

Contextual Learning; Education through Inter-Cultural Dialogue of Elite and Indigenous-Indigent

(Case Study of School-Community Interaction in Rural Africa)

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ABSTRACT

Universal access to education has been an urgent concern since the establishment of the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals or MDG. While aiming at 'Education for All', the MDG did not specify what kind of education nor how that education would be delivered. Besides the emphasis on access, apparent in the various attempts to ensure provision of education for the world's poor, there has been also focus on material resources -especially a reliance on foreign aid. This author argues that what is needed in the long-term is a localized or Culturally Responsive approach that includes a consideration of the question of justice–particularly the issue of socio-economic inequality.

The study evaluates some historical attempts towards Cultural Responsiveness (CR) in education, highlighting the efforts to filter curriculum content and teaching strategies through students' cultural frames of reference. It eventually questions this curriculum-centred approach. Should CR not rather address the problem of elitism inherited via colonial education? The elite and the indigent, the study suggests, have become of different cultures. Hence part of the task of CR in education needs to be conceptualised as an elite-indigent dialogue. The CR dialogue is indeed of culture but must be framed in the context of justice, presented in terms of the author's religious worldview, which includes eco-justice.

To gather data on an elite-indigent interaction, the study adopts a decolonized methodology, as well as a qualitative approach employing unstructured interviews and open-ended questionnaires. Based on an interpretive case study of the relationship between an elite school in Africa and its indigenous-indigent host community, the study explores an alternative CR approach through the philosophical lens of Constructivism and the Ignatian Pedagogical Paradigm (IPP). The result is a three-fold learning hypothesis termed *Costheanthropic Learning.*

TO MY SISTER SANDRA

Heroic baby sis

Soon after you rose transformed

On John the Baptist's Birthday

You pick me up, lest I fall and stay down

In the face of fiery foes.

When I too finally fly off the tree of life

This leaf will lay fulfilled - because you lived.

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GLOSSARY OF KISWAHILI/AFRICANWORDS

Asante Sana----------Thank you very much

Gidan Mangoro (Hausa)----------House of mangoes

Gule Wamkulu (Chewa)----------A traditional dance

Harambee----------Communal self-help (“all pull together”)

Hakuna Matata----------All is well

Jua Kali----------Harsh manual labour

Karibu----------Welcome

Karibu Sana----------You are very welcome

Kwaheri----------Goodbye (“with luck”)

Mungu----------God

Mzungu----------A white person

Mwalimu----------Teacher

Nane Nane ----------Local trade fair/Agricultural Exhibition

Soko----------Market

Tuko Pamoja----------We are together

Ujamaa ----------Family-hood

Umuntu Ngumuntu Ngabantu (Zulu)----------I belong, therefore I am

TERMINOLOGIES

Community-Validity:	The degree of accord in a communal discourse or level of shared awareness of a given reality.
Concentric Reality:	A depiction of all reality as concentric circles that represent distinct ontological and epistemological entities.
Costheanthropic Learning:	The anticipated outcome of the school-community interaction after reflection on experience.
Incarnational:	Emergent nature of knowledge and truth in space-time.
Indigenous-indigent:	The Multidimensionally poor attached to the rural habitat of a cultural group that is traceable to the era of pre-modern states.
Methodological Amalgamation:	Post-coding process of grouping similar themes from data gathered. Also referred to in the thesis as "Progressive Amalgamation", in ironic contrast to the 1914 Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria.
Urban-indigent:	The Multidimensionally poor in an urban habitat of multiple cultural identities; this may also refer to the socio-economically displaced indigenous-indigent.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACBR	=	African Community-Based Research
CASIT	=	Catholic School in Tanzania
CS	=	Community Service
CST	=	Catholic Social Teaching
CR	=	Cultural Responsiveness (noun); Culturally Responsive (adjective)
EFA	=	Educational for All
ESR	=	Education for Self-Reliance
ECCE	=	Early Childhood Care and Education
GM	=	Gidan Mangoro
ICIK	=	Inter-institutional Consortium for Indigenous Knowledge
IK	=	Indigenous Knowledge
IPS	=	Institutionalized Public Schooling
IPP	=	Ignatian Pedagogical Paradigm
LJC	=	Loyola Jesuit College
LoE	=	Language of Education
MDG	=	Millennium Development Goals
NCCREST	=	National Centre for Culturally Responsive Educational Systems
NETF	=	National Education Trust Fund
RUCIT	=	Rural Community in Tanzania
SDG	=	Sustainable Development Goals
SP	=	Service Programme
SSA	=	Sub-Saharan Africa
UN	=	United Nations organization
UNESCO	=	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	=	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
WAEC	=	West African Examination Council
WASSCE	=	West African Secondary School Certificate Examination

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1. PREAMBLE

The purpose of this prologue is to provide the axiological perspective of my research study. The following brief remarks present the motivation behind this work as well as important details about the researcher in relation to the research problem. Three points will be presented in this preface: my religious inspiration, philosophical/ideological passion, and a quest for socio-economic justice in Africa.[1] As a Jesuit Religious committed to the alleviation of human suffering, the first important detail is my religious inspiration.

A Religious Inspiration

My religious sentiments are captured in the biblical quest for justice in the face of suffering. According to scripture scholars, the broad context for understanding the Bible is that it represents the plight of a suffering people seeking justice (Brown 1971; Fitzmyer 2007; Harrington 2013). Poverty, oppression, enslavement, marginalization, inequality and other forms of affliction, constitute "70-80 percent of the Christian Bible" (Harrington 2013, p. 4). According to Harrington, one important biblical approach to suffering is that of "Justice Deferred." In the face of personal and communal suffering, justice is merely deferred until the full coming of God's kingdom. It is an attitude to suffering that is captured in the quintessential Christian prayer: "May Thy Kingdom come."

While I share in that eschatological hope which sustains those who suffer injustice or anguish, there remains a practical question for me. Should the hope of such a people lie in a kingdom to be

[1] The personalized form "I" or "me" is used in this thesis because of its intrinsic (as opposed to instrumental) nature, namely, that it is a research project driven by a personal conviction (Garry Thomas 2013).

strived for here on earth or in an afterlife? I believe Christian theology over the centuries appears to have transferred to the end-time the aspiration for a society that is free of avoidable suffering. Hence this research project is an educational attempt to address unjust suffering from an immanent perspective. Philosophical blue prints for a just society have nonetheless been seen as utopian.

A Philosophical or Ideological Passion

My background in philosophy endeared me to the utopian classics like the *Republic* of Plato; the *Utopia* of More; elements of the works of Rousseau as well as Karl Marx, and others.[2] Rousseau regarded Plato's *Republic* as the ultimate work on education. In Plato's Academy, women and the children of the poorest in society were to receive the best education as the elite. Rousseau's writings, including his *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*, became perceived over time as an unjustifiable idealization (Rousseau 2012). Voltaire's outrage against Rousseau is well known, accusing the latter of wanting humanity to "walk on all four" (Voltaire & Cronk 2010). Marx would later continue Rousseau's project of eradicating inequality by recommending the destruction of private property.

Even if Marx's communist utopia may never be realised and Rousseau's 'Eden' may never have existed, the utopian quest has resurfaced in recent years (Morgan & Guilherme 2014, p. 38). I share in this renewed quest based on my experience of socio-economic inequality. As a recent study shows, 1% of the world's population own as much wealth as the other 99% (Elliot 2015, p.1). The research problem of this study stems from my African perspective of such socio-economic inequality.

[2] More recently, Paulo Freire's *Conscientization* has also been considered utopian, in the sense that it is ultimately impracticable. "It represents a process that will never be fully realizable for either the educator or the learner" (Dasen & Akkari 2008, p. 342).

A Desire for Socio-Economic Justice in Africa

The African context of this study is comparable to that of the Jewish people in biblical times, namely, a "notoriously religious" (Mbiti 1969, p. 1) people now engulfed in poverty, inequality and other forms of avoidable suffering (UNICEF 2014, p. 1). Simultaneous with the continent's impoverishment is an increasing number of rich African elite. The case of Africa's most populous nation serves to highlight this economic gap. *Forbes* recently published its annual list of the world's billionaires, and there were five Nigerians on the 2015 ranking. (http://www.forbes.com/billionaires/list/#version:static_search:Nigeria). By September 2008, just before the global economic recession, Nigeria had a foreign-exchange reserve of $60 billion (Okonjo-Iweala 2012, p. 120). In any conventional sense, therefore, Africa's most populated country is not poor. Yet, according to UNESCO, Nigeria has the highest number of children not-in-school in the world. These are not the children of the elite. They are mostly the indigenous-indigent.

The high number of Nigerian children not-in-school is rather typical of Africa. According to the UN, "Sub-Saharan Africa is the region that is lagging most behind" in the EFA (Education For All) goals (UNESCO 2014, p. 2). The UN blames the looming inability of African countries to meet the 2015 EFA goals on poverty (p. i). Does such poverty, amidst affluence, make sense? What is the role of educational institutions in the moral and intellectual journey towards a just society? Such questions form the crux of my exploration of the relationship between elite schools and their host indigent/indigenous communities. It is a complex journey, but much effort has been made to present it in as simplified a manner as possible. The following introductory chapter provides the outline for that journey by clearing the path to a field with two sets of players.

2. FROM THE FIELD OF DREAMS

> In most African countries, the present educational systems were set up at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. The primary goal was clear: formal education was intended first and foremost to train young people for civil service. Colonial administration needed civil servants (Hountondji 2000, p. 39).

THE INTRODUCTION

This chapter sets out the purpose of this investigation and explains the core claim of the research project, including its relevance for Africa and maybe beyond. After highlighting the research problem of educational inequality, this part of the thesis also reveals a theoretical orientation in relation to that problem. Hence some basic concepts are introduced and their value for addressing the problem discussed briefly. Lastly, an outline of the entire thesis is provided in anticipation of issues that would be further expounded upon in due course. That last item is the first in line.

Aim and Outline of the Thesis

The aim of this research study is to explore the relationship between elite schools and their indigent/indigenous host communities. The goal or ultimate purpose of the exploration is to address the problem of educational inequality as well as related socio-economic and cultural issues.

The thesis is divided into seven chapters. After this introductory chapter, to be followed by a literature review, the subsequent chapter outlines an African approach to Qualitative methodology. Information is presented about sampling, the research tools and issues of reliability and validity as

well as ethics. There is also the rationale behind the methods and techniques used. Hence it is in that methodology chapter that the principles of African Community-based Research (ACBR) are introduced, drawing on the insights of some African scholars. In addition to the actual methods employed for the data collection, some justification is provided for (the choice of) a case study of the particular Catholic school in Tanzania. This will explain why the school was considered as most appropriate for the enquiry.

Presentation and discussion of research findings form the fifth and sixth parts of the thesis. These two chapters present the data and the key processes involved in a thematic analysis of the vast amount of information gathered. It includes the process referred to as *Methodological Amalgamation*, which forms the basis for interpretation. In the end, both chapters will help to determine if the data from the fieldwork in Tanzania provide a valuable socio-cultural perspective for an educational response to the multi-related problem of inequality, postcolonial education and socio-economic problems.[3] It is also in the fifth chapter that is provided a brief background to the context (school, village and the country) where the fieldwork took place.

Chapter six more specifically discusses themes from the data that relate to the topic. The plan is to highlight the value of those themes for education in Africa and maybe beyond. The chapter will also contain some proposals or suggestions. A seventh chapter, the conclusion, contains a summary as well as an outlining of the limitations of the study and areas that may require further research. Implications may be drawn of research findings for contemporary socio-economic and political

[3] The term *postcolonial* is used in the descriptive, not necessarily evaluative, sense. However, this thesis appears to deal extensively with what has been referred to as 'the unfinished business of colonization in the postcolonial era' (Kupferman 2013, p. 16).

issues. Hopefully, this concluding chapter will make clear what exactly constitutes the contribution of the thesis to the educational literature. First, what is the problem to be addressed in this thesis – especially within the broader problem facing global education?[4]

Statement of Problem

The problem of this study is partly a global one. According to the ILO (International labour organisation) 168 million children from around the world are currently out of school because of child labour. Although this figure was announced as good news, "Global number of children in child labour has declined by one third since 2000, from 246 million", the statistics remain grim:

> More than half of them, 85 million, are in hazardous work…but Sub-Saharan Africa continues to be the region with the highest incidence of child labour, 59 million, over 21% (ILO 2015).[5]

The lack of good education for the majority of humanity continues to be addressed by the United Nations. The aspiration for a universal primary education was made official and universal by the Jomtien declaration of the World Conference on Education in 1990 (Morgan & White 2014, p. 39).

[4] Wherever the word *education* is used in this thesis, it refers to all aspects of teaching and learning including the building up of character. It also includes the learning needs of youth and adults, which is the target of UNESCO's EFA (Morgan & White 2014, p. 39). There are various other definitions of education, but UNESCO succinctly defined education as "an organized and sustained communication system designed to bring about learning" (UNESCO 1976, p.2). Accepting this definition as adequate, I here emphasize the aspect of character as an integral part of learning. The distinction between formal and informal learning is dealt with later.

[5] These figures were released on the 12th of June 2015 to mark the World Day Against Child Labour: http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/child-labour/lang--en/index.htm.

The Dakar World Education Forum would later assess the Jomtien declaration, as Education for All (EFA) is currently monitored by UNESCO.[6] Through coordinated international efforts to pursuing the EFA goals, more children have been put into pre-primary schools within the last two decades. As Morgan and White note, while pre-primary enrolment has "increased from 33 percent in 1999 to 50 percent in 2011, there remain very large regional disparities" (*Ibid.* p. 40). In short, the quality of education has varied greatly among different communities (UNESCO 2012, p. 14).

Central to the disparity in the quality of education in Africa is the role of private schools. The research work of Srivastava and Walford has already documented the key role of private schools in Africa and other poor countries. The privatisation as well as marketization of schooling in Africa may have enhanced Education for All and the Millennium Development Goals, but what is not clear is the nature and impact of private schools on the educational opportunities of economically and socially disadvantaged children (Srivastava & Walford 2007). There is indeed quality education in elite schools; this is already evident in the various Western universities that have admitted many elite African students. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of non-elite schools. As Banda puts it, "in Sub-Saharan Africa Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) is still a luxury for nearly all children. This is mainly because ECCE is often provided by private institutions and is concentrated in urban and wealthy areas where parents are aware of its benefits and have the means to pay" (Banda 2008, p. 42). Such private institutions that are generally accessible only to the wealthy are precisely what this thesis refers to as elite schools or quality schools – based on their high academic performance (Figure 18).

[6] There have been various criticisms of the EFA goals (Brock-Utne 2000; McGrath 2008) ranging from its emphasis on access and on primary education, as well as the nature, extent and purpose of education, to the impossibility of a universal education. I think there are also no universal answers to the criticisms, so it may be more appropriate to focus on offering a kind of education that I deem pertinent to the given context.

A Problem of Elitism and Inequality

Based on the above facts of inequality in quality education, I regard the problem of this study as a two-fold *one* because each, economic or cultural, is a restatement of the other: there appears to be two cultures, the elite and the indigent, continuously drifting apart economically and culturally through educational inequality. After about five decades of achieving independence from the Western powers, the result for many African countries is a huge disparity between the rich and well educated elite on the one hand and the poorly educated indigent. Statistical evidence shows an increasing disparity between the academic performance of children of the elite and that of indigent/indigenous children. According to the West African Examination Council (WAEC) fewer students are now able to achieve the five credits required to begin university studies. Commenting on the 2013 post-secondary school examination result, the Council notes "there is a marked decline in candidates' performance as contained in the table below:"

Figure 1: WASSCE 2012-2013 Statistics Table

WASSCE 2012	WASSCE 2013
150,615 (37.97%)	86,612 (29.17%)

Percentage of West African students able to obtain 5 credits and above after secondary school; for further details, see the official website of the West African Examination Council, WAEC, http://www.waecdirect.org/)

Based on the above statistical summary of the West African Secondary School Certificate Examination (WASSCE) result, less than half of the students are able to obtain five credits.

In 2012, it was only 37.97% of those who sat for that year's end-of-secondary-school examination; while in 2013 it was a mere 86,612 or 29% of the candidates. For 2014, according to the Council's head office in Ghana, the figure further fell to about 28% (www.ghanawaec.org). Commenting on the 2014 result, the WAEC office in Monrovia also "noted that when compared to the 2012 and 2013 May/June WASSCE diets, there was marginal decline in the performance of candidates" ("WAEC 2014 May/June Results Record Another Mass Failure" – www.liberianobserver.com). The real contrast here is with elite students. In many elite African schools, more than 95% of the students consistently obtain five credits and above in the same or similar examinations; see tabular analysis of LJC WASSCE result shown in Figure 18 below or visit these elite schools' websites: www.loyolajesuit.org/news.htm; www.cherryfieldcollege.com/; www.collegelibermann.org/).[7]

The poor academic performance in non-elite schools is not restricted to West Africa, but is rather typical of sub-Saharan Africa and maybe beyond. African countries including Tanzania, the site of this study, bought into the eight MDGs - the 2015 Millennium Development Goals. Long before the end date for the MDGs, the "successful failure" of the universal primary education component of the MDGs has been well documented (McGrath 2012a). According to a UN report, "Sub-Saharan Africa is the region that is lagging most behind" in the attainment of 'education for all' or EFA by 2015 (UNESCO 2014, p. 2). Such depiction of Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) does not apply to the elite class in the sub-continent. This research problem of educational inequality will become even more evident when the problem is concretized within an actual school and community context in a later section ("The Context") a few page below.

[7] The above websites are merely examples of elite schools in Nigeria and Cameroun.

To sum up the problem this study aims to address, in addition to the lack of access to education there is the issue of the quality and type of education in Africa. Some argue that the problem is that of an overemphasis on access at the expense of impact (Rogers 2003, p.2). For example, as SSA countries struggled to meet the 2015 EFA goals, the tendency of many NGOs and Western governments has been to emphasize the need for more donations of computers and similar facilities, especially to rural classrooms in Africa. According to the Director-General of UNESCO, Irina Bokova, an extra US$26 billion per year is needed to achieve basic education for many of the world's poor children (UNESCO 2014, p.i). The efforts of the UN and various NGOs are indeed noble and praiseworthy in the face of the vast waste of human talents among the indigent. But is foreign aid indeed the ultimate answer? Anti-aid campaigners like William Easterly and Dambisa Moyo (Easterly 2001, 2006; Moyo 2010) believe that foreign aid does more harm than good by discouraging people from seeking local solutions to their problems.[8] Others, like Sachs, believe that Africa is caught in a poverty trap, and so what is needed is a huge investment from the international community (Sachs 2005). Does it have to be a question of aid or no aid? Could there be a localized approach to aid? The photo below, which I incidentally found online, possibly represents a real-life picture of the tendency for overseas aid to provide good but inappropriate solutions.

[8] Wherever the word local is used in this thesis it refers comparatively to a geographical location as opposed to any relative inferiority.

Figure 2: Photo of African School Children in Inappropriate Shoes



Both the advocates for overseas aid and the anti-aid campaigners believe in the need to help the indigent (Singer 2011). Despite the best intentions of educating the poor, even in top quality schools in Africa, the issue may not solely be one of material resources. Recent studies have shown that "loss of schooling cannot be accounted for solely by poverty" in Africa (Pridmore 2014, p. 3). On the other hand, could it be that by the time the financial aid arrives an irrevocable damage to learning may have been caused by malnutrition? Many NGOs and foundations believe that early schooling, especially primary schools, are the solution to the crisis of poor quality education among the indigent. The central problem identified by the NGOs and foundations is that "Children living in extreme rural poverty trail their urban counterparts in access to education" (http://www.asanteafrica.org/about-us/). That claim is in accordance with much of the literature on

poverty in "low income countries" (Tikly & Barrett 2011). However, the eleemosynary "approach" of such charitable organisations is to remove the children from their rural settings. For example, in the foundation cited above, the indigent children are taken, around the age of five, from their rural Kenyan and Tanzanian settings and placed in a boarding primary school to enable them eventually to compete with their counterparts in elite schools. The early-primary education approach is noble. It has also been adopted by the Catholic mission in Africa, such as Jesuit Memorial College established 2014 in the Niger-Delta. What arguably seems to be missing in the various responses to the problem of educational inequality, in my opinion, is a two-fold response or task:

- An integration of the indigenous culture of the children and the school culture to which they are being invited.
- A true dialogue between the elite and the indigent in education.

That dialogue and integration is part of what will be referred to as Cultural Responsiveness. The term will be explained shortly. Why dialogue and integration? At the heart of the two-fold problem appears to be a gulf or elitist legacy of the colonial education inherited by Africa's elite and perpetuated by that social class (Carmody 1992). George Teasdale sees the Western academic curriculum as still dominating the 'South' and impervious due to the legacy of colonialism.[9] This legacy is what has been stated already in terms of two cultures separated by inequality. The next step is to explain how this study proposes to address the problem propounded above, namely, of integration of the two cultures and of dialogue between the elite and indigent in education.

[9] The 'South' refers to the global geographical divide and which also refers to the colonized and poor countries of the world. See: George Robert Teasdale, "Curriculum Localization: A View from the South" (in Dasen & Akkari 2008) pp. 125-144.

A Proposal

The main proposal or central argument of this thesis is that a particular approach to 'Cultural Responsiveness' could potentially help education in Africa achieve greater socio-economic impact. "Culturally responsive teaching is defined as using the cultural characteristics, experiences, and perspectives of ethnically diverse students as conduits for teaching them more effectively" (Gay 2002, p, 106). According to some multicultural educationists writing in the American context (Ladson-Billings 2006; Banks 2004; Gay 2004; Howard 2003; Nieto 2002) Cultural Responsiveness has the potential of narrowing the unequal educational outcomes between rich and poor students. In proposing CR, there is a similarity between Africa and the American context in which CR emerged.

A wide socio-economic gap in America, which forms the context of the above view of CR, is also true of Africa. In a vicious cycle of inequality, Africa remains plagued by the abject poverty of the majority. According to a recent UN report, "Of the 21 countries in Eastern and Southern Africa, 18 are at high or medium risk of humanitarian crises, including disasters related to food…" (UNICEF 2014, p. 1). At the same time, Africa boasts of an increasingly rich and growing middle and upper class. Here is a specific example. Around the time I began this research work, a British court sentenced a former Nigerian governor, Mr. James Ibori, to 13 years in prison. The sentence came after he pleaded guilty to laundering £50 million ($79 million) in a case described as one of the biggest money-laundering in Britain. Naturally, Mr. Ibori's three daughters were attending an elite school at the time of his sentencing (Reuters, 17 April 2012, http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/04/17/britain-nigeria-ibori-idUSL6E8FH3J820120417). The point of the above example is not to castigate any individual but to show that such an enormous amount of money was held by one individual in a country where millions live below the poverty line.

A Delicate Proposal

Within this context of inequality, my proposal is nonetheless inspired by Catholic education (which is itself elitist). On the one hand, Catholic education has played a great role in Africa and beyond. Jesuit education in particular professes a social justice mission of uplifting the poor through education; hence Jesuit schools in the continent are mostly situated among indigent/indigenous communities. However, with the Catholic emphasis on academic excellence comes the reality of these schools furthering elitism in Africa. An Indian Priest who was among the first administrators of a Catholic high school in Africa expressed his frustration to me during the fieldwork:

> We deliberately decided to set up … (name of school omitted for anonymity) in and for the poor people of this neighbourhood, but see how it has become an elite school! (Oral Interview/Poverty/13).

The import of the above angst about elitism is that the Catholic school essentially serves the interest of the rich minority with far reaching socio-economic and political implications. Currently, elite Catholic schools like those of the Jesuits appear to produce leaders who often fail to reach out to the poor and are unable to lead the socio-economic development of their whole people. Such leaders with their entire state apparatus become an elitist class detached from the poor masses. Gramsci links the elite or bourgeois class with the state. “The state is the bourgeois class in its modern, concrete expression. The bourgeois class is not a unified entity outside the state” (Gramsci, p. 40). This is true of Africa, except for countries where a military cabal or gang forcibly takes over power; the educated elite have generally become identified with the state. An example is the foremost African leader educated in a Jesuit school, Mr. Robert Mugabe, the current President of Zimbabwe. Mr. Mugabe, age 91, and his elite class have held power for several decades and aggrandized themselves and their

wealth while the rest of the masses suffer. According to media reports, Mr. Mugabe recently lavished US$1m (£600,000) on his 90th birthday celebration "as the country lurches towards another financial crisis" (*The Guardian*, 19th February 2014; http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/feb/19/robert-mugabe-birthday-plans-condemned-zimbabwe-struggles). In the midst of such apparent fisc fiddle, below is a single bill of one hundred trillion Zimbabwean dollars, which is evidence of the economic misery of that country:

Figure 3: Banknote showing Zimbabwe's hyperinflation



In fact, the Zimbabwean economy has now practically resorted to use of the American dollar under Mr. Mugabe. More future African leaders are currently being educated in Jesuit schools and other elite institutions across the continent. One of the most striking examples of such institutions is the Jesuit school in Nigeria, Africa's most populous nation, which will now be discussed as part of the contextualisation of this study. That primary context will also include some of the personal background that influenced the research. Before presenting that context, here is a summary of the proposal of this thesis.

Without undermining the emphasis on academic excellence in elite schools, this study proposes dialogue and integration in the form of CR or an adaptation of education to the local culture. Far from merely affirming cultural symbols, the aim of such dialogue or intercultural interaction is to bring about greater educational impact. Are there cultural values that could emerge from such interaction? This study will attempt to seek or identify specific cultural themes based on analysis of the data collected and an examination of the existing literature. The school system as it exists presently seems to enhance elitism, as the following context will illustrate.

The Context

Figure 4: Map of Africa showing Nigeria



(Source: GraphicMaps.com)

The most primary and important context that influenced this study is that I am a Jesuit educationist who has been affected by my practise in Africa, Nigeria, both as a teacher and administrator between 1996 and 2011. I was the first African to be the sole administrator of the foremost Jesuit school in Nigeria, Loyola Jesuit College (LJC) in Abuja. I served as Principal of the school from 2005 to 2011. This experience contributed greatly to my interest in the current project.

One particular experience has remained the most valuable in my life as a teacher and school administrator at LJC. It is the experience of watching my students tutor the poor children who lived just outside the walls of LJC in a village called Gidan Mangoro (GM). The tutoring was part of the school's Service Programme (SP). The aim of that particular aspect of the SP was to tutor the village children so that they would become competent enough to study in the Jesuit school situated in their village. The village children were between the ages of 4 and 12. Using the Nigerian primary school curriculum corresponding to their age bracket, they were taught English Language, Arithmetic and Handwriting. To further strengthen this weekly tutoring, there was a more consistent (daily) programme known as Summer School. This latter intensive tutoring was organized for the village children during the LJC long holidays between July and September.

One experience has remained the most painful in my life as a teacher and school administrator. It is the fact that none of the poor children of GM has become competent enough to study in the Jesuit school situated in their village. This is despite the fact that the SP had run for 15 years. As head of LJC, I agonised over how difficult it was for children from poor economic backgrounds to pass into the Jesuit school. I had money set aside for scholarship, to cover the six-year tuition of any poor child who passed the LJC admission test. That was all I could do at the time. The rigors of school administration did not allow me much time and space for reflection on what else

could have been done. When I left the school in August of 2011, I was unenthused by the Summer School of that summer. It seemed futile. After five years, I had seen enough of two sets of children from the same country who were living side-by-side but in two different worlds. I now present the dualism of those two different contexts in which both sets of children lived.

The Dualism of the Contexts

The dualism I observed between LJC and GM is analogous to the dual economy model proposed in 1955 by Sir William Arthur Lewis (Lewis 1963)**.** According to this paradigm, "underdeveloped" countries have a dual economy; one is the traditional sector and the other the capitalist sector.[10] The traditional is the indigenous sector of mostly self-employed farmers. It is marked by a rural life, subsistent agriculture and traditional institutions. In this rural sector there is a surplus of labour. The capitalist sector on the other hand is urban, "developed" with industries. In this "Dual Sector Model" or theory of development, the surplus labour from the traditional agricultural sector should be transferred to the modern industrial sector. The resulting growth of the urban sector would over time absorb the surplus labour in the villages. Consequently, the movement of labour will promote and spread industrialization as well as stimulate development (Lewis 1963). Sir Arthur Lewis received the Nobel memorial prize in 1979 for his theory of economic development. Criticisms of his dual model include an assumption of a smooth transfer of unskilled agricultural labour to industry; he is also said to have ignored a resultant fall in agricultural output due to labour transfer

[10] I have tried in this thesis to refrain from using the labels "developed" or "underdeveloped" and their related forms, to refer to countries or communities. This is because I think *developed* and its equivalents is a relative term, often narrowly used to affirm technological advancement and not necessarily including other aspects like moral or religious progress. Such a narrow use of the term is in my view unfortunate.

away from the subsistence sector (Robinson & Acemoglu 2012). Nonetheless, the Lewesian migration appears to be true of the African context today.

The Lewesian rural-urban divide forms the context of this study and characterizes the elite-indigent divide. While Lewis's dual economy remains relevant to Africa, what his dichotomy does not stress is that this dualism is not natural. In other words, it was created by the capitalist sector itself. In some cases, such as in the impoverished rural parts of apartheid South Africa, Guatemala, and the aboriginal villages of Australia, the indigent people of the rural sector were held back from participating fully in development within the capitalist sector. According to Robinson and Acemoglu, rural ghettos were created in the first place through systematic exclusion (Acemoglu & Robinson 2012). Land policy in the colonial era undermined the subsistence farming of the rural poor so as to enhance cheap labour in the urban areas. This criticism is pertinent to Africa as well as many other impoverished parts of the world. As evident in the works of Chinua Achebe, before the advent of Western capitalism in Africa there were no such distinct sectors (Achebe 1959).

Whatever the historical factors may be, there now exists in Africa two sets of children needing education: students of the urban elite and those of indigent rural areas or the indigenous-indigent. The solution cannot be mass movement from the bucolic to urban communities. Rural-urban migration without the appropriate education often means transition from rural poverty to urban misery. This is evident in the number of street kids and homeless adults in many African cities. Despite the opportunities available in the cities, there are many urban-indigent. Should rural Africa become absorbed by urban industrial life? Is a mutual interaction possible through education, a reciprocity that respects and integrates the culture and values of both the rural and urban societies?

A Serendipity: Integrating the Contexts Became Road to CR

A term was sought at the beginning of this study to adequately express a desired integration of the village culture and the school culture. The expression "Cultural Responsiveness in Education" came to mind. The choice of "Cultural Responsiveness" (CR) was based on the observation that the dichotomy between the elite and indigent children is not only economic but apparently cultural as well. Upon examination of the research literature on socio-economic and cultural dichotomy among students, it emerged that CR is indeed a pedagogical theory, and there exists variations of the term. Some common variations are 'Culturally Responsive Teaching' (Hill 2012; Kozleski 2014); 'Culturally Responsive Pedagogy' (Howard & Terry 2011); 'Culturally Responsive Differentiated Instructional Strategies' (Steinhardt 2008); 'Culturally Responsive Education' (Steinhardt 2012); 'Culturally Relevant Pedagogy' (Ladson-Billings 1995) and 'Culturally Responsive Instruction' (Au 2007). The emphasis of all these terms is that education, teaching and learning, be conducted in a manner that is responsive to the student's home culture (Hill 2012, p. 16).

In my view, applying CR in the context of Africa goes beyond classroom instruction. It is both pedagogical and ideological. Cultural Responsiveness is conceived here both to enhance the process of teaching and learning as well as to produce leaders who will reach out to the poor. In addition to a Culturally Responsive classroom instruction, Cultural Responsiveness would include a social interaction between the school and the indigenous community; between the elite and the indigent. Hence I chose the term *Cultural Responsiveness* (CR) in Education, rather than 'Culturally Responsive Teaching' or Pedagogy or Instruction.' The choice of terminology is based on an understanding of Education as including pedagogy as well as "experience and observation as a method of learning when combined with thought and analysis" (Nyerere 1978, p. 33).

Whatever the chosen terminology, a common theme shared by all these terms is that disparity in the academic performance of such contrasting sets of children owes to "the discontinuities between the school culture and the home or indigenous cultures" (Gay 2010, p. x). Such complex labels and categorizations as 'culture' and 'indigenous' require some clarification.

Clarification of Terms

The following terms are worth clarifying because of their importance in the build up to the arguments. At the end of the explanation of each term, I state concisely the reason for examining that particular concept.

Poverty

What does it mean to be poor or indigent? Poverty is generally understood as material deprivation in terms of the basic necessities of food, clothing and shelter. In its effort at poverty alleviation, the United Nations currently concedes "there is no international consensus on guidelines for measuring poverty" (http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/international-migration/glossary/poverty/). The UN distinguishes relative from absolute poverty and measures income poverty with respect to families rather than individuals. Then it adjusts the family's "command over resources" in terms of the number of persons in the family. Accordingly, the standard for 'extreme poverty' is the possession of less than $1 a day. The United Nations Development Programme, UNDP, seeks to halve by 2015 the proportion of people who live on less than $1 a day. This narrow economic or material approach to poverty is useful for identifying the most vulnerable in society and will be applicable to this study.

However, UNESCO also recognizes the multifaceted nature of poverty and highlights the importance of understanding poverty as social and political exclusion. The multidimensional nature of poverty is well documented (Narayan 2000). Poverty is economic but also social, political and cultural. Material deprivation is not necessarily the most acute form of poverty. Suffering from hunger might be less severe in the long term than not knowing the cause of the hunger and how to ensure self-sustenance. How should one decide on which dimension of poverty to address?

