

BECOMING THE ENEMY? SCHOOLING AND POSTCOLONIAL CONCEPTIONS OF CITIZENSHIP IN THE AKUAPEM REGION OF GHANA

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Abstract

Since the advent of popular education, schools have been the space in which a society cultivates specific values in its youth. In parts of the world where formal schools arrived during the imposition of colonial rule, schools often cultivated values directly conflicting with those of the local community. This paper discusses current and historical education for citizenship in the Akuapem region of Ghana, and examines the ways schools have served to both alienate youth from their communities and redefine those communities. Scholars argue that students must be prepared for participation in multiple spheres: as members of their groups, of their communities, their nations, and an interconnected world. Few scholars have examined how this should take place in modern African nations. Using the framework of post-colonial theory, which interrogates assumed sameness and sees identity as hybrid and changing, I argue that literature on education for citizenship in Ghana does not engage the uneven power dynamic between the ideas of local, national, and global citizenship. I conclude with a brief discussion of the ways in which post-colonial theory can help explain the different ways students engage in ideas of global citizenship that coincide with Nyerere's vision of education for liberation.

KEY TERMS: *Citizenship Education, Post-Colonial Theory, Ghana, Akuapem*

Introduction

Until the basic human rights/ Are equally guaranteed to all/ Without regard to race/
Dis a war.

Until that day /The dream of lasting peace/ *World citizenship*/ Rule of international
morality/ Will remain in but a fleeting illusion to be pursued/ But never attained /
Now everywhere is war.

Haile Selasse / Bob Marley

As pointed out in the lyrics of Bob Marley's *War*, world citizenship – indeed, citizenship in general – has a unique meaning within formerly colonized spaces, where people were treated as second-class citizens within their own nations, and often still do not have the same access to political and economic power as people in other nations. Education for citizenship within schools is intended both to teach students about a community or a nation as well as create a sense of belonging to that community. This paper explores the meaning of such belonging, and possibilities for formal education to reinforce such productive belonging, in the post-colonial context of a modern African nation. I first trace the idea of citizenship and citizenship education in the Akuapem region in the geographical area that has become the Eastern region of Ghana. I note both the directions of citizenship education as well as the limitations of citizenship education in such spaces.

Pre-colonial or traditional¹ citizenship

The ruin of a nation begins in the homes of its people. -Akan proverb

As described in the above proverb, the idea of ethnic nationhood and the connection between citizens and nations existed historically among Akan peoples. The Akuapem, an Akan-speaking ethnic group located in the Eastern region of Ghana, trace their historical origins as loosely organized communities who became subjects of the Akwamu empire in 1681, and revolted with the help of the Akyem Abuakwa kingdom to establish an independent political community, governed by rulers from the Akyem Abuakwa (Kwamena-Poh, 1973). In the mid 1700s, the area was controlled by the Asante kingdom and of strategic importance because of the central town of Akropong's location on the road between Kumasi, the capitol of the Asante Kingdom, and the coast where Danish military and traders were based (Wilks, 1989). The area was again "liberated by the Akuapem in alliance with the Ga, Fante, Akyem, British and Danes in the Akantamansu War of 1826" (Gilbert, 1992, p. 301). The Okuapemhene, or main ruler, was chosen by a council of elder men and the queen mother (ohemmaa), with influence at times from the Danish governor. Because this political configuration was more recent than other Akan states, the Okuapemhene had less control over the distribution of lands and levies on trade than ohenes (heads of state) in other Akan polities (Kwamena-Poh, 1973). In this period, towns and areas were governed by a ruler and a council of advisors. Procedures for the election or dismissal of a leader and other officials varied slightly by town but involved deliberation, election by a council, and rituals and oaths of office (Brokensha, 1966). People were members of houses within clans, which each had a female and male head selected in rotation from the different houses (Middleton, 1979). Many aspects of this system continue today, though local ohenes have little direct influence on national government.

