonial government reconfigured and created new forms of spatial social arrangements in the colonial Gold Coast society in ways that reserved Muslim migrant groups as a pool of unskilled workers to support the colonial labor force in the productive processes. Some of the members of the Zongo communities were traders and laborers in search of opportunities to participate in colonial economic and productive processes. However, the majority engaged in menial jobs that local indigenous people in the forest and coastal regions detested.

Contemporary spatial organization demonstrates that the Zongo Muslim communities, as a spatial settlement pattern, have morphed into the society and have now become permanent settlements for foreign settlers. It is now a heterogeneous community with a unique cultural practice, religious and ethnic compositions that are fluid, organic, and completely different from any communities and settlement patterns in Ghana. Zongo presents an Islamized culture where residents are bound together by Islam (Obeng 2002; Williamson 2013; Ayele et al. 2016). As special settlements in many towns in Ghana, Zongo is diaspora stranger communities made up of traders and laborers.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE OFOASE ZONGO COMMUNITY

The development of Ofoase Zongo community should be placed within the broader discussion of the complexities of the European contacts with Africa which began in the fifteenth century and systematic depletion of Africa's natural and human resources resulting in the formal colonization of indigenous Africans. Europeans of the early nineteenth century repackaged the depletion of African resources in the guise of religious civilization through missionary activities, economic civilization through mercantilism, and cultural civilization through the occupation of distant lands and forcibly seized indigenous lands and territories. The notable Sir Thomas Buxton in his book *The African Slave Trade and Its Remedy* said it very well when he remarked that "the only way to save Africa from the evils of slave trade . . . would be to call out its own natural resources" (Buxton 1839, 1976; Bassey 1999). When Africa became the major agenda of the global policy discourse in 1884, Indigenous Africans lost their territories to the European invaders who, out of their greed and hunger for African resources and their possession of power and sophisticated technology, enslaved indigenous Africans on their own land to work for nothing in return because of colonization. Accounts of European enslavement of Africans on their own lands during the colonial era are well documented. In southern Africa, Cecil Rhodes and his group of marauders enslaved Africans to work for them. King Leopold II of Belgian Congo used brute tactics to enslave Africans to work for nothing, failure of which the limbs of the indigenous people were maimed and severed. Similar tactic occurred in German Togoland where Germany initially schemed to bring northern Togoland under its rule to protect the northern German missions. This prop together with economic exploitation made Gustav Nachigal the representative of Otto Von Bismarck together with the German military and German trading companies to expand the German territory of Togoland from the southern majority Ewe territory to annex the north which also included Dagomba, Kabre, Konkomba, Tykossi, and Kotokori (Stearns 2008). The German colonizers used African forced labor to work rubber, palm, cotton, and cocoa plantations.

Nkwanta-Koi was one of the vibrant communities which experienced the direct effects of the German colonial exploitation and rule. Due to its location it was morphed into the northern Trans-German Togoland during colonization. Though under the German colonial rule, northern Togoland resisted the direct colonial control due in part to land reform policies introduced by German colonial administration which made the Germans to implement a form of indirect rule for northern Togoland. Nkwanta-Koi community at this

time was a heterogeneous community made up of Kotokolis and Ewe ethnic groups. The Kotokoli ethnic groups are diffused migrant nomads who in precolonial and colonial eras moved in caravans across the West African belt with their animal herds. During colonization Kotokolis lived side by side with their Ewe neighbors under the policies and protection of the German colonial administration.

The European War of the early twentieth century (also known as World War I) made German territories of Cameroon and Togoland come under the control of Britain and France colonial administration. When Britain and France divided the German colony of Togoland, Nkwanta-Koi became part of the Gold Coast (Ghana). The people of Nkwanta-Koi in the then northern Togoland found out overnight that they were no more under the protection of the Trans-German colonial administration but under a new colonial power—the British. The uncertainties of the colonial transitions coupled with economic hardship of the area precipitated a kind of Kotokoli migration not experienced before as many members of the Kotokoli ethnic group living in Nkwanta-Koi began to move out of the area to the more stable southern colonized territory of the Gold Coast in search of economic opportunities. It was this migration that brought Ibraham Kojo Mahama's father from Nkwanta-Koi to the Gold Coast to join his older brother who had migrated earlier and settled in Agona Swedru in the Agona land of southern British territory of the Gold Coast. His father later moved to Akyem Oda because it was a thriving part of the cocoa belt and he needed a menial job to survive. He stayed in Oda for a while and joined other Kotokolis to trek the twenty-four miles north of Oda settling in Ofoase in 1913 where he sought menial jobs in the cocoa industry which other alien migrants from the other countries in the West African region engaged in during the colonial era. Many members of the Zongo Muslim communities which the colonial administration helped established in the rural Gold Coast constituted the mass of labor force as sharecroppers, wage laborers, jobbers, and occasionally settled tenant farmers (Kobo 2010; Obeng 2002). These activities were important ways by which the migrant groups were grafted into the colonial economic and productive processes. This was also the case for the Kotokoli migrants in my village. Gradually, other Kotokoki trickled in and made Ofoase their new home.

The group of Kotokolis that settled in Ofoase community engaged in all forms of the colonial economic activities. The few females mostly engaged in the palm kernel oil processing business and the men worked as laborers in the cocoa and cola nut industry. Some also engaged in petty trading including, weaving of raffia palm roofing materials for roofing thatched houses, and other menial labor. When Ibrahim Mahama's father and other first Kotokoli settlers came to Ofoase, they met Zugus from Dahomey (another migrant group from Benin) that had already settled in the community and engaged

as laborers in the cocoa industry. The Zugu migrant group later migrated to another part of the colonial territory. Five years after Mr. Mahama's father settled in Ofoase he went back to Nkwanta-Koi and took a wife as the Islamic tradition demands and brought her to Ofoase. For the long period of time, the practice of a Kotokoli going back to their original home to marry became a tradition of almost all the Kotokolis who came to settle in Ofoase.

In precolonial times, the migration of people from the Sahelian areas of northwestern Africa to the forest and coastal areas of Ghana was controlled. Therefore, migrants were incorporated into the mainstream local communities. Colonization reconfigured a new arrangement as migrants in the colonial era who were mainly labor migrants lived in "stranger communities" to be drawn as a pool of labor force in the colonial productive processes. In the early 1920s there was no "alien" community in Ofoase as all the stranger migrants lived together with the indigenous people in the community. Ibrahim Mahama narrated that when he was born, his parents were living with one of the indigenous people and so while he was given an Islamic name, he also adopted an indigenous Akan name from the man his parents lived with in the community (personal narrative with Ibrahim Mahama, June 4, 2017). Elder Mahama narrated it this way:

> the British colonial administration introduced new spatial arrangement when these White colonists came to the village community and the District Commissioner demanded that the village Chief by name Kwame Kwanin demarcate a land for the Muslim migrant groups to create their own community. The real rationale was to marginalize the Islamic migrant group from the indigenous community members to control their labor and productive process. (Personal narrative with Ibrahim Mahama, June 4, 2017)

Once the land was given to the Kotokolis at the outskirts of the town, the Kotokolis built their houses with the available building material from the community knowing that they were in the community briefly and would move to another area of the colonial territory. The Zongo community was built at the outskirts of the village as one entered the village from Akim Oda. However, with the expansion of the village due to spatial development the village encapsulated the Zongo community to become part of the main community.

For several years the village community viewed the Zongo community as a community in transition. During the massive migration of the Yorubas from Nigeria and other Kotokoli from Burkina Faso, Northern Togo, and Northern Benin to the village in the late 1950s and 1960s Ofoase Zongo became a more diverse group of migrants. The emergence of the Yorubas in the village was part of the Nigerian migration to Ghana in the 1950s and 1960s due to economic and political reasons. Most of the Yorubas came

as petty traders and retailers. What bonded the Yorubas and the Kotokoli who lived in the Ofoase Zongo together included religion, their status as migrants, and their search for economic integration in the colonial economic and productive processes (Allman 1991). As Islamic believers, the Yorubas, the Kotokolis and other local community members who converted into Islam lived together in the Zongo community and intermarried. The Biafran war of Nigeria in 1967–1970 also provided the impetus for more Yoruba migration to Akyem Ofoase as refugees but no sooner had they arrived than the Ghanaian government issued the Alien Compliance Order (Peil 1971; Kirk-Greene 1975; Kobo 2010; Falode 2011). The 1969 Alien Compliance Order of Dr. Kofi Abrefa Busia, Ghana's then prime minister under the second republic sent many Yorubas packing back to Nigeria. Despite the harsh deportation policies, the Kotokolis stayed without a problem because it was difficult to distinguish between a Northern Volta Kotokoli and other Kotokokis from Burkina Faso, northern Togo, and northern Benin. The picture I outlined here provides a glimpse of the complexities of "borderization" created between the same ethnic groups created by European colonization. Many members of the Ofoase "Zongo community" have taken such long residence in the village that it would be appropriate to categorize them as "indigenous" of the village if the idea of indigenous suggests taking a long residence in a place.

CONTEXTS OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN ZONGO MUSLIM COMMUNITIES

Education is one arena where tensions manifested between Europeans (Christian missions and colonial administration) and Islamic communities. This is rightly so because if education is a process of cultural transmission, renewal and transformation, and ideological shifts, then one would expect such tensions. Both Islamic education and Christian missionary education in all their forms were cultural processes which had the goal to proselytize, win converts, construct religious identities, and solidify the respective faiths. Colonial education was ideological and had the objective to orient the younger generation to the European culture and European capitalist economic forms and productive processes. The existence of Islam and Islamic forms of education prior to Christian missionary enterprise and ultimately colonization meant that Islamic education had to compete with the new forms of ideological and cultural processes and Islam came under new threat due to how colonization introduced new ideological views across Africa (Hoel 2016; Mfum-Mensah 2017).

Prior to the European contacts, Islamic groups had galvanized power and established Islamic communities in many precolonial African societies.

Islamic education (including Koranic schools and Medersas) predated Western forms of education in many sub-Saharan African societies (ADEA 2012) where it became a tool for proselytizing indigenous Africans, promoting Islamic ideology and Islamic identity. Islamic schools also solidified a unified African-Islamic identity, consolidated power, and provided Islamic communities with learning, and offered interactive spaces that enabled Muslims to cultivate distinct religious values and piety (Scanlon 1966; Corby 1990; Iddrisu 2002; Babou 2003; Decker 2010; ADEA 2012; Jammeh 2012; Boyle 2014; Hoel 2016). As an important aspect of the social structure, Islamic education promoted Islamic children's socialization and identity formation, unified different ethnic and linguistic communities, and provided important links to the outside world for Islamic communities (Dunbar 2000; Reichmuth 2000; Daun 2000; Iddrisu 2002).

True to the fear of many Muslim leaders, in many African societies, Christian missions and colonial schools helped to shift the balance of power to non-Islamic groups (Chande 2008; Cole 2008; Becker 2012; and Mfum-Mensah 2017). Implementation of formal colonization hollowed out the power structures of many Islamic African communities. It also forged a new impetus to the schooling project. At the early stages of colonization, schools became an arm of the Colonial-European power and a tool of cultural imperialism. Although, the literature provides accounts of the frictions that sometimes ensued between Christian missions and colonial government, for the most part, the two joined forces when the question of Islam emerged (Harris 1946; Mfum-Mensah 2017). Islamic communities came to view Christianity in general as a part of a larger order, comprising Western education and colonial administration, and Western education as a subtle and benign strategy to infiltrate Islamic communities and Christianize Muslim children (Nunn 2010).

The Christian missions' and colonial governments' projects were all motivated by the same props of these Europeans pushing the agenda of their respective European nations, promoting Christian values, capitalist economic values, racism, and cultural superiority, using the Bible or the gun as it suited them. The goal of European education was to transform indigenous Africans through a benign or forceful teaching of European values, beliefs, traditions, mores, and religion. Christian Bible-based education instilled Christian beliefs in Africans and became an effective instrument for dispossessing Africans of their culture and traditions (Blakemore and Cooksey 1981; Hoel 2016). Some scholars also posit that the European forms of education were implemented in ways that systematically disenfranchised some children, including many in Islamic-dominated regions and communities, from full participation in the colonial capitalists' economic process. Colonial education was initially provided to people in urban enclaves, sons of kings and chiefs, the rural higher social class, and Christian converts to place a limit on

who accessed these forms of education and prevented the excesses of educated elite from among the common people (Blakemore and Cooksey 1981; Corby 1990; Banya 1993; Mfum-Mensah 2005; Oketch and Rolleston 2007; Frankema 2012).

The literature also points out that the colonial governments' expediency in implementing policies of exclusion in especially heavily Islamic communities contributed to the lasting impact of Islamic resistance to Western education (Iddrisu 2002; Oketch and Rolleston 2007; Decker 2010; Abdurrahman 2012; Frankema 2012; Izama 2014). Both Umar Abdurrahman (2012) and Melina Izama (2014) point out that the colonial government's exclusionary tactics in places like northern Nigeria, which Lord Governor Lugard initially crafted as a political expediency and strategy to pacify northern emirs whose territories British colonial administration had been forcibly occupied, established and institutionalized educational marginality in the region in the postcolonial era. The British colonial administration in the Gold Coast colony (Ghana) also deliberately restricted expanding education in northern Ghana to preserve the region as a labor pool for the colony (Iddrisu, 2002; Mfum-Mensah, 2005). Some colonial governments were also suspicious of Islamic communities and even placed some Islamic African leaders under surveillance (Babou 2003; Loimeier 2013; Mfum-Mensah 2017). Formal colonization introduced colonial laws, taxes, and Western education which reconfigured the Islamic social arrangements and led to the Muslims' adaptation to the modern colonial state (Loimeier 2013). Islamic communities resisted colonial rule but many also found multiple paths to accommodate the colonial rule and identified with aspects of the modern state, especially in education. While Muslim communities may have accommodated Western education they became wary of enrolling children in schools whose overt mission was religious conversion to Christianity (Atakpa 1996; Garnier and Schafer 2006; Loimeier, 2013).

Colonial schools also joined with mission schools to implement religified norms in the classroom processes. This strategy implemented by the colonial administration contributed to the Islamic communities' resistance to Western forms of education (Atakpa 1996; Izama 2014). Islamic communities came to view Christian missionary enterprise and its education as parts of the colonial establishment and its power structure, which had the goal to dislocate, dispossess, indoctrinate the younger generation, hollow, and reconfigure the power structure of Islamic communities and Islamic identity, values, and beliefs.

Zongo Muslim Communities′ Struggle for Education

In the contexts of promoting colonial education the colonial government did not extend education to the Zongo communities. Such a passive approach to

educational development in the Zongo community was a deliberate approach to establish the Muslim communities' marginality in the colonial economic processes and to serve the economic and political interests of the colonial administration. Similar to how Christian missions and colonial administration deliberately withheld education in colonial territories in Tana River in Kenya, northern Nigeria, northern Ghana, Cameroon, among other places for purposes that benefited the Europeans, the colonial administration reserved Zongo communities in southern Ghana as a pool from which it drew labor force for menial jobs in colonial economic and productive processes and recruitment of colonial soldiers (Oketch and Rollestone 2007; Ruto et al. 2010; Mfum-Mensah 2017).

Due to this level of marginality the Zongo communities bonded and formed a formidable political movement known as the Muslim Action Party (MAP) which supported the Nkrumah's Convention People's Party (CPP) during the struggle for independence. The Zongo Muslim community tied Ghana's independence to their own liberation and status uplift in the colonial society. Access to proper Koranic education in Accra and Kumasi became their enduring weapon of mobilization for Muslim association (Allman 1991). Jean Allman (1991) points out that the Zongo community was forged by Islam because the Muslim parents at that time perceived that the government and mission schools had the motive to convert Muslim children to Christianity. Since the Zongo communities were created in the southern Gold Coast (Ghana)—which predominantly constituted of Christian communities—members of the Zongo communities saw Koranic education as the only means of maintaining the purity of the faith and, thereby, the cohesion of the community. The goal to access better Koranic education made the community to support Kwame Nkrumah's government *en masse*. After the CPP party won the vote to form the new government, it abandoned the educational agenda which made the Zongo communities to support the party. The Zongo Muslim communities therefore abandoned the CPP government (Allman 1991). In the early days of Ghana's transition, the Zongo communities continued their political momentum and pointed out that the government has consistently discriminated against the Zongo communities because they have not strongly advocated for their rights. In 1953 the Zongo communities tied education to politics and formed the National Education Board to put the Koranic Schools in Ghana on a better footing and to convince the government to place Muslims on its education board (Pioneer 5, 1953, cited by Allman 1991, 12). Provision of equal access to educational services became a central issue of the Muslim coalition. The Zongo-Muslim communities made the argument that true equality of provision requires that the state run Koranic schools as well as Western-patterned schools (Price 1956).

Education Participation in Zongo Communities

Educational attainment for Islamic communities in sub-Saharan Africa in general from the colonial era has been relatively minimal and a situation of much concern in the global EFA initiatives. In the context of this high population projection of Islamic communities in SSA, the majority of young Muslim adults in the region still lack basic education (Atakpa 1996; Daun 2000; Dunbar 2000; Iddrisu 2002; Farrell 2003; Garnier and Schafer 2006; Chande 2008; Nunn 2008; Stambach 2010a, 2010b; Frankema 2012; Izama 2014; Pew Research Center 2016). In SSA, Muslims have fewer years of schooling and are less likely to be literate. Muslim children are less likely to be in school than Christians. A 2016 Pew study finds large differences in education between Muslims and Christians in sub-Saharan Africa in general and not only that but the educational disparities between Muslims and Christians in SSA have grown in recent generations. The Pew study shows that Muslims are more than twice as likely as Christians in SSA to have no formal schooling. The study also reveals that in eighteen of the twenty-seven sub-Saharan African countries with substantial Muslim and Christian populations, Muslims are more likely by at least 10 percent points than Christians to lack formal education. The Muslim-Christian education gap in SSA is also persistent among genders and generations (Dunbar 2000; Pew Research Center 2016). In terms of generational trends and education in SSA, the Pew study shows that 79 percent of Muslims compared to 52 percent of non-Muslims between the ages of 55 and 74 lacked basic education. In the same way slightly above 61 percent of Muslims and about 30 percent of non-Muslims between the ages of 35 and 54 lacked basic education. Furthermore, 57 percent of Muslims and 24 percent of non-Muslims ages 25–34 lacked basic education. The literature also points out that religious factors (sometimes more than economic factors) count in quantitative expansion as well as the decline of education (Daun 2000; Stambach 2010a). The explanation here is that the minimal participation in education in Islamic communities may be more of a religions issue than economic issue.