Sabina Alkire expounds a capability approach to poverty. In this view, poverty is defined as a deprivation of capabilities and multiple freedoms that are of value to a given people (Alkire 2007, p. 1). The objective of this perspective is to reduce capabilities poverty and expand valuable freedoms.[11] The question remains: are there core capabilities to choose from – a universally accepted canonical list of capabilities and freedoms? Where the selection of capabilities is based on certain values, one must be mindful that cultural values change. Alkire rightly argues against "generating a single list of poverty dimensions" (p. 14). She instead proposes that the dimensions of chronic poverty for research studies be selected by combining the selection of "a static set of core dimensions" with participatory studies that report the importance of the dimensions to the respondents. This method may be capable of helping researchers and practitioners to explicitly state their rationale for selecting particular dimensions of poverty. However, it does not seem to be necessary or appropriate to select in this study a set of dimensions of poverty. This is not due to an inadequacy or inapplicability of the capabilities approach. The capabilities paradigm is a coherent framework that has been applied to

[11] The capabilities approach to poverty, as formulated by Amartya Sen as well as Nussbaum, focuses on what individuals are capable of or able to do (Nussbaum 2003). Sen also argues that freedom is itself the goal of development (Sen 2000).

various research techniques, quantitative and qualitative alike (p.4). As will become clear, the Community-Based methodology adopted in this study attempts to avoid any imposition on the participants of a research agenda with conceptual objectives. Should the participants deem it fit to select specific dimensions of poverty, then this would become part of the research agenda. Leaving the decision to the community in the above manner is consistent with the overall approach of this inquiry – as will be explained in the Methodology chapter.

In this study poverty is understood in the above multidimensional view but in an open-ended sense. The goal of confronting income poverty and capabilities deprivation is both of redistribution and recognition (Fraser & Honneth 2003).[12] At the same time there are no predetermined limits and fixed dimensions of poverty in this multidimensional perspective, for the reason given above. Thus the term *poor*, as well as variations like *poverty* and *indigent*, does not refer only to material or income poverty. It includes capabilities deprivation. This clarification of the term poverty is made here to anticipate (forestall) a hand-out notion of the elite-indigent interaction. More than handing out food and other material items to the poor, also of importance is the reason behind the poverty of the community. What is the role of factors such as culture and related socio-economic and political structures in responding to poverty?

[12] Nancy Fraser and Axel Honneth, pp. 110-211, show that redistribution and recognition are both necessary, even though the two concepts have received varied emphasis among different authors – including Fraser and Honneth themselves. For example, Honneth sees recognition as the overarching moral category and treats distribution as derivative. Fraser on the other hand disagrees and argues that distribution cannot "be subsumed under recognition" (Fraser & Honneth 2003, p. 3).

Culture

As a Social Studies teacher in Africa for several years, this is the standard definition of culture that we transmitted to our high school students: culture refers to the language, customs, general way of life, including food and clothing, as well as artefacts and other items, which are characteristic of a particular group of people and transferred from one generation to the next. “It includes the symbols, images, meanings, habitual comportments, stories, and so on through which people express their experience and communicate with one another” (Young 2011, p. 23). Culture, so depicted, affects how people learn, solve problems, and is the context of students’ overall development (Irvine & Armento 2001). It could therefore be added that these symbols, images and habits, constitute the lens through which a person perceives self, others and reality.

The above meaning of culture is understood here as dynamic rather than static. This view of culture as non-static is also held by others (Sillitoe *et al.* 2006). Hence African culture has evolved from the pre-colonial era to the present, albeit differently for the elite and the indigent. In a context of huge socio-economic inequality, as in many parts of Africa, the dynamism of culture may be hegemonic. Cultural hegemony refers to the domination of a society’s culture by an elite class (Gramsci & Forgacs 1988). This dominant class “necessarily knows itself, it has a consciousness, albeit confused and fragmentary, of its power and mission” (p. 38). It is not just an aspect of society that is dominated in a juxtaposition of two cultures. It is “the integrated economic and political dominance of a social class” (Morgan 2003). The dominant culture becomes that of the rich elite, who manipulates the culture of that society based on their own beliefs and values. Its worldview thus becomes imposed as the cultural norm. Young discusses “the injustice of cultural imperialism which marks and stereotypes some groups at the same time that it silences their self-expression” (Young

2011, p. 24). As a result of the ever-presence of this hegemony and imperialism, it makes sense for culture to be understood as dynamic rather than static.

A global aspect to cultural hegemony is what Jose Marin terms "The Westernization of the world" (Marin 2008, p. 347) in his argument for preserving cultural diversity today. Marin discusses European ethnocentrism in terms of colonial and postcolonial domination and how this imposed the Western order on the world. Cultural diversity is for him as important as biological diversity, for it is a human heritage. Education is the means for preserving this diversity. As Marin rightly observed, "Schools played a fundamental role in the negation of cultural identities." Here he is referring to colonial education and its legacy. It is important to note that such an exclusive cultural focus is not the aim of this thesis. The ultimate focus is an elite-indigent interaction, and the distinct local culture of the indigent becomes a part of that dialogue.

There are certain models or understanding of intercultural interaction that I would like to support. These have been expressed variously by several authors (Sillitoe *et al.* 2006; Barnhardt *et al.* 2005; Adedipe 2004; Banda 2008) either in terms of 'the Iceberg model of Culture' or the Cultural-Based Curriculum model and the Systematic Hybridization Strategy Frameworks of Adedipe (2004). The central view in these models is that relationship between cultures, such as in knowledge production, should be understood as interaction rather than superior-inferior relations. The interpretivist nature of this study and its non-objectivist approach to knowledge and truth equally renders illusory any claim to cultural superiority. What is deemed a cultural epiphany or moment of revelation may well be phosphene – especially in another context.

The essence of the above clarification is to align the understanding of culture with the Constructivist philosophy in the Methodology chapter. Hence I have stated an important aspect of

culture: that the prevailing cultural norms of a society need not be perceived as natural and inevitable. This includes the self-perception of the people in that society. Hence the elite and indigent could be seen as having developed their cultural self-perceptions not in any innate way but as a result of social inequality. Having thus explained culture, what is Cultural Responsiveness?

Cultural Responsiveness

Cultural Responsiveness (henceforth CR) is generally defined as follows: identifying and addressing the cultural elements, such as language and other "contextual factors" (Pridmore 2014, p.2) that affect schooling within a particular culture. Again, the identifying and addressing are from the perspective of a dynamic understanding of culture as explained above. This view of CR is in line with that proposed by some of the early researchers on the subject. Atkinson and Lowe (1995) wrote from the background of Psychology, so their definition would be truncated here to serve a school context without affecting the intended meaning of the authors. According to the duo, Cultural Responsiveness means to acknowledge "the existence of, show interest in, demonstrate knowledge of, and express appreciation for…the cultural context" within which educational practice takes place (p. 402). More recently, Geneva Gay defines CR specifically from the perspective of teaching. Gay suggests "three kinds of curricula that are routinely present in the classroom, each of which offers different opportunities for teaching cultural diversity" (Gay 2002, p. 107). They are Formal, Symbolic and Societal. The three approaches will be explained in detail when CR is treated in the literature review. Briefly, the first is at the "formal" level where the government body responsible for education approves the CR plan for instruction. The second approach is the "symbolic curriculum" which involves the use of cultural symbols, icons, and celebrations. The final type of curriculum, the "societal curriculum" deals with the mass media and society at large. In all these aspects, she

maintains that CR means filtering curriculum content and teaching strategies through the students' "cultural frames of reference" (Gay 2010, p. 26).

In terms of how this view of CR relates to this research study, the cultural context is that of the elite and the indigent. The cultural issues as well as the issue of economic justice are thus connected. CR includes sensitivity to and involvement of the school in the indigent culture of the local community. That sensitivity would be expected to play out in the attitude of the school to the village community, the students and their families. In this sense, for example, some degree of CR was evident in the policies and values of the school administration at LJC; the school's Service Programme described above seems to be an example of an institutional attempt at CR. Cultural Responsiveness is therefore an encounter or relationship between two cultural perspectives; in this case, it is between the elite and indigenous-indigent perspectives.

The above clarification of CR hopefully helps to specify what is meant by the "contextual factors" (Pridmore 2014, p.2) in this understanding of the term. Rather than items of culture like artefacts, songs and dances, fascinating as those are, the CR factors refer to issues that affect learning in a broader context beyond the immediate pedagogical level. In this sense, inequality would be an example of such a contextual factor.

My reason for examining Cultural Responsiveness owes to the renewed importance placed on the need for adaptation to cultural contexts in achieving the goals of education. In particular, some scholars have emphasized that in order to achieve the EFA and MDG, it is important to take into consideration the uniqueness of each society based on "specific historical trajectory; demographic, cultural and linguistic patterns…" (Morgan & White 2014, p. 38). A growing inequality that has characterized Africa's historical trajectory since the colonial era is a question of justice.

Justice

There is an important link between culture and justice: cultural hegemony is a matter of justice because of its role in the distribution of the wealth, privileges and opportunities of a culture or society (Young 2011). For example, members of a particular culture may consider injustice as part of the natural order or may even actively rationalize to justify injustice for their own selfish interests. Why is it that the urban rich and the rural poor do not have equal access to the educational opportunities and other institutions necessary for human development? Social institutions should enable *all* in society, not just the urban elite, to live a fulfilling life and contribute to society.

Therefore justice means equal access to resources and social amenities – at least at the level of distributive justice. However, justice goes beyond the redistribution of wealth, income and material resources. Young argues that "the scope of justice is wider than distributive issues" (p. 33). She highlights three "non-distributive" issues of justice: decision making, division of labour, and culture. These distinctions, to be explained in the literature review, also support the holistic or multidimensional view of poverty stated earlier.

Justice is relevant here because of my suggestion that it is required for redressing elitism. Whether distributive or non-distributive, what is the basis of justice? In the social teaching of the Catholic Church or CST, justice is based on the Scriptures and Papal encyclicals. The principles of CST, such as human dignity, the common good and solidarity, are significant and will be explained in the literature review. Meanwhile, suffice it to state that the concept of justice requires a basis or motivation. Why act justly? Hence this view of justice is related to the religious inspiration stated in the preface. As justice is linked to a moral outlook, the African backdrop of the research problem sets it in juxtaposition with the Western context. It is helpful to clarify the terms African and Western.

African and Western Or The Global North and South?

There is a comparison in this study, implicit or explicit, between what is "African" and "Western." Before defining those two words, I am aware that there has been a frequent use of the terms global "North" and South" (Reuveny 2007; Connell 2009; Mimiko 2012; Pike, Rodríguez-Pose & Tomaney 2014). These latter terms are used to refer to the socio-economic and political divide between the rich and poor nations of the world. Accordingly, Africa is in the South while the G8 countries are in the North. The preferred use here of the terms "African" and "Western" is not based on industrial or economic and military might but on colonial ties and related hegemony. It is the view of many, including the World Bank, (1988, p. 43) that the current education system in Africa has inextricable historical roots in the Western colonization of Africa. However, there is a germane justification for the use of *South* or *Southern.* As Connell (2009) notes, the term helps:

> to emphasise relations—authority, exclusion and inclusion, hegemony, partnership, sponsorship, appropriation—between intellectuals and institutions in the metropole and those in the world periphery (pp. x-xi).

The above relations highlight the elite-indigent emphasis of this study. I shall nonetheless retain the words *Western* and *African* based on convention and for the reason already stated – namely – the colonial ties associated with the expression "African and Western."

-What is Western?

Indigenous Knowledge scholars generally use the term *Western* to describe "a particular ontological, epistemological, sociological, and ideological way of thinking and being as differentiated from Eastern thought, an Indigenous worldview, and so forth" (Kovach 2009, p. 21). While I

understand such use of the term *Western*, I think it is a complex description. What exactly constitutes this way of thinking that is not relatively common to all human beings? Is it democracy or science? India has excelled in those. Hence the word *Western* is used here primarily in the geographical sense to refer to the Euro-American society and culture. This use thus includes the culture of those who live in that geographical entity. Culture has already been defined, and so it is an attribute of any society.

In relation to education, such a geographical understanding may not suffice. Some have used the term "Western Knowledge Systems" or WKS to equate "formal" education with Western education. "WKS are forms of knowledge generated in schools, colleges, universities, research organisations and industrial firms. In this thesis the formal education system will loosely be referred to as WKS" (Banda 2008, p. 17). I think it may be problematic to equate "formal education" with "Western education." Does this mean no other human community outside Western societies had a formal or an organized approach to learning? As a Xhosa woman put it, "A generally disturbing assumption is that education on the continent of Africa was brought by Europeans" (Goduka 2000, p. 63). It is evident from his study of the indigenous education of the Chewa people that Banda does not hold that formal or organized learning originated from the West. I have borrowed from the term "Institutionalized Public Basic Schooling" or IPBS to avoid equating "formal" with "Western" education. The term was first used by Serpell and Hatano to describe the primary school setting where boys and girls (aged about 7 to 12) study together. Interestingly, they came to the conclusion that IPBS offers a limited learning context: "IPBS tends to make students less active and, in a sense, less competent than out-of-school-youths" (Serpell & Hatano 1997, p. 368). I will use a modified form IPS or Institutionalized Public Schooling so as to include the secondary tier of mainstream education. Hence the word *Western* could be conveniently employed in the geo-cultural sense.

-What is African?

What is meant by African is equally both geographical and cultural. Geographically, it is conventional to speak of Africa in terms of sub-Saharan Africa, SSA, regarding the countries of North Africa as part of the Arabic culture. I would prefer to follow that convention, even though some may object to the appropriateness of that dichotomy between the northern and southern parts of the continent. I do not question the validity of such objection. Since my travels across Africa for this study did not include North Africa, I accept the understanding of Africa in terms of SSA.

Culturally, the word *African* is more complex than the geographical understanding stated above. It is difficult to speak of an 'African culture' given the variations in the different cultural elements among the diverse communities on the continent. What then is referred to as 'African culture'? To speak here of an African culture is to isolate a "general way of life", as mentioned in the definition of culture, which is common to that geographical entity. Such continent-wide generalization has been made by African intellectuals over the last several decades based on anthropological data and critical studies of specific African communities (Mbiti 1969; Wiredu 1980; Akiwowo 1986; Dei 2004; Smith 2009). This generalization may or may not be judicious; due to the continent's diversity, it is a sensitive issue to speak collectively of Africa.

However, there is a widely held view that "Communalism" is a characteristic element of an indigenous African culture (Letseka 2000, p. 181-183; Mbiti 1969; Wiredu 1998). What exactly is communalism or, according to Wiredu, "a communalist outlook" that "seems to be quite widespread in traditional life on the continent" (Wiredu 1998, p. 21)? Communalism is defined as "whatever happens to the individual happens to the group" and vice versa (Mbiti 1970, p. 109). This is conveyed in the expression "*Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*" (I belong, to a community, therefore I exist).

Communalism may be true among rural and indigenous Africans. A communalist lifestyle makes sense for a rural community with close ties and mutual dependence for everyday survival. Should the same be said of the highly capitalist cities of Africa? Is this unique aspect of the culture static? Who does it serve? If Communalism is unique to rural Africa, then could this characteristic be applicable to any other rural or indigenous community in the world? In that case, it is difficult to presuppose that Communalism is unique to Africa or that Africans living in large cities all share this characteristic seen as "widespread in traditional life on the continent."

On the other hand, most African urban elite often retain close ties with their rural relatives and would come to their aid during hard times. In this sense, rather than in terms of a rural-urban divide, communalism may be seen as social capital or a collective value of social networks. The African cultural perspective will be further discussed in the literature review; meanwhile, the term *Africa* refers to the geographical region of sub-Saharan Africa as well as the associated cultural worldview known as Communalism. This cultural perspective of solidarity may also not be unique to Africa, and Communalism does not eliminate the freedom or rational autonomy of the individual.

In accepting Communalism as an African worldview, it is important to note that all societies are today marked by interconnectedness and efforts are being made to institutionalize this "international influence" (Samoff 2013, p. 55). What is therefore presented as a characteristic feature of traditional Africa may be applicable to other indigenous peoples around the world. It is thus important to examine the word *indigenous* in general.

The Indigenous

Although this research investigation is not about Indigenous Knowledge or Indigenous Peoples, it is pertinent to examine *the indigenous* in the context of CR and in studying the relationship between a rural community and an elite school. As will become clear, the knowledge of such a rural community is generally regarded in the literature as Indigenous Knowledge or IK.

Some educators simply see IK as a traditional deposit of knowledge (Domfeh 2007) and thus give the impression that IK belongs exclusively to traditional cultures and is therefore static. Since culture has been defined as dynamic, then a traditional or static understanding of IK may not be tenable. Other authors (Semali and Kincheloe *et al.* 1999; Odora 1994; Quiroz 1999; Ajayi *et al.* 1996) describe IK in terms of a socialization process through a combination of oral tradition and apprenticeship. Given the communal nature of the African society (Mbiti 1969) this socialization is not only between child and parents but involves the entire community. The perspective of IK as a means of socialization is plausible. For a rural population without the benefit of an elite or excellent educational system, IK could be seen as the way these indigenous-indigent manage to provide some education and culture for the young. It is for this reason that I previously described IK as knowledge of the indigent (Ibhakewanlan 2012).

What about the way IK is transmitted or learnt? A distinction has been made between the body of information that make up what is called IK, on the one hand, and the techniques used to amass or harness that body of information. On the other hand, the methods of acquiring that information have been described as IKS or indigenous knowledge systems (Brouwer 1998; Kiggundu 2007; Banda 2008). As this is not an in-depth study of IK, such distinctions may not be relevant in this attempt to clarify the meaning of the term *indigenous*. I shall explain more fully "Indigenous

Knowledge and Indigenous Peoples" in the literature review chapter. Meanwhile the term *indigenous* shall be used to refer generally to any local community and the knowledge and learning process of that community, without restriction to any particular part of the world. In summary, therefore, the term *indigenous* is again geographical. However, as I shall explain later, the idea of an indigenous community should presuppose a common language. Where the community has a high ethnic or linguistic heterogeneity, it may not make sense to speak of the *indigenous*.

The purpose of the above clarification is to show the complexity and generalizability of the term *indigenous.* Despite the specific nature of the community in this case, an indigent/indigenous community that is host to an elite school, it is hoped that the knowledge observed will be generalizable to other communities of a similar nature – possibly through an open-minded or Constructivist approach to knowledge.

Constructivism

The last term to be briefly clarified, but will be elaborated upon later, is Constructivism. The term has a range of different meanings, either as a theory of teaching and learning or as a philosophical approach to knowledge (Taber 2011). Generally, in education, the referent *Constructivism* is the basis of the learner-centred stance on education and thus subject to the debate about its effectiveness as a theory of teaching and learning (*Ibid.,* p. 45). In this thesis, the term is used as a philosophical approach to human knowledge, social enquiry and ultimate reality.

Introductory Chapter Condensed

In this introductory chapter I have explained the purpose of this study. I explained it as an investigation of the relationship between an elite school and its host indigent/indigenous community, towards addressing the crisis of educational inequality in Africa. For clarity, I have defined my understanding of the relevant terms. As a result of the context-specific nature of this research work, I further provided personal and contextual information to enable the reader to appreciate the origin or basis of my interest in this project – particularly the driving concern for socio-economic justice.

The chapter introduced the research problem in the context of the relationship between an elite school and its host indigent/indigenous African community. The central themes that have emerged are Cultural Responsiveness and School-community relationship in the context of educational as well as socio-economic inequality. Educational inequality and a cultural dichotomy emerged from the contrast between the village or rural culture and the urban or elite culture. If financial aid and similar interventions may not necessarily be the long-term solution to educational inequality, what then could we as educators do to help indigent/indigenous children and to make education more relevant to the socio-economic and cultural reality of Africa?

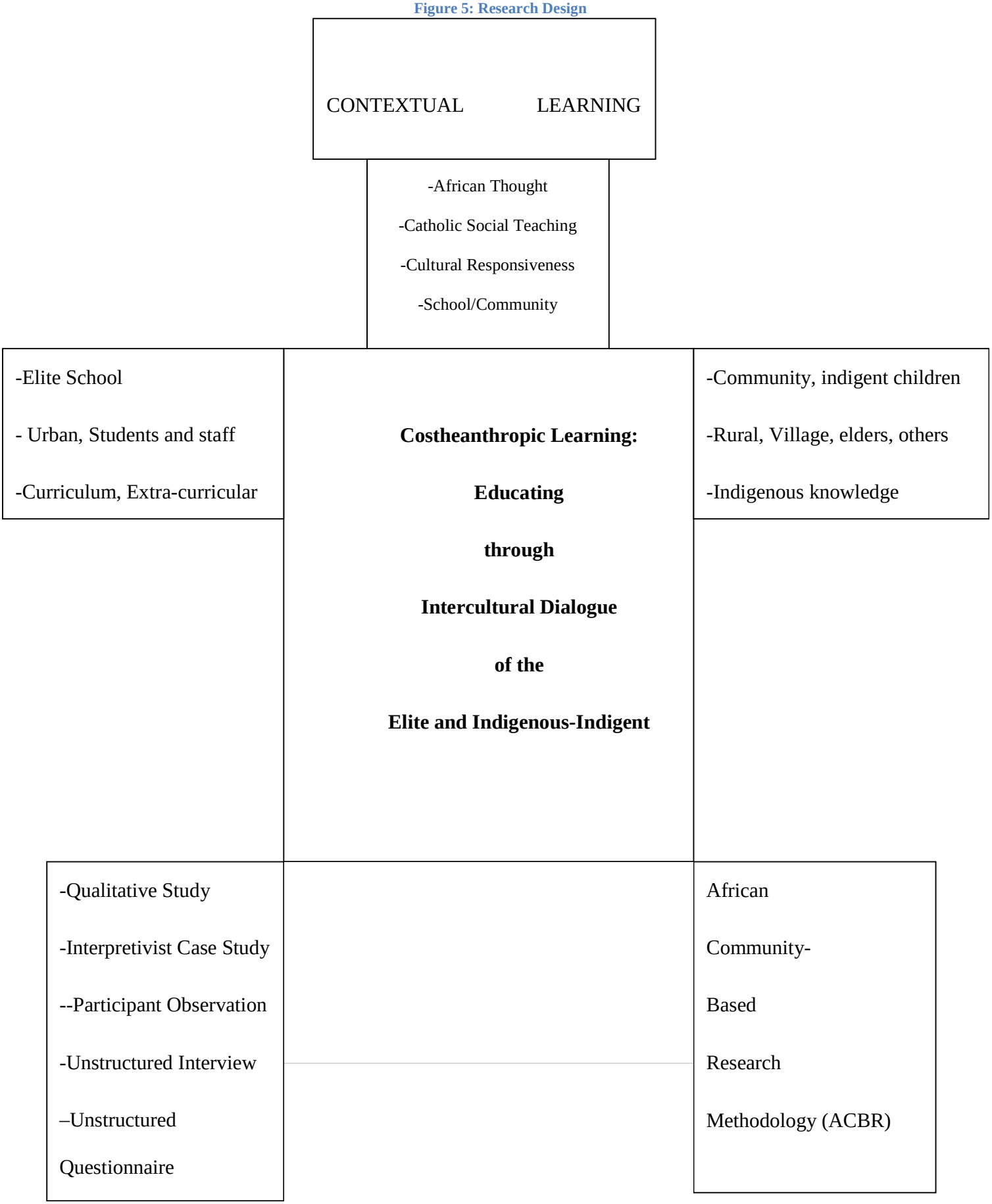
A major concern therefore, from the prologue to the end of this chapter, is the suffering and injustice endured by the poor – particularly the inability of poor children to study in the quality schools of Africa. Yet indigent/indigenous children, such as those in GM village, may be very gifted in the ways of their culture. I pointed out that this educational inequality, also confirmed by recent studies, "cannot be accounted for solely by poverty" in Africa (Pridmore 2014, p. 3). Hence the concept of Cultural Responsiveness or CR was offered as a possible response. The choice of CR is

based on the view that despite the apparent socio-economic gap between the elite and the indigent, the dichotomy may equally be cultural. As opposed to conflict theory (Carl 2012) an intercultural dialogue is preferred in the interaction between the elite school and the indigent community. Justice or the just social order that is sought in the interaction is based on compassion for the indigent, and not about compensation for injustice (real or perceived). The choice of CR is based on the hope for cooperation emerging from a dialogue between cultures as opposed to competition and even conflict between social classes. And there is a religious motivation behind this 'peaceful' or dialogical approach. This motivation is rooted in the religious inspiration behind the research study, as represented in the social teachings of the Catholic Church or CST.

At the heart of CST, Pope Leo XIII's 1891 document *Rerum Novarum* rejects both socialism and capitalism (though defending labour unions and private property). According to the Pope, humanity should avoid class conflict and build up society through cooperation rather than competition. Without underestimating the socio-economic factors involved in the proposed elite-indigent interaction, intercultural dialogue will hopefully be a useful tool for achieving such cooperation.

The next chapter takes up these themes. In particular, I begin by expanding on the key concepts in the Clarification of Terms by examining the relevant studies in this area. Hence the following chapter explores CR, Justice and School-Community relationship based on selected literature on an otherwise vast field of enquiry. Meanwhile, the figure below embodies various aspects of the research design:

Figure 5: Research Design



3. REVIEW OF CR AND ISSUES OF JUSTICE

> …they were yet without the manners or the traditions of the white man. They had lost their own tribal traditions and had not been able to replace them with any others. Soon the term "an educated kaffir" stank in the nostrils of the European. They were a tragic achievement (Pells 1938 cited in McGrath 1997b, pp. 160-61).

The purpose of this chapter is two-fold. First, it is to provide a theoretical overview of the key concepts in this study, and, secondly, through that overview, it is to reveal a gap in the existing literature on those concepts. By relying on relevant writings, this chapter expands on some specific concepts clarified in the previous chapter: Justice, CR as well as the Indigenous, and School-community relationship. The rationale for this review is that a core claim of this thesis is that CR in the context of school-community relationship could help education in Africa to achieve greater socio-economic impact. I now provide a brief outline of this chapter's review of these themes.

OUTLINE OF CHAPTER

In the first part of this chapter, I begin with a review of the concept of *justice* because of its relevance to the issue of socio-economic inequality. Here I look at the works of Young, Fraser and Honneth as well as Catholic Social Teaching (CST) as they relate to an understanding of justice. The purpose of examining the works of Young *et. al.* is to highlight an understanding of justice that goes beyond the material or distributive notion of that term. The reason for presenting CST is to reveal a motivation to pursue justice. I shall then look at the literature on Cultural Responsiveness (CR) based

on the centrality of culture in the school-community interaction. Since the CR school of thought emerged from the United States of America, the main author reviewed is the leading exponent on CR in North America, namely, Geneva Gay. I shall also look at a recent doctoral thesis by Anthonia Hill on CR for African American students, which was submitted to the Loyola University of Chicago. My choice of this thesis is based on the fact that it is a most recent CR study from that perspective. Other CR experts that will be mentioned here include Au, Banks, Campbell-Whatley *et al*, Ladson-Billings, Nieto, O'Connell and Osborne. Since my criticism of CR will be its centrality around the problem of academic gap in North America, I shall therefore seek evidence for CR within Africa itself. Hence attempts at adapting education to the African culture would be examined in the works of the Phelps-Stokes commission and the educational philosophy of *Ujamaa* by Julius Nyerere, as well as the attempt in South Africa as documented in the doctoral thesis of Simon McGrath. Other African works to be mentioned include those of Achebe, Higgs, Mazrui, Nyerere, Nkrumah's Consciencism, Senghor's *Négritude* and a few others. The point here would be to see if these have been genuine CR attempts. Issues emerging from these African writers, such as the Language of Education or LoE, would also be considered in due course.

In the second part of this chapter, a much shorter section, I shall look at specific literature on school-community relationship. The reason for examining such literature is that school-community interaction is the core context of this study. From a global perspective, I shall briefly mention the works of Fiore; Crowson *et. al.*, Deal and Peterson; Kilpatrick *et. al.* and Sheldon. In each case, I mention their contribution as well as a gap in their works, as it related to this study. I then see if literature on school-community from an African perspective can fill that gap. Hence African authors like Lene Buchert and George Dei, who have studied school-community relationship in Africa, will

be reviewed and attention drawn to possible research gaps. A pending gap at the end of the entire literature review necessitates the introduction of the Ignatian Pedagogical Paradigm or IPP. In presenting this paradigm, emphasis will be placed on Contextual Learning.

Finally, based on the range of literatures chosen, it is important to note that I have been selective in the sources drawn upon in the following review. The selection process of materials is circumscribed by the primary aim of the chapter. The central aim of this chapter is to review existing literature on CR and school-community relationship as a response to the research problem. In doing this, however, a number of associated sub-topics had to be examined. In addition to the issue of justice, there are CR-related themes such as Indigenous Knowledge and Peoples, the Language of Education (LoE) and pedagogical issues such as Transmissive Learning. As these are related issues to the central topic of CR, those subheadings will be discussed later. I begin with the concept of justice because an understanding of that term is central to what I see as the task of CR.

A View of Justice

In the previous chapter, a definition of *justice* included the non-distributive views of Young as well as the thoughts expressed in CST. Her three "nondistributive" issues of justice mentioned earlier are decision-making, division of labour, and culture. Young's three issues of justice represent the shift in the understanding of justice from distribution to participation. Rather than seek for justice in the distributive patterns of society's resources and power structure, the focus is on the processes. For any engagement or decision or norm to be just, all concerned must "have an effective voice" in the process and ultimately "be able to agree with it without coercion" (Young 2011, p.34). This is

resonant of Fraser's description of non-distributive justice as "politics of recognition" (Fraser & Honneth 2003, p.7).

In relation to this study, the elite-indigent relationship is not merely about distribution of material resources. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the schism between the elite students and their indigenous-indigent counterparts is not simply socio-economic. A cultural distinction rather seems to separate both sets of children. Efforts have been made over the years to conceptualize such issues of identity and difference. The term *recognition* has been used in that regard, for example, as relates to the identity of indigenous peoples and other groups struggling over identity (Fraser & Honneth, 2003). What is the relationship between sheer socio-economic inequality and an apparent difference in the 'culture' of elite and indigent students? If the difference is reducible to material poverty, then all that is needed is more financial aid to rural areas. Fraser and Honneth "reject the economistic view that would reduce recognition to a mere epiphenomenon of distribution" (p. 2).

The connection between justice and what is considered the good life is equally related to issues of recognition and participation. Young reduced the good life to two general or universalist values.[13] First is "developing and exercising one's capacities and expressing one's experience." The second value is "participating in determining one's action and the conditions of one's actions" (Young 2011, p. 37). Thus Young's view of justice consistently maintains the value of participation. Injustice is therefore defined by two social conditions: oppression and domination. Oppression refers to any form of institutional constraint on self-development. Processes that inhibit people's ability or "prevent some people from learning and using" their skills constitute oppression. Domination is

[13] Universalist here means that the values assume a fundamental and inherent equality in the moral worth of every human person – elite or indigent.

similarly a constraint on self-determination. Institutional constraints that prevent people from participating in determining the conditions of their actions constitute domination. What seems clear in this view is that justice or injustice goes beyond "material deprivation or maldistribution" and includes categories such as participation (p.38). This distinction will become important in the discussion of the relationship between elite students and their indigent counterparts. To achieve justice through that relationship would therefore have to go beyond mere hand-outs or distribution of material goods.

Nonetheless, the above understanding of justice is still incomplete. While the aforementioned view of justice helps to include distribution and participation as well as other aspects, it does not in my opinion necessarily provide the motivation for the pursuance of justice. Hence something more seems to be required to compel justice, and to this I now turn.

Catholic Social Teaching (CST)

As a Catholic religious, I also uphold the principles of justice expressed in the Social Teachings of the Catholic Church (CST), which could be considered as an integrated approach to human development. These teachings can be found in Papal encyclicals and other official Church documents. Papal documents are available in the Vatican website www.vatican.va as well as in published collections.[14] The encyclical regarded as the "Magna Carta" of CST is *Rerum Novarum,* or On the Condition of Labour, which was written by Pope Leo XIII in 1891 (McCarthy 2009, p. 11). The Latin title means 'new things' (referring to the Industrial Revolution) which are the first two

[14] A standard collection of the Papal documents in print is edited by D. J. O'Brien & T. A. Shannon (2010). *Catholic social thought : the documentary heritage* (2010 ed.). Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis.

words of the document in Latin. In *Rerum Novarum* the Pope addresses the plight of the wage-earning poor and confronts the challenges of socialism as well as the hands-off attitude of governments with capitalist economies. It rejects the false remedy of socialism, which it sees as capitalizing on the poor's "envy of the rich" (no. 4) and thus strives to eliminate private property. Hence I have emphasized an interaction or dialogue between the elite and the indigent. In this longest of his 86 encyclicals, Pope Leo insists that employers and workers are to cooperate (emphasis mine) towards building a just society (http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/leo_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_15051891_rerum-novarum_en.html) . This encyclical represents the first time that the Church (the Vatican) engaged directly with contemporary social issues.

Such was the centrality of *Rerum Novarum* that some subsequent encyclicals were issued on its anniversaries. On its 40th anniversary, Pope Pius XI disseminated *Quadragesimo Anno* - Latin for 'forty years. Released at a time of major economic depression, the encyclical criticised the abuses of capitalism and communism, emphasizing the *unity* (emphasis again mine) between capital and labour, the social responsibilities of ownership and the principle of subsidiarity.[15] The year 1961 saw the release of *Mater et Magistra* (Christianity and Social Progress) by which Pope John XXIII internationalized CST – stressing overseas aid and the elimination of imbalances among nations. On the 100th anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*, Pope John-Paul II issued *Centesimus Annus* (Latin for 'one

[15] This principle of social organization is rooted in the idea that social bodies exist for the sake of the individual. Therefore what individuals can do should not be taken over by society, and what small groups can do should not be undertaken by the state or the larger society. Thus the Principle of Subsidiarity is associated with the idea of decentralisation; social problems to be dealt with at the most local level.

hundred years'), which links the prescriptions for social reforms with the Gospel. Respect for the environment was also central for John Paul II (*Redemptor Hominis,* 1979).

Other Papal documents that highlight issues of justice, such as the idea of the 'Common Good' include the encyclical *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* (Social Concern). That 1987 document by Pope John Paul II updates the *Populorum Progressio* (The Development of Peoples) issued by Pope Paul VI in 1967. *Populorum Progressio* is the first encyclical entirely devoted to the issue of international development. The encyclical could be seen as an international justice charter that deals with structural poverty, aid, trade, limit on profit motive and the right to private poverty. It also anticipates a human-centred development based on the ideas of freedom, peace, responsibility for future generations and stewardship of the earth. *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* shifts the emphasis from structures (of sin) to solidarity and compassionate option for the poor. Other encyclicals may not have been referred to in this thesis, but the Catholic view of justice remains consistent. Justice (distributive or otherwise) is to be striven for through cooperation, unity and solidarity. More importantly, the CST view of justice provides a basis/motivation to pursue justice. I will now explain how the CST perspective necessarily compels justice or how it specifically provides a unique impetus for the pursuance of justice.