Missionary and colonial citizenship and education

Swiss and German missionaries known as the Basel Mission arrived in the Akuapem region in 1835 and established European-style schools and churches, while also introducing cash crops such as cocoa (Kwamena-Poh, 1973). Students were originally recruited from a group of Jamaicans relocated to the area by the Moravian mission in order to model Christian living for local people. In order to obtain Akuapem students, missionaries literally had to purchase children as slaves and enroll them in school, housing them at the mission. Coe (2005) reports that in this process, "schooling became equivalent to servitude to and labor for a patron" (p. 37). Children and their relatives viewed schooling as a way to access European power, which was only sometimes desirable. Nukunya (2003) points out that many leaders would at first send children of relatives or associates rather than their own children. In the mission schools, local customs were devalued as teachers emphasized Christian ethics, seeking to recreate European towns in the Akuapem region. However, missionaries promoted the use of the local Twi language inside and outside of school, specifically establishing a newspaper, the *Kristofo Senkekafo*, to "form Christian nations out of the tribes of the gold coast" (Coe, 2005, p. 36). The missionary idea of nationhood around a conglomerate of Twi-speaking peoples was distinct from the previous local understanding of an ethnic nation state such as Akuapem. This kind of schooling both linked and divided students from a "nation": while missionaries provided opportunities for African Christians to write about their own

¹ Both terms used here have limitations. "Pre-colonial" defines the time period in relation to a European conquest rather than local history. "Traditional" implies an unchanging set of practices, which in fact changed over time and continue in various forms today (Groth, 2006).

history and customs, they also brought European values of learning that separated schoolchildren from their communities. Schools in this period thus created political consciousness among the educated elite while complicating cultural and political identities (Heater, 1990).

In the late 1800s, British colonial administrators began to establish dominance over the Akuapem and stripped juridical and military power from the rulers (Gilbert, 1992). Colonial ideas about political nationhood contrasted with the indigenous ethnic nation and the missionary-created cultural nation. When Britain established colonial rule after a long series of wars and alliances, all indigenous Africans were treated as subjects of a colonial government, broadening the political community. While the Akuapem might have been citizens of their local community, they were subjects of the Gold Coast. However, the idea of the political nation of the Gold Coast colony promoted by colonial administrators was used by nearby Fante and Ga intellectuals to begin discussion of an independent political nation (Coe, 2005).

Missionary-educated people in the Akuapem region reasserted ethnic identities despite the explicit attempt to Christianize their lifestyles and identities. Representative of a wider movement, in 1915 Coe (2005) reports the announcement in the *Kristofo Senkakafo* that “a Gottfried Frans Awere changed his name to Ofei Awere, which he cited as ‘my real native name’” (p. 46). This resurgent ethnic identity was also articulated by teachers working with missionary schools, some of whom had studied abroad and joined international African student movements during their studies. European and American preachers supervised African teachers working in mission schools and would not allow them to wear traditional cloth or drum with students. In response, teachers continued to infuse “traditions” into schools, working at government schools when missionary schools disallowed such practices (Agyeman, 1988). Schools were thus both a place where students were encouraged to adopt European customs – become the ‘enemy’ – as well as a place where teachers and students could incorporate some traits of the ‘enemy’ while rejecting others.

Tradition and ideas of education for citizenship were enmeshed with the nationalist independence movements that grew in the Gold Coast during and after the 1920s. Ideas about the cultural nation were wed to the political nation, the central focus of the independence movement. During the struggle for independence in the Gold Coast, mass civic participation in resistance movements included the refusal of cocoa farmers to sell their goods (1931-32, 1937-38) and strikes among railway workers (1939) – both actions of subjects of the Gold Coast rather than actions of specific ethnic groups (Pool, 2001).

In an attempt to address explicit education for citizenship in schools once colonial powers realized the end of colonial rule was inevitable, in 1946, the British Colonial Office and Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies set up a subcommittee on education for citizenship in order “to prepare people for responsibility” (Heater, 2004, p. 142). This group intended for political freedom to benefit all the people in the colony rather than the elite, and recommended that “native” traditions be incorporated and maintained in citizenship education (Heater, 2004). Because the elite in many colonies were themselves created through colonial and missionary education, this recommendation for political equality among citizens seemed to be more policy than reality.