WE SAW "ISLAM" AS THE "ONLY" EDUCATION

Western schooling was established in Ofoase around the same time the Zongo community was created as a newly migrant community. It was not only the Zongo community that demonstrated initial disinterest in schooling for school was a new project for the community. For this farming community, which depended on children's labor for their farming activity, the introduction of school was initially not received favorably. However, what made the Zongo community's resistance to Western education unique was that it occurred for a long period until the 1980s when the community opened its own school. The

Zongo community used subtle strategies to reject Western education including their community's massive campaign for community members to enroll their children (both boys and girls) in the *Makaranta* (Koranic) schools which promote Arabic learning at a time when the Roman Catholic mission forcefully promoted school in the village. A major rationale that made the Ofoase Zongo community to resist Western education was the "proselytizing" and "civilizing" agenda of the mission school and objective to use the school to reconfigure the Islamic identity of children from Islamic communities (Chande 2008; Jammeh 2012; Skinner 2013). There was only one established primary school in Ofoase in the 1930s and it was a Roman Catholic mission–run school which served as a cultural imperialistic tool in form and structure. The objective of the school was to promote European culture and Roman Catholic religious values. The school was an apparatus for proselytizing the indigenous children in the village community. Children who enrolled in the school were mandated to attend Sunday Mass, failure of which students were flogged when they went to school on Monday. Two old people who lived in the 1930s recounted that the Zongo community saw the school as a benign strategy to change Islamic children's religious views. They narrated that during that era the colonial governments (through the United African Company expatriates) conjoined with the Roman Catholic mission to forcibly take Zongo Muslim children and enroll them in the mission school but the parents and the children resisted and rather used the *Makarantar* school to defy the Christian mission and colonial laws (Ibrahim Kojo Mahama, personal conversation, June 4, 2017). Oldman Kojo Mahama explained further that:

> The Roman Catholic missionaries and personnel of United African Company and some indigenous community members who were then serving as teachers in the school came to the Zongo community and wanted forced all children to enroll in the Roman Catholic school. They moved from house to house looking for children and once they saw a child, they compelled the parents to enroll the child in school. But our parents vehemently opposed the Missionaries and colonial people. When they came to my house, my father argued with them and resisted and they threated to take him to prison if he did not abide by their dictates. (Ibrahmi Mahama, personal interview, June 4, 2017)

Another community member by name Ibrahim Salisu explained that he used a benign strategy to resist this Western education. He narrated that rather than fighting the law, he rather negotiated with the community members who worked with the missionaries and colonial people:

> There were three local community members who worked alongside the Roman Catholic missions and the colonial authorities to forcibly take children and enroll them in school. I was not interested in the Christian school therefore I

> used a strategy to get off the hook. I used to set traps in the bush to catch rat and therefore anytime my trap caught a rat, I smoked it and kept a portion for the local member working with the White people to forcibly take the Zongo children to school. Once the person showed up in our house I gave him the meat and he let me off . . . basically I bribed those local community people who worked with the White people so I did not have to attend school. (Ibrahim Salisu, personal conversation, June 4, 2017)

Ibrahim Mahama recounted that "Muslims did not participate in school and in the entire Zongo community only four people went to school in the 1940s. We were more interest in *Makarantar* than we were in the Roman Catholic school." From the narrative accounts here, one realizes that the strategy used by the Roman Catholic missions and the colonial administrators may have contributed to create suspicion among the Islamic Zongo communities about the motives behind the coercion for children to enroll in school. Muslim parents became disinterested in Western education justifying that schools were established to proselytize and indoctrinate their children and hollow the children's Islamic religious faith and identity. Besides the reasons I outline here, the Europeans' attempts to reconfigure the Islamic communities' sociopolitical arrangements and identities contributed to make Islamic communities resist Western education (Atakpa 1996; Daun 2000; Babou 2003; Garnier and Schafer 2006; Chande 2008; Nunn 2008; Boncana 2012; Frenkema 2012; Izama 2014; Bell 2015).

Even though colonization has been done away with, Islamic communities still demonstrate some level of suspicion and resistance toward western forms of education because of the colonial encounters—a process which left indelible marks in the psyche of many members of the Islamic communities not only in my village or Ghana but also other sub-Saharan African societies. Many historians note that colonial rule imposed new systems of law which generated resentments in many colonial territories (Daun 2000; Babou 2003; Loimeier 2013; Bell 2015). As an example, Islamic communities in French colonies of West Africa used Islam as a cementing force to unite West Africa and inculcate distrust for foreign invaders (Bell 2015). The negative views of some Christian missions and colonial governments toward Islamic communities in some colonial territories sometimes added to the tensions, which reinforced Muslim communities to resist Western/Christian education.

PERSPECTIVES ON ZONGO COMMUNITY'S NEW ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOL

There were not many children from Ofoase Zongo enrolled in school in the 1970s when I attended the school but a few that enrolled went on to the universities and became successful occupationally and socioeconomically.

Besides the few successful students, most children ended their education after middle school. While I provide some general factors that led to the marginal participation of Zongo communities in education in Ghana, the resistance to school in both colonial and postcolonial Ghana should be placed in the context of the power dynamics of the host society. In the colonial era, colonial schools and Christian schools were not differentiated. They served the interests of the Europeans (both Christian missions and the colonial administration). In the early postcolonial Ghana, government policies alienated the Zongo communities in blatant and benign ways. For instance, the 1969 Alien Compliance Order created a sort of marginality and alienation for many ethnic groups that were from northern Ghana and also Muslims. In many ways it was very difficult for the southerners to make a distinction between northern Ghanaians who were also Muslims, and the northern Ghanaian Muslims also came to identify themselves with the aliens who were being asked to self-deport. Symbolically, many of the aliens were their Muslim brothers and sisters and so there was that solidarity. The Alien Compliance Order created animosity among Muslim Zongo communities in Ghana for a long time. For the Zongo community in Ofoase, the Compliance Order made them to resist all forms of government institutions including education. All the different arms of the government institutions discriminated and stigmatized Zongo communities in ways that created suspicion in their rank and file. It is therefore a laudable initiative from a policy standpoint but also from a political, economic, and social standpoint that the New Patriotic Party has taken the initiative to aggressively include the Zongo community in Ghana's development plan.

Up until the 1980s, primary education in Ofoase was mission controlled and mission driven. Students were forced to attend the church of their school denomination every Sunday regardless of the students' religion. After students attended church on Sundays, each student was counted and assigned a number and on Mondays, school authorities asked students to produce their assigned numbers given to them in church. Basically, as recently as in the 1990s the schools upheld those colonial practices. The school continued to serve as another arm of the church and attendance at church was required of all students. Students who failed to attend church on Sundays were flogged. This practice deterred many Muslim families from allowing their children to attend school. It was not a surprise that the Zongo community in Ofoase saw Western education as a conjoined force of the government and the church that never respected the religious rights of Muslim children.

In the 1980s the Zongo community in Ofoase decided to establish an Islamic public school. With the generosity of a Gulf philanthropic initiative, the community opened a government-funded school with the oversight of the Zongo Muslim community. From its early inception, the school received

strong participation from children, parents, and the entire community. Parents and other community members became involved in the school and its management. The Zongo Muslim community is now also faced with the challenges of religion, tradition, and transformation. The community realizes that its prior focus solely on their Islamic religious faith served to disadvantage the community socioeconomically and it now explores ways to combine its strong Islamic faith with strong participation in modern education to enable the youth meaningful transitions to the labor market. Holger Daun notes that during the colonial era Muslim leaders in colonial territories acted outside the state but after independence Islamic communities found themselves at a disadvantage because they did not have the requisite education and skills to participate in the political and economic processes of the society (Daun 2000, 42). The community leaders realize that Zongo's development depends on how strongly the youth participate in education. Modernity has caught up with the Zongo community and there is now the need to have educated members from the community. Ibrahim Mahama pointed out that "our socioeconomic development is tied to how the younger generation participates in education." Over the years, the few Zongo community members who broke the barriers and acquired education have acted as role models for the younger generation of the Zongo community. Ibrahim Mahama pointed out the Zongo community has had some changes in its attitudes toward education including the education of girls: "women as well as men are capable of any work" (*Obaa noa a ebene, sara na obarima noa ebene*). The explanation here is that currently what a man can do a woman can also do. The establishment of Islamic primary and junior secondary schools in the Zongo community in Ofoase was a watershed moment in the educational participation in the community. Many children from the community are now encouraged to participate in education. The school has now been morphed into a more traditional public education with little religified norms. The school continues to serve as a "light" of social transformation in the Ofoase Zongo community.

CONCLUSION AND POLICY REFLECTIONS

Most government positions in predominantly Christian societies in SSA are occupied by non-Muslims who were educated in Christian mission schools. Since the 2000s there have been efforts in Ghana to promote education in Zongo communities. These efforts have been connected to the investments in education. Such efforts include the running of mentorship clinics by community leaders and professionals by sharing of life studies (see Citifmonline.com 2015). These efforts are part of the broader initiatives to get Zongo communities to participate in education to shore up children's enrollment, attendance,

and retention in Zongo communities. Notwithstanding these strategies that are leading to educational transformation in many Islamic communities, some communities continue to promote stricter forms of Islam rather than on achieving educational modernization of their youth to prepare them for the competitive job market (Chande 2008). This situation partly explains the continuous Muslim-Christianity disparity in school enrollment in postcolonial SSA (Garnier and Schafer 2006; Chande 2008; Bell 2015; Pew Research Center 2016).

It is therefore a laudable initiative from a policy standpoint but also from a political, economic, and social standpoint that the New Patriotic Party has taken the initiative to aggressively include the Zongo community in Ghana's development plan. Since late 2016 there have been strong conversations for the government to give mission schools back to their respective missions for strong oversight and strong academics (*Ghanaweb*, March 27, 2017). While the idea is a laudable one, the government should work closely with all stakeholders (religious stakeholders, communities, and other local groups) to ensure synergies and clear policies on this so that the rights of all children who attend government-funded religious educational institutions are protected.

Sub-Saharan Africa has the highest internally displaced and refugees in the world hosting more than 26 percent of the world's refugees of 65 million, which translates to about 16 million of which 10.7 million were internally displaced refugees (United Nations High Commission for Refugees 2015). Migrant groups in the region are obviously more than one can imagine. In Kenya one witnesses the flow of refugees from Somalia and now South Sudan. In Nigeria the presence of Boko Haram has created a lot of internally displaced refugees. In the 1990s Ghana and many countries in the West African sub-region played host to Sierra Leonean and Liberian refugees during the two countries' protracted civil wars. The instability in Darfur has created internal refugees in the Sudan region, which also spills to Chad. The same happened in Tanzania and Uganda, Zambia, and other societies in East and Southern Africa when the ethnic genocide occurred in Rwanda. Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and South Africa have also had their share of the refugee crisis and internal displacement of citizens to other neighboring countries. Migration within sub-Saharan Africa has been a practice for time immemorial, which therefore gives a cause for nations in SSA to develop policies to address the educational needs of "aliens in their territories." There is documented evidence of xenophobic policies and practices by many governments in SSA (see Peil 1971; Kobo 2010). However, given the new immigration policies of the West it may be time for governments in SSA to work together at the planetary level to develop policy frameworks that support the educational needs of refugees

from neighboring nations and those internally displaced. Seeing children of school-going age walking in the streets of SSA countries begging for alms is a shame on our common humanity and therefore robust education frameworks that are rooted in the national constitutions which have the sole objective of protecting children who live within the national borders of the country are a humane approach. Governments and policy makers should be protectors of all children who live within their borders and provide them quality education no matter where they may have come from and their citizenship status.

Chapter 7

Decolonizing Curriculum to Promote Learning

I have drafted this chapter on the heels of the 2018 World Development Report which points out that global education systems are facing the problem of promoting learning to students (World Development Report 2018). The World Development Report points out poignantly that "providing education is not enough. What is important, and what generates a real return on investment, is learning" (xi). The report connects learning to marginality and social justice arguing that without learning, students will be locked into lives of poverty and exclusion. The report views learning and schooling in general from its utilitarian perspectives but it nonetheless makes an important point especially in its indictment of policy makers to see the urgency of addressing the issue. This chapter outlines the ways to decolonize curriculum by incorporating the contexts of marginalized communities in the mainstream curriculum planning. It discusses the opportunities of using community activities, community cultural artifacts, cultural practices, and material culture and local cultural tools to connect the classroom to the community with the objective to promote children's learning. As a beginning, I discuss how colonial ideologies which shaped school curriculum and pedagogies in SSA manifested in postcolonial school practices. Afterward, I examine ways teachers can utilize traditional community practices and cultural tools as pedagogical initiatives to promote learning. I also discuss ways to use local spaces and places to foster marginalized children's critical consciousness and build a pedagogy of resistance to enable children to interrogate, question, and deconstruct some of the widely held assumptions and practices of their own locality. In conclusion, I highlight the contradictions of policy frameworks and ways the global and local ideologies that shape curriculum also perpetuate the marginality position of marginalized.

COLONIAL IDEOLOGIES AND CURRICULUM IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

One of the contradictions of the European colonial education packaged for Africa was the idea to adapt education to the needs of the Africans in the context where European education was also supposed to be instrumental in achieving the European agenda. Within the rubric of the European ideology, for instance, adapted education and assimilation were based on racist intentions and the broader European agenda of using the African people to the European ends. The push for adapted education or assimilation ideologies would have augured well and spurred excellent pedagogical debates except that the ideologies were racists and the notion that Africans were inferior and incapable made the approach a dangerous ideology. Take for instance the adapted education policy that was written in the British education document of 1925.

> Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution. (Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical African Dependencies 1925, 4)

We should establish the fact that from the time Africa had formal contacts with Europe to the contemporary times, European colonial and new Western imperial forces have made the determination to push Eurocentric knowledge that undermines traditional African epistemologies to the African child. At the early stages of post-independent Ghana Kofi Abrefa Busia vehemently criticized Ghana's colonial schooling from separating students from the life and needs of their community. On many fronts the nature of colonial and postcolonial education has all been what Sanjay Seth describes as a mechanical process that made the child the target of dry lessons like "hailstones on flowers" (Seth 2007, cited by Ghosh 2015). When I was in primary six in our rural village school I had the first opportunity to learn about Shakespeare. Every morning for eight weeks it was one of Mr. Obeng's classroom routines to ask the class to memorize and recite from William Shakespeare's *The Tragedy of Macbeth*, Macbeth's soliloquy (Act V, Scene 5):

She should have died hereafter
There would have been a time for such a word
To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow

Creeps in this petty pace from day to day
To the last syllable of recorded time
And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
The way to dusty death. Out, out, brief candle!
Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player that
struts and frets his hour upon the stage
And then is heard no more: it is a tale
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
Signifying nothing

This poem still rings in my ear as if Mr. Obeng is standing in front of me and reciting the poem. With that long raffia stick which he used to flog or intimidate the class he commanded the class to memorize the poem by heart. We the students had no choice. The schoolchildren either recite the piece or get flogged. The recitation exercise was part of the morning ritual which for a while replaced the "mental" drills which students engaged in every morning. Mr. Obeng was one of the fine teachers who demonstrated much devotion to his students. As abstract as this Macbeth's soliloquy presented in primary six schoolchildren in our village community context, Mr. Obeng wanted his students to appreciate poem and literature. He also commanded us to memorize and recite Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. It was when I moved closer to Gettysburg in Pennsylvania and visited the battlefields three decades later that those lines made much sense to me. In our social studies class Mr. Obeng introduced us to the Great Lakes even though he never mentioned Lake Volta, the largest man-made lake in the world, which is right in Ghana. I could not imagine at the time the seasonal changes that Mr. Obeng taught my primary six class. Many of students at that time never made a trip past the Zongo community, which is on the outskirts of the town. And yet we studied the four seasons in North America.

Mr. Obeng wanted to expose the primary six class to imagine life beyond our village enclave. He did everything possible to nudge students to have a positive disposition toward education. As I recall, the cover of the government's textbook that we used for language arts, civics, and mathematics had the photograph of three young girls and two young boys who were about our age. He told us that he grew up with the children in Cape Coast, the citadel of knowledge and education in the British Gold Coast. Mr. Obeng's father served as an education officer in the Cape Coast during the last days of colonial rule into the early days of Ghana's postcolonial dispensation and so to say that this teacher lived a privileged life when he was young compared to the lives of the children he taught in our village community is an understatement. Anytime he got frustrated with students because they demonstrated apathetic dispositions toward schooling he invoked the Akan proverb that

only a progressive educator would utter, "*wo abodwe ewae. So mu na menkofa ahoma mekyekyere mawo a wose woama a meregyae emu! Gyae emu*." To wit, "your jaw bone is about to dislocate and the only option you have is to keep it in place as I look for a rope to tie and secure it for you. However, if you become impatient and threaten me to hurry or else you will let go of your jaw bone then go ahead because you will be the loser." Funny as this proverb sounded it had something to do with marginality positionality.