- A Motivation for Justice

In line with the religious sentiment expressed in the prologue, the Catholic view of justice is ultimately rooted in the Christian Scriptures. As previously mentioned, God is the one who ultimately dispenses justices. The Scriptures therefore contain explicit demands to act in justice. Those demands shed light on the biblical understanding of justice. In Exodus 22:26-27, God says:

> If you take your neighbour's cloak as security for a loan, you must return it before sunset, because his cloak is the only covering he has for his body. What else will he sleep in? When he cries out to me, I will hear, for I am compassionate.

Justice in this sense is therefore based on compassion in solidarity with the poor. This is the central view of justice in this study, compassion for the indigent. It is not necessarily about compensation or rights. Moreover, the foundational principle of biblical justice is the inherent dignity of every human person as well as the sanctity of any and every human life (*Humane Vitae*, *http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/paul_vi/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-vi_enc_25071968_humanae-vitae_en.html*). More encompassing than Young's universalist values, this sanctity and dignity of the life of each person continues from conception to death. Human life, even while in the womb, must be valued above wealth acquisition by individuals or society (Catholic Church 2000).

However, CST is not offered as an ideology. It also does not represent or present any model of a practical programme for a Third Way approach between Marxism and Capitalism. It is rather rooted in the loving-compassion of God as contained in the Christian Scriptures and the teaching tradition of the Catholic Church expressed through the Popes. This statement by Pope Francis may suffice as a final example:

> When power, luxury and money become idols, they take priority over the need for a fair distribution (Pope Francis, Day 31 Lenten Message, March 2015).

Lofty as these ideas may be, how does one make use of them in the lived experience of the poor? What framework best enables us to use this compassion-centred approach to justice in addressing the lack of basic needs/capabilities for self-development among the poor and marginalised? There have been various theories of justice proposed and debunked over time. For example, John Rawls' *Theory of Justice* from a "veil of ignorance" may be too Kantian, hypothetical, abstract and universalist (Rawls 1999). Acknowledging that more flexible approaches to the theory have developed over time, McGrath (2012b) argues that the right-based approach has its roots in the United Nations' Universal Declaration on Human Rights. Despite its UN-backed moral force, this approach remains highly criticised for its legalism and universalism (McGrath 2012a, p. 7). This means it fails, in its universality, to account for the particularity of life and moral choices. In its legalism, it neglects the contingency of human communication and understanding. Where does this leave the search for justice? |In my view, what is needed is a practical framework for effecting justice.

Although it is not offered as an ideology, CST provides a unique demand to act in justice within specific and practical contexts of injustice. It therefore serves as the critical voice of conscience and compassion based on a divine plan for universal justice. I think that is sufficient and appropriate for the contextual emphasis of this study. According to Young, social theory is liable to reaffirming the status quo unless it adopts a critical stance towards the events and people of a given society. She further argues that an essential aspect of critical theory is that "the normative ideals used to criticize a society are rooted in experience of and reflection on that very society, and that norms can come from nowhere else" (Young 2011, p. 5). In this mode of critical theory, the specific CR approach adopted here may help to ground this study on the localized experience of the school-village community.

The Story of Cultural Responsiveness

The term *Cultural Responsiveness* was defined in the Introduction as a framework for 'identifying and addressing the contextual factors which affect education within a particular culture' (Pridmore 2014, p.2). From a pedagogical perspective, CR means teaching by using "cultural referents to impart knowledge, skills, and attitudes" (Ladson-Billings 1992, p. 32). Such teaching upholds academic achievement while simultaneously valuing the students' cultural identity and heritage (Gay 2000). The following review deals with this pedagogical aspect of CR, namely, as a paradigm for recognizing the importance of students' cultural references in all aspects of learning. Much of the English literature on CR emerges from the American context as a way of responding to the cultural diversity of that society. I shall attempt to delineate some generalizable ideas from the literature. The aim would be to isolate some of the essential and operationalizable themes in the CR literature.

Coming from America

A recent research study on Cultural Responsiveness addressed the issue of educational inequality in the American context. In that study, Anthonia Hill uses CR strategies to deepen understanding about the educational challenges of African American students. Hill's study is highlighted here because it is a recent work on CR in America. Like the gap between elite and Indigenous-indigent students in Africa, Hill's investigation is similarly about an "Achievement gap" between the academic performance of African American children and their white counterparts (Hill 2012, p. 14). Her study draws upon essential CR literature and research in America:

> Leaders in the field of multicultural education such as Ladson-Billings (1984, 1995), Nieto (2001), Gay, (2000), Howard (2003), and Banks and Banks (2004), have advocated that the underachievement of African Americans and other minority groups, such as Latinos and Asian Pacific Islanders, comes as a result of the lack of culturally responsive teaching (Hill 2012, p. 6).

Hill attempts to determine the impact on student learning of 52 CR strategies used by a sample of teachers in a predominantly African American school. Hill's study first identified an "achievement gap" between different ethnic groups in America. The disparity between the academic performances of white students and other ethnic groups was seen as a pressing education-policy challenge. Evidence of the disparities or gap in achievement was also confirmed by relevant indicators of academic performance, such as the National Centre for Educational Statistics which reported Caucasians were far more likely to graduate (as opposed to drop out of school) than African Americans or Hispanics. Much of the literature on CR emerges from this context of 'achievement gap' in America (Banks 2003; Ladson-Billings 2005; O'Connell 2008; Gay 2010; Hill 2012). The main exponent of that American approach is Geneva Gay, who should thus receive some attention here.

-Geneva Gay

Arguably, the foremost exponent of CR education in America is the multicultural educationist Geneva Gay (Osborne 2000). It is Gay who classically defined CR "as using the cultural characteristics, experiences, and perspectives of ethnically diverse students as conduits for teaching them more effectively" (Gay 2002, p. 106). Gay's primary research question concerns the reasons why American ethnic minority students are successful in many contexts outside school but

unsuccessful at school. Here is a different version of the question: 'why do indigent African children excel in the occupation or trades (farming, hunting, petty trading or shop keeping) of their cultures but are unable to gain admission into elite schools?'

Gay described as cultural blindness "the notion that education has nothing to do with cultural heritage…is about teaching intellectual, vocational and civic skills" (Gay 2010, p. 22). A central premise of Gay's work is that academic knowledge and skills are more meaningful and are best learned when situated within the cultural "frames of reference of students." She believes American "education has not been very culturally responsive to ethnically diverse students. Instead, these students have been expected to divorce themselves from their cultures and learn according to European American cultural norms" (2002, p. 114). This 'divorce' can only be truer of Africa where the education is usually in a foreign language. Like indigenous-indigent children in Africa, Gay sees ethnically diverse children in America as being in a double jeopardy of tackling academic tasks within unfamiliar cultural contexts.

Some of the salient themes identifiable in Gay's further description of CR are: Validation, Empowerment, Transformation, Emancipation and Comprehensiveness (p. 29). Gay argues that CR should acknowledge the legitimacy of the student's cultural heritage as worthy content to be taught in school curriculums (p.29). The goal is collective rather than individual empowerment of the students through an attainment of an academic and cultural competence. Both the teachers and the students are to become conscious of the importance of both academic achievement and at the same time of maintaining one's cultural identity and heritage (Gay 2000). Has this dual emphasis been stressed in the same way in Africa's elite schools? It has rather seemed to be a case of over-emphasis on academic achievement, as with the LJC example.

At the level of curriculum, Gay examines “three kinds of curricula that are routinely present in the classroom, each of which offers different opportunities for teaching cultural diversity” (Gay 2002, p. 107). The first is at the “formal” level, where the plan for instruction is approved by the Ministry of Education or the equivalent body. Such plan is anchored in the adopted textbooks and various curriculum guidelines. For Gay, a CR curriculum would contextualize issues within the local culture. The second of the three curricular kinds is “symbolic curriculum”. By this she means the use of cultural symbols, icons, mottoes, awards and celebrations. Here one can imagine African festivals and artistic symbols. Pictures of such celebrations and arts would be on the walls of classrooms. For Gay, a CR teacher ought to be aware of the power of such symbols. Borrowing from Cortés (1991) Gay described the final type of curriculum as the “societal curriculum” (Gay 2002, p. 109). Here she means the impressions of the local culture as portrayed in the mass media and society at large. This too is relevant to Africa. As the global media is controlled by the West, the images presented often glorify Western cultural attitudes at the expense of the local cultures receiving those media transmissions. Gay argues that CR “includes thorough and critical analyses of how ethnic groups and experiences are presented in mass media and popular culture” (p. 109). This means formal school curriculum and instruction should counteract such media influences and help students to be discerning of the social curriculum. Gay says that much of the knowledge contained in the “societal curriculum” is inaccurate. Yet the messages conveyed are too influential for teachers to ignore.

Thanks to the work of Gay and the other CR educationists, sufficient attention has been drawn to the immense influence of culturally-specific messages and symbols on students. Consequently, it became necessary to put together a set of CR guidelines, and this became the task of the National Centre for Culturally Responsive Educational Systems (NCCREST) in America.

-NCCREST

In spite of these emphases by American multicultural educationists on the need for Cultural Responsiveness in education, it is surprising that there was for a while no comprehensive set of guidelines for developing Culturally Responsive teacher education pedagogy. (There is still none in Africa). In 2006, the National Centre for Culturally Responsive Educational Systems (NCCREST) in America published a major document outlining such guidelines (Campbell-Whatley *et. al* 2006). The NCCREST guidelines also drew upon the work of Villegas and Lucas (2002). Six characteristics of a culturally responsive pedagogy were outlined in the document:

The first characteristic is *socio-cultural consciousness* - which refers to the teacher's awareness of how his or her own thinking and behaviour are influenced by ethnicity, social class and language. In the context of Africa, where there are different tribes, often conflicting and speaking different languages, this means it is important for the teacher to be aware of how his or her own tribal allegiance may influence teaching and learning.

The next NCCREST guideline is the teacher's *attitude of affirming students of culturally diverse backgrounds* towards impacting student learning. The idea here is to respect cultural differences and "add education related to the culture of the students" (Campbell-Whatley *et al*. 2006, p.6). This may also be a useful guideline in the context of an elite school in Africa where the children are from different tribes and cultures. The heterogeneous background of Africa's elite students, brought together by wealth and elitism rather than a common tribe, appears to fit the "diverse backgrounds" referred to in this second recommendation. According to this guideline, each student's cultural background ought to be affirmed in the course of learning.

Third is the teacher's *commitment and skill to act as agent of change*. Under this third principle the NCCREST document noted that the teacher should be able to confront barriers to achieving the desired level of culturally responsive teaching. As the result of this study will show, this is a difficult obstacle for an average African teacher who is expected to faithfully teach the curriculum-content and not rock the boat by trying to make or suggest policy changes.

Fourth, the teacher is expected to have a *Constructivist view of learning*:

> All students are capable of learning, and teachers must provide scaffolds between what students already know through their experiences and what they need to learn. Constructivist teaching promotes critical thinking, problem solving, collaboration, and the recognition of multiple perspectives (Campbell-Whatley, *et al*., 2006, p. 6).

The above Constructivist view of CR is compatible with the theoretical framework of this study.[16] If knowledge is conceived of as fixed, it would be difficult for it to be culturally responsive – given the understanding here of culture as dynamic. Hence an important criticism of cultural transmission in education is that it presupposes that the values to be transmitted are eternal. This is contrary to the impermanent nature of most beliefs, values and knowledge in general (Bottery 1990). However, the Constructivist approach would argue against such a fixed understanding of culture and is explained further in the Methodology chapter.

[16] Constructivism is however used in this study in the philosophical sense.

The fifth guideline is *learning about students' past experiences, home and community culture.* Here the teacher is to learn about the world outside the school in order to be able to use those cultural experiences in the context of teaching and learning. This appears to be the most generalizable aspect of the characteristics as well as the most pertinent to the research problem of this study. How much of such cultural experiences, grounded in the socio-economic world outside the school, are incorporated into the teaching and learning within the high fences of African elite schools?

The final characteristic appears to be an affirmation of the fourth: It says *Culturally Responsive Teaching Strategies* should "support the Constructivist approach to knowledge, teaching, and learning." By enabling students to construct knowledge through building on their cultural strengths, NCCREST hopes to achieve an inclusive classroom environment.

The document then discusses the implications of a Culturally Responsive curriculum and pedagogical practices. It argues that diversity should be an inherent component of course conceptualization (Campbell-Whatley *et al* 2006, p. 8). Overall, the aim of the document is specific to the American context of cultural diversity. However, the above characteristics of the NCCREST guidelines may be pertinent to this study. To ascertain such pertinence, it may be helpful to question the impact of the CR approach.

-What Impact Has the CR Approach?

Several authors have argued that CR has had a positive impact on the academic achievement of African American students. Some of the indicators of such achievement are assignment completion, success rates, extracurricular participation, attendance, behavioural violations monitor, emotional and behavioural engagement (Hill 2012, p. 21). Studies by a number of researchers (Au

2007; Banks 2003; Battiste 2008; Gay 2000 ; Howard & Terry 2011; Ladson-Billings 1995) have shown that where teachers understand that children's ways of thinking and behaving are intricately connected to factors like culture, ethnicity, social class, and language, they are better able to overcome the sociocultural barriers that separate them from their students. It seems to me that the kind of impact desired by the American CR approach is essentially about classroom performance. In a sense, it appears to come down to making teaching easier. Does that address at a practical level the socio-economic background affecting the students' education?

The positive impact of American CR seems therefore to be rooted in its pedagogical approach. According to CR scholars, the question is 'who are the subjects of learning, and why do they learn?' While culturally responsive pedagogy is good teaching, good teaching may not necessarily be culturally responsive. Culturally responsive teaching, while including what is considered good teaching, emphasizes the student's cultural background and thus affirms the student's cultural identity (Ladson-Billings, 1994). Therefore the American approach to CR still does not answer the socio-economic question. How much impact has this approach had in practical terms?

Proponents of CR maintain or insist that the lack of educational impact in America is due to an inadequate emphasis on culture as key to learning (Banks 2003; Gay 2010; Hill 2012). From my observation as an educationist in Africa, there are practical socio-economic obstacles besides cultural factors. This is the reason I would advocate a version of the CR approach that is both cultural and also focuses on socio-economic justice. To meet the educational needs of a society, educators need to establish and understand not only the cultural but the socio-economic and political experiences of the learners. According to some American researchers, such experiences have either been absent or ignored in traditional teaching (Murrell 2002; Nieto 2000); hence their criticisms of the CR approach.

Criticism of American CR

First, let me highlight the fact that there is so much that is good in American CR. The works of NCCREST and the American CR researchers, such as Hill and Gay, are very relevant to the African context of educational inequality and a dichotomy between the school and community culture. The work of Geneva Gay particularly stands out. What makes her work appealing is that, as others have noted, she does not preach a universal strategy but rather argues that the ideas be adapted to specific contexts (Osborne 2000).

However, the American multicultural education literature generally measures the value of CR against improvement in the standardized tests of school assessment. It is indeed valuable to see evidence that Culturally Responsive teaching helps to resolve the 'achievement gap' between rich and poor students (Hill 2012). Yet the aim of this study goes beyond improving the test scores of poor students. Since test scores are directly related to assessment, I am not sure that cultural sensitivity alone is enough where the assessment remains standardized. From the point of view of indigenous African children, it would be important for CR to address the issue of assessment. It is hoped that a CR approach in Africa would be a framework that investigates the possibility of or identifies other forms of assessment that could allow for an appraisal of the unique skills and understandings of indigent/indigenous children. Meanwhile, it is worth noting three other specific criticisms of the CR approach in America:

(a) A Socio-Economic or Cultural Problem?

(b) Why Should Culture be the aim of Education?

(c) Hierarchy of Knowledge and Problem of Social Relations

(a) A Socio-Economic or Cultural Problem?

I mentioned earlier a presumption that financial aid and similar interventions would solve the problem of educational inequality in Africa. In the American context there is similarly a plethora of explanations for the educational gap across the United States (Ladson-Billings 2006). Some scholars define the gap as that between socio-economically disadvantaged and non-disadvantaged students (O'Connell 2008) rather than as a result of a cultural divide. For example, Osborne argues that CR scholars should rather include "some discussion of racism and of the impact of poverty/unemployment on student learning." According to this perspective, to view the 'achievement dilemma' in terms of CR "runs the risk of oversimplifying it" (Osborne 2000, p. 3). On the other hand, there is the multicultural argument – such as the view of Anthonia Hill who argues that cultural "diversity increasingly characterizes the population of the United States" (p.5). This reality of diversity is then offered as justification for the CR approach. The above multicultural argument does not appear to be an adequate response to the socio-economic objection nor the racial divide.

Scholars who hold the cultural perspective (Ladson-Billings 1984, 1995; Nieto 2001; Gay 2000; Howard 2003; Banks 2003; Hill 2012) further argue that CR is indeed an appropriate response to the problem of socio-economic inequality between white students and other ethnic groups. According to them, their CR approach expands the notion of culture to include "the children's homes and of other groups in society" in order to enable children "to develop an understanding of life as holistic - not bifurcated, splitting their school and home lives" (Monkman, MacGillivray & Leyva 2003, p. 256). This view of culture coincides in several ways with the African holistic perspective as expressed by various African writers (Mbiti 1969; Chivaura 2006, p. 214). However, the focus remains cultural, and it ought not to be assumed that culture should be the primary focus or goal of education.

(b) Why Should Culture be the aim of Education?

Another criticism of the CR approach is that the transmission of culture need not be the primary aim of education. Various authors have in the past offered different aims of education, including Personal Fulfilment, Social and Civic Involvement, Contribution to the Economy and Practical Wisdom (White 1982). Mike Bottery discussed four models of education, the first of which is "Cultural Transmission." He praised this cultural model for providing "access to society's past and present wisdom." The others are the Child Centred, Social Reconstruction and GNP models (Bottery 1990, p. 10). Reiss and White recently concluded that the fundamental aim of education is two-fold. It is to enable the student lead a life of personal flourishing and to help others to do so as well (Reiss 2014). Does that flourishing not have a cultural dimension/is it not to be understood locally?

These and more are valuable aims and focus for education. However, they need not be mutually exclusive. I mention these aims or models based on my belief that CR in education can be pursued alongside issues of social justice and other educational goals. There exists a model for pursuing both goals simultaneously. Finland's educational system has been praised as one of the most successful in the world (Sahlberg 2011). In the book *Finnish Lessons*, Pasi Sahlberg sees the transmission of Finnish culture as an essential part of the country's system of teaching and learning. The book insists that the Finnish education system is made in Finland and owned by Finns. At the same time, Sahlberg argues that at the heart of the transformation of the Finnish educational system after the Second World War is the equal opportunities principle for children of all socio-economic backgrounds (Sahlberg 2011).

Ultimately, each community or society may decide which specific approach to education should gain emphasis at any given time. The key point is that whatever the focus may be, learning

cannot exist in a vacuum. As Lev Vygotskiĭ argued, learning is constrained "by the social milieu" and is bound to be situated within that social context (Vygotskiĭ, Veer, & Valsiner 1994, p. 48). An essential part of this milieu is the cultural context. But in the Foucaultian conception of power and the power-knowledge-subject circuit, not all cultural contexts have the same influence and control (Foucault 1980).[17] This leads to the question of a hierarchy of knowledge.

(c) Hierarchy of Knowledge and Problem of Social Relations

My final criticism of the American CR concerns the issue of power or powerful knowledge embedded in a particular social class or group. I initially did not want to dwell on the concept of power because it is often understood in the negative sense of control and domination. Foucault describes this view of power in terms of a controlling sovereign and his sheepish subject (Foucault 1980).[18] However, the issue of power may be unavoidable because in the sociology of education there is a presumed hierarchy in the knowledge belonging to different cultures. This is evident in the work of Pierre Bourdieu and Basil Bernstein.

Bourdieu's theory of cultural, social and symbolic capital focuses on the dynamics of power and class distinctions in society. It shows the diverse and subtle ways in which power is transferred to maintain the status quo. In *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste,* Bourdieu showed that even judgments about taste are related to or are themselves acts of social positioning (Bourdieu

[17] Foucault (1991) also held the view that power is diffused everywhere, socialized, embodying all discourse and constantly reinforced through the educational system and other institutions.

[18] A more amenable view is "one that treats power not as a thing but rather as a network of relations…" (Kupferman 2013, p 32). However, the focus of this study is about interaction and what can emerge thereof and not about the domination or other manifestations of power during the interaction.

2010). Within such an analysis, does it not make sense to embrace the cultural capital that would guarantee a more powerful social positioning?

Similarly, Bernstein's emphasis on the role of social position over generic human potential makes class interest central in human development. His code theory in sociology of education circumscribes language-use within social groups (Bernstein 1977). Like Bourdieu, Bernstein is concerned with cultural reproduction. As Collins notes, "Bernstein's work shares many affinities with the research and writing of Pierre Bourdieu" (Collins 2000, p. 65).

The perspectives of class and domination offered by Bourdieu and Bernstein shift the emphasis away from interaction to social relations. In my view, with that shift comes the danger of polarisation. Such polarisation is not necessarily part of general interaction. However, in the context of the American CR approach, however, the fundamental problem of polarised social relations could be seen as a valid criticism. As Osborne noted, CR as presented by Gay and others should focus more on the racial divide and other socio-economic structures responsible for the gap between African-Americans and the white population. This view makes sense, especially in an American society with a known history of systemic racism and a "white racial frame" (more subtle discrimination in favour of the white race) that some say continues to be a social force in that society (Feagin 2014, p. 55).

What seems to me as not sufficiently emphasized in the polarized social-relations, as offered by Bourdieu and Bernstein, is the power of dialogue. Are the rich/powerful and the indigent classes of our society destined to be in perpetual conflict? What effect would an elite-indigent dialogue or interaction have on social relations? What is also not yet certain is to what extent this particular criticism of CR applies to the African context. The next few pages shift the focus from the American to the African CR. First, I shall very briefly link both CR perspectives.

From American to African CR

The same cultural argument proposed by the American multiculturalists has resonance in the African setting. Africa does not have the exact same white-black divide as exists in America. However, the colonial experience of the continent created an elitist culture of a Western-educated class who were set apart from the indigent/indigenous population (Achebe 2010). In his *Political Values and Educated Class in Africa,* Ali Mazrui argued that colonialism was not only political and economic; it was fundamentally a cultural experience for Africans (Mazrui 1978, p. 23). Essentially, the educated class of Africans imbibed the culture of their colonial masters. Currently, in a calamity that is euphemized as "brain drain", many of these well-educated Africans migrate to Western countries (Higgs 2000, p. 28). Whether they emigrate to the West or remain in Africa, educated Africans are set apart by their learning from the indigent/indigenous population. Whatever education the non-elite class may receive today, there remains a gulf in the quality of learning.

Unlike the multicultural case of America, the issue here is that of a schism: not that there are many cultures in Africa but that the school culture may be different from and possibly not yet integrated with the local or indigenous culture. This plausibility is reinforced by the colonization argument explained above (Mazrui 1987). It is therefore important to examine CR in Africa.

CR OUT OF AFRICA

> A nation which refuses to learn from foreign cultures is nothing but a nation of idiots and lunatics. Mankind could not progress at all if we all refused to learn from each other (Nyerere 1967).

This section continues the review of CR, but specifically from an African perspective following independence. It is a chapter-within-a-chapter that examines the efforts to adapt education to the socio-cultural reality of Africa.[19] These attempts will include the postcolonial approaches, local as well as international efforts – such as those of the World Bank and UNESCO. Although the writers referred to here do not use the term "Cultural Responsiveness" to describe their various contributions, their central emphasis on adapting learning to the African context corresponds to what has been described here in CR terms. The significance of reviewing the above CR attempts will be highlighted before revealing a gap that continues to exist despite those crucial junctures in African CR.

CRUCIAL JUNCTURES IN AFRICAN CR

To highlight the vital moments in African CR, it is helpful to provide a brief background of African education in specific regions of the continent with crucial CR history. Africa is vast, so the focus in this section will be on Southern Africa. The reason for such a narrowed scope is that the history of the South African education system particularly raises questions about the complexity of a

[19] This subchapter will be followed by the second of the two main aspects of the literature review, which is School-Community relationship. The literature review on this relationship merely highlights significant aspects in the development of school-community interaction within and outside Africa.

Culturally Responsive approach to education in Africa. The South African education history also goes back to the early literature on CR education in Africa (McGrath 1997a).

There has been much literature on African education going back to the Phelps Stokes commission of 1913 when Thomas Jesse Jones was assigned as agent of the Phelps Stokes Fund.[20] This section will look briefly at the Phelps Stokes report because it represents the earliest publicized attempts at what could be termed Cultural Responsiveness in African education. I will then provide an overview of the South African experience, which will help to situate the Phelps Stokes report.

The Phelps Stokes Commission Report

Thomas Jesse Jones "was appointed by the Phelps Stokes Fund as its agent to make a field study of Negro education" (Dougall 1950, p. 312). Between September 1920 and August 1921 Jones took the first Phelps Stokes Commission to Africa, visiting Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Liberia, Congo, Angola, Cameroons and South Africa. A second commission later visited other African countries like Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Zambia. Phelps Stokes Commission saw its mission as an adaptation of education to Africa's socio-economic and cultural background (Jones 2010). Such a mission appears to make sense against the colonial backdrop of the time. In that epoch, there had been "a widespread and not altogether unfounded distrust of education as ill-adapted to the needs of the African" (Dougall 1950, p. 316). There was concern that the colonial government was only interested in the kind of education that would produce clerks or artisans for the colonial masters. That concern is indeed evident in the writings of some African writers of the colonial era, who saw

[20]The Phelps Stokes foundation for the socio-economic advancement of Africa and the Americas was established in 1911 by the Phelps Stokes family.

the purpose of colonial education in terms of meeting colonial-government needs as well as for evangelization (Achebe 1959). “The primary goal was clear: formal education was intended first and foremost to train young people for civil service. Colonial administration needed civil servants” (Hountondji 2000, p. 39). Hence many in that era felt there was no genuine interest in the African community for its own sake, and so education in Africa would not improve life on the land. This was the African climate into which entered Phelps-Stokes.

The report of the Phelps Stokes Commission claims to provide a culturally responsive vision of education in Africa. How objective is that vision? Are there rather “subjective, problematic, and multiple sources of authority” (McGrath 1997b, p. 2). From the point of view of the methodology adopted in this study, how was the data for the Phelps Stokes report collected? There appears to be minimal involvement of local Africans in the research process leading to the report (Yamada 2010).

Hence some have argued that in the Phelps Stokes report, “political statements and documents often reflect dynamics separate from practices on the ground and circulate without substance” (*Ibid.*, p. 25). An examination of the Southern African education trajectory further sheds light on whether Phelps Stokes was indeed a genuine CR approach.

Light from the South African Tunnel

The mine tunnels of the Mineral Revolution of 19th century British-controlled South Africa form a background to this brief overview. With the discovery of diamonds and gold in the Cape, the new mining industries required African labour. The development of education and training against that backdrop confront the CR approach. In reviewing this aspect of the history of the South African

education system, I rely on the work of Professor Simon McGrath. Written more than a decade ago, his work on *African Education in Twentieth Century South Africa* is still relevant (McGrath 1997a).

McGrath explains a "pre-Fordist system" of skilled white labour and unskilled temporary-contract African labour (McGrath 1997b, p.160). First, the new mining industries imported large numbers of skilled miners from Britain. Africans from distant parts of the South African region provided the unskilled labour. As the mining and related industries expanded, it became necessary to have local white skilled labour – especially as supply of British miners dwindled around the beginning of the First World War. This need resulted in the creation of various educational programmes for local whites or Afrikaners. The programmes included railway apprenticeship schemes and "tertiary level training of mine engineers" (Behr 1988, p.139 and HSRC/NTB 1984, cited in McGrath 1997b). Efforts by the mine owners and others to extend the educational programmes to Africans, whose labour would still be cheaper than that of the local whites, were obstructed by a codified colour bar that restricted some jobs to whites. Those attempts or efforts further resulted in tension, such as the bloody Rand Uprising, between the mine owners and the local white mine workers who were against any endeavour to subvert the colour bar.

State policy would later reflect this difficulty of urbanized Afrikaners in competing on a level playing field in the labour market. The competition was both against better skilled/educated immigrants and "cheaper Africans" capable of outstripping the less-competent whites. The political and economic policy had to address this "poor white problem", namely, imagined/real poverty among white South Africans in a multiracial society. The government enacted a Works Amendment Act in 1926 which allowed only a "scheduled person" to carry out jobs reserved for specified races. The

Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924 had excluded "pass bearing natives" from the definition of the word *employee* (McGrath 1998, p.32). The "civilized labour policy" also gave white workers preferential job access and higher remunerations for the same work as any other race. Consequently, jobs for Africans were consigned to unskilled work while whites were protected from competition for skilled and highly remunerated jobs. McGrath elucidates how an elaborate bureaucracy was established to provide white-collar jobs for local whites. According to McGrath, these economic and political developments had the following impact on African education.

Before the Mineral Revolution, some "non-indigenous education" (McGrath 1997a, p. 159) was provided for Africans by missionaries. The education was modelled on the Western curriculum. In the context of the Mineral Revolution and the "poor white problem", this education was challenged by local whites as inappropriate for the needs of Africans. This appears to be the beginning of the argument for an alternative model of education for Africans. Academic justification was provided for this, according to McGrath, in the 1920s through the doctoral thesis of Charles T. Loram and the Phelps Stokes 1922 report *Education in Africa* (Loram 1917; Phelps Stokes Fund 1922). The basic argument in Loram's thesis and in the Phelps Stokes report is that the Western academic curriculum provided for Africans by the missionaries required an adaptation to the skills and knowledge essential to Africa's agrarian society. On the face of it, the idea of adapting education to Africa's milieu is agreeable, for it is at the heart of CR. The Phelps Stokes commission indeed hails its South Africa achievements in CR terms:

> …as a result of policies largely based on the views of the Phelps Stokes Fund, emphasis has been laid on "adaptation" in education, so that today the curriculum of Native schools more closely meet the needs of

> the Native people than any other section of the community. Emphasis has been laid on mother tongue instruction, the learning of both official languages, theoretical and practical agriculture, and domestic science (Dillard, Jones, Loram 1932, p.91).

It is therefore easy or tempting to see the Phelps Stokes report as a perfect example of CR ideas. Upon further examination of the nature and context of the South African adaptation of education to the needs of the "Natives", the notion of adaptation appears problematic. As McGrath notes:

> Sanitation, home management and agricultural improvement would be central elements of the new syllabus along with the most rudimentary level of basic academic education (p.160).

What is therefore described as "adaptation" appears to conform to the concern amongst many local white South Africans who held the view that pure academic education was not appropriate for Africans. The term "educated kaffir" was used to describe an African with academic education:

> …they were yet without the manners or the traditions of the white man. They had lost their own tribal traditions and had not been able to replace them with any others. Soon the term "an educated kaffir" stank in the nostrils of the European. They were a tragic achievement (Pells 1938, p. 140; McGrath 1997b, pp. 160-61).

The above view of an educated African does not appear to be the ideal context to suggest an "adaptation" of education to African needs. Cultural Responsiveness, as defined earlier, is not based on the notion that some people are culturally backward so require a different form of education. Yet it is cultural backwardness or the "alleged inferiority of Africans" that was stressed by Loram and many

other liberals (McGrath, p. 161). Even the technical skills Loram proposed for Africans had an essentially rural emphasis – with little or no theoretical aspect. The focus of the proposed education appears to be ultimately domestic: housekeeping, gardening, cooking, carpentry and other similar activities (Loram 1917). To justify the incapacity of Africans for serious academic work, Loram cites the following quote:

> It will take many generations before the African artisan can become skilled in the European sense. He lacks initiative, persistence of purpose, sense of fitness, and what may be called an industrial conscience; and these qualities cannot be rapidly evolved. (Dr. Willoughby, Principal of Tigerkloof school; cited by Loram 1917, p. 158 and in McGrath 1997b, p. 161).

McGrath notes that, given the strong influence of Social Darwinism in South African intellectual circles at the time, Dr. Willoughby's use of the word evolution (evolved) may be significant. Without going into the biological issues here, what is clear is that various arguments were used to justify an "adapted" education for Africans. The central belief was that Africans were somehow inferior and so should be "hewers of wood and drawers of water" (Loram 1917). Such a belief cannot be the basis of CR as it is understood in this thesis.

Unfortunately, Loram's ideas would later form the basis of the education and training developed in 1951 by the *Native Education Commission* (Eiselen Report). The Commission continued to be aimed at achieving segregation and industrialization. McGrath (1997b) again sums it up: "the Eiselen Commission's recommendations amounted to little more than a restatement of Loram's ideas" (p. 42). This resulted in the creation of a Department of Bantu Education, under a

Ministry of Native Affairs, that would centralize the control of schools at the expense of the missionaries. Subsequently, the policy for African education would for decades retain the emphasis on cultural appropriateness within the context of economic and political segregation. Even with greater industrialization in the 1960s, with white labour at near capacity, arguments for African access to technical education were still formulated in terms of service to the white economy. The emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement among educated Africans in the 1970s, which was initially met with repression, brought about uprising against the Apartheid state. Market forces would also contribute to the process leading to policies that allowed greater freedom and broader education for Africans (Smollan 1988).

The progress made in the education of Africans is evident in some of the government policies of subsequent years. The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC, which put together an *Investigation into Education* in 1980) would emphasize the economic rather than the cultural arguments for an education that will prepare children of all races for the workplace (HSRC 1981a). Also, the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) established in 1985 rejected the mental-manual divide in education. Prior to the 1994 election that brought in Mr. Nelson Mandela as President of South Africa, the document *National Training Strategy Initiative* (NTSI) was published. It attempted to integrate education and training. According to McGrath, the integration of education and training proposed in the document "was very short on important details about the nature of the proposed integration…" (p. 171). McGraths explains in detail other aspects of the Fordist influence on the development of education in South Africa. This includes the attempt to retain equity while also maintaining the privileged status of the white elite.