Colonial commissions on education for citizenship were a direct response to a growing pro-independence movement within the Gold Coast (Heater, 2004). One of the

instrumental voices in this movement was J. B. Danquah, a child of Akyem Abuakwa, the former rulers of the Akuapem area. Danquah personifies the powerful roles of literacy, religion, and education in the independence struggles. After earning a doctoral degree in Law from the University of London, Danquah returned to found the first daily newspaper in the Gold Coast in 1930, the pro-independence political party the United Gold Coast Convention, and authored *The Akan Doctrine of God*, which stressed the compatibility of traditional religion and Christianity (Rathbone, 1993). Like other elites, Danquah redefined the religion of the 'enemy' in local context. Spurred by incidents including the Accra riots of 1948, in which colonial powers fired upon veterans of World War II marching to demand the pensions that had been promised them, colonial officials acquiesced to demands for self-government in 1951, though Ghana officially became independent of British colonial rule in 1957 (Foster, 1965).

The independence era and post-colonial citizenship education

Only after political independence from colonial powers might civic education in African countries might be understood as education for national citizenship. Plans for mass schooling as well as education for citizenship were important symbolic gestures "to be taken seriously as a nation-state" (Ramirez, 2003, p. 241). As leader of the independence movement for the new country of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah outlined goals for an education that would promote equality and develop the nation. Deliberate attempts to instill patriotism were evident throughout schools. In 1960, three years after Ghanaian independence, Nkrumah created a Young Pioneer Movement in schools, whose goal was "to protect the young generation from their childhood to their adulthood against the colonial mentality of their parents and to give them political education" (Agyeman, 1988, p. 8). At the beginning and end of school, children recited the following pledge:

...to live by the ideals of Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah, Founder of the state of Ghana, initiator of the African personality; to safeguard by all means possible the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state of Ghana...to be in the first ranks of men fighting for the total liberation and unity of Africa (Agyeman, 1988, p. 8).

The contradiction between education for national belonging and the traditional role of schools as a means to access European power was evident at this moment. National belonging involved stratification. Coe (2005) describes schooling in Ghana to be "associated not with the mass education project of citizenship, but with the creation of a Westernized and wealthy urban elite who can serve as brokers between the state or international resources and local areas" (p. 144). Agyeman (1988) claims that this type of education, which Nyerere (2004) describes as education for alienation, destroys rather than creates national ties. He pushes that this form of schooling is a form of internal colonialism, and is "education for the exploitation of the rural by the urban folk" (p. 34).

This distinction between schooling for citizenship and schooling for the promotion of an elite class is aligned with two different views of the state. Following scholars in political theory, Coe (2005) distinguishes between a liberal state with citizens and a client state with patrons. In the first, the liberal state provides an education so that children can become productive, patriotic citizens. In the second, students and their families can invest in education, and in return the patron state will give them good jobs in the civil service. These two competing but coexisting models are helpful in understanding the role of education for

citizenship.

The moment of independence also highlighted the contradiction of ethnic and political nations in African states. Education for citizenship had to both promote a consciousness of belonging to a new nation, as well as instill the obligation to defend this new nation against others (who may be of the same ethnic group but are separated by national boundaries) (Agyeman, 1988). The state could not replace the ethnic groups but had to incorporate ethnic ties into nationalism. In Ghana, African history, local languages and cultures, and civics classes were all included in an education for local and national citizenship. State sponsored performances of local traditions attempted to reconcile ethnic and national ties. Ugandan scholar and politician K. David Mafabi (2003) summarizes these conflicting meanings of nation and citizenship in colonial and post-colonial Africa:

Whereas colonialism created a new citizenship deriving from the new states that it created, the litmus test for qualification for citizenship derived from ancestry, which is about belonging to any of the national groups enclosed behind the borders of the new states. In the post-colonial state, citizenship has continued to, principally, derive from ancestry. (p. 225)

By the 1970s in Akuapem, distinctions between local and national belonging remained. The anthropologist John Middleton, studying the capital city of Akropong during the 1970s, noted that “northern immigrants and spouses from other towns may never be regarded as real citizens, even if born in the town” (p. 253). He identified a person’s name as well as the mastery of the local language as the key defining characteristics of a claim to local citizenship. Brokensha (1966) describes the curriculum of government schools in nearby Larteh, which included history and Twi language as supplemental courses, while middle schools held Young Pioneer meetings from 4-6 pm daily.

The relationship between local and national citizenship identity morphed as students progressed through school. Results from a 1988 survey of Ghanaian middle school, high school, and university students show the effectiveness of the school in creating national belonging. Agyeman (1988) used surveys to study national and local identification among 1546 students in multiple regions of Ghana. His results showed that as students rose in educational level, more and more students identified only as Ghanaian and not by their ethnic group: while 35% of middle school students identified themselves as only a Ghanaian, 72% of students in their final year of university did so. As teachers are required to finish high school as well as courses at a normal school, they are more likely to identify more closely with the nation than their ethnic group, and promote this attitude to the children they teach. In this case, schools create children who identify less with their local community – by promoting nationalism, do they create ethnic ‘enemies’?