It was back in the 1970s and Ghana was two decades into its political independence but the structure of the education system was almost the same as the one the colonial people left. The curriculum contents prescribed for schools back then had little connections to the lives of many of the schoolchildren. The curriculum was developed by and shipped from the central office (Ministry of Education, Ghana 1974; Ministry of Education 1987; Republic of Ghana 2004; Kadingdi 2006). The curriculum was developed by "experts," many of whose lived experiences were far removed from many of the children who used the curriculum. The curriculum contents were based on the same colonial props which were production-oriented and which projected European values and traditions as "saintly" and had the goal to prepare few fortunate students to sit for the Common Entrance Examination and the rest to go through Standard Seven so they can provide numbers to UNESCO's Statistical Office about how many students had completed middle school. Mr. Obeng was a product of the colonial schooling system which shoved Eurocentric values and beliefs in the "throats" of colonized people.

Colonial system of education in SSA was based on the racists notions about the perceived inferiority of Africans. The British colonizers commonly cited negative black characteristics such as superstition and "habitual" idleness and savagery. In his 1926 Dual Mandate, Lord Lugard, the colonial administrator of Nigeria and the Gold Coast, portrayed Africans this way:

> In character and temperament the typical African . . . is happy, thriftless, excitable person, lacking in self-control, discipline, and foresight, naturally courteous and polite, full of personal vanity . . . his mind is far nearer to the animal world than that of the European or Asiatic, and exhibits something of the animals' placidity . . . he lacks the power of organization, and is conspicuously deficient in the management and control alike of men or business." (Bratton et al. 1991, 187)

Similar views were made by Cecil Rhodes to justify colonization, imperialism, and subjugation when he said that

> I contend that we are the finest race in the world and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race. Just fancy those parts that are at present inhabited by the most despicable specimens of human beings what an

> alteration there would be if they were brought under Anglo-Saxon influence, look again at the extra employment a new country added to our dominions gives. (Cecil Rhodes, *Confessions of Faith*, 1877)

Views such as those expressed by Lord Lugard and Cecil Rhodes here shaped the nature of colonial education and the subject content provided to Africans.

The racist ideologies that attended curriculum and schooling found its way in the use of the Phelps-Stokes Commission which coincidentally had an African representative in the name of Kwegyir Aggrey, a native of the Gold Coast (Ghana), to argue that Africans were incapable of taking classical academic work and therefore needed "adapted curriculum" which focused on vocational and industrial curriculum. The British governments' policy on adapted education highlights this view succinctly:

> Its (adapted education) aim should be to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life, whatever it may be and to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries. . . . As a part of the general policy for the advancement of the people every department government concerned with their welfare or vocational teaching . . . must co-operate closely in the educational policy. (Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical African Dependencies 1925)

The result was that the Africans in British colonial territories in places like the Gold Coast, Nigeria, and Kenya, resisted industrial education and in place embraced the Westminster education, which also came with abstract contexts which were disconnected from the African contexts (Bledsoe 1992; Mfum-Mensah 2017). Bledsoe (1992) points out that "strands of change have their own internal dynamics and that local societies creatively set their own agendas for change" (183). In the context of imposing adapted education on the African people, the adapted education system produced unexpected outcomes of embracing British education which did not fit into the rural African agrarian context. Either way (whether vocational/industrial education or Westminster education), curriculum never served the educational needs of Africans.

The effects of the colonial system of education was that it engrained in the mind-set of the colonized that European knowledge was superior. Many formerly colonized people came to view European forms of knowledge as "the only gospel" and European cultural values as the goal to which they must attain (Bledsoe 1992). Therefore, in spite of many countries in SSA attaining political independence in the late 1950s to early 1960s, as at the 1970s Eurocentric curriculum ruled the content of learning and shaped the minds of the younger generation. The independence was therefore political but

postcolonial education in SSA became another arm of the European colonial ideologies which imposed cultural imperialism on former colonized African territories. In the next section I discuss the effectiveness of organizing schooling and curriculum to build on children's prior knowledge and prepare them with skills and knowledge for the need to transition to the labor market in their society and beyond.

INTRODUCING RELEVANCE TO SCHOOLING AND LEARNING

Education policy makers have the obligation to organize schooling and curriculum to address the learning needs of all children irrespective of their social statuses because it is a moral obligation. This learning must promote children's critical consciousness, empowered classroom socialization, and interrogation of wildly held assumptions and questioning and deconstructing existing bodies of knowledge (Farrell 1998; Farrell and Mfum-Mensah 2002; Mfum-Mensah 2003; Hartwell 2006; Lockheed 2008; Mfum-Mensah and Friedson-Ridenour 2014; World Development Report 2018). Both Joseph Farrell and Marlaine Lockheed among other scholars acknowledge the challenges of educating marginalized children in SSA and advise policy makers to alter education policies and implement creative pedagogies to reach and teach marginalized children (Farrell 1998; Mfum-Mensah 2009; Lockheed 2008). Within the context of SSA, the argument for education policies and practices that address children's contexts is based on the fact that almost all the public policies and programs that promote children's education focuses on urban mainstream children—a basic reality that school practices perpetuate the existing power structure (Parsons 1959; Durkheim 1961; Bowles and Gintis 1976; Mohanty, 1990, cited by Hesch 1999; Abdi and Cleghorn 2005; Rury 2016). The literature highlights the need for and the usefulness of employing cultural frameworks as a discursive and pedagogical approach in education policy and curriculum discourse (Hall 1985; Deyhle 1986; Ladson-Billings 1995, 1998; Hesch 1999; Osborne and Cooper 2001; Howard 2003; Abdi and Cleghorn 2005; Epstein 2009; Giffard 2016).

Anthropological evidence in advanced and developing societies alike confirm that learning becomes effective for all children and especially for marginalized children when education connects children's schooling to their communities and their cultures (see Hall 1985; Deyhle 1986; Zaalouk 1995; Dei, Mazzuca, McIsaac, and Zine 1997; Deyhle and Swisher 1997; Mfum-Mensah 2003, 2009; Haiplik 2004; Hartwell 2006; Deyhle, Swisher, Stevens, and Galvan 2008; Manuelito 2005; Arkorful 2013). Complementary education programs and non-formal primary education programs like the piloted

Shepherd School Program (SSP), School for Life (SFL), Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC), Complementary Opportunities for Primary Education (COPE), Zambia Community Schools, and Escuela Nueva of Columbia are a few examples of education initiatives that use locally created and context-specific curriculum, school organization, and teaching methods to address the contextual needs of marginalized communities in the developing world.

Barry Osborne and Diane Cooper view education that connects to the child's contexts as adjusting and readjusting teaching practices and the content of curriculum in such a way as to assist students to develop appropriate classroom behavior and hence improved levels of academic achievements (Osborne and Cooper 2001, 58). The assumption here is that students learn better when learning is built on existing skills and knowledge in ways in which they are familiar. Gloria Ladson-Billings also discusses culturally relevant pedagogy within a feminist framework and points out that such a pedagogy should meet the threshold in three key areas: ability to develop students academically; nurture and support cultural competence; and develop a sociopolitical or critical consciousness (Ladson-Billings 1995, 1998). Like Ladson-Billings, scholars such as Gay (2000) and Howard (2003) describe cultural relevant pedagogy as effective means of meeting the academic and social needs of culturally diverse students in contexts of supporting and affirming the identities students bring to the learning environment. I take the next sections to discuss examples of such "funds of knowledge" and their pedagogical implications for promoting the learning needs of marginalized children.

FUNDS OF KNOWLEDGE AND MARGINALIZED CHILDREN'S LEARNING

Years ago, there used to be an annual cooking festival in my village in which young ladies between the ages of twelve and eighteen participated. The festival was socially and pedagogically instructive because it provided the young ladies in the community the opportunity to demonstrate their organizational and critical thinking skills. I will describe the festival in detail later but want to use it as a case to decolonize the ideological notions that confined African women to the domestic sphere. The festival gradually went into oblivion with the passage of time because as the years came and went, the new generation of adult women in the village lost the interest to keep the festival going and pass it on to the new generation of young girls. It is instructive to employ the food festival to show ways teachers could draw from it to implement pedagogies that foster empowering classroom socialization, and create students'

self-consciousness and critical thinking to deconstruct and interrogate some norms and traditions that serve to further marginalize the already marginalized people. Discussions about the fluid economic and social arrangement of diverse precolonial African societies (including their own) with students might provide a new perspective for students to deconstruct views about the connection of women with domesticity.

Precolonial African societies were traditional, communal, and operated economic forms that were not based on European capitalism and mercantilism. The social and economic forms and arrangements for the most part did not determine the strong hierarchies created by class divisions and economic forms and therefore roles were not clearly demarcated along domestic and economic lines in many precolonial African societies. Of course, there were roles played by males and females in African societies, but those roles were based on the community social arrangements and needs. African women's domestic roles did not define subordination for it was part of the plethora of roles they played and continue to play in African societies (Ocitti 1973; Deng 1985). Francis Deng outlines the role played by Dinka women in traditional governance and chieftaincy processes. Similarly, historical evidence from the Ashantis of Ghana shows how Ashanti women including the celebrated Yaa Asantewaa assumed leadership and militant roles and fought colonial incursion. The Europeans of the Victorian age created a binary of the roles males and females played and defined the Victorian women's domestic roles as a subordinated status (see Ocitti 1973; Deng 1985; Campbell 2000; Rury 2016; Mfum-Mensah 2017). The domestic ideological view was popularized during the reign of Queen Victoria where women's roles encompassed domesticity and motherhood and were considered by society at large to be a sufficient emotional fulfillment for females. Writings such as Coventry Patmores' poem "The Angel in the House" (1854) and Bowles's *Drawing Book for Ladies* consolidated this ideal of the domestic woman, the idea of the perfect woman as submissive to her husband, meek, powerless, and deeply spiritual. By the time of the British industrial era, the ideology that assigned the private sphere to the woman and the public sphere of business, commerce, and politics to the man had been widely dispersed. The domestic role ideology was transplanted from Europe to the new lands and became an important social arrangement in colonized territories in African societies.

Local Festival and Empowering Pedagogy

The cooking festival that took place in my village demonstrated ways young women from this rural community claimed their multiple "spaces." The village young ladies of that era loved this festival and always looked forward

to the occasion. This love for the festivity could be assessed from the spark in these young girls' eyes and their frantic preparation as the occasion drew near. It is unfortunate that because of "modernization" the new generation of women in the village has abandoned this important cultural activity for I believe there was much utility in preserving this tradition and transferring it over to subsequent generations given its educative roles in the society (Kanu 2007).

Usually, every year the village women elders designated a special day when these young girls between the ages of twelve and eighteen who were not married prepared about five different kinds of dishes to demonstrate their economic, organizational, and social skills and preparedness to assume leadership roles. About a week to the designated day, these girls' mothers or guardians accompanied them to the market and purchased the necessary food ingredients that the girls needed to prepare the dishes. The girls had to figure out the different ingredients and quantity they needed to purchase. This exercise required critical thinking skills to figure out what they needed to do in the food preparation to bring good dishes to life. They also demonstrated their understanding of economics and use of whatever limited financial resources for the dishes they would prepare in the next few days. The village had a designated area where the cooking contest took place. Two days before the festival, the elderly lady in charge of this cultural activity demarcated and allocated small plots of land to all the participating girls where they set up their traditional *bukyia* (stove) in their small kitchen. A typical festival attracted a conservative number of about fifty girls from the community who participated in the food festival.

On that festival day, the girls started their dishes around 8 a.m. At a minimum, each girl was expected to cook five dishes by herself without any help or borrowing any ingredient from a neighbor. They had to finish all the dishes by 2 p.m. At around 1:40 p.m. the girls' mothers, aunties, friends, and men, both young and old, in the village went to the festival ground and tasted the different dishes that the girls prepared. The tasting time was a socializing time for the community. The food tasting was an informal process but it was nonetheless crucial and high stakes and served the purpose to engender social relationships between the girls and community members. The festival also provided an opportunity for some of the village folks to get to know the girls more in case they wanted to recommend a girl to marry one of the young men that had migrated to Accra or Kumasi or other urban communities. The festival was also educative in many ways: it helped the young ladies to demonstrate their multitasking skills as they prepared different dishes at the same time; girls demonstrated their creativity during this one-day activity; the ladies demonstrated how they embrace their multiple identities as individuals and members of the community at the same time by being in the same place

and yet each person still working within her own space and boundary; and the festival taught the young girls about the importance of spaces and boundaries in their complex and complicated society. The festival was not the time to learn the important social skills but a time they put those social skills they had learned from their mothers and grandmothers' kitchen spaces to the test. The young ladies represented their families and the homes they came from. Their failure was the collective failure of their parents and that of their entire families.

Promoting Marginalized Children's Critical Consciousness

I now return to outline ways teachers can draw from the local tools of the festival for pedagogical purposes. Teachers could use the sense of "place" accorded the girls at the festival ground as a metaphor to develop students' critical consciousness and interrogate the existing social and political structures that serve to disempower especially children in this marginalized community. "Place" has become one of the key means to open old ways of telling new stories about the world that is deeply marked and territorialized around lived experiences of gender, race, sexuality, class, age, citizenship, and other social differences, privileges, and oppression (Rentschler and Mitchell 2016, 1). Cooking spaces and places as a feminist discourse present paradoxes, contradictions, metaphors, and histories of women. A strand of feminist literature presents dissenting views about kitchen and connects the cooking space with oppression and subordination of women. This view argues that it is expedient for scholars to abandon kitchen in feminist scholarship because it perpetuates women's domestic roles and their continuous oppression (Spanos 1995; Narasimhan 2003; Baker-Clark 2006; Zubiaurre 2006; Jenkins 2011; Cromley 2012). Furthermore, such a view conceptualizes kitchen in relation to the domestic sphere where women play domestic roles and are confined to positions of subordination. Another strand of the feminist literature sees kitchen as a household "place" in scholarship as telling and retelling of the important daily lives of women. Such views see the importance of using this local space to interrogate the oppressive structures of traditional societies. Scholars in this camp see the kitchen as a sacred space for acquiring wisdom with which the ingredients are mixed and an ideal site for establishing a female community from which to contest patriarchal power. Elizabeth Cromley, for instance, presents the kitchen within the contexts of food axis, a symbol of the cradle of vitality and life. In the metaphor of the kitchen we also come to appreciate good cooking and good cooks—our mothers—and expand our knowledge of such things as taste memory (Baker-Clark 2006). Traditional kitchen spaces provide the opportunity for the older generation to share and teach the creativity and the craft of cooking (Ocitti 1973; Spanos 1995; Baker-Clark

2006; Jenkins 2011; Loichot 2013). Charles Baker-Clark notes that it is in the kitchen spaces where the younger generation gets in contact with these great cooks and learns the crafts of cooking. The acquisition of this craft, however, demands dedication and hard work and cannot be accomplished through technology or the amassing of cookbooks. Tony Spanos and Toby Jenkins outline ways the secret life learned previously in the kitchen constitutes a space that inspired women's lives and enables them to preserve the recipes learned throughout the years. Tony Spanos points out that the kitchen can be a place of apprenticeship in an artisan's shop where young learners learn in informal ways. Like an artist, the learner records the recipes, along with their accompanying anecdotes and her own story (Spanos 1995, 33). Jenkins (2011) notes that students can glean inspiration from nontraditional spaces themselves because the space alone can teach us valuable lessons about how to create transformative and significant learning. Valerie Loichot argues that kitchen literacy is a prerequisite, not an obstacle, to scholarly education. She notes that educators incorporate culturally relevant pedagogies as they draw from the kitchen metaphor in their teaching and classroom socialization.

Drawing from the experiences of Africans in the diaspora enslaved by Whites, Jenkins (2011) compares the kitchen to the classroom context in that they can be spaces of liberation and inclusion where all students can bring their full selves and reflect on their cultural beliefs and values. Within African social structures the kitchen also portrays African communalism in its highest form where one's kin and families gather to talk and fellowship with one another while preparing the meal. Back in precolonial Africa (and currently it also happens in most rural communities in SSA), the kitchen space was often the place where the older women told stories to the younger generation. It was a space to learn to understand family and community values, where the old and elderly taught the younger generations intricate life lessons, and where important cultural dialogue took place in families (Jenkins 2011).

The cooking place is also a space of rebellion, liberation, and inclusion (Spanos 1995; Zubiaurre 2006; Jenkins 2011; Loichot 2013). Spanos (1995) points out that the kitchen can evolve from being a space of confinement and artistic creation to be a center of life which can foster knowledge and pleasure. In this sense, as the young people grow up with the knowledge about dishes and recipes, they can enter the kitchen as adults out of pure enjoyment and when they want to, and not because of oppressive family and societal traditions. Maite Zubiaurre (2006) also points out that within the kitchen context, cooking turns into a powerful language geared toward female liberation. To cook is to rewrite history and hence to write herstory (Zubiaurre 2006, 30). The language of that story is not the food per se but the resilience, the creativity, and the artistic skills to put together dry ingredients and bring life. Cooking becomes a new semantics, through which women learn about themselves,

exert collective influence on the male establishment, and acquire an inebriating sense of empowerment (Zubiaurre 2006, 30). In sub-Saharan African societies in which European Christian and colonial forces have reconfigured the power and gender relations that was in place in our social structures, kitchen spaces are spaces to confront sexism, authoritarian gestures, gender violence, and oppression. It serves as a place of freedom and liberation where young girls develop positive gender and cultural efficacy from the older generation.