This review of the South African educational system is intended to show the historical tension and scepticism associated with CR in education. Is the apparent distrust of CR restricted to South Africa? In other parts of Africa, there is evidence or claim that the introduction of an African native education by the colonialists was indeed meant to provide an inferior education to Africans and a superior one to whites (Mwanakatwe 1974; Banda 2008). This equates CR or the idea of adaptation of African education with what some see as integral to the imperialistic agenda by colonialists to give Africans an inferior socio-economic status (Bourne 1940; Marah 1987; McGrath 1997b; Banda 2008).

I would like to acknowledge this tension regarding the idea of Cultural Responsiveness as due to specific socio-economic and political developments, as in Apartheid South Africa. The problem with the "adaptation" of education proposed through Phelps Stokes, for example, is that it is presented in the context of segregation. However, the mere fact that an approach was put to surreptitious use in the colonial and even post-colonial era is not a basis for rejecting it completely today. Nonetheless, acknowledging such misuse of CR does remind us to be careful and clear of how we now apply this approach. For example, CR should not be used in a way that enhances elitism. Instead, it could serve as a medium for dialogue or interaction in the elite-indigent divide.

The CR approach could be presented in today's Africa that is faced with a different socio-economic inequality. Rather than a white-black separation, I argue that today's Africa is faced with an elite-indigent dichotomy. One manifestation of the divide is the fact that education in Africa's elite schools is immensely superior to what obtains in the indigent communities. I have earlier shown this to be the case and provided statistics from the West African examination council, compared to that of elite schools like LJC. This gap is an economic apartheid. Unlike the Apartheid system of South Africa, the current disparity cannot be similarly confronted by riots or other measures specific to the

South African context. Rather, I suggest that a localized approach to CR may help to respond to such socio-economic inequality. However, there have been local CR attempts in the past, by African leaders. What happened to their efforts?

The CR Attempts of Africa's Founding Fathers

The fathers of African independence took the bold step to confront their colonial rulers. Around the year 1960 many African countries gained 'political' independence. The word *political* is underlined here as a reminder that freedom goes beyond a change of flag. Often, freedom from an alien ideology may be the more paramount. For the man who led the fight to gain Ghana her independence, Kwame Nkrumah, the goals of African freedom and development were not attainable if they continued to lean on the ideology of the colonial cultures. Rather, they must be based on the traditional African cultures. Kwame Nkrumah described his particular educational approach as *Consciencism* (Nkrumah 1964).

But what does *Consciencism* mean for the indigent, and how does it address the fact that the new Africa was now divided into the colonial-educated elite and the rest of the masses? That local elite-indigent dichotomy does not appear to have been addressed in any reasonable way. Rather, in Nkrumah we find the same values of Western education (freedom and justice) but merely to be translated into the local culture. Like Nkrumah's *Consciencism*, the other historical attempts by African leaders do not in my view acknowledge this problem of elite-indigent divide that was the product of colonial education. I shall now outline some of the other CR attempts by African leaders.

Other African leaders and thinkers like Léopold Sédar Senghor, alongside Aimé Césaire and Léon Damas, created the concept of *Négritude*. Like the notion of *Authenticité* similarly developed by the leader in Zaire, the *Humanism* of Kaunda in Zambia and the philosophy of *Ujamaa* by Julius Nyerere in Tanzania,[21] *Négritude* represented the distinctive African characteristics to be passed on as learning-content. "My negritude is not a stone, its deafness hurled against the clamour of the day"(Césaire 1947, p.41). What do these lofty ideas mean for the indigent? For some post-independence African thinkers, a new tradition of learning was to be anchored on to the Egyptian civilization that towered for hundreds of years above other civilizations. African anthropologists like Cheikh Anta Diop argued that ancient Egypt was populated by black Africans, who contributed to much of modern human civilization (Diop 1978). Just as modern European culture is built upon ancient Greco-Roman legacies, so too, for Diop, African culture and education should be built upon the legacies of ancient Egypt. It seems the emphasis here may be about restoring African pride.

Are the above CR attempts reducible to a restoration of African pride? As other African writers have indicated, of all the cultural damage inflicted during the slavery and colonial period, the most devastating aspect was the psychological harm done to the African mind (Abdi, Puplampu, & Dei, 2006). *Black Skin, White Masks* provides an analysis of the psychological impact of colonial oppression (Fanon 2008). There is even some insinuation or suggestion for the use of violence against colonialists in Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* (*Les Damnés de la Terre*, published shortly before his death in 1961, with a preface by Jean-Paul Sartre). In the colonial context, issues of pride and identity may have been expedient. In his *Notebook of a Return to the Native Land*, Césaire (1983)

[21] The philosophy of *Ujamaa* will be considered separately, because I do not think it is as susceptible to my elitist-indigent criticism of these others.

expresses his thoughts on the cultural identity of black Africans in a colonial setting. He challenged what he saw as an alienation that then characterized the education of his native Martinique people. “The Negro every day more base, more cowardly, more sterile, less profound, more spilled out of himself, more separated from himself, more wily with himself, less immediate to himself” (Césaire 1947, p. 49). While there may have been an attempt to restore African pride, there also appears to be other CR aspects to the writings of Africans in the independence era.

Another aspect of Cultural Responsiveness or CR evident in the African writings of the late 1950s and early 1960s includes the attempt to resolve the tension between the precolonial traditions and colonial education. This can be found in the writings of writers like Chinua Achebe (Achebe 1959). Similar indication of such colonial and precolonial conflict of traditions of education is found in Jomo Kenyatta’s anthropological study of his Kikuyu ethnicity (Kenyatta 1962). Both Achebe and Kenyatta focus on the clash between the values of their particular African societies and the Western tradition (in the form of education and Christianity) during and soon after the colonial era. However, the emphasis in these writings appears to be on culture rather than on the problem of a new type of inequality created through colonial education.

Criticism of African CR

The literary contributions of the fathers of African independence are noble efforts at generating a Culturally Responsive approach to education on the continent. These efforts should not be undermined by individual criticisms of each of those African leaders. In the early postcolonial context of attempts to restore African dignity, it makes sense that indigenous African philosophies

would emerge. However, it must be acknowledged that those leaders were men schooled under colonial education – the first set of Africans to receive an otherwise alien education. Then they became the educated elite of the postcolonial era. For example, when Kenya gained independence in 1963 those who took over the administration of the country had attended specifically elite schools.

> At Kenya's Independence in 1963, ten of the country's 17 ministers, nine of the 14 permanent secretaries along with the post of Attorney-General, Chief Justice and Commissioner of Police, were educated at the Alliance High School, another "Eton" in Africa (Grundy 2015).

As Gramsci asked, "Are intellectuals an autonomous and independent social group, or does every social group have its own particular specialized category of intellectuals?" (Gramsci & Forgacs 1988, p. 301). It seems that in Africa the educational system or IPS is the instrument through which the elite class was created in the immediate postcolonial era. Postcolonial education thus separated the schooled and the unschooled or the elite and the indigent. My criticism rests on this dichotomy that is the inevitable result of a colonial education originally designed to train civil servants (Hountondji 2000 p. 39). Those civil servants eventually wrestled power from the colonialists, and the guards changed, but what else changed?

For a fundamental change to have taken place, I argue that a dialogue would have been necessary between the new elite (the African leaders who replaced their colonial counterparts) and the indigent/uneducated masses. Some interaction at the educational level between the children of those elite and their indigent counterparts could have enabled that change. Otherwise, what kind of dialogue was taking place in Consciencism, Négritude, Authenticité and Ujamaa? These movements

emerged at a time when more than 70% of the African population could neither read nor write (Mushi 2009, p. 4). In the context of a huge divide between educated elite and the rural poor, what is the practical relevance of those elite ideologies to an indigent African? The concepts do not seem to represent an elite-indigent interaction. In all likelihood, they were not meant to be, considering the low level of literacy among the poor in Africa at the time. To whom were those thoughts addressed? If they were addressed to the colonial rulers or other educated fellow elite, then it was inter or intra-elite interaction. The ideas are framed in the language of oppositional discourse characteristic of the struggle for independence. The kind of interaction proposed in this study is more of a dialogical relationship rather than a movement of opposition. An implication of this consultative approach is that the indigenous community may or may not want a CR education, preferring instead an education similar to that received by the elite. As Schneider notes, under Nyerere the political class jealously guarded access to quality education for their own children. Hence there was mass protest against the leadership conditions that accompanied the Arusha Declaration (Schneider 2014, p. 153).

Nonetheless, Consciencism, Négritude, Authenticité, and other efforts by African intellectuals in postcolonial Africa, represent well-meaning attempts to address the tension between precolonial traditions and colonial education. But without a practical object of enquiry, like the problem of poverty and inequality, such debates about culture often become circular and conflictual – as I will now explain under the following summary headings of my criticism of the attempts at CR in Africa:

(a) The Conflict of Perspectives

(b) A Tower of Babel

(c) The Case of *Ujamaa* in Tanzania

(d) World Bank's Mere Whistle-Blowing Report

(a) The Conflict of Perspectives

The various attempts by African intellectuals to resolve the tension between their precolonial traditions and the Western tradition of education have over the years resulted in a conflict of perspectives (Connell 2007, pp. 89-110). On the one hand, there are those who have compiled their local orature, including poetry and myths, and presented them as philosophical or sociological principles from an African perspective. An example is that of the Nigerian sociologist Akinsola Akiwowo. His "Contributions to the Sociology of Knowledge from an African Oral Poetry" was published in 1986 by the *International Sociology* journal (Akiwowo 1986, pp. 343-358). There was already a long tradition of bringing to the fore the rich oral traditions of Africa. This is first evident in Amos Tutuola's *The Palm Wine Drinkard* published in 1952. In 1953, Laye Camara wrote *The African Child* - which further showed the vast potential of Africa's oral history and culture. Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* was published in 1958 and *Arrow of God* in 1964. These works represent an excellent application of "orality to literature" (Smith 2009, p. 7). But Akiwowo's "Contributions to the Sociology of Knowledge from an African Oral Poetry" goes beyond a retelling of the oral traditions. It is an attempt to derive sociological principles from a particular cultural experience. Other sociologists like Moses Makinde and Mark Payne would support Akiwowo's approach. On the other hand, Africans like Olatunde Lawuyi and Olufemi Taiwo criticized Akiwowo's "*asuwada"* principle and overall approach as a mere translation of sociological terms into his native Yoruba rather than any actual generating of an indigenous sociology. At the heart of such criticism is the debate about whether traditional culture or African traditional worldviews could be regarded as authentic philosophical study. Do such worldviews or traditions constitute sufficient basis, for example, for Culturally Responsive pedagogy?

In this thesis I refer often to the work of John Mbiti, whose writings attempt to establish an African philosophy based on the cultural and religious practices of Africans (Mbiti 1969). Similar to Mbiti, Alexis Kagame's writings also propose an Africa philosophy based on a study of the fables, proverbs and other traditional tales of his local Rwandese tribe (Kagame 1976). Mbiti, and others who attempt to similarly derive philosophical principles from their particular cultures, have been criticized as non-scientific in their approach (Higgs 2010, pp. 2415-2416). The context of Mbiti's writings was the lingering disdain that European imperialists had for the cultures of their various colonies. Against this background of contempt for the African culture, a Belgian missionary Placide Temples had written his *Bantu Philosophy* in 1949. Tempels argued that because of their perception of Africans as primitives and savages, Europeans failed to see the philosophy possessed by Africans (Tempels 1959). Again Tempels has been criticized by Connell as "at best, an amateur at ethnography" (Connell 2007, p. 98). Raewyn Connell avows that (p. 98) "Tempel's research is markedly inferior to ethnographic work in other parts of Africa published before World War II, such as Jomo Kenyatta's *Facing Mount Kenya* (1938)."

The conflict rages on. Yet it seems that at the heart of the clash of perspectives is the presumed understanding of what constitutes a philosophy or scientific knowledge. It is from a strictly academic premise that some African philosophers (Appiah 1989; Hountondji 1996; Wiredu, 1980) question the scientific validity of traditional African worldviews. Similarly, it is from a broad and all-encompassing understanding of philosophy that other African scholars, sometimes referred to as the ethno-philosophers, (Anyanwu 1989; Gyekye 1987; Mbiti 1969; Kaphagawani 1998) argue that traditional African beliefs constitute genuine philosophical knowledge. Although Hountondji may appear to have been overly vehement in his views, as expressed in *African Philosophy: Myth and*

Reality, published in 1976, I think both perspectives may be valid. As will be suggested in the next chapter, truth or objectivity is the product of a principle of Community-Validity. This principle will be explained in the Methodology chapter. Meanwhile, is the language in which a truth-claim is made not crucial to the understanding of that truth-claim? This leads to my second criticism of CR in Africa.

(b) A Tower of Babel

Another area of controversy lies in the argument among African intellectuals about whether to adopt local languages or the colonial language as the LoE. Colonial education was seen as responsible for the negative attitude of African students towards their local language. As one author puts it:

> educated Africans were inculcated with negative attitudes
> toward their own culture and heroes while they revered those
> of the European. They were made to hate their own culture
> and therefore themselves (Thompson 1994, p. 35).

It may be difficult to understand how people could come to hate themselves. What seems more likely is that Africans saw education in the colonial language as providing more steps up the socio-economic ladder and ultimately towards an elite status. Hence the elite-indigent tension may be a more plausible explanation. According to Wood, during the colonial era some Africans were suspicious of any local version of education that may not appear as the "real thing" (Wood 1983). A local language is an obvious deviation from the original education or the perceived "real thing" that would help cross the elite-indigent barrier to prosperity.

Whatever may be the ultimate explanation for the language attitude expressed by Thompson, African academics have since taken sides on the issue. Some thinkers like Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o see the use of the colonial language as a tragic loss of culture (1986). He famously renounced as colonialist the English language, alongside Christianity and the name James Ngũgĩ. He became known as Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o and began to write in his native language of Kikuyu and in Kiswahili. In his *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (1986), he argued for African writers to express their thoughts in their native languages rather than European languages. For him, switching to the local language was not aimed only at renouncing colonial ties but to build an authentic African literature and tradition of education. In other words, a local LoE or language of education is not to be seen as an end itself but as a means towards achieving Cultural Responsiveness in education. On the other hand, a renowned African thinker like Chinua Achebe sees the colonial language as an educational tool to help Africa. In his later work, (Achebe 2010) Achebe defended at length his preference for English as a language of unity. He maintained that English is a global language, which also provides ethnic neutrality in a multilingual country like Nigeria. The issue of LoE resulted in bitter animosity between the two writers. Achebe's position has consistently remained the same: that English is "the one central language enjoying nationwide currency" (Achebe 1975, pp. 77-78).

Should the language debate be an "either or" question? Why should attempts not be made to enable the local language to thrive alongside the colonial language? Such linguistic congruency appears not to be impossible, even at the highest academic level. Thinkers like Cheikh Anta Diop translated into his native Wolof language parts of Einstein's Theory of Relativity (1987). Diop's 1977 research also led to his hypothesis of the unity of indigenous African languages, beginning with

the ancient Egyptian language (Diop 1977). It seems such historical attempts that link CR to LoE have left a legacy that emphasizes a return to a local LoE, however contentious, as an essential part of a Culturally Responsive education. After much philosophical and linguistic controversy, the emphasis on a local LoE may indeed be an important legacy of African thinkers in their attempts to create a Culturally Responsive tradition of education in Africa. In recent years, there have been attempts to resurrect local African languages as the LoE (Brock-Utne 2000; 2007). I will now examine these attempts in light of the apparent link between CR and LoE.

The Language of Education (LoE)

The Language of Education or LoE is sometimes referred to as Language of Instruction or LoI (Spolsky & Hult 2010). I prefer LoE because 'education' is broader than 'instruction'. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, Education is understood as including pedagogy as well as "experience and observation as a method of learning when combined with thought and analysis" (Nyerere 1978, p. 33). Whatever the terminology, the issue of LoE has continued to receive much attention (Roy-Campbell 2001; Eleuthera 2007; Walter 2010; Mba 2012). According to UNESCO, at its General Conference, Paris 2007, "providing education in a child's mother tongue is indeed a critical issue."[22] Stephen Walter states that, "There is little dispute that formal education is primarily a language-mediated enterprise." He then asks the crucial question that applies to poor rural students whose parents do not speak the colonial language and so grew up speaking only the local language: "What happens then when the child being educated does not speak the language of the classroom?" (Walter 2010, p. 129).

[22] http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001540/154007e.pdf

Thus the question of teaching and learning in an indigenous language is an essential concern for children of an indigenous community. According to Vygotskiĭ, the earliest speech of the child is essentially social (Vygotskiĭ *et al.* 1994, p. 45). Vygotskiĭ's affirmation of language as a tool for thought development raises the question of whether the elite and indigent children are on the same language page. African indigenous children come from settings where the colonial language is the language of education; yet the speech mastered by those children is in their local language. Some authors (Mule 1999, p. 231) have explicitly taken the stance that the use of a non-indigenous language as the core language of the curriculum was and remains inappropriate. On the other hand, the issue appears complex, and colonialism may not be entirely to blame for the current language situation on the continent. There are some current issues that have militated against a local LoE in Africa - in monolingual and multilingual countries. I now present both settings.

- (a) In a Multilingual Community

Some authors (Brock-Utne & Hopson 2005) have addressed the tension created by the colonial language and the mother tongue in both monolingual and multilingual parts of Africa. In the case of Nigeria (Bamgbose 2005) where the pilot study took place, for example, there are more than "350 ethnic groups and languages" (Okonjo-Iweala 2012, p. 1). "With such an extremely complex multilingualism, policies need to be carefully formulated to take into account language attitudes of members of the community" (Ufomata 1999, p. 315). In an early article addressing the struggle to establish a local LoE in Nigeria, Andrew Urevbu (1984) saw the dilemma created by the colonial language and the mother-tongue in the Nigerian National Policy on Education in terms of the emphasis on national unity as an objective of Nigerian education. He notes that the emphasis on national unity was an essential objective of the country's policy that children learn one of the three

major indigenous languages (Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba) other than their own mother tongue. Unfortunately, that official "trilingualism" was not implemented in any comprehensive way across schools in Nigeria (Urevbu 1984, pp. 23-28). Titi Ufomata saw this failure of implementation in terms of a feeling of alienation among the other linguistic groups (outside the above chosen three). Hence she too confirmed that an LoE is particularly difficult in the context of Nigeria with more than 300 spoken languages (Ufomata 1999, p. 315). After analysing the dilemma, Urevbu came to the conclusion that there is no ideal solution to the complex language situation of Nigeria. He left the LoE question for future "extensive research" (p.30). Boniface Mba's 2012 study on Nigerian language education continued to decry the use of English as "a colonial language hoisted on the Nigerian peoples from the advent of colonialism." Mba concludes by calling on the Nigerian government "to implement the Nigerian policy on education by putting visible structures in place to raise the policy from a mere paper work to a utilitarian policy" (Mba 2012, p. 48). The problem has since remained one of implementation:

> All that is needed for the successful implementation of the indigenous language education policy is a 'will-to-do' and the implementation of the right language policies by the government of Nigeria (Olagbaju 2014, p. 127).

Consequently, education in Africa's most populous and multilingual nation has remained in English.

- (b) In a Monolingual Community

If the colonial language serves the purpose of unity in a multilingual setting, the situation is not much different in monolingual countries like Kenya and Tanzania. In the case of Tanzania, where the fieldwork for this study took place, the country is not plagued with the problem of

multilingualism as is Nigeria. Tanzania has one indigenous language (Kiswahili) as clearly the *lingua franca*. With the exception of Ethiopia, Tanzania is the only other African country that employs the national language (rather than the colonial one) throughout the primary school system (Eleuthera 2007, p. 3). Yet until recently, February 2015, it still had the colonial language as the official LoE above the primary school level. The historical background of the use of Kiswahili as the LoE goes back to the German colonial administration of Tanzania.

In the late 19th century, under German rule, Kiswahili was made the language of education and colonial administration throughout Tanzania. However, some have argued that the reason for the choice of Kiswahili was not to enhance education but to prevent local Tanzanians from learning German and thus able to aspire towards an equal status with their colonizers (Roy-Campbell 2001, p. 41). I think it may be speculative to judge the unarticulated motivation of another. It is also claimed that this nationwide use of Kiswahili as the LoE and for government administration during German colonial rule enabled the local language to become so widespread as a *lingua franca* (Roy-Campbell 2001, p. 42). What is certain is that after the First World War Britain took over the colonial administration of Tanzania. It was under British rule that English became the language of government administration and the LoE for secondary education and beyond (Rubagumya 1990; Roy-Campbell 2001). When Tanzania gained independence, a former secondary-school teacher, Julius Nyerere, became the country's leader. Nyerere re-established Kiswahili as the National language and the language of public life in general. Yet English remained the LoE in secondary schools. He created a Presidential Commission on Education, which in 1982 recommended that effective 1985 the LoE be changed from English to Kiswahili in secondary schools. The deadline passed unnoticed. Instead, the government later announced that English was important for secondary education (Rugemalira 1990).

A Tanzanian linguist argued that the reason the colonial language remained the LoE in secondary and higher education in Tanzania is the same reason as in much of Africa:

> The main reason, I would venture to suggest, is that in Tanzania, again as in many other African countries, the former colonial language is seen as a prerequisite for scientific and technological development (Rubagumya 1990, p. 2).

I agree especially with Rubagumya's follow up statement that the colonial language is only used as a sign of being knowledgeable and as a key to social prestige and power: "Another reason, which is rarely stated in public, has to do with the very elitist nature of education in Africa." That sums it up, elitism or "Elite vested interest" (Rubagumya, Afitska, Clegg & Kiliku 2011, p. 80). Competence in the colonial language would emerge as one of the distinguishing characteristics in the relationship between the elite school and the rural community in this study. In the end, neither the monolingual nor multilingual countries of Africa currently employ any of their local languages as the LoE beyond primary level. And some scholars have feared that many of such indigenous languages would consequently die (Maffi 2001, p. 385).

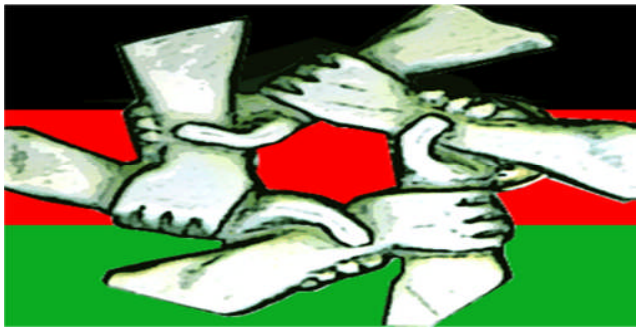
With Africans now responsible for education on the continent, is colonialism still to blame for the lack of a local LoE? The 1980 World Bank report on education in Africa judged the response of African educationists to the issue of a local LoE as reflecting "colonial precedents" as well as "a healthy pragmatism." It noted that it is the combination of the colonial heritage as well as the absence of textbooks in the local languages that "has led most African countries to adopt the language of the former colonial government" (World Bank 1988, p. 43). The two reasons may indeed be part of the

stumbling block to decisions that would establish the local language as LoE. As some authors have confirmed, African leaders perpetuated the IPS in the languages and curricula of the West, not because they so desired but due to colonial legacy and its related socio-economic conditions (Brock-Utne 2000; Mazrui 2001). Whether it is complex multilingualism, colonial heritage or economic and political obstacles, "decisions concerning language of instruction have been the major cause in Africa and other former colonies of the downgrading and extinction of minority languages" (Spolsky & Hult 2010, p. 3). Hountondji notes that "it is up to the African elites and decision-makers to initiate new language policies that promote African languages as means for scientific expression and communication, instead of the exclusive use of their former colonizers' languages" (p. 43). At play once more is the recurrent problem of elitism. On the issue of whether indigenous languages of very rural and remote African communities are developed enough to be employed for complex studies, Hountondji responds:

> The idea that some languages are too poor to express the subtleties of modern science is but a prejudice which, like many commonplace prejudices, has also been unfortunately defended and elaborated on by some well-known scholars and theoreticians (Hountondji 2000, p. 43).

In summary, employing a local LoE is vital for education to be truly Culturally Responsive. However, it is now about half a century since the end of colonialism. The LoE in nearly all of Africa remains the colonial language. Besides the LoE, not much is left of the CR attempts of Africa's founding fathers. None of the historical attempts at CR in Africa (Consciencism, Négritude, Authenticité) represents a comprehensive approach that has been employed in any sustainable way to impart knowledge, skills and attitudes. There is one relative exception, the *Ujamaa* attempt in Tanzania.

Figure 6: Ujamaa Symbol



Source: online[23]

(c) The Case of *Ujamaa* in Tanzania

It seems unfair to place *Ujamaa* under the criticism of African CR. Compared to the other CR attempts by African leaders, *Ujamaa* appears to be a more practical and comprehensive CR enterprise initiated by a noble African. I will thus first present in a positive light this endeavour by the nation of Tanzania to adapt IPS to local needs and culture. The adaptation was formally known as Education for Self-Reliance or ESR (Nyerere 1968). The following is an overview of ESR and followed by a critique.

The man generally recognised as the first Tanzanian to study in a British university became President of his country in 1962 and soon instituted a CR approach known as *Ujamaa*.[24] The word *Ujamaa*, meaning family-hood in Kiswahili, was an attempt to create a culturally responsive system

[23] The word "Online" is used as a reference for readily verifiable internet items, such as known symbols. The above symbol can be found on this link **https://www.google.co.uk/?gws_rd=ssl#q=Ujamaa**, but it is an item that can be promptly verified via any other source. However, any non-readily verifiable item that is sourced online will have the appropriate bibliographical information or reference provided – such as the website link.

[24]However, Thomas Molony (2014) documents "the Tanganyikan predecessors who studied in the United Kingdom before Nyerere" (p. 199). Also, strictly speaking, Nyerere was President of Tanganyika until 1964 when the United Republic of Tanzania was established.

of education and political administration based on "the objective of socialism" (Nyerere 1968, p. 340). The focus of *Ujamaa* was on rural development. Here we find an African culturally responsive theory that was actually implemented. Rural people were organized to live and work on a cooperative basis – where all "live in peace with their neighbours without suffering or imposing injustice, being exploited, or exploiting" (p. 340). The education required for these socialist villages was therefore based on traditional values about kinship. It was important for Nyerere that people understood the purpose of the *Ujamaa* village and the socialist aim behind it before freely agreeing to be part of the bucolic commune (Nyerere 1973). *Ujamaa* appears to be a genuine approach to CR because it seems to tackle an elite-indigent divide and presents itself as a local alternative to colonial education. Nyerere seems to have regarded colonial education as elitist and oriented towards Western interests and model of society. His aim was to create a society that "does not have two classes of people, a lower class composed of people who work for their living, and an upper class of people who live on the work of others" (1977, p. 15).

> We have not until now questioned the basic system of education which we took over at the time of Independence. We have never done that because we have never thought about education except in terms of obtaining teachers, engineers, administrators, etc. Individually and collectively we have in practice thought of education as a training for the skills required to earn high salaries in the modern sector of our economy (Nyerere 1968, p. 267).

In reaction to the mercantile model of colonial education, *Ujamaa* offers an alternative African approach, which does not emphasize academic diplomas, divorcing the students from their own society. Instead, *Ujamaa* institutes an education oriented towards productive work, rural life,

cooperation and self-reliance. This *Ujamaa* vision of education is set out in the document *Education for Self-Reliance* (Nyerere 1968). It contains several other aspects, such as integration of theory and practice as well as downgrading the importance of examinations. It is also holistic and lifelong. For example, Literacy, Agriculture, Health or Technical skills, are not considered separate branches of education. Learning is to encompass every aspect of life. It also extends to "anything which enlarges men's understanding" (Nyerere 1978, p. 30). While education is generally an intensely personal experience, *Ujamaa* emphasizes its social significance. The educated person is not a mere processor of knowledge but an agent of social change, someone liberated into society (Nyerere, 1978, p. 29).

There appears to be a Constructivist element in *Ujamaa* as well. The process of knowing is a journey. There are no fixed eternal truths because learning is life-long. "We must accept", Nyerere said, "that education and working are both parts of living and should continue from birth until we die" (Nyerere 1973, pp. 300-301). According to him, the educator and the learner are co-creators of knowledge. In fact, the educator does not teach but only helps the learners develop their capacity or potential. Many such valuable pedagogical insights appear in Nyerere's writings. It is no surprise that during the data collection people often referred to him as *Mwalimu* – meaning the teacher. As Molony puts it, Nyerere "continues to wield his power from the grave" (Molony 2014, p. 200).

In the end, nearly 10 million people were moved into the *Ujamaa* communes, many forced to give up their lands. Nonetheless, some regard the *Ujamaa* educational philosophy as generally a success (Kassam 1995). From the perspective of CR, *Ujamaa* is a genuine African approach as an alternative to colonial education. Unlike the emphasis on assessment in the American CR approach, *Ujamaa* deemphasizes tests and exams and focuses on activity. The *Ujamaa* approach to education could possibly have allowed for a framework that can help to identify practical forms of assessment

in the rural fields of an indigent/indigenous community. Nonetheless, there are "sharply personalized" condemnations of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere and his ESR.

- **Criticism of Nyerere and *Ujamaa*:**

Various authors have offered critical insights into Nyerere and his policies (Brennan 2014; Molony 2014). A central criticism is that Nyerere used "authoritarian tactics to achieve utopian ends" (Brennan 2014). Considering the fact that the colonialists were accused of using coercion against the African population, this is unfortunate. An approach to CR that involves heavy-handedness is not likely to be sustainable. *Ujamaa* may have indeed been utopian, in trying to turn peasant farmers into modern producers of agricultural products. Such a transformation is not likely to occur by fiat and within a relatively short period. Mushi describes the scenario with the farmers as follows:

> there was no link between the programmes conducted and the needs of the villagers. The programmes were designed to meet the interests of well to do farmers rather than the villagers, that is why it was difficult to merge such programmes with rural development needs (Mushi 2009, p. 14).

Other critics have pointed to the issue of power relations. According to Mbilinyi, Nyerere's system of education "prioritized experts, rather than mobilize people to organize on their own behalf" (Mbilinyi 2004, p. xiii). It therefore seems that even as a local approach, *Ujamaa* was apparently not localized enough. Other reasons adduced for the failure of ESR are that it relied on foreign assistance by way of financial aid; it was a macro-plan that did not take full cognizance of the reality of the local conditions; as a political ideology rather than a particular

pedagogy, it lacked a local teaching methodology. That last criticism may be linked to the one about the centrality of ESR around the personality of Julius Nyerere.

These criticisms are not mere brickbats and have been well explained in other literatures (Kassam 1995; Brennan 2014). On the other hand, my general analysis of the criticisms, especially those by the criticasters of Nyerere's education policies, is that there seems to be a central presupposition (in the criticisms) that the state should determine the exact type of education that its citizens should have. My view is that the professionals in the field should have that responsibility of adapting education to local and current needs.

My central criticism of CR applies to *Ujamaa*, namely, the lack of sufficient attention to the problem of elitism inherited from colonial education. Is there a localized elite-indigent dialogue in *Ujamaa*? Despite appearing to denounce elitism, *Ujamaa* does not seem to offer sufficient dialogue with the indigent. For example, take the following comment:

> A nation which refuses to learn from foreign cultures is nothing but a nation of idiots and lunatics. Mankind could not progress at all if we all refused to learn from each other.[25]

There is obviously some truth in the above statement from the *Mwalimu*. However, who are the people socio-economically equipped enough to learn from other cultures? The above statement makes sense for the elite educated in the values of the Western and other cultures, such as Nyerere himself.

[25] Here Nyerere attempts to strike the right balance between CR and embracing the Western liberal values of equality, freedom and democracy. Nyerere, J.K. (1967), *Freedom and Unity/Uhuru na Umoja*: A Selection from Writings and Speeches 1952-1965, Dar-es-Salaam, Oxford University Press, p. 187.

What does the statement mean for an indigent and illiterate woman who has never left her village and does not understand English or any foreign language or culture? For example, after independence, 80% of the Tanzanian population "did not know how to read and write" (Mushi 2009, p. 4). To whom therefore was this educational philosophy addressed?

My critique of Nyerere as himself a product of elitism is supported by Molony's recent "well-researched and scholarly" contribution (Grundy 2015). Molony's book is a detailed study of the life of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, from birth in 1922 to graduation in 1952. The sources employed in the study are most reliable, such as interviews with Nyerere's widow and son as well as data from Nyerere's own personal library. Molony focused on the formative years or "the first thirty years of Julius Kambarange Nyerere" as he progressed from his rural African village to the University of Edinburgh (Molony 2014, p.1). This early background provides valuable insights into the forces that influenced Nyerere's approach.

According to Molony, Nyerere was himself the son of a chief (who had 22 wives and 27 children) chosen by the Germans to help them rule in Tanzania (p.32). His father was apparently popular with both the British and German colonizers. Nyerere seems to have had the belief that a chief's son should cooperate with the colonial authorities. His upbringing and education ultimately made him elitist. For example, he attended the elite Tabora Government School described as "the Eton of Africa." Molony reveals that such elite education for the sons of Africa's pre-independence chiefs and chieftains made it possible for the colonialists to delegate authority to those destined to possess and exercise it by hereditary means. In my reading of Molony's work, it appears that the feeling of being chosen never left Nyerere. His own people equally recognized his elite status:

> In the eyes of nearly all Tanganyikans, Nyerere's experience of living in the white man's land meant that when he returned to the territory he was able to make claims with greater authority (Molony 2014, p. 205).

But when Nyerere gave up the presidency in 1985, his country was in economic doldrums, and the educational system of Tanzania was not better than that of the rest of SSA. Below is a statue of the *Mwalimu,* which I saw at Nyerere Square in Dodoma.

Figure 7: Statue Eternizing the Mwalimu at Nyerere Square in Dodoma



In summary, Tanzania represents a national attempt at Cultural Responsiveness through the efforts of Julius Nyerere. I will return to Tanzania in the data chapter, as part of situating the findings in its broad context. Meanwhile, this attempt by the country at indigenizing the educational curriculum of Tanzania is reminiscent of the Phelps Stokes report. *Ujamaa*, like Phelps Stokes, also emphasised a practical rural-oriented education. If the colonial context was the problem with Phelps Stokes, *Ujamaa* is a localized attempt at CR – albeit unique - one that failed.