Post-colonial theory and contributions to citizenship education

Postcolonial theory is a framework developed in the humanities by intellectuals from formerly colonized countries to critique the simplistic ways in which Western academics understood the identity and agency of the multitude of peoples and cultures in post-colonial states (Babha, 1994; Said, 2002; Spivak, 1988; Wa Thiong’o 1986). Applied to civic education, this framework calls for the interrogation of monolithic categories such as “democracy” and “citizenship,” an understanding of the ways these concepts operate on different levels, and an engagement with the way that competing definitions for these

categories exist in relation to each other.

In her study of teachers' understandings of democracy in Kenya, Kubow (2007) argues for the interrogation of the concept of democracy, saying that hers is a "departure from work that imposes external definitions of democracy while querying research participants for the degree of congruity of their definitions with an imposed one" (p. 308). In regards to citizenship education, post-colonial theory allows for the recognition of multiple definitions of citizenship and democracy within a school or a community.

Because postcolonial writers see identity as "embedded in communal – though hybrid and multiple – trajectories" (Dimitriadis & McCarthy, 2001), a post-colonial framework also calls for the analysis of the intersections between local, national, and global forms of citizenship. For example, Benhabib (2004) promotes both subnational and supra-national spaces for democratic attachments and agency, which would be open to discussion and valuation in schools engaging in post-colonial citizenship education. Students would be able to explore participation in both local and global spheres, in addition to participation in national events.

These national, subnational and supra-national spaces advocated by Benhabib are understood in post-colonial theory to be inseparable (Dimitriadis & McCarthy, 2001). This theory also requires an analysis of the power differentials among the different levels of identity and democratic spaces. The relationships between these spaces are a result of the center and periphery, the metropole and the colony, in the colonial encounter. Postcolonialism locates popular culture as one of the places in which these relationships are renegotiated (Lipsitz, 1990), as "a profoundly dialogic realm where different versions & visions of history fight to be accepted as common sense" (Dimitriadis & McCarthy, 2001, p. 47). In the realm of citizenship education, if students and teachers can value and participate in different levels of communities, including popular culture, they may be able to integrate them and use them to advocate for a more just and participatory society.

Visions for citizenship education based on post-colonial theories have been articulated by scholars in the field, though few link them explicitly to post-colonial theory. Banks (2008) describes this type of citizenship education as transformative. While mainstream citizenship education emphasizes memorizing facts, learning about various branches of government, and developing national patriotism, transformative citizenship education promotes an understanding of "multiple and complex identities, the ways their lives are influenced by globalization, or what their roles should be in a global world" (p. 136). Buras and Motter (2006) describe this type of citizenship education as creating a space for "border thinking," or the exploration of the relationships between local, national, and global identities. Such "border thinking" allows for a renegotiation of who the 'enemy' might be. For example, Britain could be considered a historical "enemy" of the Akan people, though today thousands of people of Akan ethnicity hold British passports. Are they using the "enemy" to gain access to economic resources? Or have they "become" the enemy through schooling and migration?

Curriculum involving local and national citizenship

Post-colonial theorists posit that identity and belonging are not a zero-sum game. Rather than having to choose between identities, students and teachers can explore the hybridity of their communities (Ladson-Billings, 2004). As Zakariah-Ali (2003) explains, education for citizenship is meant to link the state and civil society in mutually beneficial manner rather

than as competing enemies. Kymlicka (1996) notes that unless this belief is internalized, liberal institutions that have been imposed by external forces, such as government bureaucracies in Africa, will perish.

Just as the composition of national government institutions may be contested and must be recognized as valid by the populace, so must definitions of local citizenship. I recognize that education for local citizenship must not be drawn from what Ake (1988) calls a false “fossilized existence of the African past” (p. 19). Rather, education for local citizenship should build on the indigenous, which “refers to whatever the people consider important to their lives, whatever they regard as an authentic expression of themselves” (Ake, 1988, p. 19).