Pedagogy of Resistance

Policy makers and teachers need to explore how to use local learning tools as a pedagogical tool in formal schools to address the needs of children. The tools are inexhaustible and different contexts have different tools teachers can use to make learning fun and more meaningful for students. Many scholars in some contexts acknowledge the importance of "funds of knowledge" and this applies also in the sub-Saharan African context. My discussion here is not to use this example to provide a general recipe for all contexts but to inspire educators to critique and interrogate their practices and to improve students' learning. It is important for education policy makers and practitioners to provide the kind of education that validates all the different dimensions of a child's identity. Interestingly, the food and the utensils and all the different kinds of cooking pots are historical and connect learners to their identity and history (Sutton and Hernandez 2007). Local spaces like the kitchen can serve as a repository of cultural patrimony where cooking artifacts—utensils, tools, and traditional food—are stored. In my village and many other village homesteads in Africa, cooking tools are generally handed down from generation to generation and are durable objects that come to be storehouses of memories which help tell stories of peoples' lives (Sutton and Hernandez 2007, 67). Sometimes the cooking tools themselves present contradicting histories that help us understand the challenges of historiography in local contexts. I still recall with amusement a very interesting discussion that ensued around a cooking pot that had been in our family house for time immemorial. I recall seeing that pot when we were young and my family visited the village during vacations to the time we relocated to the village. The pot was arguably older than most of my aunties and uncles. Therefore, as one who is interested in history, I wanted to find out who that pot belonged to and the time it was acquired. It was then I realized that my aunties had different explanations of the history of that cooking pot. Amid these divergent views all the family members traced the cooking pot to my great grandmother who migrated from the Asante region and settled in our present hometown in the 1890s because of marriage. That relocation brought our side of the family to settle in our present village. The very simple fact that they presented different and

diverging historical accounts made me understand some of the challenges of oral histories (Blakemore and Cooksey 1981; Deng 1985; Omolewa 2007). The day that pot accidentally fell and broke became a period of mourning for the family. A piece of the family's history, tradition, and identity was accidently wiped out. The pot always connected the family back to our old home where we still have many of our extended kin. Therefore, the breaking of the pot symbolically also represented the gradual vanishing of the family's connection to other extended families back in the Asante region and a gradual wiping of the old identity. The kitchen authenticates and solidifies our collective histories and people who come from a time and place. There is heurism of educators drawing from the kitchen metaphor to ensure that the collective histories (and herstories) of all children are told and done so accurately. To paraphrase Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, there is danger in providing a single story line because it has the tendency to obscure and sometimes obliterate the histories of other people. She notes that our lives and our cultures are composed of many overlapping stories. More importantly, in many classrooms in marginalized spaces, there is the tendency for histories to dwell on national heroes while community heroes are often neglected.

CONCLUSION AND POLICY REFLECTIONS

The discussion here outlines the power relations and ways they are nested in the everyday activities within local spaces. Employing local pedagogical tools to connect marginalized children's sociocultural, socioeconomic, and sociopolitical contexts with the schooling and learning process can promote learning. A plethora of literature discusses the importance of cultural capital in children's learning (Bourdieu and Coleman 1991; Rury 2016). Cultural capital is cultural traits and community values which schools validate and which serve as a form of capital for children and enhance their learning. The validation of cultural traits and values in marginalized contexts such as that of my village community can be a strategy to promote children's learning. The invalidation of such cultural traits can be a form of symbolic violence to deter the already vulnerable students from full participation in the learning process. In the context of my town the cultural sacred space introduces young girls to social and gender relations. Scholars of indigenous education acknowledge that, in critical teaching, teachers can use indigenous knowledge principles and epistemologies as an important basis of instruction (Dei 2004; Reagan 2005).

One can imagine the learning that would have taken place had teachers in my village schools tapped into and incorporated the "cooking festival" in their teaching as a way of connecting the school to the community (Dewey 1916; Hall 1985; Ladson-Billings 1997; Osborne and Cooper 2001; Howard

2003). The entire primary school could have taken the festival day as a field trip to visit the festival grounds and learn how the young girls prepared the dishes. Teachers could have used the occasion to discuss nutrition and environmental issues in local contexts. They could have focused on the nutritional values of local food ingredients and discussed sanitation and the potential harm of using firewood or how to use firewood appropriately to minimize carbon monoxide inhalation. Fortunately, some schools in similar contexts in northern Ghana have embarked on education initiatives that connect the school to the community as a way of promoting school participation and those initiatives are making a success (see Mfum-Mensah 2003, 2004, 2009; Akyeampong 2004; Hartwell 2006; Arkorful 2013; Mfum-Mensah and Friedson-Ridenour 2014). However, these initiatives are currently outside the formal school system.

European missionaries and colonial governments introduced Western-type forms of education and completely ignored the customary and cultural relevance and the epistemologies of traditional African education that existed and which functioned adequately in sustaining the community life (Chege and Sifuna 2006). Postcolonial African governments have embraced policy frameworks that continue the old structures established by the colonial forces and affirm the same props and ideologies that made the school curriculum a form of cultural imperialism. In any analysis of the social organization of knowledge, one needs to juxtapose the structure of curriculum operating in schools with the existing power relations in the society. It becomes clear from such juxtaposition that the traditional school model has been specially designed to correspond with the power structure of the society (Young 1971; Heyman 1974; Bowles and Gintis 1976; Anyon 1980; Murphy 1980; Fuller 1991). Both Michael Young and Richard Heyman argue that knowledge is stratified and such stratification reflects the power structure of the society. Conflict theory discusses how knowledge provided in school and curriculum reforms may also reflect the market economy and is supposed to correspond with the principles of the market. The competition and consumptive nature of schools reflect the prevailing economic ideologies. Some scholars draw from conflict theory to outline the school's role in knowledge rationing including the reproduction of the social relations of production in which schooling is both itself an activity context and preparation for the more important activity context of work (see Heyman 1974; Anyon 1980).

Curricula reforms in SSA within the past four decades have been dictated by global and local political ideologies (Bresser 1985; Crawford, 1995; Morris and Chan 1997; Berman 1999; Rawling 2001; Edmondson 2004; Republic of Ghana 2004; Ofori-Attah 2006; Ajibola 2008; Teitelbaum and Brodsky 2008; Mfum-Mensah 2009b; Hoppers 2008; Taylor 2009; Republic of Kenya 2010, 2013, 2014b; The United Republic of Tanzania 2008, 2014;

The Republic of Uganda 2014, 2015, 2016). At the early stages of the post-colonial era, curriculum reforms in SSA had the objective to break from the colonial structures in place. However, it was not long before policy makers realized the anachronistic holdover of the colonial ideologies in the curriculum. Global governing bodies including the World Bank and International Monetary Fund and civic societies, non-governmental groups, religious groups, and local communities have all shaped curricula reforms in the region in complicated ways (see Pillai 2003; Christholm and Leyendecker 2008; Mfum-Mensah 2009b). In the process, tensions have sometimes arisen due to the divergent interests of all these stakeholder groups. Themes such as curriculum diversification and alternative and flexible curriculum that were meant to promote egalitarianism have not done much to address the education of marginalized children. Liberal ideas that emphasized "school-to-work" have not reached many segments of the schoolchildren. Furthermore, neoliberal ideologies that emphasized standardization, efficiency, globalization, and the rebirth of human capital agendas only serve to favor the same children in the mainstream of societies in SSA. These policy agendas are fine but policy makers may have to explore ways to ensure that such ideas that drive curricula reforms do not marginalize some children or perpetuate the marginality of already marginalized children. The global community is now focused on achieving EFA, MDGs, and SDGs. A scan of SSA curriculum frameworks shows the rootedness of the country constitution, and the international agenda of EFA, MDGs, and SDGs. Curriculum frameworks are also based on the regional protocols reflecting the changing technology, delivery of information and communication technology, and promotion of relevance to the labor market and entrepreneurship. The policy documents show less emphasis on curriculum policy framework to cater to the issues of emergences and therefore education in emergences are reactive and not proactive.

The efforts to promote EFA, MDGs, and SDGs have benefited the children from the mainstream middle-class households because those initiatives continue to embrace the same old frameworks for organizing schooling which do not address the needs of children from rural, remote, and poor communities. It is important for education policy makers to encourage teachers to implement pedagogies that connect children to their communities. Education policy makers can work with other education stakeholders to reorganize preservice teaching to embrace teaching that "transgresses" with a goal to implementing culturally relevant pedagogy in the classroom. In their book *Tinkering Toward Utopia: A Century of Public School Reform*, David Tyack and Larry Cuban (1995, 10) point out that "change where it counts the most—in the daily interactions of teachers and students—is the hardest to achieve and the most important. . . . We think it difficult and essential, above all for the educationally dispossessed."

Chapter 8

Education, Violence, and Marginalized Children

The growing literature focusing on the nexus between education and violence in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) outlines how violence manifests in schools and other education sites. Like the situation in developed countries such as the United States, Canada, and Britain, the violence literature from SSA presents schools as sites of terror and fear as incidences such as assaults, sexual battery, rape, use of weapons, physical attacks, fights, robberies are daily occurrences at the school sites (Devtech 2004; UNICEF 2007; African Population and Health Research Center 2013; Republic of Uganda 2014). Education institutions and school districts in the developed world have developed policies to confront the plethora of violence taking place in schools and college campuses. It is becoming clear globally that effective educational initiatives must include ways to create a safe, healthy, and welcoming school environment that supports children's learning and educational needs. Governments and policy makers in SSA have an obligation to use integrated approaches to implement policies on violence in education as part of the efforts to achieve EFA, MDGs, and SDGs in the region.

Policy makers in the developed and developing world alike approach the issue of violence from the classical analysis that only focuses on blatant forms of violence. This chapter provides a new perspective for conceptualizing the education and violence nexus by focusing on three areas of school violence which need integrated approach to address: blatant forms of school-based violence; systemic forms of school-based violence; and symbolic violence in schools. The discussion on "blatant" forms of violent outlines how the oppressive nature of school policies, practices, and treatments serve to overtly or benignly create and perpetuate violence in the school environment. Regarding systemic forms of violence, the discussion helps readers to conceptualize ways government and institutional policies, school organizations,

and provision of educational services and resources to promote learning nonetheless reinforce the existing inequalities and deprive some children of their fundamental human rights. Finally, the discussion on symbolic violence outlines how symbolic nature of school socialization, practices, provision of services and resources, curriculum content, and teacher expectations and ways teachers' negative application exert emotional and psychological impact on students' learning and violate children's rights. The goal of the chapter is to discuss the sociology of school violence from a sub-Saharan African perspective. Another goal is to re-conceptualize the nexus between education and violence by examining the in-school-based violence and out-of-school-based violence including policy-level and community-level violence on the schooling process. Finally, the chapter makes recommendations for policy and practice.

VIGNETTES OF SCHOOL-BASED VIOLENT PRACTICES

Just before I enrolled in the fifth grade my family moved to our village and I enrolled in the village school. In those days, every aspect of the school setting and the school environment was demoralizing. One of the boys who became a close pal over time was Kwame. Part of children's classroom socialization in our village school was the support from peers like Kwame who always showed a positive attitude toward school. He was a remarkable friend who held me accountable and showed me how to navigate the schooling processes in the village. Reflexivity accords me the freedom to express my gratitude to Kwame for holding me accountable when it came to school attendance. In our village setting, there was extremely high probability for schoolchildren to drop out of school (World Bank 2015). It is helpful to put children's school participation in my village in contexts of school enrollment in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) during our time. Even though school enrollment has improved in SSA since the 1990s, during the 1970s it was very low across the region. Despite the increases in school attendance in the region since 1999, the survival rates in the primary school level in SSA continues to be mixed (UNESCO 2011). The prospects for entry, progression, and completion of primary school are closely linked to household circumstances as children who are poor, rural, or from ethnic or linguistic minorities face higher risks of dropping out. Various steps have been implemented to lower the risk of dropouts and reduce the underlying vulnerabilities including poverty-related factors and problems linked to education qualities (UNESCO 2011). In countries like Ghana and Tanzania, some of the initiatives include introduction of complementary education programs (UNESCO 2011; Mfum-Mensah 2008, 2017).

TERRORIZED PRACTICES AND SCHOOLING

A few weeks after I enrolled in the fifth grade, I almost dropped out of school. The emotional and psychological challenges of our relocation, transition, adjustment to the village community and the village school, and the absence of my father, all took a hard toll on me. Compounding those emotional and psychological challenges was the terrorizing environment of my new school environment. The village school environment contrasted the welcoming and supportive school environment I was used to back in Kumasi. Just a few weeks of relocating to the village were enough for me to resist the entrenched violent practices of the teachers which nearly ended my schooling. It all started when I skipped a class one Wednesday. Teacher Badu never inquired about why I had absented myself from school but rather made threatening comments which a few of my classmates later communicated to me. Teacher Badu was notorious for habitually using physical force on his tiny ten- to twelve-year-old schoolchildren with impunity. Nobody held him accountable for this behavior because it was the normal practice of teachers in this village school.

When my classmates informed me about Teacher Badu's threats I became extremely scared, knowing what he could do to schoolchildren. I skipped school the second day too and by the third day, I honestly had little desire to return to school. That behavior kept on into the following week. In some Ghanaian contexts, it would have been of much concern to a teacher when one of her or his students who was academically good skipped school. None of this happened in my case (probably I was new to the school). I succeeded in skipping school for two weeks without my mother's knowledge. By the end of the second week, it became difficult for me to return to school for fear that Teacher Badu would intensify the physical assault. During our school days in the village school, a child who skipped school for extended days (as it happened in my case) incurred the wrath of the school authorities if that child ever returned. Therefore, many schoolchildren that absented themselves from school for few days just went ahead and dropped out. There were a few students whose parents pulled them from school to help them during the planting and cocoa harvesting seasons. Many of these children never returned because of their fear that they would be flogged by the school authorities. The teacher or head teacher made the child to lie on his or her stomach on the table as four to six strong boys held the child and then the teacher flogged the child. The practice was crude, cruel, and terrorizing for these young learners.

Kwame informed my mother about my continuous absence from school and expressed his concern that I may drop out. My mother became upset with me for the deceptive game I had played all along to that point. She scolded me as every caring parent would do in that situation and accompanied me to school the next day and met with Teacher Badu and the school head.

She made her intentions known to the school authorities that she did not want to hear that any teacher was terrorizing any of her children for them to drop out of school. In my case, I had a mother who understood how the school process operated and used her little knowledge to leverage and advocate on my behalf. How about the numerous children who were terrorized by the harsh corporal punishment practices those teachers implemented in the school arena?

The incident I narrate here was not an exception but the typical practice in many school systems in SSA. It is possible that many marginalized children in SSA that continue to be out of school are out partly because of school policies and practices which discourage them from enrolling in school. While recent government- and community-led initiatives to promote EFA in marginalized communities in SSA have focused on implementation of alternative forms of schooling, gender-specific initiatives, and school feeding programs among other programs, policy discourses have not broadened to have serious debates on how power relations in the school environment encourage, promote, and validate violence which affects the schooling status of many children. Investigations on how power asymmetry in the school arenas validates all forms of violence in the school and classroom environments and initiatives to address such practices will be effective strategies to promote retention in marginalized communities. This initiative might also enable policy makers to develop national education policies to address some of the overlooked practices that promote school-based violence. Drawing from children's experiences of violence in the schooling and classroom environments will help to conceptualize the complicated ways violence manifests in the school and classroom arenas. Reflexive and participatory approaches provide insights into the school-based factors which push many schoolchildren in marginalized communities to drop out.

VIOLENCE AND THE CONTRADICTORY ROLES OF EDUCATION

Violence is a pervasive violation of human rights that persists in every society. It occurs in private and public spaces and transcends social class, age, nationalism, and religion. There is the need for educators to investigate how violence manifests in schools because schools are supposed to provide a supportive environment for students' learning. An investigation of the ways violence manifests in schools and development of policies to address it helps to promote human rights for schoolchildren, teachers, those working in the school community, and others (Leach and Humphreys 2007; Sharkey 2008; Mitchell 2009; Parkes et al. 2013; Duramy 2014; Parkes 2015). This section discusses the contradictory roles of the school as a tool for reducing violence

and being an arena where violence occurs. The discussion focuses on blatant forms of violence which encompass the structural and in- and out-of-school forms of violence that affect students' learning. It includes classroom practices and practices in the school environment and the community which impact children's learning. The section also touches on corporal punishment as a structural form of violence. A plethora of literature focusing on the nexus between education and violence abounds in the education literature. Much of the literature on school violence in the developed world focuses on in-school factors and views students as both the villains and victims of violence. There is also a growing body of literature which shifts the school violence issue from the individual to the social contexts within which the school enacts (Gladden 2002). Much of the literature on violence and education in SSA discusses gender and sexual violence even though there are other manifestations of school violence in school systems in the region. A plethora of literature on school-based violence discusses the dimensions and effects of violence on schoolchildren and how it may affect the overall efforts to promote children's education as a human right. The sociology of the schooling processes enables us to understand the contradictory roles of schools in addressing structural violence in society. We perceive schools as safe spaces for children and education in general to empower people against violence and other harmful practices. Nonetheless, in some situations, school arenas become environments that encourage and perpetuate terrorism. The forms of violence and unequal power dynamics that occur in schools make the school environment an unwelcoming space for some children including girls, children from poor households, and others outside the mainstream of society (Davies 2004; Bickmore 2007; Sharkey 2008; Kendal and Kaunda 2015).

SCHOOLS' BLATANT FORMS OF VIOLENCE

Schools present an environment where blatant forms of violence manifest in areas of school policies, practices, and treatments which are oppressive social relations that create and perpetuate structural and systemic forms of unequal and imbalanced power relations. These policies, practices, and treatments undermine and violate children's and adults' human rights at the school environment. Blatant forms of violence include a hostile climate for learning which deters many children from attending school. The reproduction nature of school-based violence explains ways violence in the school arena deeply reflects the violence taking place in society. Blatant forms of violence in schools also manifest in such practices as bullying, entrenched patriarchal norms and practices, all forms of gender violent practices in school, corporal punishment, teachers' unchecked abuses, teacher apathy toward work, and

lack of basic infrastructural and education resources (Chege 2006; Moore, Awusabo-Asare, Madise, John-Lengba, and Kumi-Kyereme 2007; Sharkey 2008; Abuya, Onsomu, Moore, and Sagwe 2012; Ngakane, Muthukrishna, and Ngcobo 2012; Beninger 2013; Mfum-Mensah and Nyariro 2017). Perpetrators of blatant forms of violence include students, school authorities, sometimes communities within which schools are embedded, other stakeholders, and education policy makers. Structural forms of violence in schools such as sexual coercion, corporal punishment, and teachers' verbal abuses, which are all endemic in the schooling process, are blatant forms of violence which deprive children of their human rights and affect their schooling status.