Given the reasons adjudged by the critics for the failure of *Ujamaa*, it seems that what would have been more appropriate is a non-elitist and truly dialogical approach to CR, which relies on local resources and is rooted in a specific pedagogy rather than ideology. Until recently, it seems there has been insufficient stress on a local approach to education in Africa. This lack of a localized emphasis to finding a solution-within to the problem of African education will become evident in the following review of some international documents on education in Africa.

(d) World Bank's Mere Whistle-Blowing Report

First, I think it is commendable that the World Bank has given significant priority to educational research, especially since the 1980s, as evident in the Education Sector Policy Paper of 1982. Then in 1988, the first World Bank Policy Study on education in SSA published a report on *Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization and Expansion*.[26] The 185-page report, which covered the 39 SSA countries, began by saying that "education in Sub-Saharan Africa is in crisis today" (World Bank 1988, p. v). However, the report noted that "Indigenous education among all groups remains an important transmitter of cultural identity from one generation to the next" (World Bank 1988, p.1). The report offered no specific framework for integrating the said indigenous knowledge with the school curriculum. Presumably, such was not the aim of the study. The purpose of the study was to "diagnose" the main educational problems of Africa. The two problems diagnosed were "erosion of quality and recent stagnation of enrolment." The

[26] It is beyond the scope of this work to dwell on another parallel World Bank document at this time, the 1981 *Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa* (World Bank 1981). In Nigeria, it was an austerity measure known as the Structural Adjustment Programme, but was generally referred to as SAP, which brought much poverty that sapped life out of many.

recommendation of the report was essentially that Africa adjust, revitalize and expand, her education systems. "The need for Africa to 'adjust, revitalize and expand' their education systems as called for in the 1988 Report is even more urgent today than in 1988" (Fredriksen 2010, p. 26). That may be true even today, but what do those words mean - 'adjust, revitalize and expand'?

Upon a close analysis of the report, it appears to be overly concerned with fiscal rather than educational adjustment. For example, there is no discussion on how to move away from a colonial tradition of education to a localized or Culturally Responsive approach. There was also excessive emphasis in the report on the need to "expand" – understood mostly as building more schools. "Secondary education will and should continue to expand in Sub-Saharan Africa for economic and political reasons" (World Bank 1988, p. 56). While an increase in the quantity of schools is helpful for a youthful population, it is equally important to determine what kind of education or for the education to be localized or Culturally Responsive to the pressing issues of the day.

Unlike the Phelps-Stokes' report, there is not much discussion of CR issues in this later report on education in Africa. From my literal analysis of the document, the word *adjust* and its related forms (such as adjustment, adjusting and adjusted) appears 89 times in the report, whereas *expand* (as well as expansion) appears 143 times. The report attempts to balance quantity with quality in the section on "Revitalization of the education infrastructure in order to restore quality" (World Bank 1988, p. 93). But this section is comparatively the least emphasized; as the word *revitalize* (including revitalization, revitalizing and revitalized) appears only 36 times in the report. In the end, the emphasis seems to have been on quantity, and quality was not understood in terms of a Culturally Responsive education. Several years later another report commissioned by the same World Bank concluded "that Sub-Saharan Africa's current production level is about 23 per cent below its

production possibility frontier" (Bloom, Canning & Chan 2006, p. 30). Was the 1988 Report not meant to be a blueprint for African development through education?

Why did the World Bank 1988 report fail as a blue print for development through education? It seems to me that the most important part of the report was the least emphasised. The report dedicated a chapter (six pages) to "The Remarkable Progress of African Education" (World Bank 1988, pp. 11-17). In that section or chapter, it emphasized that "African societies have a long and rich history of educational traditions. Indigenous education was offered by all ethnic and linguistic groups..." (p. 11). Yet, while stressing that such indigenous knowledge remains important in Africa, the report offers no serious framework for 'adapting' this traditional knowledge to education in Africa. Samoff puts it succinctly:

> In their search for global recommendations, not only education but public policy more generally become largely matters of technique and administration. What could have been a pragmatic vision turns out to be just pragmatic, and perhaps not even that (Samoff 1996, p. 249).

As the World Bank kicks off with another *Education Sector Strategy 2020: Learning for All*, have the lessons of the past been learnt? (World Bank 2015). That question serves as a closure to my criticism of the various attempts at CR education in Africa.

I shall now suggest a course that, in my opinion, could be followed in light of the weaknesses of the above CR attempts. Some directions are provided by some more recent international documents on African education. In 2004, a World Bank 268-page report on indigenous knowledge and science went further to acknowledge that IK and modern science are not in conflict but should

complement each other towards a sustainable development. This complementary approach is indeed important in today's ecological context. The document leaves open the exact localized pedagogical approach through which children in IPS can integrate or benefit from IK (World Bank 2004). Could a framework of interaction between an elite school and an indigenous community provide such practical approach that seems to be missing in these reports? The answer may rest in another educational document released eight years after the first World Bank report.

The UNESCO Report

In 1996, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) constituted an "International Commission on Education for the 21st Century." The report of the commission is titled *Learning: The Treasure Within.*[27] In an almost prophetic tone, the report identifies a series of tensions or relationships that must be addressed in the 21st century. The areas of tension identified by the report include the Global versus the Local; the Spiritual and the Material; the Traditional and Modern; the Universal and the Individual. The term *relationship* is preferred here to "tension" because I think the report does not mean conflict but rather a continuous interaction between these dual aspects that needs to be constantly balanced. In a sense, the elite and the indigenous-indigent in Africa represent the global and local cultures respectively. The problem however is that it is difficult to achieve the right balance in a relationship between a powerful elite culture and an indigent community.

[27] Delors, Jacques (1996) *Learning: The Treasure Within*, Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century, Paris: UNESCO (Mr. Delors, former President of the EU, was the chairman of the Commission).

However, the UN's recent emphasis on Cultural Rights appears to have localized the task. Each society has the right and responsibility to provide education according to its local culture and tradition. In 2008, the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Economics, Social and Cultural Rights was adopted. It came into force in May 2013 (Saul *et. al.* 2014, p.1084). Article 13 is on the right to education, and is the longest of all the Covenants. Among other things, each country undertakes to ensure free and compulsory primary education for all its citizens. As the cultural rights and responsibility for education now more and more rest at the local level, I think the challenge to reconceptualise education in Africa falls on the African community itself. This emphasis on a localized approach is, in my opinion, a key to the problem of education in Africa. It seems Africa has hitherto overly looked overseas for solutions to the continent's problems. As already mentioned, the CR attempts of Africa's founding fathers were unduly susceptible to overseas reliance. The recent International Covenant on Economics, Social and Cultural Rights could be seen as a call for more localized CR approaches to socio-economic and cultural problems. There have been such excellent local CR contributions in recent years in the form of Indigenous Knowledge research studies. I now examine Indigenous Knowledge and Peoples as well as comment on a related IK literature.

African Indigenous Knowledge and Indigenous Peoples

It was stated in the introductory chapter that the term IK shall be used to refer in general to the knowledge and learning process of an indigenous community, without restriction to any particular tribe or part of the world. That section on "Clarification of Terms" showed the complexity and generalizability of the term *indigenous*, and so I promised to further explore what makes a particular knowledge or people *indigenous*. In particular, what is African Indigenous Knowledge?

Some have used the term African Indigenous Knowledge Systems or AIKS (Banda 2008; Emeagwali 2015) to refer to the IK of all Africa. While I agree that there may be a common African culture, it seems to me controversial to describe a set of IK as representing all the different African countries and distinct from other rural parts of the world. Besides language, of which there is no common one in Africa, as well as other cultural items (which again are varied and dynamic) it seems there is rather more similarity among the rural and indigent communities of the world. In the words of Fei Xiao-tong, "Rural people not only know each other intimately; they also get to know other aspects of rural life equally well" (Fei 1992, p. 43). One may therefore argue that the traditions, folk tales, subsistence farming, close family ties, apprenticeship learning, and other aspects of rural cultures, which are described in the accounts of African IK, can be imagined in other rural parts of the world.

What then is to be regarded as African Indigenous Knowledge, or is the very idea of IK a hiraeth? Is *indigenous* different from *local*? There is a distinction made between Indigenous Knowledge and local knowledge. The latter is not necessarily indigenous but merely referring to knowledge that is unique to a given local culture in an urban or countryside setting. As Morgan notes, "The concept of 'local knowledge' has its basis in the indigenous, in the traditional and the established" (Morgan 2005, p. 1). If Indigenous Knowledge or IK is not distinct from local knowledge, how is IK localized – especially across several communities and even countries? Does it only pertain to the poor parts of the world? Some authors have pointed out a disdainful bias in the Western understanding of the term *indigenous*. According to Semali and Kincheloe, "the term indigenous and thus the concept of indigenous knowledge has often been associated in the Western context with the primitive, the wild..." (Semali & Kincheloe 1999, p. 3). Some authors therefore prefer the word 'endogenous' to 'indigenous' (Crossman 2002; Maclure 2008; Villegas, *et al.* 2008, p. 95). The term

Endogenous is used to refer to what comes from a particular society as opposed to the e*xogenous* aspects that come from outside that society. *Indigenous*, in contrast to *Endogenous*, becomes an even more complex term:

> (Indigenous) refers to the on-going product of a relationship between geopolitical control and local resistance, of marginalization of a society or people with common interests, values, knowledge, institutions and practices, and defence of these against encroachment from global or national control (Jackson 2012).

While the above distinction is excellent, it only explains aspects of a community rather than the community itself. On the other hand, I wonder about the necessity of such labelling of any community of people. Should describing the reality of an African village community require Western theories and labels to provide it with credibility? This is an intractable problem, for terms need to be specifically described for better communication. I believe that every community has a right to describe itself or tell its story, without first becoming engrossed in classifications and a web of alien terminologies that require elaborations bound to disproportionately affect the subject matter. It is precisely because the community's story has not been told by the people themselves, it seems to me, that gives rise to the confusion of labelling. Hence this study, as explained in the Methodology chapter, is based on an African Community-based research project where much of the story is told by the indigenous or rather local people themselves. That still does not solve the problem of what makes them *indigenous*, which needs to be ascertained before using the term indigenous to describe the rural community in this research project. Why a community constitutes an "Indigenous People" therefore needs to be qualified, as well as their distinct knowledge (IK). Both sub-terms will now be explained.

(a) Indigenous People

Who are the indigenous people? As evident in various journal/book titles, the label 'Indigenous People' has been used frequently over the last few years (Goduka & Kunnie 2006; Hutchings & Aspin 2007; Curthoys, Genovese & Reilly 2008; Hassan & Ayub-Ali 2009; Ford 2010; Sarzin & Sarzin 2012). Often the meaning is presupposed or rather presumed by the authors. For example, "Throughout this text, I use the word *indigenous* to refer to Indigenous Peoples and culture" (Kovach, 2009, p. 20). But what does 'Indigenous Peoples' mean? According to Smith:

> The term 'indigenous' is problematic in that it appears to collectivize many distinct populations whose experiences under imperialism have been vastly different…'Indigenous peoples' is a relatively recent term which emerged in the 1970s out of the struggles primarily of the American Indian Movement (AIM) and the Canadian Indian Brotherhood. It is a term that internationalizes the experiences, the issues and the struggles of some of the world's colonized peoples (Smith 2012, p. 7).

Smith often appears to equate the indigenous with the colonized. She rejects as political the use of the term indigenous to describe "distinctiveness" and to lay claim to an indigenous identity based on "settlement of land over several generations or simply through being born in that place." She rather sees the term indigenous "as an umbrella enabling communities and peoples to come together, transcending their own colonized contexts and experiences…" (p.7).

Yet *colonized* and *indigenous* are different concepts. It appears more tenable or less problematic to simply state the name of the particular 'indigenous people' in terms of a community,

such as the 'Gidan Mangoro community.' The word *community* is faithful to what has been described as the African worldview. However, I would retain *indigenous* because of its geographical sense. It conveys a 'landed location' in a way that community does not. The sense of geographical location in the term *indigenous* is also the ordinary English language usage. It means "originating or occurring naturally in a particular place; native: the indigenous peoples of Siberia; coriander is indigenous to southern Europe" (Oxford, 2012). However, this geographical meaning of *indigenous* should be understood here in terms of a community. This generally corresponds to the United Nations' understanding of the term:

> Indigenous populations are communities that live within, or are attached to, geographically distinct traditional habitats or ancestral territories, and who identify themselves as being part of a distinct cultural group, descended from groups present in the area before modern states were created and current borders defined (United Nations 2015).

I would refer to the above definition as a geo-communal designation, which is the sense in which the term *indigenous people* will be used here.

For me the term should also presuppose a common language. Indigenous communities around the world, including the indigenous community in this case study, all share a common language. The elite-indigent analogy may also help to explain the importance of language in circumscribing the identity of a people. For example, the disparity between the elite and the indigent/indigenous may not be due to geographical separation alone. It is also a question of recognition. Axel Honneth notes that the German philosopher Habermas "uses the concept of 'recognition' both for granting social status and for supporting language-based validity claims – without sufficiently distinguishing between the

two" (Fraser and Honneth, p.247). While Africa's elite students are mostly from the big cities where the colonial language is the *lingua franca*, the indigenous-indigent children in village communities employ the local language. The geographical understanding of the word *indigenous* ought therefore to include a common language.

Without contradicting the above geo-communal-linguistic sense of the term, the indigenous community is also linked to an intellectual movement. The Interinstitutional Consortium for Indigenous Knowledge (ICIK) was founded in 1995 and "is one among over 50 growing networks" (Semali & Kincheloe 1999, p.4). Retaining the understanding of *indigenous people* established above, what the ICIK and similar networks of scholars study is the unique knowledge accumulated over time by indigenous peoples. To that knowledge I now turn.

(b) Indigenous Knowledge

There are various terms used to describe this accumulated pre-colonial knowledge of an indigenous people, who have lived together for generations in a particular (geographical) environment. However, in his book *Colonialism/Postcolonialism,* Loomba states that the pre-colonial no longer exists in a pristine form that is uncontaminated by or "separated from the history of colonialism" (Loomba 2005, p. 21). I think this is a difficult claim to refute or affirm. The process of interacting with the precolonial through a colonial or postcolonial lens might itself be the source of the inseparableness. The truth of Loomba's claim may also vary with the context and the specific knowledge or aspect of the precolonial culture in question. My overall approach is that the particular community is in a better position to adjudge whether a given knowledge is precolonial.

Presuming it is safe to assume that the precolonial does exist somewhere, some of the expressions used to define such knowledge include "Indigenous Knowledge System" (Ntuli 2002); "Traditional Knowledge" – as in the Indian Journal of Traditional Knowledge (Curci 2010; Subramanian & Pisupati 2010); "Local Knowledge" (Bicker *et. al.* 2004; Morgan 2005; Cooper 2009); "Culture-based Education" or "Culturally Relevant Pedagogy" and various other expressions (Boothby *et al.* 2007; Hofstede 1991; Klug & Whitfield 2003; Prier 2012; Scherff & Spector 2011).

Like those various terms, there is the problem of diversity in the accumulated knowledge of the different ethnic groups and chiefdoms in Africa. Each of these groups has unique traditions and cultural practices that may constitute precolonial knowledge. These indeed have mostly been regarded as the IK of each of those communities. Dennis Banda, for example, uses the term "African Indigenous Knowledge systems" or AIKS to describe the traditions of his native Chewa.[28] I have retained the term 'Indigenous Knowledge' (in short, IK) because it is the most common in the literature and is more generalizable. In this thesis, the knowledge and skills of the African village community will be considered as IK because it is apparently not derived from "Western education" or IPS. Indeed, the perspective of the GM villagers set them apart from the kind of knowledge taught inside the school situated in their community. Hence the term IK would be generally applicable to knowledge outside the IPS framework.

[28]Banda and others are concerned with the details of the specific cultural practices of their communities, rather than investigating more general themes such as socio-economic inequality or elite-indigent interaction. Specifically, Banda attempts a hybridization of IPS with the cultural practices of his native Chewa.

On the other hand, an obvious implication of this is that there would be a different IK for about every local community in the world. That is a limitation we could appreciate, as some have done (Owuor 2007, p. 24). Rather than be presumptuous, or to romanticize pre-colonial cultural practices as uniform across Africa, I think it is more reasonable to concede that each indigenous community has its own expression of IK. Furthermore, where a community is made up of different ethnic or language groups, the implication is that there would be different kinds of IK even within that community. This became a key point in my understanding of the Gidan Mangoro community during the pilot study. The cultural landscape of the community had changed quite markedly as a result of people of different tribes moving into the village over the years. It therefore appeared futile pursuing the idea of an Indigenous Knowledge given the mixed nature of the community. It seems to me that as the world continues to become more globalized, heterogeneous communities would become ever more conspicuous - as will the futility of studying indigenous peoples and indigenous knowledge.

Why therefore investigate IK in this study? The reason for examining the concept of indigenous knowledge and people is to see if IK could shed some light to help address the problem of eco-justice or concern about the environment. I believe the goal of eradicating poverty should be promoted in the context of sustainability. This relationship between poverty eradication and sustainability is evident in the interrelatedness of the EFA, MDG and the new SDG or Sustainable Development Goals (UNESCO 2013, p. 2; Morgan 2014, p. 40). Hence research studies on Indigenous Knowledge and Indigenous Peoples remain of great importance as localized approaches. I shall now examine a sample IK literature within a specific locality in Africa.

Sample IK Literature

In his 2008 doctoral thesis on Indigenous Knowledge, Dennis Banda rightly states that "relevance" is one of the challenges faced by many countries, particularly his native Chewa people of East Africa, in the effort to achieve EFA. "Among the Chewa people of Zambia, quality, relevance and credibility of the education are some of the reasons affecting the provision of education to all" (Banda 2008, p. xi). As a recent and relevant work on African education, particularly on Indigenous Knowledge, his work is worth examining briefly.

His research study goes beyond the Chewa and intends to "apply to Malawi and Mozambique as well…" According to Banda, "the methodological approach used by the Chewa people may apply to other indigenous people in Africa and possibly elsewhere in the world" (p. 18). Arguing that IPS is not appropriate for achieving the EFA goals in Africa, at least for the Chewa people, Banda proposes a hybridization of IPS and Chewa IK. While this approach is of pedagogical and curricular value, it does not seem to adequately address the problem of elitism and inequality, which I consider to be at the heart of the suffering of many Africans.

I do not wish to dwell on the economic value of the Chewa IK. However, I agree with Banda that IPS should not be considered superior to IK or any other informal education system. My agreement is not based on the fact that all knowledge systems are of the same economic worth, nor do I think economic value should be a universal benchmark for the value of any knowledge. Rather, it is the principle of Community-Validity, explained in the Methodology chapter below, that I think does not permit such claim of superiority.

Banda's works (2008, 2013) as well as other writings on IK (Villegas *et al*. 2008; Emeagwali 2015) ultimately succeed in arguing for an incorporation of IK into school curricula as well as adding economic value to IK through, for example, accrediting it within the academic qualification framework. Such CR attempts are noble and very relevant. They could help draw attention to the relationship between school and community or students' out-of school experiences. Also, such localized IK approaches may help identify Western influences on education in many non-Western contexts. There is still need to emphasize a localized approach to African education. Despite its history of apartheid, South Africa remains the only African country which specifically insists that a compulsory twenty percent of IK be added to each subject in the school curriculum (Kolawole 2005; Moahi 2012).

However, while I believe the need for a localized approach (Saul *et al.* 2014) is an overriding justification for CR, I still think it is ultimately insufficient to validate IK without confronting the fundamental problem of widening inequality in today's society. A different kind of school-community interaction is needed, beyond mere incorporation of cultural symbols into the curriculum, to help address the problem of inequality not covered by current CR approaches. The following section examines the school community relationship.

WORLD WALLS OF EDUCATION

> The first school that fenced itself around, excluding those in the local community too poor to learn within its walls, and found people naïve enough to allow such a barrier, that institution is the true founder of elitism. How much inequality and misery stemmed from that act; from how many mass migrations and misfortunes might not any one have saved humankind by knocking down those walls, inviting all the indigenous indigents to partake in the learning therein, and crying out to his or her fellows: 'Beware of listening to these impostors; you are undone if you once forget that *knowledge* belongs to us all (Ibhakewanlan 2013).

SCHOOL-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIP

This section is the final part of the literature review, but it is distinct from previously discussed materials. The issues discussed so far, such as CR and the Indigenous, form a cultural cluster. The next few pages constitute a school-community segment. Thus the discussions are in faithfulness to my core hypothesis that CR in the context of school-community relationship could help education achieve greater socio-economic impact.

Samples of School-Community Relationship

Research study on school-community relationship has been varied over the last several decades. One of the early works on school-community relations is that of Douglas Fiore in 1966. His book *School-Community Relations* presents a set of essential elements for a successful school-community relationship. Some of the elements include "reading the pulse of the community" and "paying attention to public opinion." However, Fiore's understanding of community is in terms of the

public rather than the particular community hosting the school – such as a small village. Less than a page was devoted to culture, in which Fiore states that much communication takes place non-verbally with "different cultural interpretations" (Fiore 2011, p. 83). It also did not matter in his discussion whether the school was elite or the community was indigent. Issues such as elitism, poverty and culture, were not the focus of Fiore's work.

In 1992, Robert Crowson and his colleagues wrote their *School Community Relations Under Reform*, which seems to improve on that "public" understanding of community found in Fiore's work. Here the "new interest in strengthening (school-community) connections" rather shifts the attention to parents (Crowson, Driscoll & Menacker 1992). *Community* now meant parents and other clientele. Focusing on administrative strategies and parents' involvement, issues of culture and poverty were not discussed in their work.

The emphasis in the school-community relationship was shifted to culture in the 1999 publication of *Shaping School Culture* by Deal and Peterson. Their emphasis however was on schools' unique culture and student sub-culture. The second chapter of the book explains "schools as tribes." This is not in terms of an ethnic identity but rather a culture created within the school through a common vision. The common culture is then reinforced through school rituals, traditions and ceremonies (Deal & Peterson 1999). In this sense, the Catholic school in this study has a culture based on, for example, the Ignatian Pedagogical Paradigm or IPP adopted by the school. The importance of *Shaping School Culture* is that it highlights the reality of a school as a community with a distinct culture. In this study, I similarly make a distinction between the school culture and the village culture. However, the school culture portrayed in the work of Deal and Peterson is a self-enclosed one. Their ideal school culture is not in relationship with a community or another culture.

In 2002, five Australian researchers explored the relationship between schools and their host communities in the rural parts of Australia. The aim of the study was to find out if such institutions yielded any benefits for the rural communities. The project focused on research investigations into the various styles of leadership that affect the relationship between schools and rural communities. Their study found that "Schools provide one of the major opportunities for interaction in rural communities" (Kilpatrick, Johns, Mulford, Falk & Prescott 2002, p. xii). The report was based on case studies of five school-rural community partnerships. Each case study was designed to provide data on the nature and extent of the partnership. As the focus was on the influence of leadership styles on the development and sustainability of the partnership, the study does not provide sufficient insights on the actual interaction between the school culture and the rural community culture. The aim and focus of the project is clear from the recommendations of the study, which is a set of advice for policymakers to help schools and rural communities develop partnerships based on effective leadership. The recommendations are of little relevance here, as they deal with leadership styles. Nonetheless, their research project confirms the fruitfulness of examining the relationship between a school and a rural community.

There are other research studies around the world, which explore the school-community relationship (Sheldon 2003) but seemingly not from the perspective of gathering data on the inter-cultural interaction between the school and the host-community. This may be due to the possibility that, unlike in rural Africa, there is often not much discrepancy between the school culture and the community culture in most Western societies. I have already discussed the colonial legacy responsible for the school-community cultural divide in Africa. I shall now examine the school-community relationship based on research studies in the African context.

School-Community Relationship in Africa

In Africa, there are a few research studies on school-community relationship that attempt to focus on cultural interaction (Buchert 1994; Dei 2004). Lene Buchert's school-community study is in the context of Tanzania, the site of this study, so is of special significance. I shall acknowledge her work briefly and then turn to the work of George Dei.

In 1994, Lene Buchert examined the special role of education in the social and political history of Tanzania after independence. She praised the effort of President Nyerere to educate the mass of the population through an intensive programme of 'Education for Self-Reliance' based on the African culture. Such education was important "to enable democracy to flourish" (Buchert 1994, p. 51). Buchert then situates that programme in the context of the history of education in Tanzania, showing aspects of continuity before and after independence. In particular, she highlights the interaction between in-school education and out-of-school education. Here one finds a semblance of Cultural Responsiveness. But Buchert's study appears to be more about community involvement in education rather than explicitly studying inter-cultural interaction. In the end, the book claims to provide valuable insights for interdisciplinary social science courses or programmes in African history or comparative education. However, it does not in my view offer a clear picture of the actual interaction between the school system and the local Tanzania culture.

George Dei builds on the work of Buchert and others. He is Professor and Chair of the Department of Sociology and Equity Studies at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto, Canada. Professor Dei has written several books in recent years, but the most pertinent in this case is his *Schooling and Education in Africa: The Case of Ghana* (2004). While

previous studies have examined the various roles of communities in education, such as in people contributing resources and skills to schools in their community, Dei's study goes further and explores school-community relationship towards linking learning with responsibility to one's community. His study is also based on the premise that "Many educators recognize that local knowledge can be an important teaching tool" (p. 200).

Dei conducted the study in 2004 based on the schooling experience in Ghana. His aim was to explore "how research can contribute to the development of a body of knowledge for educational change in Africa." He blames the educational crisis in Africa on two factors. The first is "colonial legacy", and the second is that the current educational policies in Africa "are not appropriately contextualized" (p. 7). He appears to treat as separate factors the "colonial legacy" on education and the current lack of "contextualized learning" in Africa (p. 8). At least in my view, there is not sufficient link between both issues in Dei's work. The problem of Cultural Responsiveness in African education is not separate from but is the continued legacy of colonial education. Hence a 'decolonized' approach (the cornerstone of my methodology chapter) is fundamentally necessary.

Dei's study highlights "teaching culture and history as central" to an appropriately contextualized education (p.21). I think that pedagogical emphasis is indeed important. But such teaching is already being done in many African schools - as evident in Social Studies and History textbooks across Africa. Does this mean teaching IK as part of the regular curriculum or even as a separate subject? This appears not to be sufficiently highlighted.

However, Dei's work touches on IK. Indigenous Knowledge is highlighted as "appropriately contextualized" learning, and this is the most significant aspect of Dei's work in relation to Cultural Responsiveness. Ultimately, Dei's research study does not provide practical recommendations on

how to "contextualize" such IK towards effective schooling and education in Africa. The author makes it clear that it is not his aim to provide "solutions" but aims to "resist intellectual and academic closure on the pursuit of meaningful educational praxis for change" (p. 22). Indeed, Dei's work is a critical analysis of educational reforms in an African rural context. Despite being a case study of how a "Ghanaian rural community adapted to educational reforms", (p. 20), it does not explicitly explore the relationship between a particular rural community and a school. In other words, it does not specifically study a school culture and a rural African community culture in relationship. That sort of direct engagement may enable or provide the opportunity for seeking possible insights from interactions between educational institutions and actual indigenous communities. Herein lies the gap in the literature, namely, the need for a practical approach to contextualizing learning. The Ignatian Pedagogical Paradigm or IPP (Jesuit Institute 2014) has been presented as a practical approach and so is worth examining.

A Practical Theory of Education: Ignatian Pedagogical Paradigm (IPP)

Research studies are usually based on specific theoretical frameworks (Silverman 2010). The purpose of such theories is to serve as beacons or a cynosure to guide the project. Accordingly, the Jesuit theory of education, known as IPP or Ignatian Pedagogical Paradigm, could act as the controllers of this research work. It also provides a needed moral vision as well as a foundation for an understanding of the issues, such as of justice, related to the topic.[29]

[29] A quick word about the mission of the Jesuits: the 32nd General Congregation of the Jesuit Order in 1975 established the promotion of justice as the basis of the Order's mission. The current Pope, Francis, was a member of that 32nd General Congregation. Pope Francis, a Jesuit, was then the Provincial Superior for the Jesuits of Argentina (http://www.sjweb.info/).

Background to IPP

A belief central to the Jesuit ethos is that there is no value-free education (Jesuit Institute 2014). The IPP is a Jesuit approach to teaching and learning flowing out of that belief. It is not an additional item for existing curricula, but rather calls for infusion of a particular style and process. Essentially, it is about value learning and growth within the learner. Its various aspects are designed to help the learner to interiorize and act upon the values behind the practice. These thoughts on IPP are generally my own reflections based on many years of leading IPP workshops in various schools around Africa. I also published some of these ideas on the website of my former school http://www.loyolajesuit.org/IPP.htm. Similar ideas can also be found on other websites of Jesuit institutions around the world such as http://www.sjweb.info/documents/education/pedagogy_en.pdf.

The history of the IPP goes back to the 1599 document *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu.*[30] To meet the reality of students in changing times, the document was revised over the years and became known as *The Characteristics of Jesuit Education.* Years of revision have not diminished the substance of the document as captured in the statement below:

> "Today, students do not listen seriously to teachers but to witnesses;
> and if they do listen to teachers, it is because they are witnesses."
> (Pope Paul VI, *Evangelii Nuntiandi*, 1975)

[30] This means "Official Plan for Jesuit Education" and is often abbreviated as *Ratio Studiorum*, which is Latin for "Plan of Studies".

The Pope made the above statement eight years before the publication of *The Characteristics of Jesuit Education.* This foundational document of Jesuit education, replacing the *Ratio Studiorum,* articulated the vision and mission of Jesuit schools worldwide. In 1993 the International Centre for Jesuit Education in Rome published an improved version of the document as *Ignatian Pedagogy.* Since then, Jesuit schools and many Catholic schools worldwide, such as LJC, have adopted the practical guidelines for teaching offered in the new document. Its essential tenets became known as IPP or Ignatian Pedagogical Paradigm. The methods outlined in the IPP need to be understood in the spirit of the founder of the Jesuits, St. Ignatius of Loyola, after whom the document is named. He is a Catholic saint known for his profound spiritual and practical worldview (Meissner 1992).

Thus the Ignatian pedagogy is inspired by a deep Christian and Catholic Faith. It is rooted in the person of Jesus Christ who is presented as the One who gave his life in service of others, particularly the poor. However, the pedagogy is not restricted to allegiants of the Catholic Faith. Educationists who do not share that Faith can still find valuable insights from this document. This is because the pedagogy inspired by St. Ignatius is profoundly human and universal. The IPP transcends religion, culture, gender, ethnicity or tribe. At the core of its methods is a personal care for the holistic (material and spiritual) wellbeing of the student. This personal care is referred to as *cura personalis* (Jesuit Institute 2014). The personal encounter between a teacher and a student involves the way the teacher relates to the student. It signifies how the teacher conceives of learning and engages his or her students in the search for knowledge and truth. In resonance with the Pope's statement above, at the heart of the IPP is a teacher's own integrity. The teacher's vision and ideals have a formative effect on the growth of the student. And the students share this common vision of service to the poor based on the inspiration of St. Ignatius.

A Moral and Intellectual Vision

In the introduction, I mentioned that many of Africa's elite and leaders received excellent education but have not always served their people in the truly altruistic sense. This failure of educational achievement to translate into effective use of knowledge and values acquired through education shows that education does not in reality necessarily humanize people or lead them to virtue. An appreciation of that reality influenced the design of the Ignatian Pedagogical Paradigm. In designing the IPP in 1993, Jesuit educators realized that if education is to exercise a moral force in society, teaching and learning must take place within a moral as well as intellectual framework (Jesuit Institute 2014). IPP became the way in which teachers are to accompany their learners towards forming a worldview and an attitude towards others. Again this is based on following the self-sacrificial example of Jesus Christ, whom one student participant referred to as "the man for others" (Oral Interview/Religion/19).

This kind of education seeks to transform students' self-perception, social systems and global structures. The goal, as stated in the school brochure, is for the students to become men and women of "conscience, competence and compassionate-commitment." As Jesuit school head, I sometimes asked erring students to "repeat the 3Cs". The transformation of the student's habitual patterns of thought is meant to occur through a constant interplay of the three essential elements of the IPP: Experience, Reflection and Action (http://www.loyolajesuit.org/IPP.htm). Those three elements will be expanded shortly. Their interplay is meant to be facilitated by the teacher, who is responsible for both the moral and intellectual formation of the student (Jesuit Institute 2014).

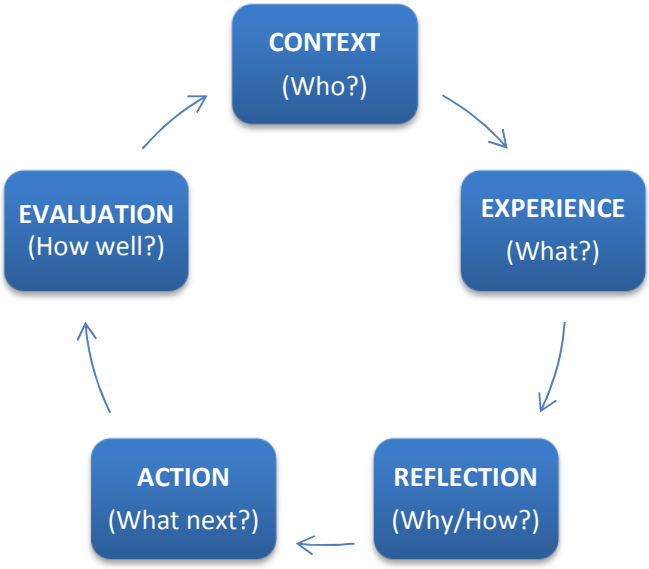
Hence a relationship of trust between teacher and student is essential in this process. For the teacher to help students grow in intellectual and moral values, he or she will have to persuasively

influence character by example. Again, the words of Pope Paul VI are apt here. According to this vision, teachers are not to merely inform students but to provide the moral compass to truth and values. In line with the Constructivist approach explained earlier, the teacher's role is to create the necessary conditions or opportunities for that continual interplay of the IPP cycle: the student's experience, reflection and action. The belief, again this is rooted in faith, is that the hand of God ultimately guides the transformative process of the IPP Cycle.