Though I have previously discussed the ways in which national ideas of citizenship were promoted by schools both intersected with and contradicted local values, Mamdani (1996) and Lancy (1996) write that local ethnic affiliations may be emancipatory in the move toward democratic rule in Africa. Because oppression often exists at many levels in a society, I caution that ethnic affiliations may be emancipatory only if they are not used to reproduce existing inequities. Anthropologists studying schooling in rural communities in Africa (Bledsoe, 1990; Stambach, 2000) have shown that elders of communities use modern, Western schools to reproduce local systems of social stratification. In this section, I will describe current scholarship and initiatives regarding formal education for citizenship in the Akuapem region: curriculum, teacher training, and extracurricular activities. All of these aspects link local and national ideas of citizenship in different ways.

Curriculum & implementation

Ideas about local and national belonging are included in both primary and secondary school curricula. Unlike the United States, Ghana has a uniform national curriculum policy, though subjects such as local language vary by area. As of 2007, the Ghana Education Service promoted the use of local language as a main language for instruction in primary school. Students in Kindergarten were to receive 75 minutes of literacy instruction in their local language, and 15 minutes of oral language instruction in English. The amount of English instruction increases by year, with 45 minutes being devoted to each language in 3rd grade, and all subjects (except for the local language) being taught in English by 4th grade. This new language arts curriculum jointly developed by the Ghana Education Service and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), intends to develop children’s literacy in their mother tongue before they learn to read in English. This curriculum includes cultural information, in an attempt to be relevant to students’ local communities and instill ideas of national belonging².

Some of these lessons involve the definition of different ethnic groups. For example, one lesson about food involves the linking of traditional foods to ethnic groups. The teacher guide outlines the following questions to ask students: “*What food do the Ga in Accra like most? In Ghana, who likes to eat akple?*” Lessons also involve the linking of local ethnic groups to the wider nation. One particular 2nd grade lesson includes a big book story about a festival, and the teacher’s guide instructs teachers to link the lesson to “the pupils’ obligation to Ghana, the community in which they live and their family to uphold the virtues for which

² This information is gathered from documents I acquired while I was working with EQUALL in Ghana, on a project administered by the Educational Development Corporation.

festivals are celebrated in Ghana.” Another lesson involves the linking of a national consciousness to national development. Later in the unit on food, teachers are to choose a student in their class to role play being the President of Ghana. This student should pretend to “address the citizens on the need to eat healthy food, grow what we eat and eat what we grow.” There is a striking resemblance in the primary curriculum to what Banks (1988) calls the “heroes and holidays” version of multicultural education espoused in the United States. However, the focus on bilingual education adds a deeper dimension to the recognition of local identity in the school.

It should be noted that this focus on the first language before English in government schools is a political act. English is the language of government, business, and white collar jobs in Ghana – and people who are unable to speak English are marked as lower class (Coe, 2005). Though the purpose of bilingual education is to increase, rather than decrease, English proficiency among students, some parents and teachers have concerns about focusing on the local language rather than the language of power in schools (Agnes Kokarley Nikoi, personal communication, March 15, 2008).

In contrast to the integrative nature of the language arts curriculum in primary school, secondary school curricular objectives for citizenship education center around national consciousness. The General Objectives of the National Curriculum for Junior Secondary Schools detail the following goals for citizenship education.

The junior secondary student will:

1. Become a good citizen who is capable and willing to contribute to national development.
2. Be able to make rational decisions and solve personal and societal problems.
3. Be able to adapt to the changing environment with the view to ensuring sustainable development.
4. Develop right attitudes, values, and skills for solving personal and societal problems.
5. Develop the sense of national consciousness and unity. (Ghana Ministry of Education, 1999; Cited in Groth, 2006)

Because the majority of students do not continue to senior secondary school (UNESCO, 2007), junior secondary school is an important space for citizenship education. The citizenship education curriculum focuses on attitudes over skills, and this focus is reflected in students’ perceptions of citizenship. Groth’s (2006) study with junior secondary school students in a nearby urban area reported that they felt being a good citizen involved having civic awareness. She quotes one student as saying “A good student thinks of protecting the property of the government. He thinks about freedom. He thinks about being patriotic. He thinks about the future” (p. 78).