Similarly, harassment, inappropriate touching, forced sexual activity including rape, and propositioning for sexual favors that boys and girls face outside the school or on their way to school are blatant forms of violence that impact children's schooling. Furthermore, social and cultural norms and traditions which lead to entrenched patriarchal gender relations and help to perpetuate discriminatory practices toward one gender, notably girls, are blatant forms of violence that policy needs to address in the efforts to achieve EFA and shore up strong school participation in marginalized communities in SSA. Health-related violence such as stigmatization, abuse, neglect, and discrimination resulting from a person's health status is a blatant form of violence (Moore et al. 2007; UNICEF 2007; Ngakane et al. 2012; and Beninger 2013).

Corporal Punishment Practices

Complicated and ambiguous corporal punishment practices implemented by school authorities as disciplinary practices in SSA education systems were blatant forms of violent practices which terrorized children in the school socialization and affected their learning. Corporal punishment as a disciplinary practice is ambiguous in definition, scope, and limits (Henson 1985; Straus and Donnelly 2005; Feinstein and Mwahombela 2010; Shmueli 2010; Geltner 2014). Scholars such as Guy Geltner (2014) and Claudia Mitchell (2009) employ historical and anthropological approaches to discuss the challenges of defining corporal punishment within the frameworks of legal, psychological, human rights, and education. Legal issues around corporal punishment is the focus of much of the literature on the practice of corporal punishment in Western societies. Similarly, within the framework of psychology, the discussion of corporal punishment centers on its effects on the psychosocial and emotional well-being of children.

Human rights interpretations of corporal punishment focus on ways corporal punishment practice infringes on children's rights. The argument has been that children have a fundamental right to be respected and not abused (Williams 2013). The United Nations Commission on the Rights of Children

points out that "children do not lose their human rights by passing through the school gates (UN Commission GC 2001, cited by Hosking 2013, 106). Education researchers have investigated the use of corporal punishment in schools and how it affects children's educational achievements and participation. The research still shows a mixed relationship between discipline and student achievement overall (Kinsler 2013). Benjamin Shmueli points out that corporal punishment is educative and serves the purpose to discipline and correct a child. He argues that the prohibition of corporal punishment breaches the traditional delegation of authority from parents to teachers and whoever else stands in their place (Shmueli 2010). Studies in SSA however reveal that many SSA countries have implemented legislations that forbid the use of corporal punishment in schools (Feinstein and Mwahombela 2010). Countries like South Africa, Kenya, and Swaziland have legislations on corporal punishment but the laws are not enforced. In these countries, teachers regularly caned children for minor offenses. Often the punishment was in excess and includes hitting with a stick, contorted body positions, frog jumps, push-ups, kneeling, standing in bright sun, and physical punishments resulting in bruises, cuts, broken bones, loss of teeth, and sometimes loss of an eye or death (Feinstein et al. 2010).

Education policy makers can take a cue from school authorities' use of corporal punishment in my village school and develop coherent policies on school discipline that redirect schoolchildren to focus on learning, and not a way to terrorize and control children who misbehave and resist an aspect of the schooling process. Some of the teachers who taught in our village schools were people of contradictions in many ways. There was no doubt that many of those teachers were dedicated and devoted to their profession and to the rural children in the rural remote context. Notwithstanding their dedication, they physically abused these village schoolchildren in ways that terrorized those village schoolchildren and created fear and anxieties in them. Many of those village children had potential but they dropped out partly because of those physical abuses. Teacher Badu, for instance, flogged students for even the most trivial incidences. He created this fear in his students and power asymmetry that made schooling a sort of terror for even the most dedicated children. As an education scholar, reflecting on how teachers treated these schoolchildren in primary school makes me cringe. There is no doubt those practices were acts of terrorism toward the schoolchildren and policy makers should have developed policies to hold teachers accountable for such practices.

SYSTEMIC FORMS OF VIOLENCE

School-based systemic forms of violence include policies and policy-related practices that institutionalize, reinforce, and perpetuate the existing power

and social structures and promote inequalities in society. Systemic forms of violence undermine the rights of children (Dunne et al. 2004; Ngakane 2012). They also include gaps in policy implementation, school organization, infrastructural provision, teacher supervision, and provision and distribution of school resources that affect children's schooling. The lack of school facilities and resources such as toilets in general, separate toilets for girls and boys, lack of safe places of convenience for boys and girls in poor communities, lack of school resources such as desks, blackboards, and books, lack of policies addressing gender violence, general lack of schools in rural and urban poor communities which result in children walking for long distances to schools, and lack of feeding programs in poor communities which make children in those communities to study on empty stomachs, affect children's schooling and violate the rights of some children. They are part of the blatant or benign strategies to strengthen the existing marginality of marginalized children (Chege and Mati 1997; Chege 2001; Pattman and Chege 2003; Chege 2005; Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children 2005; Chege 2007; Mitchell 2009; Abuya et al. 2012).

Some scholars employ the internal colony theory to explain how educational policies are designed to violate the rights of some children in the society. Internal colonization is the situation where people within the nation-state are colonized by other groups. Schools serve as sites where elite government and policy makers intentionally colonize, control, and oppress poor and marginalized communities and disenfranchise them of the opportunities and privileges accorded to the dominant groups (Gladden 2002; Watts and Erevelles 2004; Mfum-Mensah, 2005). Gladden (2002) points out that internal colonization happens by intent but with the guiding hand of capitalism, as elite people create a situation of "haves" and "have nots" whereby both social classes must operate under the same economic and political systems, but with different results and different environments. The result of this is economic exploitation and bifurcation of the nation into two societies through residential setup or other ways where one group benefits and the other group does not. Watts and Erevelles (2004) argue that this theory is applicable to educational institutions in the sense that a colonizing education is both violent and oppressive of its psychological impact on the colonized who must struggle against the façade that everyone is operating under a fair but competitive market (285). Policy makers perpetuate internal colonization through the way they use the curriculum to ration knowledge for different groups of children in the nation-state. Marlaine Lockheed and Adriaan Verspoor point out very succinctly:

> Although official curriculum objectives, composition and content are fairly uniform among countries, the conditions under which education takes place in

> many developing countries effectively keep students from learning higher-order thinking skills. (Lockheed and Verspoor 1991, 8)

One can argue from the observation made by Marlaine Lockheed and Adriaan Verspoor above that the learning conditions that governments and policy makers subject marginalized communities in are a subtle strategy to deprive the marginalized the critical thinking capacities and self-consciousness that will enable them to challenge the existing structures. This is possibly the case because in many societies in SSA, schooling is shaped by spatial geographical and socioeconomic status. Schools attended by children of government appointees, politicians, and affluent children and children in some regional areas tend to have school facilities and infrastructures that are in good conditions and are well resourced. Conversely, schools attended by children from rural and remote communities, poor households, and marginalized geographical regions tend to have crumbling buildings, lack desks and chalk, and are less resourced. The governments' failure to provide the needed teaching force to schools in poor and rural communities acts as a form of violence perpetrated against children from those poor and rural contexts.

Governments have an obligation to provide equitable resources including school facilities that are conducive to *all* children to provide them the opportunities that will enhance their schooling and learning. The governments' failure to provide adequate resources to *all* children and delivery of poor services to marginalized communities and groups, act as a psychological and emotional violence toward children from marginalized communities. There is documented evidence that children who school in marginalized communities from the region's affluent nations like South Africa, Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, and Namibia and children schooling in struggling nations like Somalia, Niger, Gambia, and Chad experience the same challenges of inadequate resources and dilapidated school facilities. In many of these nations, school infrastructures in rural and urban poor and some ethnic and religious communities are in such bad shape that one wonders about the conscience of politicians in contexts of use of tax payers' money in wasteful trips and luxurious lifestyles. In some of these societies, schoolchildren sit under trees, on stones, or on the floor because of policy makers' failure to provide school buildings and basic learning resources like desks and chairs to the school. Probably the only exceptions are Mauritius and Seychelles where schools are very well resourced with infrastructures and facilities. The state of school buildings in some geographical contexts unleashes psychological torture for both the schoolchildren and the teachers who use such facilities. For learning to be effective for children who school at the margins of society, it must occur in an environment where children feel safe, which promotes children's self-efficacy, validates children's sense of self, and where children's human

rights are a priority. A safe school environment encompasses school design and layout, the provision of water and sanitation and sanitary products, and robust menstrual hygiene management (Mitchell and Mothobi-Tapela 2004; SRSG 2011; Nyariro 2016). Claudia Mitchell and Mothobi-Tapela's study in South Africa outlines how the layout of school toilet facilities may affect girls' schooling because of fear. SRSG (2011) recommends that to curtail the incidences of especially gender violence in schools, the physical spaces in and around schools should be supervised to ensure that they present no danger to the children. Similarly, Milka Nyariro (2016) discusses ways the lack of proper hygiene management resources in schools may affect the schooling of girls from poor households.

Systemic forms of violence in school are also nested in classroom interactions and practices. Teacher practices including teacher serial absenteeism, apathy, threats, sexual advances with a pretense for favorable grades, and tolerance of physical aggression with impunity just to intimidate and terrorize students are systemic forms of violence (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children 2005; Abuya et al. 2012). Teacher biases and differential treatment of students is a form of systemic violence known as "violence by omission." Violence by omission also includes the deliberate deprivation and deliberate withholding of services including knowledge that the child needs to maximize her or his potential. Some teachers habitually absent themselves from school and display negative attitudes to their duty in especially rural communities because of lack of policy-level supervision. There are also cases of male teachers having sex with their female students and terrorizing girls who refuse to comply with teachers' advances for sexual favors. School authorities also sometimes deliberately withhold knowledge from marginalized children. Many teachers who serve in rural and other marginalized communities in particular demonstrate all sorts of negative attitudes toward the children they teach (World Bank 2000; Glewwe and Kremer 2006; Lee and Zuze 2011; Ayele et al. 2016; *Ghanaweb*, February 7, 2017; May 12, 2017). Let me provide a vignette to illuminate the point I make here.

Vignette

Gender serves as another layer that complicates the issue of violence and terrorism in the school and classroom arena in many marginalized communities. When we were in upper primary school, a group of classmate girls usually invited me into their company during recess to have lunch at their homes. These girls had excellent cooking skills so I always grabbed any invitation they threw at me even though that invitation came with a catch and much work. We used to attend school in the morning and had break from 11:30 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. and then came back until 4 p.m. In the interval of this

ninety-minute break this group of girls routinely went to one of the girls' houses and cooked lunch. Once in the house, these classmates of mine would ask me to go over the lesson we had in the class. The invitation became an occasion for peer tutoring. The girls had the desire to learn but the village classroom was intimating and unwelcoming to ensure any meaningful learning. The girls were usually scared to ask our teacher for further explanation of a concept they never understood partly because they wanted to save themselves the abuses and insults that sometimes the teacher hurled at them for asking for further explanation of a concept. Many of the teachers in my village school treated girls as being unintelligent for asking for clarification of concepts. The group of girls who invited me was older for their class and therefore always felt embarrassed by the incessant insults from teachers and saw the classroom environment as a place of terror (personal narratives with Paulina and Grace, June 2017). The teachers behaved like the brute "colonial masters" who used their pedagogies to terrorize the girls (Freire 1970). Symbolic interaction explains ways teachers' treatment of different students in the classroom is symbolic and based on teachers' beliefs and biases toward those students (Rosenthal and Jacobsen 1968; Anyon 1980; Abdi and Cleghorn 2005). The classic works of Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobsen and Jean Anyon all show that teacher expectations do influence teachers' classroom interactions and students' performance. For the most part, the unwelcoming school environment created an academic dissonance for these girls who were already vulnerable and at risk of dropping out because of other sociocultural and socioeconomic factors that impinged on them. The school's sociopolitical dynamics became the "at risk factor."

Feminist scholars Carrie Rentschler and Claudia Mitchell discuss "place" as a stage and practical power, and a site of great pleasures and possibilities for girls (2016). They point out that "we do not just experience something, we experience things 'in a place'" (Cresswell 2014, 38, cited in Rentschler and Mitchell 2016). The classroom as a "place" where children experience learning, was not a particularly welcoming environment for these girls. Instead, the girls' temporary cooking spaces became the welcoming and non-intimidating space where they received tutoring from their peer even as they also processed and brought food to life. The girls transformed their kitchen space into a place of resistance and a space to reclaim their sense of dignity. The collective socialization that these classmates of mine enjoyed as we interacted during cooking was exactly what was needed in that village school environment to make it children-friendly for us who schooled at the margins of our society. Carrie Rentschler and Claudia Mitchell point out "that place is a contentious reality that shapes girls' lives, and girls and young women struggle to assert their rights to territory and autonomous spaces to represent their experiences of belonging and to relating with others in key spaces of learning, working, and playing" (Rentschler and Mitchell, 2016, 2).

The solidarity the girls forged and demonstrated on a constant and continuous basis at their familiar space outside the classroom environment contrasted with the intimidating school environment where these girls received insults, verbal and sometimes physical abuse, and all sorts of violence.

Policy makers should explore ways teachers' attitudes and practices deprive especially marginalized children of the skills, knowledge, and quality education that would enable them to compete in this increasingly changing society to address violence in classroom. Sometimes newly trained teachers posted to teach rural and other marginalized children show apathy toward their teaching responsibilities (World Bank 2000; Glewwe and Kremer 2006; Lee and Zuze 2011; Allsop et al. 2010, cited in Ayele et al. 2016). There are many teachers who teach in the remotest communities in SSA who come to school intoxicated and get away with it because of lack of supervision; others subject schoolchildren to do manual labor for money when children should be studying; many female teachers in rural communities engage in other economic activities during school hours; and some teachers do not even show up to teach for weeks and months and still draw their salaries. In Ghana, for instance, teacher absenteeism is a pressing issue with primary schoolteacher absenteeism pegging at 27 percent, and only 80 out of 197 days in a school year spent teaching (Allsop et al. 2010, cited in Ayele et al. 2016). These things happen because of the lack of strong supervision in the school systems in the region. Given that quality education is a right of all children, teachers' practices that put children at risk of not receiving the required teaching and learning and hence jeopardizing educational output and children's educational outcome violate children's needed protection from the state. And these forms of violence are usually normalized in schools in rural communities. These attitudes demonstrated by teachers overlap to complicate the violation that children are subjected to. Many of the teachers who are posted to rural remote communities lack the motivation to stay in the community. Glewwe and Kremer (2006) and Lee and Zuze (2011) both point out that teachers' attendance is an important aspect of educational delivery and determines students' performance. The 2018 World Development Report shows that in seven Sub-Saharan African countries, students receive only two and a half hours of teaching a day. The report indicates that:

> Teacher absenteeism and low time on task when in class-combined with other factors such as informal school closures or student absenteeism—mean that only about one-third of the total instructional time is used in Ethiopia and Ghana." (World Development Report 2018, 81)

In the case of Ghana and Nigeria, teachers' lack of motivation is sometimes complicated by the government's inability to put newly trained teachers on

payroll for months after they have been posted to schools. Similarly, the general lack of robust supervision by circuit officers in some school districts coupled with the remoteness of the district or lack of supervisory personnel make many teachers to get away with all forms of immoral practices and careless attitudes. There are dedicated teachers who devote their time for the children they serve. But in many rural communities, such teachers are for the most part difficult to come by. Many of the teachers I became acquainted with from my own schooling years and professional socialization as educator for the most time, became frustrated by the system and sometimes directed their frustration at the children they taught.

Some teachers who teach in rural communities demonstrate little respect for local community members and the schoolchildren they serve and assume the role of the new colonial masters in the communities and sometimes intimidate their students with impunity. For instance, some of the teachers who taught in our village school routinely insulted students. There was one teacher in the middle school that was known to be notoriously abusive in his use of language to insult children and their parents. This middle school teacher disrespected many community members and showed much disdain for parents and community members because he was from the coastal area where community members were comparatively educated because school developed in that area before it was extended to the interior region. He viewed himself as the "civilized" and the community members as "bush people." He had an uncanny and unwelcoming demeanor which intimidated students and made him unapproachable inside and outside the classroom.

Besides the teachers' demeanors, the school authorities in my village school routinely used the schoolchildren to work for money without any sanctions from the policy makers. I recall during my schooling in the rural school, schoolchildren routinely collected bucketfuls of stones and sand and brought to the school. We did this thrice during the week for the entire school year and nobody questioned the school authorities about why they used children to do this manual work instead of focusing on teaching. Teachers flogged and severely punished students who refused to bring the buckets of stones and sand. The floggings sometimes ranged from five to eight lashes. Teachers contracted with local builders and used schoolchildren to collect these building materials and sold them to local community members. Schoolchildren also collected palm kernel nuts and sold them to the Zongo women who make local palm kernel oil. Fridays were days filled with anxieties and anticipation because before closing, schoolchildren got to know the items they needed to bring to school the following Monday. If the school authorities demanded that students come with brooms, it meant children had no option but to trek into the bush on the weekend to cut palm branches to make the broom. It was not an exception to see a schoolchild who was age eight scouting in the bushes

alone to cut palm branches to make a broom to take to school on Monday. The school authorities did not care about the risk that children were exposed to getting the broom. Schooling was honestly a terrorizing process. School authorities sold the items and explained that they used the money from the sales of the items to purchase learning resources for the school. Maybe that was accurate. At the middle school level, teachers used the big boys in the upper-level classes to undertake contracts like weeding a community member's cocoa, coffee, maize, or cassava plantation. Schoolchildren also carried cocoa and other farm and cash crops from the farm. The school authorities did all this at the expense of the students' learning. School inspectors came to our school to inspect the activities of the teachers once a year or so but there was not a single occasion that any schoolteacher was held accountable because there was not a close supervision and the supervisory policies in place never enlisted the input of schoolchildren or the community members. To date I reflect on these treatments and loathe these socializing aspects of the village school. However, I welcome the idea of the school having a garden. Schools in my village kept a garden and every year the school planted maize. School authorities used the school garden to introduce students to agriculture. But, surely, did children in this rural farming community need lessons on farming?