The IPP Cycle

The IPP process of transformation is a cycle of Experience-Reflection-Action. The Ignatian pedagogical paradigm thus starts with experience. Again, the school only creates the conditions for the student's own experience. The students' experience may include facts learnt, feelings aroused, values discerned, insights and intuitions gained. The next stage is then reflection. Reflection is sometimes referred to as learning how to learn. This is the process through which the students personalise or make the learning experience their own. Reflection invites each student to personally arrive at the meaning of the learning experience both for him or herself and for others. The process of Reflection provides the impetus for the student to move beyond knowing to action. The teacher's role is to provide the opportunities that will challenge the student to exercise his will in making the right choice to act upon what he or she has learnt (http://www.loyolajesuit.org/IPP.htm). Below is my pictorial representation of the cycle.

Figure 8: The IPP Cycle



In applying or employing IPP anywhere, the local context must be taken into consideration. Hence the preliminary element in the IPP principle is CONTEXT. Teaching and learning occur in varied contexts. That context may be one of affluence or of poverty. It may be within a small tribe or a large ethnic group. There are many such possibilities that represent the unique experiences of learners. It is important for teachers to understand as much as possible the world of their students, including the socio-economic reality, as well as the influence of family, friends and peers. There is no limit to what aspects of the student's life could help shed light on how best to guide the student through the Experience-Reflection-Action cycle. Just as Experience in the IPP cycle has a pre-element referred to as Context, so too does Action have a post-element called Evaluation. The cycle thus continues as the Evaluation turns Action into another Experience within a Context.

The Context is particularly important in this study, at different levels. First, formidable external influences on the student could come from the media, social pressures, politics, economics, music and religion. Thus context goes beyond the student's immediate reality, such as family.

Context is also understood as the wider socio-cultural reality of the student's village, country, continent and world. The IPP emphasis on context finds resonance in the educational theory known as contextual learning.

Contextual Learning

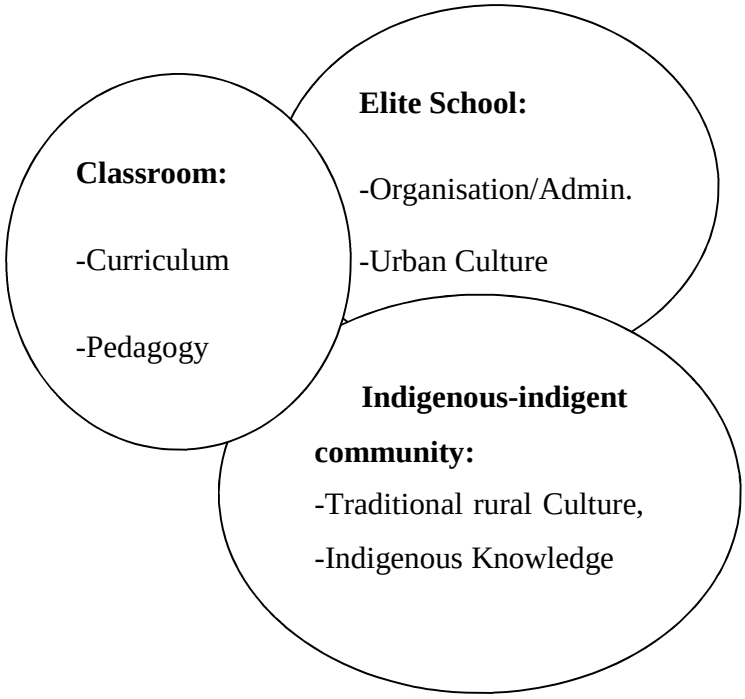
Contextual learning is more than an education based on the unique experiences of students. It is also about the relationship of learning to the social context in which the students learn; "the influence of the social context as it contributes to the course of cognitive development" (Rogoff & Lave 1984, p. 8). The teacher creates an awareness of the context for the students to make meaning of their learning experiences. Rather than merely learning facts and figures, the emphasis is on problem solving or meaning-making, as the teacher monitors the process through which the student becomes a self-regulated learner. Beyond his or her own unique context, the student must thus engage with the broader social world. This has also been referred to as Situated Learning: "Without this engagement, there is no learning" (Lave & Wenger 1991, p. 24).

Lave and Wenger first proposed Situated Learning as an approach for a community of practice. They argued that learning is not a transmission of decontextualised knowledge but should be undertaken through a process of socialization, imitation and problem solving. Learning thus takes place within a specific social and physical environment. In addition to the term situated learning, there are other similar terminologies like Apprenticeship, Life-Long Learning and Cooperative Education. As many of Lave and Wenger's examples concerned adult learners, Situated Learning also finds resonance in the term Adult Education. In a paper titled "Adult Guidance of Cognitive Development", Barbara Rogoff and William Gardener explained how a novice or tenderfoot learns by

"Participation in the Problem's Solution" (Gardener & Rogoff 1984, p. 101). These related terms confirm the importance of context in providing realistic experiences to the learning process. In the broadest sense, this entire research project is an approach to Contextual Learning.

My argument is that teaching should be anchored in the context of the school-community relationship. In that social context, the student should learn in a real-life setting of the socio-economic inequality that is characteristic of much of his or her country or continent today. As will become evident in the data, the immersion in the village, through the school's Community Service, was an eye-opener for many of the elite children. Learning within such a context grounds in a concrete social reality whatever other knowledge the students may learn in the school. To sum up, the context of the school-community relationship is portrayed in the relationship depicted in the figure below.

Figure 9: The School-community Relationship



Summary of Literature Chapter and A Research Gap

This chapter has used relevant literature to expand on the key concepts clarified in the introductory chapter. While the literatures provided a deeper understanding of those concepts, there remained a need for a practical and pedagogical approach that converts theory into action within specific contexts. For example, although Fraser, Honneth, Young and others, have contributed an adequate understanding of justice, they do not provide a clear motivation for action on behalf of justice. In response to this perceived gap, I examined Catholic Social Teaching and then provided an overview of a particular vision of education known as Ignatian Pedagogical Paradigm or IPP. This vision and motivation is a moral-religious one. Also emerging from the IPP pedagogical cycle is an emphasis on *context* - which helped to situate this study within the overarching system of Contextual Learning. Thus IPP could provide the school-community interaction with a practical pedagogy. The conceptual framework of this study (depicted after the research questions below) will later reinforce the need for such a practical and comprehensive CR approach.

A gap in the CR literature thus appears to be the lack of a practical approach to the lingering problem of elitism in education. None of the literatures examined in this chapter explored in-depth the relationship between elite schools and indigenous-indigent communities from the perspective of CR and social justice. I have already mentioned the problem of pursuing CR without addressing the practical problem of inequality. I think it is insufficient to study concepts like Indigenous Knowledge without confronting the fundamental problem of a widening socio-economic gap in today's society. The literatures on school-community relationship have not investigated the fruits of actual school-community interactions from the perspective inequality. They seem to have approached the relationship from other perspectives suitable to the specific aims of each of those studies. This thesis

rather explores school-community interaction specifically to investigate educational inequality in the context of an elite school-culture and an indigent/indigenous host community. I also believe that school-community interaction from the perspective of CR and social justice, requires a moral vision. A sheer academic study of cultural relationships, and of justice within those relationships, does not appear to provide an obligation or impetus for solidarity – especially on behalf of the indigent.

Having considered the contribution of others to the literature on CR and School-community relationship, the research gap identified paves the way for the formulation of research questions around the need for a cultural response to the problem of socio-economic inequality in education. The resultant research questions will be in consonant with the problem of this study.

Research Question

This study is an investigation of the relationship between an elite school and its host indigent/indigenous African community. The purpose of the investigation is to draw conclusions from a case study of this relationship that might suggest ways in which education in Africa could achieve greater impact in a context of socio-economic inequality.

Main Research Question

How could education, especially at the elite level, become Culturally Responsive in a way that responds to socio-economic inequality?

In particular, how would the integration of African indigenous values into education help to counteract elitism and inequality? As one team of authors put it, “Does the Village Still Raise the Child?”(Swadener, Kabiru, & Njenga, 2000).

-General or Subsidiary Questions

What indigenous ways, approaches to learning or cultural values, can be integrated into learning or education in general? In the context of elite-school and indigenous-indigent community relationship, the indigenous approaches here refer to the cultural values of the community.

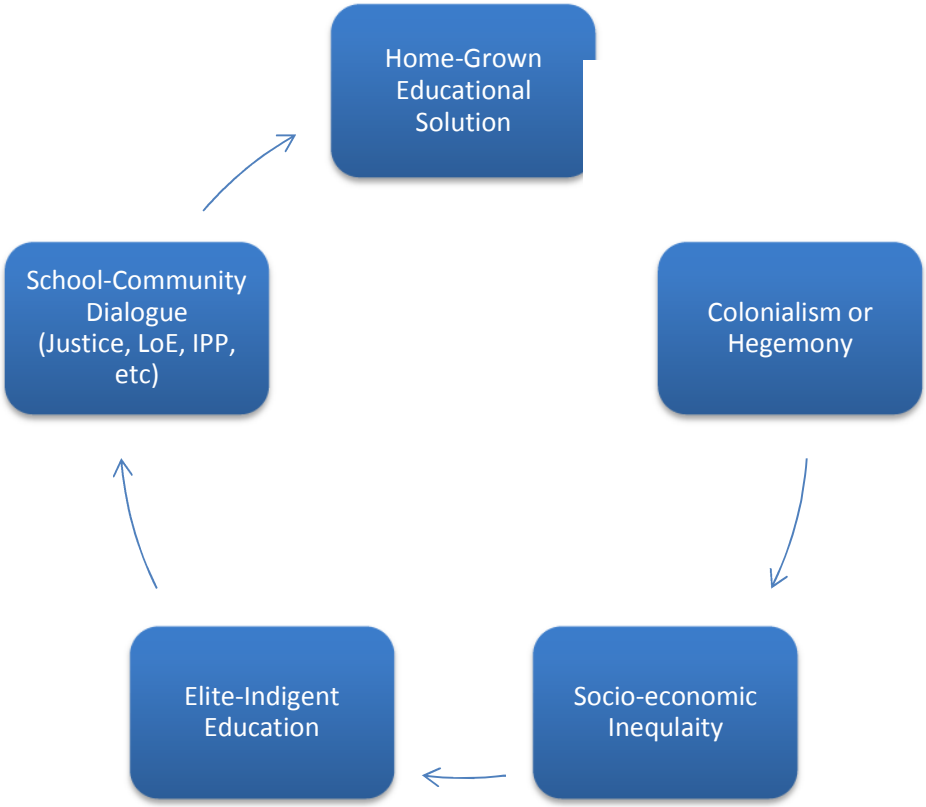
What factors may affect such integration of indigenous ways into the school system? This sub-question seeks to find out if there are any obstacles to the integration as well as the feasibility of any such attempt at bridging the gap between home/cultural experience and IPS.

These questions are ultimately aimed at finding out how the socio-economic gap, an elite-indigent divide, can be bridged through education. Coterminous with those questions is the conceptual framework of this research study.

A Conceptual Framework

My conceptual framework assumes some linkages: colonialism and elitism; Africa's current socio-economic problem and educational inequality; elite schools and indigenous-indigent educational systems. Inherent to these links, especially the elite-indigent educational divide, are the related issues of justice, the language of education (LoE) and other issues of pedagogy (IPP).

Figure 10: Basic Conceptual Framework



The assumption of this conceptual framework is that through an interaction between elite students and their indigenous-indigent counterparts the elite school and village community would work together towards bridging the socio-economic and educational schism. The result could be a mutual enrichment of both the school and the community. This is the aim of my conceptual framework, to act as a linkage between the elite and the indigenous-indigent.

This process or nexus requires the collaboration of all stakeholders. As some research experts have noted, educational collaboration with a local community requires openness: "allow others to teach us about their understanding of their natural resources, and generate solutions to jointly perceived problems, not attempt to impose inappropriate outside ideas" (Sillitoe *et al*. 2006, p. 12). My view is that, in the case of the elite-indigent relationship, the main problem is less about imposition of ideas and more about lack of interaction. The elite often live in a separate neighbourhood, have different social circles and generally belong to a culture that is poles apart from the indigent. Yet they hold the socio-economic, educational and political tools that are required in addressing the problem of poverty.

4. TOWARDS A DECOLONIZED METHODOLOGY

Descartes: *Cogito ergo sum,* "I think, therefore I am" (Descartes 1984).

Zulu father to his son: "*Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*", "I belong, or we are, therefore I am" (As translated by John Mbiti 1969).

A HOME-GROWN RECIPE

If research work were analogous to the preparation of a meal, I would regard the methodology chapter as the recipe. Accordingly, this chapter deals with how the various research ingredients, tools, instruments and principles, are combined. Before delving into the purpose and specificity of the decolonised approach adopted here, a few peculiar points need to be stated.

The first point to be noted in this chapter is that this research study has to absolutely respect the anonymity of the case. As a former head of a famous Jesuit school in West Africa, this researcher does not wish to be seen as evaluating a Catholic school in East Africa. The participants in this study have been promised that the anonymity and confidentiality of the case would be respected. One of the gatekeepers, a Chaplain in the school, gave permission for his data on a specific event to be published if necessary. I have included as an appendix his account of that event. However, his notes specify actual names, precise locations and contain identifiable details that could breach the anonymity of this case. That appendix, alongside other appendices, has been attached but should not be published. The school in this case shall be referred to as CASIT (Catholic School in Tanzania) while the village is RUCIT (Rural Community in Tanzania).

Justification for a Decolonized Approach

I have attempted to employ what has in recent years been referred to as a "decolonized methodology" (Kupferman 2013). This controversial term often refers to a way of studying "peoples and nations whose own histories were interrupted and radically reformulated by European imperialism" (Smith 2012, p. 19). What I will present here as ACBR is thus part of a current tradition in socio-scientific research investigations in former Western colonies. This approach to research enquiry can be seen in the works of Connell (2007), Battiste (2008), Smith (2012) and Kupferman (2013). It has emerged in the face of evidence that research projects on colonised and indigenous peoples have often been disrespectful and exploitative. In the American Indian context, "tribes now require that research proposals be approved by either tribal councils or cultural committees" (Battiste 2008, p. 183). Similarly, scholars like Connell (2007) have attempted to overturn a false equation that Western knowledge is always equivalent to universal knowledge. By presenting alternative approaches from the Southern traditions, these scholars of "a decolonised methodology" (Smith 2012) are situating Western knowledge production within their specific times, places and cultures.

The issue is however not about the West versus other countries. There are nations like the Republic of Ireland that are Western countries but have also experienced linguistic and cultural imperialism. Rather, a decolonized methodology is adopted here because of the perceived tendency for socio-scientific research in Africa to be linked to some of the excesses of colonialism. There is evidence that research work about colonised and indigenous peoples has often been seen as disrespectful and exploitative (Smith 2012). Central to this is the view that research has always "been an encounter between the West and the Other." And the result is historically an elitist and

'inegalitarian' perspective of the colonized as objects of study. Smith adds that the very word *research* "conjures up bad memories" among "indigenous people" (p.8).

Like Kupferman (2013) I do not agree with the insinuation in Smith's work that for a methodology to be decolonized the researcher has to be indigenous. As Kupferman puts it, the term decolonization or the idea of decolonizing methodologies

> should mean more than asserting a native authenticity on the part of the researcher by virtue of her/his birth or ethnicity; rather, decolonizing research should consider the ways in which native authenticity emerges from the practice of giving voice to and utilizing custom as an ever-present characteristic of the process of postcoloniality (Kupferman 2013, p. 11).

My view of an indigenous or decolonized methodology is that its epistemological and ontological basis be as localized as possible. That view is what might distinguish the decolonization in this study from other decolonizing methodologies, such as those in Kupferman's Pacific Studies. There is also the distinction made by Kupferman as well as Mignolo (2011) between decolonising and postcoloniality. What seems to be resurfacing here is an aspect of the 'ghost' or "bad memories" of colonialism. Due to the lingering colonial issues, the term *indigenous* is often used to refer to colonized peoples (Smith 2012). Such a description may be a generalization, as already clarified in the previous chapters. What rather requires clarification in this section is how the researcher is perceived within this indigenous context.

At issue here is not necessarily "foreigners" researching about Africans and other indigenous people. The concern is rather about those, like myself, researching among an indigenous community

but trained within the Western academy. The perception of such researchers is one of "the outsider within." I was born and bred in Africa, have only lived outside Africa during the specific duration of my university studies in the UK and Ireland. Nonetheless, there remains the danger of being perceived as one among the "outsiders, because of their Western education" (Smith, p.5). To steer clear of this stumbling block of distrust, I have decided to employ a participatory approach known as ACBR or African Community-Based Research. ACBR as a methodological approach is a fairly new concept. Aspects of it can be found in the work of the South African educationist Phillip Higgs (2010). It is essentially an adaptation of community-based research to the African reality. Before describing ACBR, it is necessary to briefly explain the parent term 'community-based research'.

Reassessing Community-Based Research (CBR)

Community-based research has gained prominence in recent years as "Universities and funding agencies are increasingly calling for collaborative research between community partners and academics" (Ryser, Markey, & Halseth 2013). Despite its recent resurgence, especially in the field of Health, community-based research (CBR) is not new. It goes back to the revolutionary approach adopted in the 1970s by oppressed communities in South America, Asia and Africa, in their attempt to establish self-critical communities in the postcolonial era. Burning issues of that era included the ownership of knowledge as well as power relations. The role of the researcher in relation to the community became particularly important in the context of self-determination (Minkler & Wallerstein 2008, p.6). The postcolonial period was less open to any research paradigm in which an "outside researcher" determines the research questions, tools, interventions, the documented results and the valued outcomes.

The Brazilian educator Paulo Freire is seen as providing the orientation or "critical grounding" for community-based research (Minkler 2005, p. 4). Freire's contribution is an emphasis on a "critical and liberating dialogue" (Freire 2000, p. 47). According to Freire, dialogue involves respect. It is not about one person acting on another, which is a "structure of domination" (p. 29). Dialogue is rather about people working together as a community. It is for the same reason he criticised the "banking" model of education in which the unilateral educator makes 'deposits' in the educatee. Such a model does not promote dialogue as a cooperative activity involving mutual respect and enhancing community. Rooted in communal dialogue, CBR could be seen, rather than as a method in itself, as an orientation to research with its specific assumptions but adaptable to any qualitative or quantitative methodology.

Some of the assumptions of community-based research are that it "draws upon constructivist perspectives" and shares in "some of the criticisms of positivist science"; it is a research method "determined by the purpose of the study" and emphasizes the significance of "the context and setting"; it respects "the input of community participants…in understanding of the phenomenon under study" (Israel *et al*. 1998, p. 176). While CBR may sometimes be termed "community-involved research" or "community-based participatory research" (Buchbinder *et al*. 2005) and "community-centred research", the central meaning is essentially the same. It is a type of research that emphasizes the socially created nature of knowledge and thus seeks the participation and influence of community members (as non-academic researchers) in the study or research process. Community is here seen as a social and cultural entity, a unit of identity characterized by a common language and a sense of identification and emotional connection among members. The members would have common symbols and shared values or norms. With understanding and respect for the community, this

research approach attempts to identify and build on such existing relationships in the community in order to address the communal concerns (Israel *et al*. 1998, pp. 178-179). The concerns in this case would be as they pertain to education. I would add that CBR should also encompass the socio-economic, cultural, historical and political factors that affect any research investigation. Based on the above summary of CBR, five tenets could be deduced from this research approach:

- Constructivist
- Context-Based
- Purpose-Driven
- Participative
- Ethical

The fifth element, ethical consideration, is an essential requirement of all academic research projects (BERA 2015). However, it is important to note that legal definitions of ethics and individual consent would have to be framed according to the local worldview. The absence of some aspects of the African worldview or philosophy may constitute a limitation for CBR in Africa.

Limitation of CBR in Africa

Any methodological process inevitably attaches itself to a particular philosophy (Duberly, Johnson, & Cassell 2013, p. 15). While the above CBR principles may be helpful for research in Africa, whose philosophy do they represent? Without specifying its philosophical basis as African, CBR may not address a crucial element desired of research in Africa, namely, the issue of decolonization (Smith 2012). The term *decolonization* in this study means establishing and

embracing the African ontological and epistemological perspectives as the basis of the research enquiry. *Decolonization* thus goes beyond selecting beneficial aspects of the Western model, noble as that may be. It counteracts the continued impact of colonisation. As earlier mentioned, the most devastating aspect of colonization is the damage done to the African mind - cut off from its philosophical roots (Abdi *et al*. 2006). For a research study to be decolonized therefore, ultimately to be truly African or make claims about Africa, it needs to adopt the African philosophical perspective. That perspective has to be distinguishable from others, such as the Pacific approaches, which may even share some of the African characteristics. It is therefore important to state exactly what is uniquely an African Community-Based Research.

An African Community-Based Research (ACBR)

What then is the 'missing element' in community-based research from the African perspective? I would argue here that there are two characteristics that should make a particular CBR African. The first is the philosophical principle of Communalism, while the second is Decolonization. The close involvement of community elders in the data collection process is based on these characteristics. Other similar CBR approaches may share these characteristics, so the distinguishing element would be the particular epistemological and ontological grounds of the community. This will become clearer as I now explain both Communalism and Decolonization.

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, "Communalism" has been identified as a characteristic feature of an indigenous African culture (Letseka 2000, p. 181-183; Mbiti, 1969; Wiredu 1998). This is a view held by many African intellectuals over the last several decades based on anthropological data and critical studies of their specific African communities (Akiwowo 1986;

Mbiti 1969; Wiredu 1980). According to Wiredu, “a communalist outlook seems to be quite widespread in traditional life on the (African) continent” (Wiredu 1998, p. 21). This first characteristic, *Communalism*, to be integrated into CBR from an African perspective, has already been defined: “whatever happens to the individual happens to the whole group” and vice versa. This succinct understanding is what is captured in the Zulu expression "*Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*" (Mbiti 1970, p. 109). Communalism so understood has been integrated by Phillip Higgs into CBR as a distinctive African attribute. Hence Higgs (2010) argues that the emphasis of a particular community-based research in Africa is that the community is both the object and the subject of the study. According to Higgs, African Community-Based Research contrasts with action research, as it is more “process oriented” (Higgs 2010, p. 2419) and not necessarily targeting a specific "product" but aimed at strengthening the knowledge of the community. It also differs from ethno-methodological research that tends to be *about* the community; instead ACBR is carried out *with* the community. Uniquely, the community is understood here as including the epistemological and ontological principles specific to the local people.

Besides Communalism, a second distinctive element of ACBR is decolonization. This means research among African peoples should be conducted within the wider framework of decolonization as well as self-determination (Smith 2012). The term decolonization is also used to refer to divesting the research process of any *undue* colonial imposition. I emphasize the word *undue* as did Kwasi Wiredu in his paper on “Decolonizing African Philosophy and Religion.” According to Wiredu, one must accept any mode of inquiry from “our erstwhile colonizers” if it is beneficial to the African community and the world at large (Wiredu 1998, p. 17). What is rejected is that which is imposed

and may not be beneficial to the community. In my view, the decolonization aspect of ACBR means that the researcher must acknowledge the local epistemological and ontological base.

Lastly, Higgs uses the term "trans-traditional vantage" to describe the notion that community-based research in Africa acknowledges the validity of other non-African knowledge systems and aims for integration with the epistemologies of the rest of the world:

> I have argued that the main concern of community based research in education should be to help integrate indigenous and community based knowledge systems into education curricula, while at the same time expose indigenous communities to knowledge production and dissemination founded on indigenous cultural and social values (Higgs 2010, p. 2429).

In summary, ACBR means that the community is not a passive data provider but actively codirects the research discourse towards areas of high priority for the community. In line with the characteristic element of an indigenous African culture, ACBR is an appropriation of relevant research methodologies linked to African philosophical and communal values. A specifically African characteristic in ACBR therefore is Communalism, as explained above, and I acknowledge that this feature may also be true of other CBR approaches.

Employing ACBR in this Study

How does ACBR relate to this investigation of the relationship between an elite school and its host indigent/indigenous African community? Employing this methodological approach during the

data collection stage of this research project turned out to be very helpful in the field. The two main aspects of ACBR were incorporated into this study as follows:

ACBR as a Decolonized Approach

One of the two key aspects of ACBR, namely as a decolonized methodology, could be understood in the aetiological sense. In other words, is this research study coming from our community? This means that the study should not be seen as a project externally imposed on the community. Once in the field, there was sufficient indication that local people had become weary of "foreign researchers" coming to observe them for their own academic ends. People were not comfortable to have pictures of themselves and their houses taken. Participants only became gradually more receptive after I let them know that this research project was not about me, but rather about how we (the community) can make the school-village relationship yield greater fruits for the community. This was difficult. The study is clearly my idea, but it had to again come from the community as their project. I had not come with a foreign theory, in other words, a practice that has evolved elsewhere and now packaged as a theory to be practised by them. On the contrary, we were to go about our findings or searching as a reflective community with the idea that possibly a theory would emerge locally. For example, community elders were not only important informants during the data collection but were research colleagues. On one crucial occasion, a community elder made the decision on when and whom to interview about the community's perception of education and the Catholic school situated in their village. Appropriately, the elders had crucial perspectives on the research subject. By not trying to dictate the research procedure in any premeditated way, I avoided any *undue* imposition or external influence. The decision not to predetermine the sample size, or

select in advance any set of dimensions of poverty, are based on an attempt to avoid any imposition of a research agenda on the participants and in faithfulness to the methodology adopted.

Crucially, it was important to acknowledge the local epistemological and ontological perspectives. I will explain later in detail what such perspectives mean when I present the philosophical basis of ACBR. In short, the data collection was carried out with respect for quotidian customs and traditions – such as extended informal greetings before business.

As a Communal Approach

If one aspect of ACBR is aetiological the other can be regarded as teleological and practical. This second aspect, which is the emphasis on communalism, has to do with how the research study is actually carried out after it has been seen as "ours or coming from us." Based on the principle of Communalism, the fieldwork was conducted with and for the specific African community. By involving community members in the research strategy, the process of data collection combined the experiences and needs of the people. The result gives a rich grassroots communal perspective to this study. However, the participants were not regarded as a homogenous and like-minded community. I had individual conversations with children, families, teachers and school administrators, about what they personally consider as values or disvalues in their culture. The focus however was on the community's outlook as well as their problems and needs, towards yielding important benefits through a problem-solving orientation.

Overall, this evolving methodology was appropriate because of its emphasis on communalism and decolonization. There is no reason to presuppose that communalism and decolonization may also not be characteristic of any other research community outside Africa. Nonetheless, any

methodological process inevitably attaches itself to a particular philosophy (Duberly et al. 2013, p. 15). This is the distinguishing mark of ACBR, its philosophical basis – as shown in the table below.

Figure 11: Table of Contrast - CBR versus ACBR

No.	CBR	ACBR
1.	Context-Based	Context-Based
2.	Purpose-Driven	Purpose-Driven
3.	Ethical	Ethical
4.	Others	Others
5.	Community Participation	Community as Co-Researchers
6.		**Specific Philosophical Basis:**
6a	Constructivist	Constructivist
6b		A Unique View of Person
6c		Unique Ontology/Epistemology
6d		Sacredness of the Environment

6e		Transcendent as Preeminent

So far, this has been an attempt to delineate some helpful principles of a community-based participatory approach to research in Africa. I have done this in three steps: outlining the essential tenets of a community-based research (CBR); arguing that the existing CBR lacked a specifically African philosophical basis; and then explaining the uniqueness of the African philosophy. In this third step rest the research principles of ACBR, a philosophical shift rather than a new set of research instruments. I now examine that philosophical basis.

Philosophical Basis of ACBR

Consistent with the overall methodological approach of this research project, is there an African philosophy that could form the basis of this work? Effectively, the question here concerns a perspective on reality (ontology) and an epistemology that is specifically African. Several scholars have attempted to address this question. But, as mentioned in the previous chapter, there are differences even among African philosophers on the question of what should be regarded as an African philosophy. Some (Appiah 1989a; Bodunrin 1985; Hountondji 1996) only consider as philosophy those aspects of African thought that fit into the classical understanding of philosophy as a critical enquiry. This is an understanding of philosophy in the strictly academic sense as opposed to a popular view. Then there are those others (Anyanwu 1989; Gyekye 1997; Mbiti 1969, 1991) who

maintain strongly the popular view of African philosophy. In this latter group, traditional beliefs are regarded as part of African philosophy.

I do not think these contending perspectives of philosophy, as well as all the other views mentioned above, should necessarily be mutually exclusive. What seems to stand out about African philosophy is its diversity and ability to absorb various standpoints. As far as is known, no African community professes as its traditional epistemology an extreme scepticism (denial of the possibility of knowledge). Rather, an apparent presupposition in the various contributions of African philosophers is that reality can be known – whether through a fireside chat, experience, reflection or experimentation. In the study of different African cultures, there seems to be a genuine attempt to make meaning of reality through the sundry experiences of the different societies. Yet the varied nature of the philosophical theories across the continent suggests that there is no one immutable truth. The knowledge gained about each community may therefore be seen as contextual and socially created. Hence an important aspect of this approach is the Social Constructivist tradition. I will now explain this important theory in the build-up to this philosophical stance.

Social Constructivism

The contextual element in the process of knowing, evident in the aforementioned studies on various African societies, is in line with the Constructivist position (Piaget 1963; Vygotskiĭ *et al*. 1994). As earlier mentioned, community-based research "draws upon constructivist perspectives" (Israel *et al*. 1998, p. 176). ACBR follows this traditional view of Constructivism based on its open-

ended and contextual emphasis. According to the social Constructivist Lev Vygotskiĭ, the process of knowing must be situated in a specific social context. His views on how knowledge is acquired help to shed light on the non-static nature of the African worldview.

-Lev Vygotskiĭ

The work of the Russian psychologist Lev Vygotskiĭ situates learning in its socio-cultural context. The knowledge trajectory, he said, has a prehistory (Vygotskiĭ *et. al* 1962). Accordingly, a form of social interaction is necessary to assist the learning and "cultural development" of children (Vygotskiĭ & Cole 1978, p. 57). This assistance is well captured by the word 'Scaffolding.' The term as used by a number of theorists - such as Bruner, Wood and Ross (1976) and others after them - appears very useful for appreciating the way rural children in Africa learn. Simply put, 'Scaffolding' has been explained (Roberts 2003) as a way of helping children to represent tasks in terms that they can understand. It is a form of assistance that could enable an indigenous child to solve a problem that is otherwise beyond the child's unaided ability. Rather than merely 'tutor' African children, this approach requires the elder to act as mediator using the human, religious and cultural symbols of the rural community. In this way, through an interactive relationship, their cultural symbols are used to explain the subject matter.

This socio-cultural aspect to Vygotskiĭ's theory emphasizes the constructivist nature of knowledge itself. Staying with the way children learn, Vygotskiĭ's "Zone of Proximal Development" or ZPD (Vygotskiĭ & Cole 1978, pp. 53-54) highlights the overlap between what indigenous children already know and what they can know through a more supportive learning, one-on-one or in small groups. Importantly, Vygotskiĭ's idea of learning as "collaboration with more capable peers" is true to the culture of many indigenous communities (1978, p. 53). That "communitarian" culture of

learning indeed resonates with the African perspective described earlier. The guidance and support offered by Scaffolding mirrors the experience of the indigenous community, especially during apprenticeship as farmers or cattle rearers. The parents of the pastoral village in this study did not give their children lectures on how to farm and then leave them to go farming on their own. Rather, the father and child went into the farm together, and the child discovers how to farm through their mutual activities in the field. "It enables young people to work closely with more advanced 'experts' in the field" (Crawford 2007, p.131). After a while, the village child may go to the farm alone, but not during the period of learning. Young village children who already know how to farm may take with them a child who has never farmed. Through such participation with peers, the child becomes talented in the art of farming. In summary, thinking and behavior are prompted from without, "by the social milieu" (Vygotskiĭ *et al*. 1994, p. 48). Thus a form of social interaction is a necessary part of the learning and "cultural development" of children (Vygotskiĭ & Cole 1978, p. 57).

Beyond the pedagogical value of Social Constructivism, situating knowledge within its proper context has further implications – discussed elsewhere (Ibhakewanlan 2014a). I have argued that an important implication of Social Constructivism is that every piece of knowledge becomes the product of a people's learning experience and so is eternally subject to change. In other words: "A central tenet of this perspective is that all phenomena be studied as processes in motion and in change" (Vygotskiĭ & Cole 1978, p.6). Hence this study adopts a Social Constructivist paradigm based on the diverse and changing milieus of Africa.

Social Constructivism also provides this study with the framework to examine a community from a socio-cultural and historical perspective. According to Vygotskiĭ, knowledge has a prehistory (Vygotskiĭ *et al*. 1962). Social Constructivism thus offers a basis to examine issues such as

colonialism and social justice concerns. The sociocultural approach to education is seen here as appropriate for addressing the problem of educational inequality evident in elite schools and indigent/indigenous communities. Social constructivism is also a suitable theoretical tool for the African emphasis on *Communalism.* It taps into the use of culturally established instruments, such as language and established traditions, which constitute part of the socially shared resources of the community (Ryder 1995).

Having thus explained that this study adopts a Social Constructivist paradigm based on the diverse social contexts of the different African perspectives, I return to the philosophical question: is it possible to posit a unique philosophy amidst diverse social contexts?

Unique Philosophical Principle

Despite the contextual factor in the various African perspectives, I sympathize with African philosophers like Diop and others who have argued that beneath the diversity of views lies a "cultural unity" (1962, p. 7). For example, there is currently a pervasive religiosity across the continent in a form that is not evident in the West. To quote John Mbiti's popular statement, "Africans are notoriously religious" (Mbiti 1969, p. 1). In many instances, the sense of the sacred extends to the natural environment. It is not clear what drives this widespread African religiosity. Far from generalizing, this is only an example or acknowledgement of points of convergence amidst the multifarious cultures. Other points of convergence include the African *understanding of person*, as well as the *epistemology* and *ontology* influenced by Communalism. I shall now explain those three points in that order.