Teachers. As members of an educated elite in a region where Christianity and education were historically linked, teachers in the Akuapem region tend to themselves feel connected to a nation and a religion before an ethnic group. Because schools are administered on a national level, teachers are assigned to different regions and do not necessarily teach in their home communities. Coe (2005) discusses teachers’ limitations in teaching about local cultures that they themselves either do not belong to or do not value. She describes how teachers discussed the local religious practice of pouring libation as poetry in

order to render it an acceptable topic of discussion among Christian students and teachers. This limitation on teaching culture in school, since teachers are rarely local elders, serves to reinforce the value of local elders or cultural groups. Students who want to learn local culture had to do so by watching and imitating local cultural societies, not by copying the teacher's notes about culture from the board. The role of Christianity in creating and defining an "enemy" is important: the national government requires the teaching of local culture, which is deemed by Christian teachers as a religious practice of an enemy. In fact, many Christians in Ghana deem traditional worship devil worship: literally, the worship of the enemy of Christianity (Mrs. Mary Nikoi, personal communication, May 16, 2007).

Visions of post-colonial global citizenship

"Schooling has too many amphetamine-like effects to serve as an opiate for the masses" (Ramirez, 2003, p. 251)

James Banks' (2008) calls for cosmopolitan citizenship education that promotes an awareness of interdependence:

Citizenship education should help students to realize that "no local loyalty can ever justify forgetting that each human being has responsibilities to every other" (Appiah, 2006, p. xvi). As citizens of the global community, students also must develop a deep understanding of the need to take action and make decisions to help solve the world's difficult problems. They need to participate in ways that will enhance democracy and promote equality and social justice in their cultural communities, nations, and regions, and in the world.

Students in Groth's (2006) study mentioned an awareness of the need for cooperation on a global level that resembles cosmopolitan citizenship. Volunteering for the United Nations, cooperation between governments, and the export of good ideas from Ghana to other parts of the world were all cited by students as examples of global citizenship. In this global context, the 'enemy' is war, dissent, and lack of development. This vision is powerful, but does not include the recognition of power differentials within the global community that post-colonial theorists recognize.

Scholarship regarding how global conceptions of citizenship are connected to local and national citizenship education in Sub-Saharan Africa is limited. Those that exist demonstrate that an awareness of the remnants of colonialism in the global system is promoted in some schools and textbooks. Dull's (2004) study of textbooks used for citizenship education in 4th-8th grade in Ghana promoted an awareness of power differentials between national and global belonging. Though texts advanced a moral imperative for students to be disciplined, this imperative was tied to an anti-colonialist stance of decreasing dependence on other countries. These texts thus promote a global awareness, but are rooted in a national identity recognizing periphery and center relationships. The 'enemy' is very clearly defined as more powerful countries taking advantage of Ghana. Though rooted in national identity, this critique of power relations is an example of *border thinking* (Buras & Motter, 2006) or *transformative citizenship education* (Banks, 2008) in which students are pressed to think about their roles in a global world.

Relationships between identities in the postcolonial context

When Julius Nyerere (2004) called for an education for liberation, and not alienation, he was speaking of an education that connected and respected local, national, and global identities. He spoke out against education that alienates students from the communities in which they live, outlining that “it purports to make you different without making you useful to anybody” (p. 68). While he did not ignore ideas of global interconnectedness, he did situate the global in relation to the national and local, saying “our corner in the global village is in Tanzania.” Likewise, multicultural theorists Buras and Motter (2006) believe that schools that are unable to engage the local, national, and global sensibilities will only serve to reinforce exploitative power dynamics between these arenas. In this view, schools should create students who recognize that ‘enemies’ may be local, national, or global, and are not afraid to participate in all three spheres in the interest of themselves and their communities.

The existing literature on citizenship education in Africa concentrates on the ways in which local and national identities are sometimes contradictory yet integrated. Local identities are less powerful or valued as students progress in school levels. However, the ways in which youth understand global belonging inside and outside of schools remain unexplored. Refugee youths’ claims to human rights and the emigration of privileged, educated youth interact with ideas of local and national belonging. Global belonging might devalue the local – since in order to work for transnational companies, religious institutions, or have a voice at the United Nations, a person must speak English, French or Arabic, and embrace Christian or Muslim beliefs. National belonging, to either a patron or liberal state, might overshadow any global ties. The ways in which these competing and coexisting discourses interact should be central to future research about citizenship education in Ghana, as well as across the globe.

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