SYMBOLIC FORMS OF VIOLENCE

Symbolic interaction and interpretive theorists outline the symbolic nature of schools noting that school practices, infrastructural resources, curriculum contents, and texts used are symbolic of the practices of the wider society (Abdi and Cleghorn 2005). The French philosopher Michel Foucault compares the social organization of school and the prison setup as both state institutions that produce docile bodies that could be subjected, used, transformed, and improved (Foucault 1979, 136). He notes that the sorting of students' bodies on the basis of age, ability, time, and space and the breakdown of the school day into a timetable that marked the beginning and end of activities that were structured around predetermined serialized order were critical elements for maintaining discipline in the school. Students whose bodies challenged the rigidity of this discipline were subjected to the punishment, which is an act of terror, to send the message about the presence of disciplinary power in the school for those students who deviated from the norm (Foucault 1979; Watts and Erevelles 2004). The classroom spaces, therefore, ensured the complete domination of disciplinary power. Through each of these practices, schools faithfully reproduced the disciplinary rigor and punitive powers that were exercised by the penal system. In some societies, schools have routinized and imposed rules and regulations through the military atmosphere that pervades

the school corridors, and through the emphasis on sanitation, orderliness, punctuality, and discipline using the curriculum.

Watts and Erevelles (2004) also argue that schools operate as institutions of social control by providing important custodial functions with respect to the care and movement of children, they exercise considerable authority over students, and many of the basic rights of students are suspended while they are in the school (280). Some students reject the intrusion of school control into their everyday lives. Students' resistance to oppressive school culture has been met with more stringent ways to control them. This control therefore becomes another act of terror which creates an unnecessary hostile environment for children and which hinders their development. While all children need a welcoming and safe school and classroom environment to learn and achieve, the school authorities' control of students, and students' resistance to such control create an unwelcoming school environment for students who do not comply with the oppressive school culture.

Symbolic violence also manifests in the way the government distributes school infrastructures and resources. I recall attending a school in Kumasi which had buildings that were old and built in the 1940s but they were very well kept and renovated regularly. This contrasts the dilapidated and crumbling structures of my village school that I attended in grade five. In many societies in both the developed and the developing world, provision of school infrastructures and resources is based on geographical, spatial locations, and socioeconomic contexts of the schools. In these societies affluent communities were endowed with better infrastructural resources than those in poor communities to communicate the message about which children have more value and which have less value. In many rural and urban poor communities in the global South, children study under unfavorable conditions where school buildings are crumbling and schools lack desks, chalk, books, and basic toilet facilities. There are symbolic meanings to governments' and policy makers' omissions which result in depriving a section of the school children in the country basic school facilities. National leaders refuse to provide the basic resources to schools in a context where they also create an environment for corrupt practices, and siphon, and starch national coffers abroad to enjoy with their families and cronies while many children study under worse conditions.

The manifestation of symbolic violence in schools also includes teachers' low expectations of marginalized children and children from marginalized communities and groups. Many times, teachers use coded language for students who constantly struggle academically that gives the message that "you are not going anywhere." As an example, when we were preparing for the Common Entrance Examination which placed students in secondary school, the teachers devoted much attention to the few students the teachers knew whose parents could afford to enroll in secondary school. Sonia Nieto and Patty

Bode rightly point out that school and classroom interactions and contents taught by teachers are all symbolic and have their assigned meanings and relevance to the categories of students (Nieto and Bode 2012). They note that school procedures and practices are ways to structure meanings to make them appear real within a given situation of teacher expectations and reflect the beliefs of the dominant societal ideology. Symbolic violence manifests in acts of misrepresentation of students' identity or omission of a marginalized group's histories and experiences in the schooling process. School and classroom environments should provide a space for validating children's sense of self and identity. Curriculum that represents learners in its development and contents and which is inclusive of gender, religious, ethnic, and all diversity incorporates teaching strategies that provide a welcoming classroom atmosphere, and helps to address violence in schools. Similarly, the imposition of social norms and values of dominant groups, for example, in the organization of social institutions such as schools around males and/or the middle-class values is a form of "symbolic violence." Furthermore, differential treatment of children because of their gender or because they are from different backgrounds, different constructions of parents, and the authoritarian organization of schooling, a culture of control and regulation, and authoritarian teaching methods that instill fear of failure are also forms of "symbolic violence." In many school classrooms, different groups (such as girls) are given different treatments that reinforce and perpetuate the power dynamics and construction of masculinities and femininities. The inequitable treatment of girls and discriminatory policies and practices that affect girls' adjustments in the school and classroom environments in many societies in SSA are all symbolic of the discrimination that women in general face in the wider society. Martha Nussbaum (2000) points out that every society on the planet treats its men better than what it does to its women, which is very unfortunate for a global community that strives for equality and social justice. Patriarchal hegemony and masculinity norms find their way in the symbolic representation of girls and women in textbooks, classroom interactions, and teachers' treatment of girls and women (Chege 2007; Ngakane et al. 2012; Mfum-Mensah and Nyariro 2017). School management and budgeting that links with the local community and the actions of education authorities and governments are sure ways to promote education of all children.

CONCLUSION AND POLICY REFLECTIONS

Policy makers and researchers need to re-conceptualize violence by emphasizing the three different forms by which violence manifests in the education arena instead of focusing only on the blatant forms of violence.

This reconceptualization will provide a rationale for the need to use a multifaceted approach to interrogate the issue of violence. The manifestation of violence in schools is one of the contradictory roles played by schools. Critical theorists argue that the presence of marginality in schools and the continual subordination of some groups are not accidental but the outworking of school (see Anyon 1980; Abdi and Cleghorn 2005; Giroux 1996). Both Jean Anyon and Sonia Nieto for instance believe that school content and processes are sociopolitical and serve as a form of symbolic violence for marginalized and subordinated groups. There is a systemic failure of school systems to promote egalitarian education in many societies. In many contexts, classrooms, rather than being spaces for fostering critical thinking, reflection, and action, are spaces for nurturing docility (Foucault 1979; Gladden 2002). In these contexts, the symbolic violence that occurs is what Paulo Freire calls "domesticating education" where the education provided to students emphasizes passivity, acceptance, and submissiveness.

While in some contexts students are considered the villains of violence and schoolteachers and administration do all they can to make the school a safe place, it could be seen that in many contexts, teachers, school administrators, education policy makers, and governments are the very perpetrators of violence (see UNICEF 2007; Republic of Uganda 2014; Nieto and Bode 2012; Mfum-Mensah 2009; Sharkey 2008; Mfum-Mensah and Nyariro 2017). Sonia Nieto and Patty Bode note that in contexts where students are the perpetrators of violence, their behaviors may be caused by the school's disregard for their fundamental rights, silencing their voices and negating their identities in the curriculum.

School policies and practices in the village which encouraged child labor and focused less on learning became a bane to children's retention in the schooling process. Is it also possible that teacher characteristics and attitudes toward these low-status children and the community in general could have contributed to children's attrition? This question is not easy to answer but what is obvious is that many of the children in my village saw school as drudgery and an unwelcoming place. Those who survived the schooling process and transitioned to secondary school in the town probably may have had other external support to have made it that far.

Governments and policy makers in SSA play contradictory roles when it comes to violence. A scan of the policy documents from selected countries reveals that even though the nations' constitutions recognize the need for children to be protected from abuse, neglect, harmful practices, and all forms of violence, among others, government White Papers on education strategic plans either do not include discussions of violence manifestations in education or the topic is tersely mentioned in some countries' education policy documents. Government documents that mention violence tend to focus on

physical violence and sexual assault while neglecting ways systemic and symbolic forms of violence also manifest in the education arena.

Another observation is that frameworks and documents on violence against children are carried by different sectors of the government ministries and therefore those frameworks are disconnected from other sectors including education where the issue of violence should be part of the education sector strategic framework (see Federal Republic of Nigeria 2004, 2007, 2008, 2015; Nigeria Gender Policy Documents 2008; Government of Ghana 2010a, 2010b, 2012; Republic of Kenya 2010; Republic of Uganda 2014; Republic of Kenya 2015). A third observation from the desk review on policies on violence in SSA is that external stakeholders tend to be the ones that strongly advocate for ending violence in schools. Where do sub-Saharan African policy makers stand on these issues? For instance, a 2010 UNICEF document outlines the advocacy work that some NGOs and UNICEF have embarked on with West and Central African governments to address violence in schools (UNICEF 2010). Another finding from the policy review is that government documents on violence in schools in SSA lack clarity and have a lot of ambiguities which make implementation, monitoring, and evaluation a challenge (see Parkes and Heslop 2011).

When it comes to the issue of the education and violence nexus in SSA, the contrast is that it is obvious that violence in schools is a bane to achieving EFA in the region. However, what I gather from the analysis of governments' documents raises the question of whether governments in the region view violence in education as something of less priority in their efforts to promote EFA, MDGs, and SDGs. A complicated contrast when it comes to violence in education is that on one hand some governments and other advocacy groups emphasize the need to stop blatant forms of violence but the policies and practices in place strengthen systemic and symbolic violence. A scan of selected government documents from SSA is revealing. Many countries' policies on education do not once mention violence. Those that mention it also approach the policy as rhetoric with little action for implementation. For example, the Government of Uganda vehemently opposes all forms of physical, psychological, and emotional violence and defines psychological and emotional forms of violence as all forms of acts or behaviors that convey to a child that she or he is worthless including any act or behavior that shows lack of sensitivity to the child's developmental needs, and failure to provide the child access to vital services including education and feeding, and protect from teacher absenteeism, and deliberate provision of substandard education (Republic of Uganda 2014, 2015). But policy makers seem to have less understanding of the ways the lack of political will to implement policies and provision of equitable services is an emotional and psychological violence and violates marginalized children's fundamental rights. The government of

the Republic of Uganda has made some strides when it comes to the issue of violence, because there are many governments in the region that use vague and ambiguous words in form and shape for education and violence. To root out violence requires a multifaceted approach at the policy level, institutional levels, and local levels. It requires strong interrogation of education policy. It also requires that policy makers strengthen policy implementation and practice. At the institutional level, it means school authorities would need to employ critical approaches to critique their own practices and ways their interactions with all students but most importantly children from marginalized communities create opportunities for students' self-consciousness and empowerment.

Chapter 9

Synergies and Education Collaboration

From Policy to Practice

Collaboration between local communities, government entities, bilateral and donor agencies and non-governmental organizations is a major highlight of the EFA initiative, MDGs, and SDGs.[1] The assumption is that robust collaboration and synergies provide directions for the development and implementation of policies and programs that aim to promote school participation in marginalized communities. This chapter highlights the intricacies of implementing education collaboration for a complementary education program for rural remote and urban poor communities in northern Ghana. The chapter outlines collaboration as an epistemological process for policy makers and education stakeholders. Policy makers and other education stakeholders can draw important lessons from how School for Life (SfL) works with other education stakeholders to provide schooling in marginalized communities in northern Ghana. Complementary education programs (CEP) represent an array of non-formal basic education programs implemented in the developing world to provide education for children that are "hard to reach" and "hard to teach" with the traditional school model (Muskin 1999; Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) 2001; Farrell and Mfum-Mensah 2002; Miller-Grandvaux and Yoder 2002; Mfum-Mensah 2003; Haiplik 2004; Hoppers 2005; DeStefano 2006; Hartwell 2004, 2006; Mfum-Mensah 2003, 2009). I have divided the chapter into four sections. Section one discusses the theoretical framework of collaboration and synergy. In the second section I discuss the rationale for education collaboration as a development initiative. Afterward I discuss the School for Life program and its collaboration model. The final section provides conclusions and policy reflections.

THEORIZING COLLABORATION AND ORGANIZATIONAL SYNERGY

Institutional reforms and improvement literature provides extensive discussion of the concept of "collaboration." It is a process by which organizations come together for joint purposes in one or more areas of shared concern, promoting mutual survival of member institutions. Collaboration also entails two or more people or organizations joining forces over a long period of time to produce something neither can achieve alone. In the process, each participant contributes something significant and different, derives something of personal and/or organizational benefit, and acknowledges the mutual dependence on the others required to achieve the mutually desired results (Gray 1989; Hawthorne and Zusman 1992; Freeman 1993; Gregory 1995; Wallace 1998; Lasker et al. 2001; Lawrence et al. 2002; Lawson et al. 2007; Uchiyama and Radin 2009; Musanti and Pence 2010).

Institutions and organizations express the interest in collaboration because of the perception that humans are complex and that the level of connectedness in organizations can be strengthened by joint purpose and strained by conflicting feelings (Lasker et al. 2001; Uchiyama and Radin 2009; Musanti and Pence 2010). Kay Pippin Uchiyama and Jean Radin (2009) point out that collaboration and supportive cultures which reach across religious, cultural, and philosophical traditions are an important component of high-quality programs (Uchiyama and Radin 2009). Similarly, Roz Lasker, Elisa Weiss, and Rebecca Miller (2001) posit that because of economic and technological changes, there is a great potential in effective collaboration synergies that enable different people and organizations to support each other by leveraging, combining, and capitalizing on their complementary strengths and capabilities. They note however that there are bound to be frustrations in the practice because collaboration requires relationships, procedures, and structures that are quite different from the way many organizations have worked in the past. Similarly, partnerships have the potential to be destructive, particularly for weaker partners (Lasker et al. 2001, 179).

Scholars in the field of education view collaboration as a policy initiative as well as practice for meeting educational needs of marginalized communities. As a transformative process for policy reforms and classroom teaching, collaboration helps to provide pedagogical initiatives and innovations in the learning process. Collaboration leads to complementary knowledge for educational programs, creativity, and improved thinking. It also brings diverse people and organizations together to find new perspectives to conceptualizing and solving problems (Gregory 1995; Wallace 1998; Lasker et al. 2001; Lawrence et al. 2002; Musanti and Pence 2010). Gregory (1995) posits that collaboration in education is beneficial to education policy and

practice because it helps in improving instruction, developing new solutions to complex problems, and acting as a source of change in institutional fields. Wallace (1998) contends further that collaboration acts as a counter-policy against an external policy shift promoting competition between institutions. Despite the perceived benefits accrued from collaboration, Mike Wallace and Thomas Lawrence, Cynthia Hardy, and Nelson Phillips point out that participants may experience such benefits based on the level of their involvement (Wallace 1998; Lawrence et al. 2002). Mike Wallace, for instance, argues that collaborative activities that yield substantial and sustained efforts are those where the organizations put considerable energy into coordination, and the key players foster ongoing negotiations (Wallace 1998).

MODELS AND RATIONALES OF EDUCATION COLLABORATION

The literature outlines a plethora of reasons and objectives that lead to local and external collaboration in education: stakeholders may share a common concern and therefore decide to pool their expertise and resources together to address the shared concern; local communities may lack the expertise needed to promote education initiatives; local communities' desire to learn from those with knowledge and expertise; local communities may lack the financial resources to promote an educational initiative. Victoria Michener (1998) discusses two levels of local collaboration: first is "planner-centered," which focuses on administrative and financial efficiency and where participation facilitates shared knowledge and experiences and where collaboration becomes a learning process for local communities. Through collaboration, local communities accept new policies and technologies promoted by outsiders; and second, "people-centered," which focuses on empowering the poor through enhancing local management capacity, increasing confidence in indigenous potentialities, and raising collective consciousness, and participation becomes a means to meet locally felt needs and redistribute scarce resources. Mfum-Mensah and Friedson-Ridenour (2014) expand on the people-centered collaboration by noting that within the local marginalized community, collaboration enables those who experience further marginalization, such as women, to be involved and empowered to participate in education programs. David Evans' (1983) framework on collaboration conceptualizes three level which lead to local collaboration: "nominal participation" which features structural forms of participation in the guise of meetings or general attempts to assess needs, but with little or no effective upward communication; "consultative level" where decision-makers seek advice and suggestions from the beneficiaries and others who are involved, but the extent to which

resulting inputs are used remains the sole prerogative of the decision-maker; and "responsible participation" which entails beneficiaries having the opportunity to discuss issues, exert influence on behalf of one or another alternative, vote, and come to know the process involved in reaching a final decision.

Other incremental levels of local community participation which lead to education collaboration have been outlined by scholars such as Michael Kaplan and Robert Tune (see Kaplan and Tune 1978; Farrell 1998). Joseph Farrell outlines three incremental levels of participation which lead to collaboration in education programs: "spontaneous grassroots" community endeavors where the community owns the school and works through a community—school committee along with students participating in school governance; "agency invited participation" where the program is developed by the government or other outside agency and invites the community to participate (see Bray's 2003 discussion of similar practice in New Zealand but on a larger scale). The program develops "from the center" rather than from the community itself. The schools are under the joint management of the government, a development partner, and the community. Local communities become active partners, monitoring progress and securing resources; and finally, "local invited participation" where local communities begin a program that enlists outside support. Local communities establish local school/community committees who can identify local school-improvement needs, raise local funds to help meet those needs, and present proposals to the intermediary foundation for financing of local initiatives.

SCHOOL *FOR* LIFE COLLABORATION AND MODEL

This section outlines School *for* Life as an organization and alternative education program and the nature of education collaboration and synergy between SfL and other organizations including non-governmental organizations (NGOs), government entities, and community partners. The discussion is based on field work which utilized Community Participatory Research (CPR) of individual and focused group interviews with community leaders, community members, organizational staff from SfL, regional and district offices of Ghana Education Service, Ghana Institute of Linguistic, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT), and IBIS Education for Development (IBIS).