An Understanding of Person

For the purpose of framing the philosophical underpinning of this study, one area where there is considerable unity of perspectives in African thought is in the understanding of the human person. According to the prevalent view, the individual exists only as a part of the community (Holdstock 2000; Jegede 1999; Kenyatta 1979; Kvale 1992; Mbiti 1969; Menkiti 1979; Rains 1999). For the Yoruba tribe of West Africa, the relational or community-centred view of the individual has moral and religious implications:

> The corporeal individual, essentially, cannot continue in-being without a community…Since the social life of a group of individual beings is sustained by a spirit of sodality, any form of self-alienation for the purpose of pursuing a purely selfish aim is, morally speaking, an error or sin…(Akiwowo 1986, p. 353)

There are other similar descriptions from various other African communities of the strong social connection of the individual.

Unfortunately, this African view of the person as relational is often presented as being in stark contrast to the Western understanding of the person as "unconnected to any community" (Higgs 2010). This could be regarded as a caricature. Post-war theory in the West has in many disciplines attempted to foreground social context as the basis of analysis. While I would argue that *society* in the West appears to have lost a sense of community, it is important to make a distinction between the reality of Western society today and the Western understanding of *society*. Yet the contrast remains emphasised between the African and Western understandings of the person: "Nobody is an isolated individual"(Kenyatta 1979, p. 297) in contrast to "not some isolated static quality of rationality"

(Menkiti 1979, p. 158) – referring to the Western perception of the person. Descartes' *cogito ergo sum,* "I think, therefore I am" (Descartes 1984) is often compared to a Zulu expression "*Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*" - "we are, therefore, I am" (Mbiti 1969, p. 109).

It is worth qualifying this assertion of the African communalist view of the person in contrast to a perceived Western individualism. In *cogito ergo sum,* I think the Jesuit-educated Descartes was more interested in enthroning reason rather than dethroning the community in favour of the individual. Incidentally, he came to be seen as laying the foundation for introspection as the basis of knowledge (Russell 1946). Individualism (as well as dualism) might be an inadvertent consequence of his quest for indubitable knowledge. While Descartes is often regarded as the father of Modern Philosophy in the West, it is important to note that the Cartesian view is criticized (by Thomas Hobbes, Blaise Paschal, John Locke, David Hume, other empiricists and later philosophers who denied the existence of innate ideas) in the Western tradition. Several Western philosophers saw the Cartesian dualism and its individualistic method as an inadequate account of reality and of the distinctively human character of the person.

Without underestimating the emphasis placed by African philosophers on the relational nature of the person, I do not think there should be an overly strong dichotomy between the African and Western views of the person as relational. Underrating the place of community in Western and other societies might be fallacious – considering there are many in the academic world, particularly outside Africa, who denounce individualism. An understanding of the individual in terms of the community is therefore offered here as a valuable human attribute shared by many around the world. Ultimately, this understanding of the person could be accepted as particularly African without playing down its resonance elsewhere or undermining the value of community in the West.

In summary, Communalism as an attribute of African philosophy means that the individual finds meaning in the community while retaining his or her own rational independence. Reality is constructed socially, and its validity lies in the fact that it is a product of the shared discourse of the community. I would like to use the term Community-Validity to refer to the common point of reference in that shared discourse. For example, when Mbiti quotes the Zulu expression *Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* there is the presumption that all in the Zulu community understand precisely what that means. That is not to say everyone agrees with the claim. That degree of syzygy that allows for a common understanding or awareness of a given social reality is what I mean by Community-Validity. America was already part of the Community-Validity of the Native Americans before Columbus arrived there. Those who believe he 'discovered' that vast expanse of land are right in the sense that "discovery" like "knowledge" also means coming to share in (an already existing) Community-Validity. The principle of Communalism will further guide the epistemological and ontological positions of this study.[31]

Epistemology

Epistemology refers to "the nature of knowledge", but there are varied epistemological worldviews as there are theoretical traditions and orientations (Merriam 2014, p. 8). The African epistemological standpoint is free from the paradigm wars because it is eclectic and pragmatic. That African stance draws on the viewpoint of African philosophers (Anyanwu 1989; Appiah 1989; Wiredu 1980) who hold that the validity of any academic discourse lies in the question of relevance to the African reality. That reality is viewed here, not in any eternal or immutable sense, in terms of

[31] This midway point in the thesis is where it is helpful for the reader to pause for some time before resuming reading, especially as the next few paragraphs border on the limits of language.

how it is encountered here and now by the community. This is consistent with the Constructivist nature of this study. Constructivism maintains that the community builds up knowledge, which is thus circumscribed by the specific time and place. However, in my view, this knowledge is simultaneously incarnational. In other words, there is both construction and emergence in the search for the unknown. And the incarnational moment is the *kairos* or opportune-time when the status of a given epistemological instance changes from the unknown to the established through Community-Validity.

How does this African epistemological perspective deal with the relativistic nature of its diverse, eclectic and Constructivist approach? As earlier stated, this epistemology embraces other approaches in so far as they serve the principle of Communalism. Consequently, as the socio-cultural situation of the community changes so too may the epistemological emphasis. Although knowledge is thus constructed socially, that is not necessarily tantamount to making the corresponding knowledge relativistic - as long as the knowledge has what I have referred to as "Community-Validity." Again, by Community-Validity is meant a conjoint point of reference in a shared discourse based on Communalism. Embedded in this view is the African understanding of person as *Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*. Nonetheless, the shared discourse does not presuppose a commonality of perspective. Granted that a community may never enjoy perfect unanimity, the degree of consensus or accord is directly proportional to the extent of the Community-Validity. Knowledge, again understood Constructively, then becomes dependent on the scope and scale of the Community-Validity.

Are there still eternal truths? Yes, but only to the extent that any truth-claim has Community-Validity. The objectivity of that claim beyond the community requires a corresponding proprioception—which is awareness of the place of the truth-claim in relation to other communities. In other words, in response to the question of whether there are eternal truths independent of the

community, we would require an eternal community to behold an eternal truth that is independent of any community. As will hopefully become clearer in the next paragraphs, such a query is a non-question from the perspective of Communalism.

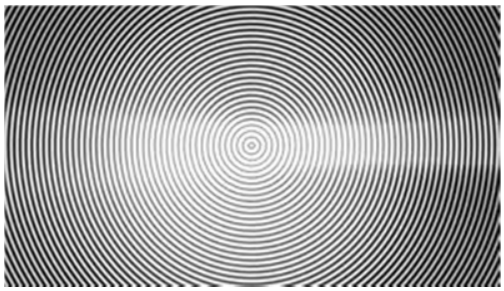
Ontology

The ontological question asks whether "social reality is external" or the "product of individual consciousness" (Cohen *et al.* 2011, p.7). If knowledge is socially constructed, according to the epistemological position of this study, then does objective reality exist? Another way of asking the question is whether the findings in this study are true beyond the community members' experience. Just as with the epistemological difficulty of upholding a view of knowledge as socially constructed, emerging here is the ontological implication of the Constructivist view of reality. To avoid the relativist implication of this stance, I again offer the following personal response to this otherwise intractable problem.

The ontological status of a reality constructed by the community is true (beyond individual consciousness) based on its Community-Validity. The various individual 'consciousnesses' (for want of a better expression) experiencing a particular social reality constitute the communal discourse. And every communal discourse is its own validity. Just as the only way one can prove knowledge is through the very same knowledge itself, ontological reality is its own proof. There may seem to be a hierarchy of knowledge and of existence, as some people learn from others, one culture learns from another, or even one species from another. Yet every instance of reality, or body of knowledge, remains capable of retaining its own Community-Validity. These personal insights about knowledge

and reality could be represented by an endless series of concentric circles – which are all of the same size but appear in gradation based on the distances between them.

Figure 12: Knowledge and Reality as Concentric Circles



The farther I am from a circle of discourse in the concentric reality, the less aware I become of the validity of that discourse. As the distance increases the significance of the *other*'s reality reduces until the point of apparent disappearance. Yet each social reality exists independent of any individual perception or cognition based on their particular Community-Validity (the shared discourse of that society). What this means is that reality and community ought not to be separated but should rather be expanded to accommodate each other. The distinction between what is regarded as the "internal" and the "external" (Cohen *et al.* 2011, p.7) in the spheres of knowledge and existence is illusory. The distinction is only a handicap of space and time because of the incarnational nature of knowledge. As Community-Validity represents a shared discourse, the "external" nature of the reality thus socially constructed is not dubitable for those who are part of the circle of discourse. When others outside that society or community join the discourse, the "external" status of the socially-constructed reality then becomes validated – but only for those now joining the circle of communal discourse. Ultimate reality is therefore a polysemy – offering a diversity of meaning.

This ontological and epistemological stance has a pedagogical ramification. Knowledge and truth are incarnational to the learning process of a community. This also means that both the teacher and the learner are potential authorities in a mutual learning process. This resonates with the view of Freire (1993). To see the learner as a recipient of knowledge with nothing to offer the teacher may be tantamount to denying the validity of the epistemological and ontological circle of that learner.

In summary, each circle in the above image is autonomous in its own right. Just as an expanding universe creates new space and its ontological status does not depend on the to-be- created "external" space, so too does social reality (with its socially constructed knowledge) exist independently of any individual consciousness that is not yet part of the communal discourse of that particular circle of reality. Finally, it would not make sense to speak of a social reality existing outside a community; for every ontological reality requires a Community-Validity.[32]

A Summary Statement on ACBR

The ACBR approach that I have presented here is not meant to be an alternative to conventional social science research methods. In fact, ACBR is not an entirely new research method. Rather, it draws on the decades of important work done by researchers in the CBR tradition, as well as African philosophers such as Higgs and Mbiti as well as other Southern scholars such as Smith and Connell. However, where my contribution lies is in seeking to make more explicit the Africanness of this version of CBR. Hence ACBR is not simply a progressive approach driven by ideology but is ontologically grounded in African realities.

[32] The above insights have also been expressed in a recent article, *Towards an African Community-Based Research Methodology* (Ibhakewanlan & McGrath 2015).

Based on the ontological as well as epistemological grounding provided above, this thesis would eventually state the Costheanthropic core of African cultures in contrast to the universalist pretentions of Western social science. At the risk of essentialising and homogenising Africa, ACBR is offered as an alternative approach that is grounded in a people's view of reality. Within a social science framework, however, one way of describing reality is through the Qualitative approach.

A Qualitative Approach

There are several standard research labels that could possibly be used to describe the approach adopted in this methodology chapter, such as phenomenological, hermeneutical and interpretivist. All the various research approaches can be grouped generally into the Qualitative and the Quantitative or "the traditional" and the "interpretivist" methods (Denzin & Lincoln 1994, p. 536). Others refer to this broad division as the "normative and interpretive paradigms" (Cohen *et al*. 2011, p. 17). The former would be quantitative, mostly used in the natural sciences. The latter, more qualitative and interpretivist, would seem to make more sense for the purpose of this research study because one is not here dealing with variables that can be held constant or be manipulated experimentally (Cryer & Dawson 2006, p. 78). The comparative education research tradition particularly sees the qualitative approach as appropriate due to its cultural sensitivity. A leading proponent of this view is Michael Crossley. According to Crossley and Vulliamy (2010) it is important to avoid the dangers of "international transfer" – which result from adopting research approaches that ignore the role of the local context or culture in the analysis and development of education in "developing" (*sic*) countries

(p. 8). I think the guiding question may be phrased as follows: which of these broad approaches best embraces the proverbial fireside chats common in many rural communities?

The fireside chat could simply be depicted as follows: capturing the conversation of a group of villagers gathered under a full moon and discussing into the night. Beyond such romantic visualizations, it was not altogether clear from the outset what would be found in this research project. One thing was however certain: there was no plan to seek numerical data. Although a few people were asked about their income, incidentally to confirm their economic status, no figures were recorded. The goal was to find out *how* people saw and explained their reality. The strategically unstructured observations and amorphous communications in both the school and village communities yielded a rich amount of complex information that needed to be well handled using the appropriate research method. Therefore, the choice of a qualitative method, rather than quantitative, makes sense. The quantitative approach duly has its place within the natural sciences where directly observable phenomena are the focus. To capture the subjective dimension of people's experiences, I do not think human behaviour can always be so reduced to automatic or predictable responses.

Data gathered in such fieldwork in Africa might appear as random ramblings from highly informal villagers. Yet such random information constitutes the subject matter of qualitative data: "Qualitative data are records of observation or interaction that are complex and contexted, and they are not easily reduced immediately (or, sometimes, ever) to numbers" (Richards 2009, p. 34). The extremely unpredictable as well as varied character of the nature and content of the responses of such participants enabled the choice of a qualitative approach. That choice was further confirmed during the fieldwork. Uneven data, fluid feedback, emerged from the field. Seeking to learn from such diverse data meant reflecting on the information received, resulting in memos and annotations as a

participant observer. These reflective notes also constituted complex data that were equally contextual and not reducible to figures. Much of the personal notes were more of problematic categories – such as the need to further query people's self-understanding or push for their personal opinions. My reflective notes were more for planning a seemingly endless process of progress, rather than recording neat statistics.

A perennial critique of the qualitative method in general is that it is a subjective approach to knowledge. I personally do not think this objection can nor should be successfully refuted. As far as knowledge is incarnational and as long as an enquiry is about a community or concerns any particular social environment, it is difficult to see how any such study would not be spatially and historically circumscribed. As already explained in this methodology chapter, space and time bound all human enquiry as subjective.

Ultimately, the non-statistical and interactive nature of this study justified the choice of a qualitative method, with the accompanying labels appropriate to such a study: an interpretivist case study based on participant observation, unstructured face-to-face interviews as well as unstructured questionnaires. The questionnaires mostly produced superficial and cautious responses. The richness of the data came from the face-to-face interviews that provided a more transparent window to the community – as the follow-up questions enhanced understanding.

Although I visited various state education offices, there was no need to collect government education documents, as these were not necessary for exploring the village-school relationship that was my focus. In the same vein, there were other possible methods examined or considered but eventually not employed for this study.

The Road Not Travelled: Other Possible Methods

This study may qualify as an ethno-methodology, as it attempts to understand a particular social order through interaction (Bryman 2001, p. 265). At some point, the conceptualisation of this study indeed seemed like an ethnography. Data was being gathered about a particular community, which entailed some participation and observation of the ethnic milieu. However I soon realised that even in my role as a participant observer, I was not "recording the life" of the village community (Charmaz 2006, p. 21). My goal was also not to acquire detailed knowledge of the various dimensions of the community nor was it to unravel their communal assumptions. I was exploring *with* the participants a village-school relationship, albeit of a particular village community.

Although I have often used the word explore here, it would not be appropriate to describe this in its totality as an exploratory research project, neither is it descriptive nor explanatory. It seems to have elements of each. From an exploratory point of view, for example, it seems there has been no research study in Africa on the issue of Cultural Responsiveness in the context of community and elite-school relationship. In that sense, this work is exploring a new territory. More specifically, it explores elite schools and indigenous/indigent communities in Africa but using the Catholic school as a representative case of the phenomenon to be investigated. The same is true for any semblance here to a piece of descriptive research; the focus of this study is not to describe the characteristics of any given community.

Although this study involves two social classes, an indigent community and an elite school, I eschewed conflict theory (Sears 2005; Carl 2012). The reason for this avoidance is that the emphasis here is on the mutual relationship that exists between both communities, which provides the

interaction that constitutes the data in this setting. On the contrary, a Marxist theory would have focused on the conflict of interests between the two social classes (Marx & Engels 2008).

There was also a temptation to embrace the Symbolic Interactionism of George Herbert Mead (Mead & Silva 2011). The attraction lay in the fact that symbolic interactionism would have explicitly dealt with the unique meanings which each of the two communities assign to reality. Helpful as that may have been, it would have presupposed sufficient socio-psychological differences, in interaction and interpretation, to warrant adopting that approach. According to Herbert Blumer (Blumer 1969, p. 2) the meanings that people make through social interaction go through the individual's "interpretative process" for dealing with the reality encountered. Data has not been collected in this study for an understanding of such interpretative process. Such understanding is not the aim of this investigation. With those potential research options out of the way, that leaves us with Constructivist Interpretivism.

An Interpretive Case Study

Having clarified the choice of research methods in this case, it is time to quickly shed some light on the assumptions of a qualitative, interpretive case study. Interpretivism sees human interpretation as the basis for developing knowledge of the social world (Denzin & Lincoln 1994). This requires no detailed explanation, as it is a consequence of the qualitative and Constructivist approach. In fact, "Constructivism is a term often used interchangeably with interpretivism" (Merriam 2009, p. 9).

Within that interpretive context, a popular definition of Case Study is that it is an in-depth investigating of a contemporary phenomenon (Yin 2009). Without undermining that general

understanding of case study, my preferred definition is that of case study as an “examination of an instance in action” (Walker 1986, pp., p. 63). This study meets all the above characterizations. The preference is merely because the last definition carries a Constructivist tone (which may not be intended by its author) that highlights transience. This thesis only claims to present the findings in this village-school community at this particular time.

One of the advantages of case study is that it is a multi-method research, which enables the use of several sources of evidence. On the other hand, case study has its pitfalls, or at least criticisms. There is the condemnation termed "one-shot case study" introduced by Donald Campbell and Julian Stanley. They contend that without a comparison group under the same conditions at the same time, case studies have no "scientific value" (Campbell & Stanley 1996, p. 6). There is an echo here of the Positivist paradigm as the basis of such criticism. Since this is not an experimental design, such views ought not to concern us here. In other words, this is not a study where the same or similar group could be reproduced for comparison. The very choice of this case is that it provides a unique setting (of close interaction) for the study of the relationship between an elite school and an indigent/indigenous host community in Africa. As earlier mentioned, as a school administrator in Africa who has visited many schools across the continent, elite schools are either not situated among the indigent/indigenous or are fenced off and have no interaction with the host community. The Catholic school in Tanzania is a unique case, and the Case Study approach helps to investigate such unique settings. Should similar cases emerge in the future, as the Jesuits are currently constructing new schools in the oil-rich but impoverished Niger Delta as well as in the very poor village of Kasungu in Malawi, presuming there will be similar interaction as in this case, then a comparison group will become appropriate.

In general, it may not be worth addressing those who might generally despise qualitative research on the grounds that fieldwork lacks the controlled environment necessary for validity and generalizability. My argument is that the very nature of a village setting or any other dynamic human community does not enable a controlled environment. Nor is such a laboratory-like environment desirable in this context. If a replicable environment is not possible, how could one generalize from a case study? This leads to the question of External Validity.

External Validity

While, on the one hand, case study allows for an in-depth or detailed study of the given population, it is susceptible to the constraints of contextual factors. Hence it is generally said that one cannot generalize from a case study. David Buchanan argues that those who claim it is impossible to generalize from a single case are researchers who lack adequate understanding of generalizability and of case study research (Buchanan 2013, p. 364). According to him, with case study it is not possible to use statistical methods to determine if sample findings can be extrapolated to a wider population. However, generalizability, or external validity, is a matter of judgement - to determine the reasonableness of claiming that "these findings, this argument, those relationships, apply in other settings." He then gives "four other modes in which case study findings are generalizable" (Buchanan 2013, pp. p.365). The four modes are culled from the works of other experts (Denzin & Lincoln 2000; Malcolm 2000; Stake 2000) on case study. The following is a brief summary of his modes.

First is his *Moderatum generalizations*, which refers to moderate generalizations that can be made based on evidence of a shared reality as experienced. *Naturalistic generalization* is the way we normally learn from others' cases and apply to our own context. This is similar to the concept of

transferability. Thirdly is *Analytic refinement*, which is also called analytical generalization. The idea here is that the results (findings) of a particular case study may often not be generalizable from sample to population; however, where the case study is "an example of the phenomenon under investigation", such findings can be generalized from "experience and observation to theory" (p. 365). Lastly, there is *Isomorphic learning*. Unlike the analytical generalization above that was based on emulating a successful case, the argument in this fourth mode concerns cases of accidents and disasters. The lessons from such incidents ought to be implemented in comparable settings – unfortunately, he states, inquiries have shown that such lessons are not implemented. Finally, these four modes of generalizability are neither mutually exclusive nor discreet; room should be allowed for interaction.

The above categories need to be deconstructed in relation to this study. Here is an essential summary of the platform for the deconstruction: case study enables deductive explanation based on a pattern model. As generalizability is the extent to which the findings of a case study could be applied to other cases, it is connected to the question of validity (study is what it claims to be) and reliability (extent to which findings can be reproduced given the same circumstances). Accordingly, this study represents a pattern model of the relationship between an elite school and an indigent/indigenous host community. The study can be reproduced where there is an elite school that has a close interaction with an indigent/indigenous host community. Although it is a case of a Catholic school in Tanzania, the findings may apply in other settings where there is need to explore such a school-community relationship. Some moderate generalizations could be made about education in Africa based on the shared socio-economic and cultural reality of Africa – as earlier explained by drawing upon the views of African philosophers. Beyond Africa, there may be a *Naturalistic generalization* that invites other

socio-economically divided contexts to learn from this case. Finally, based on a common human nature, I think some of the findings in this study may apply generally anywhere. Based on Buchman's four modes of generalizability, it may indeed be possible for the findings of this study to be generalized from "experience and observation to theory." First, the study has to measure what it set out to measure or be what it claims to be: internal validity.

Internal Validity

The question of *internal validity* is currently "contested" among qualitative researchers, and alternative terms include "verisimilitude" or "a persuasively written account" (Miles *et. al.* 2014, p. 313). The objective of any of the various terms is the authenticity of the study. The variables in this study are quite verifiable. There is no doubt about the elite nature of the case school, as Catholic schools run by religious orders are known to have a very high standard of education – especially when compared to other schools in the continent. On the indigent nature of the host community, Tanzania is a poor country, and even more so would be a remote village where the school is sited. A final criterion for internal validity is the 'accuracy of any predictions or conclusions made based on the study' (*Ibid.*). It is hoped that conclusions drawn in this case will be based on verifiable findings. Meanwhile, it is important for the researcher not to get in the way of the research.

Reflexivity

Reflexivity refers to a researcher's own awareness of his or her role in the research process and outcome (Alvesson & Skoldberg 2009). I consider this important for the validity and reliability of this work. Critics of case study research have pointed out the problem of subjectivity or "lack of methodological awareness" (Atkinson & Delamont 1985, p.33). To ensure researcher transparency,

as a Jesuit collecting data in a Catholic school, it was important for me to be aware of my role in the research process. I do not think much can be done about individual idiosyncrasies in any aspect of human life. Any accusation of that nature often tends to be neither provable nor disprovable. As an African proverb goes, "it is merely the one who shouts the loudest that wins."[33] Researcher bias, on the other hand, can be avoided through reflexivity and transparency in the data collection, analysis, interpretation, and reporting. As the English proverb (now a cliché) goes, the taste of the pudding is in the eating.

It is important for an analysis of reflexivity to clarify any possible conflict of interest (Cassell & Symon 2013). The main conflict of interest here is the fact that I was head of a Catholic school, and the case school is a similar Catholic school. In response, I would first like to mention here that I was school Principal and President in a different part of the continent from where the fieldwork was carried out. Secondly, the object of this research is not instrumental; that is, no institution (Catholic or otherwise) has asked me to explore any issue on its behalf. The aim is rather intrinsic, namely, a question arising from my experience as a head of school. Although the problem this study attempts to answer emerged from my experience as Jesuit school head in Nigeria, the question of Cultural Responsiveness is neither specific to Nigeria nor to Jesuit education. There is therefore no question of the religious order, through its school administrators, having any influence on the research process or outcome. The case school in Tanzania belongs to a different Catholic diocese. Regarding Jesuit connections, the school I headed is under the *Africa Sept-Occidental* (or ANW) Province, while East Africa belongs to an entirely different Jesuit Province: *Africa Orient* or AOR. And I have no influence in AOR–even as a former Jesuit headmaster. Needless to say, I paid for my accommodation

[33] I heard this proverb from my grandmother and have no published reference for it.

for the months I spent in the Jesuit house while gathering data for this study. This is not to undermine the hospitality and immense support I received from the Jesuits and nuns in East Africa; it is to rather state that such kindness had no adverse effect on the objectivity of the data collection process.

What should be of concern here, as far as reflexivity goes, is the observer effect. This refers to the researcher's own personal assumptions in the course of the research process (Cassell & Symon 2013). As the one directly involved in the study, I had to be aware of my own assumptions during the data collection and interpretation. As an African there was initially a tendency to be overly sympathetic or even romantic about African culture. In this there were unsettling moments. For example, I always held *Ujamaa* in glorious respect, so I was shocked to see this Tanzanian teacher write on his questionnaire feedback:

> As a result of the *Ujamaa* system (African socialism) introduced by President Nyerere, the village community has seriously suffered…" - 'Debating Club Teacher' (Written Interview/School-Village Culture/19).

There were similar views expressed by the younger participants, but I expected an older teacher to have a more positive view of a man and a system of which many Africans are quite proud. Thus the study did not necessarily confirm any assumptions.

Although I have confined my analysis to the raw data, my own Constructivist bias may have affected the design of the study. This requires a reflection on my own ontological and epistemological assumptions. For example, if I had held an objectivist assumption, I would be presuming that in the village-school community there is a pre-existing social order that mirrors reality independent of the community's descriptions of it. I definitely do not hold such assumptions (Ibhakewanlan 2014). That

hypothetical Objectivist view may have, for example, determined my interview questions by making them more structured. I would perhaps have designed a survey to result in detailed statistical evidence to support the perceived objective reality. As my assumption is rather that reality is continuously socially constructed, I allowed the interviews to be unstructured and questions open-ended. A structured research instrument may not have encouraged some of the follow-up conversations that helped to provide access into the inner world of people's experiences.

Consequently, with a Constructivist bias, the study was continuously a learning process for me. Although I had been to Tanzania before, my knowledge of the school-village community relationship there was limited. None of the schools where I had worked before this research project had a genuine school-village relationship, as did the Tanzanian Catholic school. For example, my prior knowledge of the impression held by Jesuit pupils regarding village children was one of "those poor children who need our help." It was therefore interesting to hear students in Tanzania say that they envy the bond of relationship that the village children had with their parents. By reflecting on the experience of the village-school relationship in Tanzania, I gained much personal understanding.

In addition to other examples of this self-reflection, the range of data in this study could also be seen as reflecting the researcher's attempt at transparency (Buchanan 2013). Despite the informal and unstructured nature of the research approach, I got back more than 25 pages of handwritten responses from participants. Although far more than 25 questionnaire pages were sent out, those hardcopies of participant feedback are a reflection of the range and variety in the data acquired.

In the final analysis, it is my view that research is a process of becoming. Whatever has been discussed and submitted at the end of this study should not, despite being based on verifiable data, be

seen as an established truth for all eternity. As already mentioned, this is a process-oriented research project. Even the decision about sampling was an evolving process.

Sampling

Sampling is not just about selecting whom to interview but includes deciding about settings (Miles *et al.* 2014, p. 30). Between January and September 2013, I visited schools in Nigeria, Ghana, Tanzania and Malawi. In line with the research task, exploring the relationship between an elite school and an indigenous/indigent community in Africa, I sought after quality schools (based on their published academic performance) located in poor rural communities. This is purposive sampling (as opposed to random), which is more in line with the qualitative approach (Miles *et al.* 2014, p. 31). However, none of the state schools fitted into the elite category. Below are some photos taken during the period of sampling.

Figure 13: Students of Kwe Nungua in Ghana, and Researcher in Malawi



Above poor quality photo of students of Kwe Nungua Government School, Ghana, was taken by researcher in January 2013. Below is a photo of the researcher on top of a mountain overlooking a Catholic school in Kasungu village in Malawi, East Africa – photo taken by a village guide, August 2013.



Based on visiting a few countries in Africa and discussing with school administrators from several countries, I gathered that elite schools in the continent were generally situated in rich neighbourhoods – at least usually not among indigent/indigenous people. The elite schools that were situated among the indigent/indigenous were mostly Catholic schools. Even among these mission schools so situated, most did not have any close relationship with their indigent/indigenous host communities. In Nigeria especially, such Mission schools were mostly heavily gated and had high walls. The only available Mission schools whose students had some interaction with the local indigent/indigenous children were the Catholic schools run by a few religious orders. Hence such Catholic schools provided the perfect sample for the investigation

Figure 14: Children at a Catholic School in Accra, Ghana



Photo was taken by researcher in January 2013.

Although I had access to a Jesuit school in Nigeria where I was head for five years, I wanted to steer clear of any undue researcher influence on the participants. I avoided making Loyola Jesuit College the site of the main study. Nevertheless, I judged it appropriate to use the said school for the pilot study – envisaging that the learning curves would be more identifiable. In other words, a fairly familiar terrain appeared more appropriate for the Pilot Study.

Pilot Study

Accordingly, in January 2013, I returned to Loyola Jesuit College (LJC) for a pilot study. There was a new Principal, different from the one I handed over to in 2011. I lived on the campus and had fruitful interactions with the school community and people from the village of Gidan Mangoro (GM). I was particularly grateful for the written feedback from the chief of the village.

Figure 15: An aerial view of LJC



Source: the school's website: www.loyolajesuit.org

The pilot indeed helped to perfect the design of the actual study. The next chapter on data presentation shall provide further details of the pilot site and show how a valuable lesson from the pilot study informed the sample choice for the subsequent fieldwork proper. The school-village community interaction in the pilot was based on a weekly Service Programme that brought children from the village into the school. The students of Loyola Jesuit College were generally not allowed to go over to the village. That would have been a factor in the quality of the school-village interaction. Therefore, the representative sample for the actual study had to be different.

Representative Sample

This project of investigating elite-indigent interaction is not 'rooted' to a location (hence no detailed geo-political details or background information of any country is absolutely necessary). What is of interest and relevance is the dynamics of the school-community interface rather than local

symbols. In this way, the interaction may be explored in a more generalizable manner. However, for the purpose of the study, it is necessary for the case school to be situated in a poor community and to have adequate interaction with that host community. According to Cassel and Symon, it is important in a case study that the sample be representative of the case in question (Cassell & Symon, 2013).

In the end, the choice of a Catholic school in Tanzania after an extensive sampling was made based on the fact that it emerged as the only elite school situated in a rural area and that allowed its students to immerse themselves in the local indigent village. Thus the case sample provided a fertile ground for investigating elite-indigent interaction. After months of travel and inquiries across Africa, I was happy to find an elite school that sent students into the neighbouring indigent village as part of a regular programme. The next chapter shall provide further details about this site of the actual fieldwork. Suffice it here to say that this representative sample provided for the desired participants.

Participants

There were two sets of participants. On the one hand, there were those from the school community: administrators, teachers and students. On the other hand, there were the various adults and young people from the village. In total, 238 participants volunteered to take part in this study. Among that sample, 186 were young people between the ages of 10-18, which includes 21 village children. Of the remaining 52 adults, 23 were from the school community. Two of the 29 adults from the village community were elders. There was informed consent in all cases, an essential feature of research (Cohen, et al., 2011). The participants had full information about what the study would involve, and their consent to participate was freely given – completely voluntary and un-coerced. A copy of the Participant's Consent form is provided here as appendix 2.

Overall, the majority of the participants were either unmarried or without children. This is partly because of the larger number of young people and religious celibates in the sample pool. Nonetheless, this was not necessarily a limitation. There still emerged sufficient data about married-family life, because nearly all the adults from the village were married with children. With the exception of one of the two elders, all the participants from the village community qualify as indigent. Without any attempt at ensuring a balance in the sexes, the sample is roughly 51% male and 49% female. The gender balance is probably the natural consequence of the context, namely, a co-educational school and a standard village community. The significance of the age and gender profiling of participants is that it is seen as capable of validating the information they offer and as a crosschecking device (Silverman 2010; Krueger *et al.* 2000) for the data collection methods.

Data Collection Methods

During the period of data collection, between January and September 2013, there was a simultaneous gathering of data in a variety of ways. Three methods stand out: Participant Observation, Face to Face interviews and Questionnaire/written responses.

Table 15: Methodological Framework

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVISM		
Methodology	***Strategy***	***Methods***
Qualitative/Interpretivist (Decolonized Approach, ACBR)	Case study	-Participant observation -Unstructured interviews -Questionnaire

Participant Observation

For much of the fieldwork, I considered myself a participant observer. It was interesting to participate in a situation that I was basically investigating. I was conscious or maybe delighted that I was, as a former Principal, suddenly wandering around a secondary school without a single administrative care in the world. Research experts make a distinction between participant observation from the 'inside' and from the 'outside' (Bryman 2004). It is difficult to describe my role as either one or the other. When I took part in weeding at the farm of one of the participants, that could be considered as an 'inside' participant observation. At other times, the participants were not even immediately aware that I was observing their mundane activities. The latter case could be considered 'outside' or 'covert' as opposed to 'overt' (Patton 2002, p. 209).

As a Priest, it is important to mention that many in the community held the Catholic Church in great reverence. Of course I was not wearing any of those hats – school head or parish priest. Still there may have been a tendency to defer to the priest-researcher and tell me what they think I would like to hear. Therefore, I often went around the village community as an ordinary visitor in order to get an objective sense of the relationship between the local people and the school – especially in relation to their local culture. It was natural and easy for me to do this, having been trained over the years to appreciate the fact that Jesuits do not have a *habit*, an official common robe, as do some of the other religious congregations.

There was participant observation at village farms, streams, markets, annual trade fair (*Nane Nane*), religious services and other individual or communal activities. The information thus gained was only for my personal reflection and not as data to be stored in relation to any particular participant. Everyone in the village who partook in the research was duly informed of its purpose and nature.

I was also a participant observer within the school community. The school head had informed every one of my identity and the purpose of my visit. It was still very helpful to live among the school community, observing how they lived out the vision of the school in relation to the village community. There was participant observation at some regular school lessons, assemblies, staff gatherings, especially the parties, and other social and religious activities within the school. Mostly this was passive, often unnoticed, to be as unobtrusive as possible. Sometimes I participated in the conversations. Such oscillation has been referred to as that between "participant-as-observer" and observer-as-participant (Burgess 1984, p. 81). The next research instrument had no such distinction.

Interviews

Unstructured interviews, for all their benefits, could absorb the researcher in conversations that become longwinded. There was really no way of getting around this for cultural reasons. Unlike my experience of meetings in the UK that tend to go straight to the point, conversations in Africa, again in my experience, tend to begin with extended greetings and some turkey talk. Naturally, the unstructured approach was ideal for the setting – for example, the exact opening question would often dovetail or flow out of the salutations.