School *for* Life (SfL) is an innovative alternative education program that was implemented to provide schooling for children in rural and other marginalized communities in northern Ghana. The term School *for* Life is used to denote the local non-governmental organization (NGOs) operating the education program and the program. Between 1995 and 2008 SfL successfully turned out 102,753 children. Out of this number, 68,576 children

enrolled/mainstreamed into the formal school system from primary 4 or above and compete favorably with their peers from the formal school (Mfum-Mensah 2009; Shircor 2009). As a complementary education program, SfL provides education for children in rural remote communities in northern Ghana. The program's success to provide education to the marginalized communities is due to its incorporation of the local communities' socioeconomic, sociocultural, and religious contexts in the school process. SfL views this approach as a strategy to help promote school participation in the area (see Atakpa 1996; Blakemore 1975; Mfum-Mensah 2003; Stephens 2000). The program uses nine months to provide three years of primary schooling in northern Ghana during which facilitators provide instruction in the local language.

Community participation as a policy and practice is a major component of SfL, which makes the program a very useful education initiative for the marginalized communities. It views community participation as an instrumental approach to involving the local members to participate in the decisions about their children's education. The local members work with organizational staff to identify and recruit individuals in the community who have completed senior secondary schools to serve as classroom facilitators or instructors. Furthermore, each local community determines a school schedule which suits its social, cultural, and religious activities. SfL also trains some of the community members to monitor the classrooms to ensure that the facilitators regularly attend school. This local synergy strategy helps to increase enrollment and retention of both boys and girls in the communities, and the strong community involvement in children's education. SfL also provides a second chance education to children who are above school-going age, and successful mainstream of graduates to the public schools (Akyeampong 2004; Mfum-Mensah and Friedson-Ridenour 2010; Hartwell 2006; Shircor 2009). Even though studies on CEP continue to grow they have not extended to investigate the nature of linkages and relationships between CEP and organizations involved. This study explores SfL's collaboration mode with other organizations to promote schooling. Furthermore, it discusses the drive leading to the collaboration, the areas of collaboration, and the perceived benefits and challenges of the process. Findings of the study are situated within the broader literature of collaboration and institutional improvement, and discussions on EFA. The terms "stakeholders," "organizations," and "partners" have been used interchangeably to represent the organizations involved in the collaboration.

SfL collaborates with many other organizations and communities to promote education participation. My discussion here is based on interviews with four organizations. Given that SfL collaborates with several organizations and communities in northern Ghana, it is likely that the small number of

organizations that were involved in the study posed a limitation to the study. The categories of the organizations involved in this study included SfL, NGOs, community partners, and governmental institutions. The subsequent sections focus on themes which analyze the factors leading to the collaboration, the collaboration model, the areas of collaboration, the results of collaboration which include its benefits and challenges. Collaboration in SfL is driven by shared values among collaborating entities. The organizations involved in SfL collaboration identify important shared "values" which serve as the impetus for their collaboration. I define the organizations' "shared values" in SfL as the underlying philosophy or ideology which shapes the goals, objectives, purpose, and operation of SfL. While each of the organizations has its core values which set it apart from others, the organizations nonetheless identify some core values they all share in their development agenda. These values provide the impetus for the organizations to collaborate and address some key issues that they believe will advance their overarching goal of promoting development in the community. One of the staff members who works with the Ghana Institute of Linguistics, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT) that I interviewed mentioned that SfL and GILLBT collaborate to promote literacy because the two institutions share the value that "education is a key to any meaningful development in the community." The staff member mentioned that the goal of both SfL and GILLBT is to promote education which is a core value which brings the two organizations together even though GILLBT is a religious organization and SfL is a grassroots development organization (JK, GILLBT: June, 24, 2008).

The organizational staff identified the following five values or ethos which forge the organizations' collaboration: education serving as a tool for development and human progress; the need for institutional synergy and linkages in a global community; the strength of human interdependence and resourcefulness; stewardship; and equity, equality, and social justice for all. First, the organizations view education as a tool that engenders development and human progress (Watkins 1999). They viewed their shared burden to collaborate and promote education as a step to addressing the human, social, and economic development in marginalized communities in northern Ghana. During one of my interviews with the organizational staff one member underscored the need for concerted efforts to promote education and literacy because it as a step toward integrated development in the community. The organizational staff also viewed strong institutional synergy and linkages as an important institutional improvement initiative in this current global community. They intimated that organizational synergy and strong linkages are important development tools that help the organizations to address the marginal school participation in northern Ghana to achieve EFA. They noted further that organizations share the value that humans are interdependent

(Musanti and Pence 2010; Uchiyama and Radin 2009). They explained that because humans depend on each other, institutions become effective when they exchange ideas and draw on the resources and expertise of staff and stakeholders. Fourth, the organizations believed that stewardship is a core value that needs to be an integral part and an important goal of organizations. The organizations viewed collaboration as one of the many ways of ensuring fiscal stewardship. Some of the participants explained that organizations demonstrate strong stewardship when they collaborate with others and enlist their expertise. The organization involved also shared the belief that education is a step to promote equity, equality, and social justice for all in the society. The participants reiterated that the organizations are involved in promoting schooling in the marginalized communities to help engage educational policy makers and interrogate the entrenched inequities in the Ghanaian society.

SfL implements a fluid collaboration model which is contextual, unstructured, and lacks a defined collaboration structure or formal agreement between partners. SfL initiates collaboration as the need arises (Mfum-Mensah 2009). Collaboration in SfL is contextual because different organizations collaborate with SfL at different phases of the same program or project. SfL uses this strategy deliberately and views it as the effective way to go about community development. The organizational staff explained that sometimes the nature of their initiative requires an organization that possesses specific expertise. SfL's collaboration does not include a formal memorandum of understanding (MOU) with organizations involved. The organizations are not bound by any formalized procedures during the collaboration but do so because of their shared values. During my interviews with SfL staff they pointed out that even though there is no formalized MOU between the collaborating organizations and SfL, there is a sense of mutual trust between all organizations when they enter into collaboration. The participants noted further that the organizations view their goal to promote school participation in northern Ghanaian communities as more important than having a formal MOU. Ghana Education Service (GES) is the only organization that maintains a long-standing collaborative relationship with SfL. The long-standing collaboration between SfL and GES stems from the fact that GES is the government apparatus that oversees education in Ghana. SfL exists to complement GES's effort to provide education in marginalized communities in Ghana. One participant outlined that the objective for the long-standing collaboration between GES enables GES to monitor and provide assistance to SfL to help the organization meet its objective. The staff noted that GES as the major education stakeholder in Ghana has the responsibility to know the programs of all non-governmental organizations working in education so it can provide directions where it deems necessary. The staff noted that SfL

activities go a long way to complement GES's efforts to promote literacy and schooling in the community (HD, Ghana Education Service, July 8, 2008).

Collaboration in SfL entails deliberation and a consultative decision-making process. The organizational staff explained that before taking decisions about a program initiative, the organizations involved go through a series of deliberations and consultations. The deliberation and consultation processes enable the partners to explore all the options available to ensure that such decisions do not counteract the policies of all the organizations involved. The participants pointed out that while the organizations share the vision of SfL, they nonetheless approach their collaboration with SfL from their organization's policy stance. Through the fluid, contextual, and unstructured collaboration model SfL successfully collaborates with numerous local and international partners. Some of the local partners include the Bureau of Ghana languages, the Girl Child Education, Women and Children's Commissions, the Ghana Education Service, the Ghana Institute of Linguistic, Literacy and Bible Translation (GILLBT), the District Assemblies, and local linguists and educators. Similarly, SfL has collaborated with external partners including the Ghana Danish Community Programme (GDCP), ActionAid, IBIS Education for Development (IBIS), Education Development Centre Inc. (EDC), World Education, Inc. (WEI), and United Nations Children's Funds (UNICEF). SfL collaborated with EDC and WEI to implement complementary education, support teachers, and promote girls' education through awards of scholarships in northern Ghana.

SfL's collaboration model helps the collaborating organizations to work in six key areas of promoting education in marginalized communities in northern Ghana. The areas include *advocacy, intervention, complement, professional development, oversight, and sustainability*. First, SfL collaborates with other stakeholders to provide *advocacy* for education in the communities. The stakeholders pointed out that promoting education in northern Ghana is a daunting task that requires advocacy and collective efforts of many organizations. The participants underscored that the rural northern communities' traditional, social, cultural, and religious practices as well as their disposition pose a barrier to the children and communities' participation in the traditional school model which is rigid and structured (Blakemore 1975; Mfum-Mensah 2009; Stephens 2000). Similarly, GES is an institution and its educational policies pose a further challenge that make advocacy of a single organization practically impossible.

SfL works with other organizations to promote *intervention* in the community. The participants noted that through collaboration, SfL personnel identify and share information about the factors that pose challenges to educating children in the communities and help address those factors. The stakeholders pointed out that SfL's educational program is one of the pragmatic and most

"successful" intervention programs that have been implemented to address the lack of educational participation in northern Ghana. The stakeholders also pointed out that they collaborate to *complement* the efforts of the Ghana government and GES. Some of the participants noted that even though the organizations see the lack of school participation in the community as a concern. However, even though it is not their area of focus they nonetheless see that they could collaborate with SfL in some of its initiatives as a way of complementing the efforts to promote education in northern Ghana. Some of the organizations support SfL's efforts in the areas of providing training for facilitators, developing materials, conducting research, developing materials for languages being used as a medium of instruction, monitoring and evaluating SfL programs, providing financial support, and helping to mainstream SfL graduates in public schools. Some staff members also pointed out that the organizations collaborate to provide *professional development* for personnel. They pointed out that because the organizations involved have specific areas of expertise they exchange their expertise, share ideas, and organize training for SfL's staff. Similarly, the organizations tap into SfL's expertise when they embark on a project where SfL's expertise is needed. SfL'S collaboration with the organizations engenders a symbiotic relationship in the areas of ensuring *oversight* and *sustainability* of development projects in the communities. One of the staff from IBIS pointed out that because each of the organizations as a single entity has limited financial resources, they pull their resources together to secure grants from donors when they collaborate (SI, IBIS, July 11, 2008).

The Transformative Process of Collaboration

SfL and its collaborative partners see collaboration as a transformative process that rekindles the efforts and energies of the organizations to provide a second-chance education for children who are above the school-going age, or who are not able to enroll in the formal school because of socioeconomic reasons or sociocultural responsibilities. All the collaborating organizations affirmed that collaboration enabled them to involve parents, community leaders, local non-governmental organizations, the district administration, and GES to address the problem of minimal school participation in the community. They also noted that SfL collaborates with parents and community members to recruit local members and train them to serve as instructors, monitor children's attendance and facilitators' classroom instruction, and advocate for the mainstreaming of SfL graduates in the formal schools. In addition, the process provided avenues for development organizations who are working in the community to promote other development initiatives. The collaboration, the process helps to promote a community of learners for SfL,

local members, parents, and participating organizations. Other organizations note that one of the objectives for collaborating with SfL is to make their expertise available for the complementary education initiative. However, in the process they also gain and acquire new knowledge and perspectives on community mobilization and development. Therefore, the process serves as a symbiotic process and serves as a repository where the collaborative partners exchange knowledge and ideas.

The collaboration process also enables all collaborating organizations to acquire new strategies and initiatives that need consideration. One participant mentioned that the collaboration "opened our eyes" to new ideas and initiatives, and the opportunities available to the organizations for promoting further development in the community. The participating organizational staff mentioned that the opportunity to collaborate with other organizations enabled their organizations to acquire new ways of addressing some of the social, cultural, religious, and other issues affecting development in the community. Some participants noted that working with SfL has provided their organization the insights and approaches to community mobilization, community involvement, and ways to incorporate local community's decision-making processes in development initiatives. Some of the organizational staff also pointed out that collaboration enables them to acquire ideas about specific areas their organizations could explore further for future strategic planning. Education collaboration provides the opportunity for organizations to organize themselves as a support network which brings credibility to the complementary education initiative. Commenting on this point, a staff member of one of the organizations intimated that one of the advantages of involving some organizations in a project is that they add credibility to the initiative. One participant noted that "it is comfortable to mention anywhere about the organizations supporting the project." Similarly, one administrator explained that donor agencies and other development stakeholders are likely to determine the seriousness and credibility of a project by the organizations involved. The administrator noted for instance that if an organization is working on an initiative to promote teacher professionalism and education stakeholders get to know that Ghana National Association of Teachers and Bababaga Training College are involved, they view the seriousness of the initiative. Similarly, stakeholders see an organization as credible when it works in complementary education and has SfL and IBIS as its collaborator. Partnership brings credibility (SI, IBIS, July 11, 2008).

Collaboration Interrogates the Old Structures

My study with SfL enabled me to identify *policy-level* and *community-level* challenges to the collaborative process. *Policy-level* issues such as the policies

of the collaborative partners (organizations), and collaborative partners' work culture, work ethic, and bureaucratic processes could negatively affect the collaborating process. Government and NGOs, and bilateral and multilateral agencies all have their distinct policies for operations. The organizations' "baggage," which includes their policies, work culture, work ethic, and bureaucratic process, do stifle collaborative initiatives. For instance, it became clear in the interviews that one of the major policy challenges that SfL faced at the beginning of its collaboration with GES was the issue of language policy to implement. This problem can be situated in the discourse on Ghanaian language policy from the colonial era. Since independence Ghana's education ministry has implemented inconsistent language policies, switching between English and the vernacular medium of instruction (Mfum-Mensah 2005). One SfL administrator underscored the problem and pointed out that when SfL decided to implement the vernacular language policy GES resisted the policy because it goes contrary to the current policy of all English language mediums of instruction. Furthermore, the idiosyncrasies of government institutions including their arcane and slow-paced bureaucratic processes, misinformation about NGOs, and organizational staff turnover all pose a challenge to the collaboration model. During the interviews with SfL one of the administrators pointed out that the organization particularly experiences a challenge in their collaboration with government entities (including GES) because the public sector operates on a slow-paced bureaucratic process. The administrator noted that SfL's partners from the public sector bring their "slow-pace" work attitude to the collaboration process. Other NGO staff I interviewed pointed out that collaborating partners from the public section have a misconception about how NGOs are remunerated and therefore always want to be compensated higher for per diem and overtime (SI, IBIS, July 11, 2008).

Some participants also pointed out that there is a high workers' turnover at the public sector because of transfers. The high turnover means that staff from the public sector that works on a collaborative project could be transferred to a project that is ongoing. One participant pointed out that because of high personnel turnover at the public sector, SfL always goes back to brief new people who join an initiative. The participant pointed out that in addition to personnel transfers which lead to high turnover, political appointments and change of government are factors which create the situation. During the interviews one participant outlined that SfL began operating in the era of the Provisional National Defense Council (PNDC). The PNDC Education Minister had a positive view of the program and so SfL had much support. However, when the regime changed, the new administrators who took over had little interest in the program.

Community-level challenges to collaboration include (a) traditional practices of local communities, (b) local communities' views of "achievement,"

and (c) local communities' distrust for external partners. SfL collaborates with beneficiary communities at every level of its initiative to provide a program that meets the community's needs and is sensitive to its traditions and social, cultural, and religious contexts. The participants acknowledged that some of the community members' traditions and social and cultural practices pose a barrier to school participation in the area (Atakpa 1996; Blakemore 1975; Stephens 2000). Some participants intimated that community members entertain a kind of disposition and some practices that impede all efforts to promote education. One participant pointed out that in such instances, the development organization must find strategies to address such issues. The communities are generally poor but also overdramatize poverty because of ignorance. Most of the community members have animal herds and poultry but they become so attached to the animals that they fail to even consider that they could sell them for money to support their children's education. They keep their animals for weddings and funerals. So, SfL personnel educate the community members during the training (BW, SfL, July 17, 2008).

Some of the collaborating organizations pointed out that the local partners' views about project success are different from what organizations also view as success. This creates some challenges to the collaboration efforts. One participant indicated that the district assemblies view success of a project as an organization's ability to finish an infrastructural project. One participant intimated that the district assemblies make the development agencies working in the communities aware that the communities are interested in collaborating with agencies that are involved in physical infrastructural projects rather than those whose work focuses on service delivery. The organizations pointed out that people from underdeveloped areas vote for someone who in their estimation could advocate for the community's basic infrastructural needs like roads, electricity, water, school buildings, and police stations, among other things, to represent them in the district assembly.

The discussion here is insightful for education policy makers, the development community, and other organizations involved in education collaboration. The lesson here is that organizations' "shared values" serve as the "drive" and impetus that promote collaboration. The shared values of the collaborative partners are the strong bonds and a conduit through which new ideas flow and from which cooperative ventures evolve (Gregory 1995). The literature discusses the multiple benefits of collaboration but does not elaborate how organizations' shared values mediate the collaboration process (Gray 1989; Hawthorne and Zusman 1992; Freeman 1993; Gregory 1995; Wallace 1998; Lasker et al. 2001; Lawrence et al. 2002; Lawson et al. 2007; Uchiyama and Radin 2009; Musanti and Pence 2010). Organizations come into a collaboration process with their distinct attributes, values, ideologies, and policies. Lasker et al. (2001) posits that the organizations' attributes and idiosyncrasies

influence and mediate their level of collaboration. Collaboration as a practice provides the opportunity for organizations to explore multiple perspectives to address a problem. This notwithstanding, organizations, attributes, idiosyncracies, and interests can hinder collaboration (Lasker et al. 2001). Let me give an example to illustrate this point. When GES implemented the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (fCUBE) policy in 1995, the policy stipulated the need to use the complementary approach as an effective strategy to address EFA. However, GES as a highly bureaucratic and conservative public institution did not incorporate the approach in its framework (Ministry of Education 1999; Mfum-Mensah 2003; Mfum-Mensah 2009; School for Life n.d.).

Interestingly collaborative partners and organizations view the process as an effective way to utilize the organizations' resources and coordinate their efforts to advocate and promote schooling in northern Ghanaian communities. On this observation, Lasker et al. (2001) posit that to carry out comprehensive interventions, partners must be willing to coordinate their activities. The organizations pointed out that their efforts to build strong relationships, share resources and expertise, and engender proper coordination are ways that enhance their efforts to affect public policy; develop new, valuable relationships; and make a meaningful contribution to the community. Thus, collaboration in SfL has had direct benefits for all the organizations involved. The direct benefits included a supportive network for organizations, acquisition of new knowledge and perspectives, and professional development (Musanti and Pence 2010). Collaboration served as an ecological process for the organizations (and the people) involved. The organizations achieve their goals, learn from each other, and acquire strategic direction for programming. Furthermore, the organizations tap into each other's expertise, and gain credibility by working with other organizations. Musanti and Pence (2010) posit that collaboration results in a community of learners, and is central to professional development. It is an art which requires new skills. It is clear from the study that SfL's collaboration is a transformative process for all the organizations involved because it provides the energy the stakeholders need to work toward achieving the EFA goals in northern Ghana. Even though the collaboration model is fluid, contextual, and lacking structure, it nonetheless has defined elements. These elements include the organizations' shared values and key intervention areas needed to help promote school participation in the communities.

CONCLUSION AND POLICY REFLECTIONS

What lessons can policy makers in SSA learn from this local initiative? First, education stakeholders should include poverty reduction as part of the school

reform initiative because poverty greatly reduces the likelihood of school participation (UNESCO 2008). SfL works with other organizations, development entities, and local communities to incorporate poverty reduction as a component of its approach to promoting education in the northern Ghanaian communities. Part of SfL's community animation and training include educating the communities to adopt a more positive disposition. SfL educates the communities to see how they could channel the resources available to them to their children's schooling. These efforts in local communities promote learning and understanding of the communities' educational needs. The collaboration here demonstrates that policy makers cannot use the same methods and approaches over and over and expect new results. The 2008 UNESCO document points out that many governments in the developing world have expanded formal secondary and tertiary education as their response to the learning needs of young people without assessing the impacts of the great variety of structured learning activities outside the formal education systems which target school dropouts and disadvantaged groups.

Second, the effort to achieving EFA, MDGs, and SDGs must include strong collaboration of policy makers, community organizations, religious groups, local members, as well as individuals and groups who directly affect the lived experience of children. Policy makers need to create the environment that will enable other education stakeholders to use their expertise and resources in more collaborative ways instead of competing among themselves. Due to my frequent travels to northern Ghana, Kenya, and other societies I have interacted with several organizations that are involved in similar initiatives that others are doing. It is possible that my observation is also the case in other parts of the developing world. This approach of "duplicating" programs does not help much and creates unnecessary competition. At issue here are: How might the development community help to foster synergy and coordination among organizations and minimize duplication of programs? How might education bureaucrats in the developing world create the environment that engenders effective collaboration with other stakeholders to achieve EFA, MDGs, and SDGs? Exploring these issues could expand the conversations on education collaboration as a process for policy and school improvement.

NOTE

1. Portions of this chapter are reprinted from *International Journal of Educational Development* Vol. 31, no. 5 (2011) by Obed Mfum-Mensah, "Education Collaboration to Promote School Participation in Northern Ghana: A Case Study of a Complementary Education Program," 459–465, with permission from Elsevier.

Chapter 10

Policy Reflections and Education of Marginalized Children

I bring these policy discussions to a close by reminding readers that the focus of the book is about interrogating and re-conceptualizing education policy frameworks in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) to address the educational needs of marginalized children. Governments and education policy makers in SSA have implemented several policies that have created the environment for their societies to make progress in the democratic equality process of education. I therefore interrogate some of the current policies and practices in a positive spirit with the objective to extend the policy development and implementation discourse as a strategy to address the educational needs of marginalized children. I acknowledge that many of the policy suggestions that I have made in this book have already been implemented in some societies. The fact that some of the recommended policy initiatives are already happening in a couple societies does not mean we cannot reinforce them or continue engaging policy debates on such initiatives. It is appropriate to remind policy makers in SSA to continue to learn from other contexts and share those initiatives that have proven to be effective in addressing the educational needs of marginalized children in some contexts and explore ways to incorporate them in their own policy initiatives. There are some policy themes I have chosen to highlight for further reflections.

DECOLONIZING THE CURRENT SCHOOL ORGANIZATION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

When it comes to why some children are still not in school and/or why marginalized children have low participation in schooling in SSA, much of the blame should go to education policy makers. Schools contribute intentionally

or unintentionally to some children's low participation in school. As a social institution, schools are organized according to the norms of the mainstream urban middle class. Social and cultural reproduction theorists and critical theorists outline the paradoxical functions of schools, arguing that while schools serve as a source of cultural capital and social mobility, they nonetheless are institutions organized to maintain the status quo and socially reproduce the existing power structures (Freire 1972; Bowles and Gintis 1976; Anyon 1980; Diamond 1991; Davidson and Kanyuka 1992; Povey 1999; Sadker and Sadker 1994). I take the next few sections to highlight some of the organizational and school-related factors operating against marginalized children's participation in education.

CURRICULUM AND CHILDREN'S SCHOOL PARTICIPATION

Curriculum implemented in many of the educational systems across the sub-Saharan African region is based on the macroeconomic forms of the colonial era and reflect the imperialistic ideologies which constantly interrogate African children's identities (see Berman 1999; World Bank 2005a; 2005b; 2007; Adams, Coulombe, Wodon, and Razmara 2008; Akyeampong 2010; Peretomode and Ikoya 2010; UNESCO 2010; Awofala and Sopekan 2013). Since the 1990s curriculum reform initiatives in SSA have been preoccupied with ideologies such as production, economic rationalization, human capital, globalization, diversification, and standardization. These ideologies come with buzzwords such as "efficiency," "continuous assessment," and "tests," and emphasize information and communication technology as important school and classroom practices (see Pillai 2003; Peretomode and Ikoya 2010). We can draw from social reproduction analysis to argue, for instance, that "diversification," which is a major curriculum reform initiative, is another way to channel some children to vocational and technical curriculum. Therefore, in many societies in SSA some parents and students prefer academic subjects which they believe provide pathways to high paying jobs and statuses rather than vocational courses which shortchange low income groups to "blue-collar" jobs which are also currently even not available for the youth. As a case in point, Ghana's education ministry acknowledged that the curriculum implemented was skewed toward the empowerment of boys to the detriment of girls (Republic of Ghana 2004).

Analysis of postcolonial reforms in the curriculum in SSA shows that curriculum developments over the past few decades have emphasized more on policy and theory and less on what is pragmatic and practical. For example, almost all curriculum documents of education systems in SSA over the past

five decades have emphasized the need to implement learner-centered methods. Curricular experts in the region have also echoed the need to implement learner-centered methods in the classroom. However, except in a few contexts and on rare occasions, such an initiative has been a mere rhetoric with no implementation of learner-centered methods in the classroom (Mfum-Mensah 2009). Once the curriculum was implemented, practitioners moved away from the learner-centered approach in favor of the traditional methods all because of the emphasis on standardization and assessment. To date, teaching in many classrooms in SSA is still based on memorization which creates learners and graduates who have neither been educated nor prepared to think critically, do not demonstrate initiatives, and have no sense of curiosity (see Ministry of Education, Ghana 1974; World Bank 2008; Awofala and Sopekan 2013). Many scholars have suggested the need to implement culturally relevant pedagogies but policy makers debate the issue of how to implement education that connects the "local" to the "global," prepares local children for competing globally, and promotes the unique identities of African citizens and shores up the economy. While these two issues are not mutually exclusive, education planners are yet to connect the two in order to educate African children with a sense of self-worth as Africans who also have the confidence to compete globally.

Access, Retention, and Completion

When it comes to promoting education as a right of all children, it is not enough to focus on access alone because access is a fraction of the formidable challenges confronting children in remote rural and other marginalized contexts. Once policy makers implement initiatives that get children in rural remote communities to enroll in school, they also need to ensure the presence of effective monitoring and implementation of parallel initiatives that are effective in sustaining these children's participation in school and make the transition from one level of schooling to other levels of the schooling process.

Policy makers must demonstrate the same political will to promote access, retention, and graduation. My point is that local and rural, remote communities and their children have the desire to learn, succeed, and experience occupational mobility even in the contexts of complicated challenges relating to their contexts or from the policy arena. For instance, the dangers of trekking for long distances to attend school and the physical demands sometimes required in such an endeavor notwithstanding, children from rural contexts demonstrate their resilience and passion to walk to school and learn. Policy making in SSA should strengthen multigrade teaching to address the distance problem and the issue of children trekking for long distances to school (Mulkeen and Higgins 2009). Aidan Mulkeen and Cathal Higgins intimate

that policy makers should ensure a sustained and coherent commitment in the implementation of multigrade initiative.

Non-formal Approaches and Governments' Education Systems

The idea of promoting a multigrade system of education for rural communities brings me to the issue of implementing alternative primary schooling and/or complementary education programs in the school systems. The scan of sub-Saharan African governments' White Papers on education that came out after the 1990 Jomtien World Education Conference emphasized the need to implement alternative primary school programs such as non-formal primary education and complementary education programs in the school systems. Nonetheless, the governments have never included alternative education programs in the school systems. There are many countries where elaborate non-formal education programs are operating but they are operating as parallel programs to the government-supported public school system. Many of these programs are community initiatives supported by external agencies and sub-Saharan African governments have not demonstrated any efforts to take over these programs. At a recent international education conference, a United States organization that operates a complementary education program for marginalized communities in eastern Nigeria cautioned that it does not wish to operate a parallel program to the government's existing public primary school. The truth of the matter is that this is what is happening in many societies in the developing world. The question is who should hold governments accountable for their failure to extend equitable quality education to marginalized children? Why should the education of a nation's marginalized children be the responsibility of external agencies and organizations? How should the international and global community react to governments that fail to provide equitable equality education to marginalized children? Are these issues local issues that do not require the global community's interference? Do these issues merit different approaches to addressing them than the traditional way the global community has addressed the issues? These are questions I am raising here for some deep thinking and reflection.

Occupational Rewards and School Participation

One of the setbacks experienced by many rural and other marginalized communities is that the school has not lived up to its instrumental purpose. Education has been a way for Africans to participate in the capitalist productive process. Communities and groups in SSA have participated strongly in education because they understand the promise of education and calculate the opportunity cost and the rate of return to education (Foster 1964; Ogbu

1987; Stephens 2000; Mfum-Mensah 2003). John Ogbu points out that policy makers and those involved in intervention programs often ignore the fact that people go to school and work hard to succeed when they perceive and experience or anticipate significant economic and other benefits of education (Ogbu 1987).

Historically, the colonial administration structured colonial schools in Africa to prepare the few fortunate indigenous Africans to participate in the colonial capitalist production process. Colonial schools taught African societies to believe in the system. Since the early postcolonial era, governments have based their campaigns for mass education on the same promise that school is an avenue for economic and social mobility. One of my old *Fante* (one of the Akan ethnic groups in the coastal area where school was first introduced) sages used to tell me that the real meaning of "college" is *ko dzidzi* (which means "attend to eat"). Communities bought into the promise of schooling but some communities realize that schools have not served their instrumental purpose (see Foster 1964; Mfum-Mensah 2003). One explanation why some communities continue to have low participation in education is because schools have not fulfilled their democratic equality role of providing opportunities for them to advance socioeconomically. Governments and education policy makers should ensure that education translates into occupational rewards for marginalized households just as it has done for communities in the mainstream society. Despite the critical role education plays, practical demonstration of its social and economic effects in marginalized communities—leading to occupational rewards and social mobility—will shore up marginalized children's school participation. A 1996 study in sub-Saharan Africa (see Lloyd and Blanc 1996) revealed that decisions about children's schooling are presumably made by the family with immediate cost and long-run returns in mind. In many African communities, the cost and returns to investment in education are assessed from the vantage point of the corporate family. The corporate family may include other community members who directly and/or indirectly experience schooling, or go through schooling and experience social and occupational mobility. The old generation of educators acts as community role models who inspire the new generation of schoolchildren to enroll in school.

Schools should be seen to provide occupational reward for all children and not some of them. Currently, SSA is experiencing youth unemployment. If the youth in the mainstream society are struggling to enter the job market after graduation, policy makers may have to convince parents and children from marginalized communities about the promise of schooling to open occupational avenues for marginalized children. Some parents (and many of them) will continue to ask whether it is worth the time and efforts to educate their children in a context where the social and occupational structures continue to

favor children from urban middle-class homes. In a 1964 study in a coastal community in Ghana and 2003 study in a northern rural Ghanaian community, parents expressed schooling as a waste of time if their children's education did not take them away from their communities to the urban community (Foster 1964; Mfum-Mensah 2003). The urban here is a metaphor for occupational rewards. As far back as 1964 Philip Foster suggested that to make education important in traditional communities, policy makers may need to develop more complex modern-type occupational structure access, which is partially gained through formal schooling. Marginalized communities could develop positive attitudes toward schooling if the education systems can promise a better life for their children after schooling. Policy makers could also validate the hopes and faith of these children and their communities by providing the needed support and resources for the children's education.

"TRANSGRESSIVE-PROGRESSIVE POLICY FRAMEWORK"

I write this book with a firm belief that governments can improve policy decisions to close the gap between policy and practice. This brings me to the idea of progressive frameworks to policy decision making. John Rawls (1996 cited in Nussbaum 2000) makes the argument that it is a challenge for governments to make all citizens to embrace a basic quality of life such as in this case engaging in learning or acquiring an education. However, governments can aim to deliver the social basis of these capabilities. This requires creating an environment to help make up for differences in starting points that are caused by natural empowerment or by power, but it is the social basis of the good itself that society can reliably provide (Nussbaum 2000). Martha Nussbaum argues further that governments can do quite a lot to influence those goods (learning and acquiring education, for instance) through suitable policies in many areas. Nussbaum also believes that governments would have done their job if they have provided people with the full social basis of these capabilities. She connects capabilities as social goals to human equality and argues that discrimination is another side of human indignity. At the basic minimum the ideology of capabilities and provision of social goods should be the major premise for education policy decisions in SSA. Providing people with the social basis of engaging in learning and education especially for marginalized communities that have for decades been disenfranchised, disempowered, and whose voices have been muted in the decision-making processes, requires that policy makers build trust and refocus the policy decision processes in ways to empower marginalized communities and groups and bring them to the level of all other groups and communities.

I propose a new way of conceptualizing education policy making which I believe is inclusive of all and addresses the educational needs of children from all backgrounds and contexts. I call this approach the "Transgressive-Progressive Policy Framework" (TPPF) to education policy decisions that promotes education of marginalized children. I propose this framework because I firmly believe that policy makers in nations in SSA need to implement different frameworks to education policy making to address the educational needs of marginalized communities in the region. Provision of equitable quality education for marginalized children is a human rights and social justice issue that governments in the region cannot ignore if they want to ensure pluralistic societies that are inclusive of all communities, groups, and citizens. Currently, there are many more marginalized children in SSA than there are in any other regions on the globe. Many of these children live in rural remote communities that are hard to reach. Sub-Saharan African societies are predominantly rural (at least temporarily, based on projections) housing nearly 43 percent of the world's rural populations. While there are variations in the percent of rural and urban populations in SSA an estimated 68.8 percent of sub-Saharan Africans live in rural remote communities with countries like Burundi, Niger, Malawi, Uganda, and Ethiopia having the highest rural populations (African Development Bank 2012; United Nations 2015). This means that education policies and practices that are robust and effective must focus on the educational needs of rural communities but also other urban marginalized communities. In many parts of SSA children from rural remote and urban poor communities, girls, children with disabilities, children belonging to religious communities outside the mainstream religion in their respective societies, children belonging to ethnic and/or racial and linguistic minorities, children in displaced situations such as in refugee settlements (or camps) or in societies ravaged by protracted wars, and children orphaned by HIV/AIDS are marginalized educationally. While most children in SSA are faced with the challenge of accessing quality education, the problem is acute for marginalized children who have historically been disenfranchised (Lockheed 2008). This is all the more reason why education policy makers in SSA must employ policy frameworks that intentionally include implementation of programs and initiatives that target marginalized children.

My proposed TPPF employs decolonizing strategies to education policy decision making to focus on marginalized children. It re-centers decisions on education policy and practice back to the national constitution. The constitution becomes the basis for conversations and debates on education, policy formulation, policy implementation, educational services, and educational practice. While sub-Saharan African governments' White Papers on education point to the constitution as the basis of policy and practice, the lack of obligation to meet the educational needs of *all* children as a matter of human

rights and social justice as is enshrined in the national constitution shows the policy to practice disconnection. A great way of beginning to re-center education policy making on the constitution is for policy makers to embrace critical discourse to policy making and policy decisions which create the environment for citizens, organizations, institutional actors, communities, civil societies, and the research community to interrogate policies to dismantle the traditional and linear systems in place which perpetuate the existing power asymmetry and inequalities in the educational arena.

Furthermore, TPPF in education policy making is feminist in form and approach and brings to the debate the intersectional nature of factors that lead to the marginalization of communities and the need for a multifaceted approach to policy making to address the educational needs of all children especially that of marginalized communities. It views the interconnectedness and rootedness of education policy and learning initiatives and communities' social, cultural, economic, and political contexts. As a feminist approach to education policy making and decisions, TPPF historicizes education in SSA within oppression and marginalization highlighting the complexities of the Christian missions and colonial encounters within which education was developed. It also draws from postcolonial encounters to analyze ways global socioeconomic, cultural, and political imperialism continue to impact communities and education policy making in SSA. These lenses provide the basis and opportunities for understanding education policy decisions and empowering people and communities whose voices have been muted because of all forms of colonialism and imperialism. Historicizing education in SSA helps to draw attention to the need to embrace a broader understanding of marginality and ways policies may empower dispossessed people who historically have been disenfranchised, disempowered, and discriminated against in national political and economic processes.

A narrow view of education policy making masks and obscures the historical contexts within which modern education systems in SSA have developed and the associated marginality that emerged from encounters with colonial and global forces. TPPF as a feminist policy making also empowers communities to be part of the policy making process. It promotes equality by incorporating redistribution and affirmative frameworks as part of policy making (Nussbaum 2000, 55). Martha Nussbaum points out that such an approach ensures economic empowerment that is crucial to making sure the liberties that we promote and believe in are real and truly available.

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