There were at least three interview styles used: ethnographic, informant and respondent. Based on a typology by Lindlof and Taylor (2002) I held ethnographic interviews, namely, impromptu questions posed in the field, among school children and villagers as they went about their various activities. There were a few informant interviews, which refers to expert conversations undertaken with a school administrator and a village elder in order to gain further clarity on the relationships in the school-village community.

The vast majority of the interviews were the regular respondent type, where participants were asked to share their own perspectives on, for example, how schooling can become more Culturally Responsive. There were no focus groups designed for this study. However, there were times when a follow up question, like "do you think Western education has failed in bringing development to Africa" or “is *Ujamaa* a better system”, created focused interactive conversations. The discussions sometimes led to lively debates. The multiple participants in such interactive conversations only came together by happenstance. Yet I have no regrets for not intentionally structuring focus group interviews, because it emerged that a pre-designed focus group would have been inappropriate or could even have had negative consequences.

All the interviews in the school were conducted in English. Only in the village did many of the interviews require a simultaneous translator. Most of the interviews were digitally recorded. The recordings were often replayed for each of the interviewees to listen and confirm what had been recorded. Except for a few of the overly self-conscious children who said they did not like the way their voices sounded in the playback, everyone was satisfied with the data captured. It turned out to be very difficult transcribing the voice-recordings as a number of people were either not very articulate or had very heavy local accents. It was a challenging process to constantly replay many of the conversations in order to write verbatim notes. In some cases, it seemed better to disregard the voice recordings altogether in order to avoid error or misrepresentation. There were no such problems with the questionnaire.

Open-Ended Questionnaire

More than 100 participants received open-ended questionnaires (appendix 3) in the school and the village. Through the questionnaire, I intended to gather information on the ways the school interacted with the village community, evidence of cultural themes in the teaching and learning in the school, any obstacles to interaction between the school culture and the community culture.

Most of the questionnaires were not returned. People seemed to prefer to speak informally rather than write down their thoughts. The feedback from the questionnaires was generally not as rich as that which emerged from the interviews. Nonetheless, the written feedback is a reflection of the variety of data gathered. In a sense, the interviews and questionnaires as well as the participant observation, represent a triangulation of methods.

Triangulation of Methods

During the data analysis I used my notes from participant observation to double-check findings from interviews and questionnaire. This form of triangulation (Caswell 2013) helped to provide greater confidence in the findings. Although more data emerged from the face-to-face interviews, the information or data from other research instruments were generally accorded equal value and emphasis during the analysis. I now present a few comments about the analysis.

Amalgamation: Data Analysis and Interpretation Method

The analysis method I have termed Methodological Amalgamation is essentially that of inductive analysis. This is a method of data analysis sometimes referred to as "the strategy of inductive design" (Patton 2002, p. 45). It is a process that allows essential analysis dimensions to emerge through patterns without presupposing the dimensions in advance. This approach normally allows the researcher to begin to make sense of the data during the fieldwork itself as the first steps of the analysis process (Miles *et al*. 1984; Patton 2002; Sarantakos 2005). However, I began the formal or methodical analysis of the data after the fieldwork. This is not to say I was not looking for patterns in what different people were saying during the fieldwork. Rather, it was after the data that I interpreted fully what had been said. One reason for this is that it was not possible to hold any serious hypothesis before the data collection was completed (Silverman 2010). The initial aim of carrying out a Cultural Translation during the field had been frustrated by the language problem. Hence I had to wait and remain open to allow themes to emerge. The waiting was made even more real by my reliance on an interpreter who accompanied me around the village. The translation was simultaneous, so some of the villagers who understood some English knew how they were being represented.

In classifying the data from the participants into themes, emphasis was given to the frequency and extensiveness of the ideas that came up in the interviews, questionnaires and participant observation. Frequency and extensiveness refer here to how often a particular idea occurred as well as how many different respondents mentioned the idea (Krueger *et al.* 2000). This helped to identify in length and breadth the issues that appeared to dominate the discussion or stand out in the data. This was a gradual process, which I have termed Amalgamation.

All the handwritten notes as well as voice recordings of the interviews and questionnaires are available on request. These have been stored safely in accordance with the preservation of participants' confidentiality and other ethical considerations.

Ethical Consideration

The gatekeeper assisted in meeting with the community elders and provided access to the students and staff of the school. I cannot do sufficient justice to the kindness of the participants in this study. Assurance was given of the anonymity of the case in any publication of the data gathered in the study. That agreement enabled a relaxed atmosphere and a general informality that enabled authentic data to be gathered in real-life settings. Thanks to this informal approach, participants found my presence as an observer of their practices unobtrusive. There was much goodwill and cooperation.

Nonetheless, I did not take undue advantage of the people's benevolence. Hence I ensured that the University of Nottingham's ethical protocols were followed. In particular, the School of Education of the University of Nottingham adopts the Revised Ethical Guidelines (2011) of the British Educational Research Association or BERA. This study was carried out in accordance with the principles of BERA (2015).[34] Upon clearance from the CRB (Criminal Record Bureaeu) as well as fulfilling other research requirements, approval was given by the Ethics Committee of the School of Education, University of Nottingham, to proceed with the research study (see appendix 8).

Participation in the actual study was voluntary and no one was under any obligation to take part. Prospective participants in the village as well as in the school were given an information sheet

[34] The 2011 revised edition is the current version of BERA's guidelines for educational research.

(see appendix 1) that explained the nature and scope of the project as well as the reason they were contacted to take part in the study. Those in the village who could not read had the information explained through an interpreter who accompanied me. They were not to take part until they understood why the research was being done and what it would involve on their part. They were free to withdraw at any point before or during the study, a condition consonant with research guidelines (Olivier 2003). True to the promise made to the participants, all data collected have been kept confidential and used for research purposes only. In addition to the encouragement to ask any question before taking part, all could contact the researcher or supervisor and even the research office, during and after the study. All relevant addresses and phone contacts were made available.

I conducted the face-to-face interviews in accordance with the British Educational Research Association (BERA) ethical guidelines for educational research. All the interviews with children were carried out in the open. I was never alone with any minor, even during the one-on-one interview; there was always someone not far away or within sight. In general, there were no serious ethical issues in this research study. The challenges were of a different nature: making sense of the qualitative data using a computer software.

Making Sense of the Data

Analysis of qualitative data involves finding patterns in the raw data and making sense of them. Existing theories may be used to make sense of the data, and this could be done inductively or deductively. There had been a plan to undertake in parallel both the data collection and analysis, based on Grounded Theory (Corbin & Strauss 2008) as well as other similar approaches (Silverman

2010). I even bought Grounded Theory textbooks - which were eventually not used. The Grounded Theory plan was shelved, grounded, because the harshness of life in the field did not allow the luxury of any serious simultaneous reflection on the data collection. However, some themes became identifiable after the fieldwork, through the use of Nvivo qualitative software.

Nvivo 10 Software Package

Upon return to the UK, the Nvivo 10 software package was used to process the data. Nvivo is a helpful software that allows for qualitative research data to be imported and stored as a project in the Nvivo Server. All the relevant data gathered from the fieldwork were put into the primary section of Nvivo known as Source. This is where all research materials like interview notes, transcriptions or voice data were stored. Source could be either internal or external. I treated all the data from the fieldwork as internal, which means more than 99% of the entire entry. The only data entered as external were the research questions for this study. The purpose of entering the research questions in Nvivo was to immediately see how the data may or may not help to answer the questions. Data within Source-internal were then coded (an Nvivo terminology for grouping data) by gathering together, using grouping tools, queries and text analysis, material related to a particular theme.

Materials thus assembled were then arranged under categories referred to in Nvivo as Nodes. A Node is like a container that allows Source content relating to themes to be isolated. Each node was represented by a different colour. Accordingly, I had to first develop a list of codes that represent key themes in the research findings. These themes were initially identified based on participant observation and the issues raised repeatedly by the respondents. However, the minority views were also taken into consideration. For example, not everyone spoke gloriously of their local culture.

There were a number of young people who rather looked forward to getting an excellent education and a Western lifestyle – at least as seen on television. The point here is that the analysis is based on the views of all the respondents rather than the dominant majority. In fact, a specific Node was created called "Minority Voices" within Nvivo. This helped to ensure that ideas that may appear as "not favourable" to the research topic were not neglected in the data analysis. Unlike the other Nodes representing recurrent themes such as Poverty, Language and Community, the "Minority Voices" was not represented by any colour. This was to distinguish it from the others, but also (the main reason) because the Nvivo 10 software only had seven colour options– red, orange, yellow, green, blue, purple and pink.

After the Nodes or themes were thus identified and colourfully represented, sections of the data in the Source were allocated to the appropriate Nodes. This was done through the process I refer to as "Progressive Amalgamation." The term is coined for this purpose because *Amalgamation* is an important word in my home country, Nigeria. Particularly, the country is currently marking the 100th anniversary of the British "Amalgamation" of the Northern Protectorate (mostly Muslim) and the Southern Protectorate (vastly Christian) to form what is today Nigeria (Klarsfeld *et al.* 2014, p. 200). However, unlike the amalgamation of 1914, the "Progressive Amalgamation" applied here is a process of uniting *similar* themes. Hence the association of the territorial with the methodological amalgamation is symbolic. There were obvious similarities, relationships and associations among the various ideas in the raw data to justify such amalgamation. Data that were unalike any of the dominant themes were assigned to the Minority Voices. In the end, there were eight central themes. Below is the Nvivo summary representation of the raw data that formed those themes. The Nvivo statistical summary is followed by my own summary of this methodology chapter.

Figure: 16 Nvivo 10 Source Summary

Total Words in Source	Total Paragraphs in Source	Number of Nodes Coding Source	Coded Percentage of Source	Number of Text References	Number of Audio Video References	Number of Image References
Audio						
Internals\\Interview Recordings						
0	0	0	0.0000	0	0	0
Audio (Transcribed)						
Internals\\Interview Recordings						
984760	2768	7	58.5	0	0	0
Interview Notes						
Internals\\Data transcription						
16800	721	6	3.6	0	0	0
Internals\\Document1						
1519	20	5	0.4	0	0	0
Internals\\Document2						
785	17	2	0.5	0	0	1
Internals\\document3						
2537	82	4	0.8	0	0	0
Internals\\document4						
3547	149	8	2.6	0	0	0
Internals\\document5						
1644	120	4	1.8	0	0	0
Internals\\document6						
2736	79	3	0.6	0	0	0

Continued from previous page

Internals\\document7

2901	62	3	0.2	0	0	0

Internals\\document8

586	93	4	0.5	0	0	0

Internals\\document9

400	59	3	0.1	0	0	0

Internals\\Written Responses from Questionnaires

13304	855	8	4.3	0	0	0

External

Externals\\Research Question

321	27	8	1.4	0	0	0

Memo

Memos\\Translated Notes

5153	165	7	2.9	7	0	0

Memos\\Participant Observation

46337	37	6	21.8	3	0	0

Methodology Summary

In this chapter I have attempted to explain the main issues central to my overall methodological approach. I stated from the outset that I was adopting a "decolonized methodology" and explained why such an approach was appropriate for the study. As the methodology needed to be adapted to the African context, I introduced a participatory approach known as African Community-Based Research or ACBR - drawing on the insights of African scholars like John Mbiti and Phillip Higgs. Based on their insights, Communalism was identified as a principle underlying ACBR.

Despite the African emphasis, the methodology has remained faithful to its case study design within the social science framework. I have also noted other approaches that were not employed. The themes central to an interpretivist case study were examined against the background of the African Communalist perspective, and this was done without compromising any of the key issues essential to the study – such as validity, reflexivity, generalizability and ethics. I have stated that the study was conducted according to the principles of the British Educational Research Association BERA (2015) and other required ethical protocols. That was followed by an introduction to the use of Nvivo 10 for Data Analysis – which is the subject of the next chapter.

Overall, there is a Constructivist philosophy behind the entire study. As research work is a process of becoming, this has been a learning experience for me. Whatever the methodology of this study may yield in the end, this remains a process-oriented research project aimed at making sense of a community's experience from their own perspective. In this sense, I fully agree with King's rejection of any confinement of research approaches to "appropriate methods" as opposed to an emphasis on the local or national context (King 1989, p. 369). I now turn to the local contexts of CASIT and RUCIT.

5. DATA FROM THE FIELD

> The customs handed down to it form the patrimony proper to each human community. It is also in this way that there is formed the definite historical milieu which enfolds the man of every nation and age and from which he draws the values which permit him to promote civilizations (*Gaudium et Spes,* no. 53).[35]

This chapter presents the raw data from the Catholic School in Tanzania (CASIT) and the host village RUCIT (Rural Community in Tanzania). The aim of the chapter is to see if the data offer responses to the research question. Before providing an outline of the chapter, let me briefly state the nature of the data-gathering and the manner of presentation.

NOT ANOTHER ETHNOGRAPHY

I agree with the anthropological view that a long period of observation is required to gain an in-depth understanding of and make claims about any culture or community (Silverman 2010). Hence the data here do not constitute ethnographic information of a particular African culture but rather an inquiry into the nature of a specific relationship. The purpose of gathering the data is to apprehend the character of the relationship between the elite school and its host indigent/indigenous community. Findings were sought that might represent the fruits of that relationship. Some priority was given to generalizable feedback as opposed to extremely localized cultural practices.

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[35] *Gaudium et Spes: Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World,* in O'Brien, D. J., & Shannon, T. A. (2010). *Catholic social thought : the documentary heritage* (2010 ed.). Maryknoll, New York: Orbis.

For anonymity, the actual names of the participants mentioned in the following pages have been changed and are thus different from what may appear in the original transcriptions. Words in brackets, in the middle or at the end of a participant's comment, are mine for clarification purposes. I was initially surprised and impressed by the level of English language fluency among the participants; upon further reflection, one should expect relatively good English to be spoken in an elite school. Outside the school, due to the prevalence of Kiswahili in the country, people appeared not to be very competent in their use of the English language. Hence the need to amend a few of the statements, but the emendations (in brackets) remained faithful to the intended meaning of the speaker. Where there was fear any such correction might distort the meaning, the statement was rendered in the speakers' own words. In such rare cases, some clarity may be sacrificed. As much of the original data was in Kiswahili, I relied on the translation of an interpreter in the field who is a native Kiswahili speaker and equally fluent in English. The interpreter studied in a UK university. There are thus no major grammatical errors in his translation.

Any reference to the data in this thesis is presented in the form of *Instrument/Node/Note.* The *Instrument* indicates whether the information exists in the form of a written or oral interview, an observation, questionnaire or any other source. Oral interview data are still available in audio for any future reference. The *Node* refers to any one of the eight categories created through Progressive Amalgamation. The *Note* represents the entry number of the particular information within the relevant category or Node.

The data constitute more than 147 pages of written interviews, including written responses to questionnaires, transcriptions from 82 hours of oral interviews and 22 pages of field notes. The goal is to make sense of this volume of data following a clear outline.

Outline of the Chapter

The findings are narrowed down to specific headings that will enable a clear presentation and discussion. The chapter is therefore structured around eight themes, some of which have sub-themes or variant ways in which the fruits of this school-community relationship could be viewed. These themes are generally in line with the research questions of this study. The issue of inequality does not appear as a unique category because the word, or a related form of it, was not preponderant in the data. Although the problem of inequality could be inferred in many instances, it was not clear that people problematized inequality *per se*. These are therefore the headings that clearly standout from the data, and below is the ogdoad in the alphabetical forms a-g:

(A) Poverty (as an evil to be overcome)

(B) School/Village Culture (In Stark Contrast)

(C) Community (As a Value)

(D) Religion (Of Great importance)

(E) CR Education (Its Absence?)

(F) Nation or Clan (As a Dilemma)

(G) Language of Education (As an Intractable Problem)

(H) Minority Voices (For a Non-Cultural Model)

Before presenting these categories emerging from and deduced according to the observable processes in the data, first here is a brief note about the sites of this fact-finding mission. I shall first present the site of the pilot study because of the important lessons that emerged therefrom.

Lessons from the Pilot Site

From January to February 2013, I conducted a pilot study at Loyola Jesuit College in Abuja, Nigeria. During that period I interviewed participants in the school community as well as people from the village of Gidan Mangoro (GM) – including written interview reports from the chief of the village and senior staff of the school. The following is a brief background on the school and village, followed by the specific lessons learnt from the pilot study.

Loyola Jesuit College, Abuja, Nigeria

The1st of April 1995 was the foundation laying ceremony at the site of what later became Loyola Jesuit College, Abuja, Nigeria. In his speech on that occasion, the Honourable Walter Carrington, U.S. Ambassador to Nigeria, described the 28.5-hectare terrain as a "field of dreams" (LJC School Archive). Familiar with Jesuit education himself, the US ambassador was announcing that LJC would become a centre of educational excellence in Africa. The ambassador also expressed concern about the indigent reality outside that "field of dreams", namely, the Nigerian society that lacked basic amenities for the vast majority.

Students of LJC, except those on scholarship, were generally from rich families. One of the students, a female prefect, told me after her Service Programme experience that she had previously never met a poor person in her life. I could only appreciate her honesty. However, the school was initially not intended to be exclusively for the rich.

Figure 17: Students of LJC



Source: the school's website: www.loyolajesuit.org

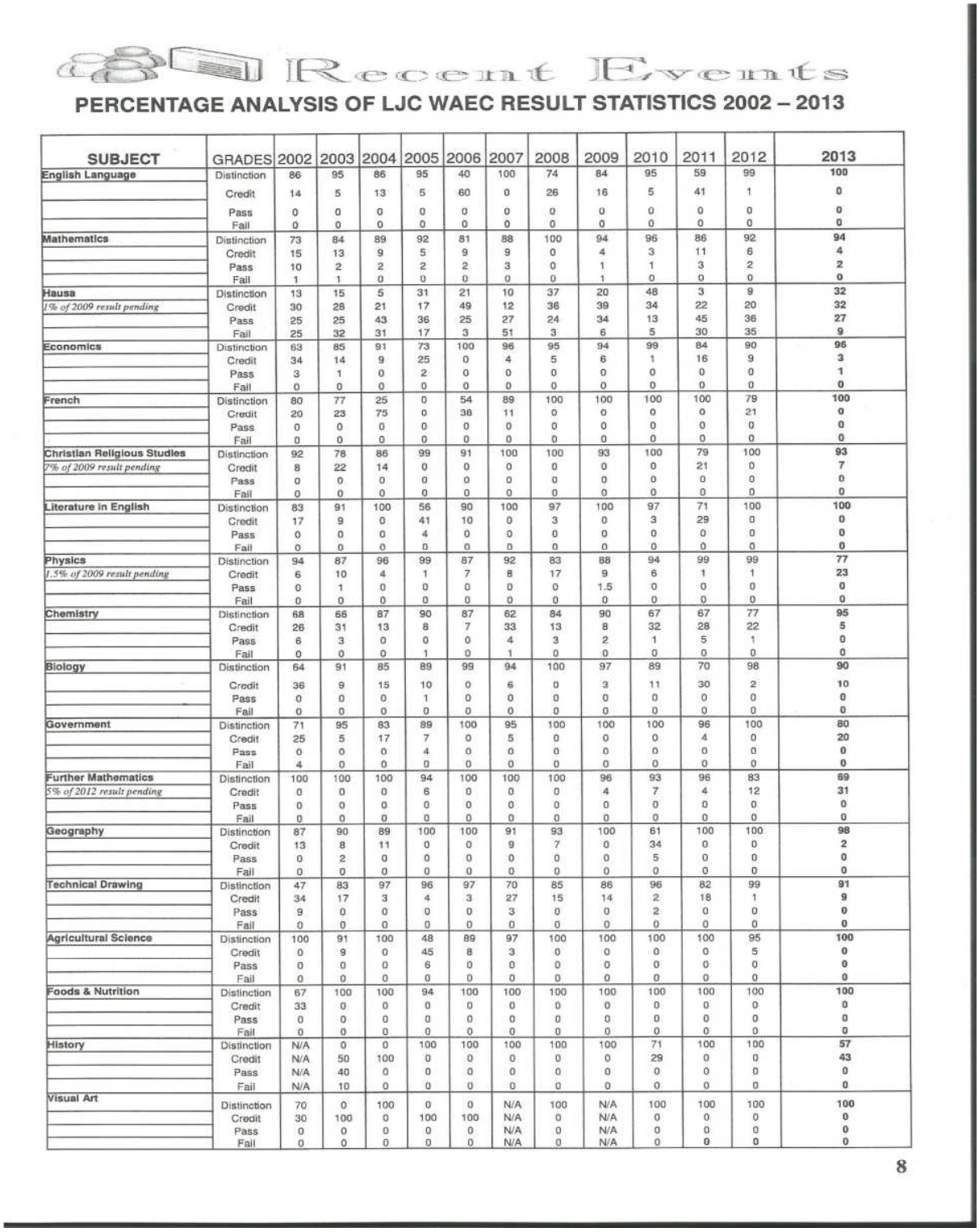
LJC was founded in October 1996 by the Jesuits—a Catholic religious order. The Order prides itself in academic excellence. Since the 16th century, the Jesuits have remained dedicated to the work of inculcating in young people an excellent education. The first Jesuit secondary school was established in 1548 and the first university three years later. Today, there are 202 Jesuit universities and institutions of higher education around the world, most of which are in Europe and America. In terms of high schools like LJC, there are 445 Jesuit secondary schools worldwide as well as 123 primary schools and 79 technical or professional education schools across the globe.

Thus LJC became part of a worldwide family of Jesuit schools, sharing a common vision of absolute academic excellence. This meant that academic standards were raised so high that a child must have gone through an excellent primary school (too expensive for the poor in Nigeria) in order to meet the required standard for admission into LJC. The academic emphasis of the is evident in the prominence given to the school's WASSCE (West African Secondary School Certificate Examination) annual scores. The table below is the current tabulation as posted on the school's website, www.loyolajesuit.org.

The school's tuition fees (though less than half of what the most expensive elite Nigerian schools charge) also put the poor at arm's length. For the 2015-2016 session, the annual tuition is N1, 524,000 (One million, five hundred and twenty four thousand Naira). That is more than £5,000 or $8,000. For many of the parents of the students, the above fees remain inexpensive.

However, there were some LJC students who were from relatively poor economic backgrounds. About 7% of the student population (650) was either on full or partial scholarship. None of those scholarship students was from a poor village like Gidan Mangoro. The students on scholarship had either received sponsorship to attend good primary schools in a city or were from extremely hardworking families who gave overwhelming priority to education. Even such students originally from poorer backgrounds were able to achieve the best results in the British O-Levels and the American Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), which they took just before their final year at LJC. Poverty was no barrier to academic success.

Figure 18: Tabular Analysis of LJC's WAEC Results



Recent Events

PERCENTAGE ANALYSIS OF LJC WAEC RESULT STATISTICS 2002 – 2013

SUBJECT	GRADES	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
English Language	Distinction	86	95	86	95	40	100	74	84	95	59	99	100
	Credit	14	5	13	5	60	0	26	16	5	41	1	0
	Pass	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Fail	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mathematics	Distinction	73	84	89	92	81	88	100	94	96	86	92	94
	Credit	15	13	9	5	9	9	0	4	3	11	6	4
	Pass	10	2	2	2	2	3	0	1	1	3	2	2
	Fail	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Hausa	Distinction	13	15	5	31	21	10	37	20	48	3	9	32
1% of 2009 result pending	Credit	30	28	21	17	49	12	36	39	34	22	20	32
	Pass	25	25	43	36	25	27	24	34	13	45	36	27
	Fail	25	32	31	17	3	51	3	6	5	30	35	9
Economics	Distinction	63	85	91	73	100	96	95	94	99	84	90	96
	Credit	34	14	9	25	0	4	5	6	1	16	9	3
	Pass	3	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Fail	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
French	Distinction	80	77	25	0	54	89	100	100	100	100	79	100
	Credit	20	23	75	0	38	11	0	0	0	0	21	0
	Pass	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Fail	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Christian Religious Studies	Distinction	92	78	86	99	91	100	100	93	100	79	100	93
7% of 2009 result pending	Credit	8	22	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	0	7
	Pass	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Fail	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Literature in English	Distinction	83	91	100	56	90	100	97	100	97	71	100	100
	Credit	17	9	0	41	10	0	3	0	3	29	0	0
	Pass	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Fail	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Physics	Distinction	94	87	96	99	87	92	83	88	94	99	99	77
1.5% of 2009 result pending	Credit	6	10	4	1	7	8	17	9	6	1	1	23
	Pass	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1.5	0	0	0	0
	Fail	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chemistry	Distinction	68	66	87	90	87	62	84	90	67	67	77	95
	Credit	26	31	13	8	7	33	13	8	32	28	22	5
	Pass	6	3	0	0	0	4	3	2	1	5	1	0
	Fail	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Biology	Distinction	64	91	85	89	99	94	100	97	89	70	98	90
	Credit	36	9	15	10	0	6	0	3	11	30	2	10
	Pass	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Fail	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Government	Distinction	71	95	83	89	100	95	100	100	100	96	100	80
	Credit	25	5	17	7	0	5	0	0	0	4	0	20
	Pass	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Fail	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Further Mathematics	Distinction	100	100	100	94	100	100	100	96	93	96	83	69
5% of 2012 result pending	Credit	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	4	7	4	12	31
	Pass	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Fail	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Geography	Distinction	87	90	89	100	100	91	93	100	61	100	100	98
	Credit	13	8	11	0	0	9	7	0	34	0	0	2
	Pass	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0
	Fail	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Technical Drawing	Distinction	47	83	97	96	97	70	85	86	96	82	99	91
	Credit	34	17	3	4	3	27	15	14	2	18	1	9
	Pass	9	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	0
	Fail	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Agricultural Science	Distinction	100	91	100	48	89	97	100	100	100	100	95	100
	Credit	0	9	0	45	8	3	0	0	0	0	5	0
	Pass	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Fail	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Foods & Nutrition	Distinction	67	100	100	94	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Credit	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Pass	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Fail	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
History	Distinction	N/A	0	0	100	100	100	100	100	71	100	100	57
	Credit	N/A	50	100	0	0	0	0	0	29	0	0	43
	Pass	N/A	40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Fail	N/A	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Visual Art	Distinction	70	0	100	0	0	N/A	100	N/A	100	100	100	100
	Credit	30	100	0	100	100	N/A	0	N/A	0	0	0	0
	Pass	0	0	0	0	0	N/A	0	N/A	0	0	0	0
	Fail	0	0	0	0	0	N/A	0	N/A	0	0	0	0

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About a third of the school's graduates went on to study in Jesuit universities in America, such as Fordham in New York, John Carrol, Boston, Loyola Chicago, Georgetown in Washington, etc. There were even more who went on to study in non-Jesuit universities across the United States, such as Harvard, Princeton, William and Mary, Duke, and many more. We have/had LJC graduates in various universities in Canada and the UK. The list can go on, Morocco, Spain, Japan, China…. The point is that the children of LJC, like highly mobile global elites, end up as what Mary Hayden described as "third culture kids: the global nomads of transnational spaces of learning" (Hayden 2012, p. 57). Proud of the achievements of LJC graduates, the school board would not consider lowering the standards for admission to accommodate children like those from the neighbouring village of Gidan Mangoro.

Yet, the greatest achievement of LJC, in my view, is not the students' academic achievements but rather the Service Programme, SP, where LJC students tutor the village children all year round on Saturdays. If these elite students are going to help Africa realize a kingdom of justice, should they not understand the plight of the vast majority of other Africans who are impoverished? The hope placed in these elite students involved in the SP is not unfounded. The 2015 Yearbook of the Jesuits echoes the value of students volunteering among the poor:

> We need to discern carefully how we carry out educational and pastoral ministries, especially among youth, in this fast changing post-modern culture. We need to walk with young people, learning from their generosity and compassion so as to help each other to grow through fragility and fragmentation to joyful integration of our lives with God and with others. Volunteer work with and for the

> poor helps young people to live in solidarity with others and find meaning in and direction for their lives (Jesuits 2015, p. 79).

An important word in the above statement is *solidarity*. The Jesuits understand that human beings can be self-centred. The very definition of a Jesuit in the Order's official document is "a sinner yet called by God" (http://www.sjweb.info/sjs/documents/CG32_D2_eng.pdf). Although capitalism thrives on this self-centred human nature, people are also capable of great altruism - a quality that can involve solidarity. Is this altruistic value underestimated and maybe underutilized? In the SP, LJC students did not go to the village; the GM children rather came to the school for tutoring. That became a decisive factor in the sampling or choice of location for the field study. Immersion in the rural reality of GM would have been a further step in solidarity with the poor. That did not happen.

Twenty years after the speech of the US ambassador to Nigeria, LJC has indeed achieved that status as centre of academic excellence. Outside the "field of dreams" the reality is different.

Village Community Context: Gidan Mangoro (GM), Host to Jesuit School

Unlike the students of LJC, the children of Gidan Mangoro may never leave their country. The name *Gidan Mangoro* in Hausa language means 'House of Mangoes'. There was indeed one notably huge mango tree in the village when LJC was built in 1996; otherwise, there was nothing else that appeared to connect the village to the mango fruit. Inside LJC were planted more than a hundred mango trees - whose fruits somehow ended up in the village. Gidan Mangoro was a small village of less than four thousand people. Like most of the small villages located in the outskirts of the Nigerian capital city of Abuja, it did not enjoy much of the modern benefits of the capital. The electricity supply was epileptic, and LJC had to donate a borehole for the villagers to have good water.

Figure 19: Children from the village of Gidan Mangoro at LJC



Source: the LJC website: www.loyolajesuit.org

The people of Gidan Mangoro (henceforth GM) therefore generally experienced material deprivation. The parents of the GM children were mostly uneducated farmers and artisans. Hence their children had a poor knowledge of the English Language (though much better than that of their parents) and so had little exposure to formal learning at home. A number of the village children attended some local primary schools that lacked the basic learning environment, such as good classroom desks and chairs. This was not unusual. Generally, in Nigeria, schools in villages have remained worse off than the already substandard state-schools in the cities. Their teachers are poorly paid and so have low motivation.

However, the GM children flourished within their own unique context. They were very talented in the ways of their culture. The children's educational experience would resonate perfectly with these words by Ladi: "The home and field were my 'pre-primary' school" (Semali & Kincheloe 1999, p. 8). I noticed that they were much more at home with their natural environment than the students of LJC. As a stream borders LJC, harmless water snakes occasionally appeared on the school's lawn. Such was the case during a student march past at LJC, and that was the end of the marching. Yet GM children would pursue such snakes attempting to catch them with their hands.

Most of the children of GM spoke the local Hausa language fluently, or at least their native equivalent. By contrast, the students of LJC, who were mostly monolingual speakers of English, consistently did poorly in their Hausa examination (see the school's WAEC result table above). What is the implication of growing up in an African community without mastery of a local language? Again in the words of Ladi, "Jumping on the bandwagon of ignoring local languages such as my own is tantamount to succumbing to power dynamics operating to subjugate knowledge systems of marginal people" (Semali & Kincheloe 1999, p. 11).

An important lesson from that pilot study was the evidently rapid change of the environment from a community of sheep keepers to one of shopkeepers. In other words, the physical and psychological landscape of the village was changing considerably – away from a traditional rural culture made up of mostly farmers, hunters and herdsmen to a community of traders and other professions. That was evidence of the dynamic nature of an indigenous culture in Africa today. It also reflected the broader economic drive due to the growth of Abuja within an increasingly dynamic Nigerian economy. Current official figures are unconfirmed, but based on confirmed official statistics at the end of 2013, Nigeria's GDP rose to $509.9 billion, becoming Africa's biggest economy.

This economic wealth affected GM. The village also became inhabited by people from various other ethnic groups around the country, thanks to the job opportunities offered by the school. Consequently, it was now lacking the ethnic as well as linguistic homogeneity to arguably qualify as an indigenous community. It nonetheless remained relatively indigent. At the end of the pilot study, some valuable data were gathered from the school and village community that still reflected some of the cultural values of the community.

Three Lessons and Counting

What has emerged from the setting of the pilot study is that the dichotomy between these two sets of children (LJC students and the children of GM) was not only that of the elite and the indigent but seemingly between "cultural" perspectives. However, while there was WAEC and other examination bodies to appraise the school culture of LJC students, there was no such certifiable appraisal of the cultural skills and understandings of the GM children.

In addition to cultural dichotomy, I learnt from the actual pilot study the importance of not presuming any homogeneity in the community of study. A rapid change was observed in the GM socio-physical environment. The participants were no longer strictly of a traditional rural culture made up of farmers and herdsmen. The village community was experiencing an increasing number of people involved in other professions including traders in general merchandise. The role of commerce also meant the influx of other inhabitants from varied ethnic groups around the country.

A third valuable lesson from the pilot study informed the sample choice for the main fieldwork of this study. The most important school-community interaction in the pilot happened

during the weekly Service Programme that brought children from the village into the school. The students of Loyola Jesuit College were generally not allowed to go over to the village. Would the quality of school-community interaction not be different if the students encountered the actual living conditions of the GM community? The need to ascertain the value of such rural immersion became a driving motivation at the site of the actual study.

Site of the Actual Study

The actual research fieldwork took place in a rural part of Tanzania, in a village situated in the outskirts of the capital – Dodoma. The next few paragraphs will provide brief information about the country and some anonymized facts about the school and village. Such facts, including some photographs, constitute part of the data. First the country, followed by the village; then I shall provide background information about the school.

Country of the *Mwalimu*

Like Nigeria, where the pilot study was conducted, Tanzania gained her independence in the early 1960s.[36] Before independence, Muslim and Christian missionaries had introduced IPS into the country for the purpose of proselytization. According to Philemon Mushi, the traditional or indigenous form of education existed alongside the IPS system brought by the missionaries. Describing the economic and social context of education in Tanzania, Mushi states that the country had a "philosophy of indigenous education…meant to reinforce the cultural solidarity of the society"

[36] Julius Nyerere became President in 1962.

(Mushi 2009, p. 3). This sense of solidarity is obvious to any foreigner who visits Tanzania, at least in comparison to many other African countries. It is one of the most peaceful countries in Africa, and her people are known for being particularly friendly and hospitable. Before the experience of field research in the country last summer, I had made previous visits to Tanzania. Having also lived in several countries in Africa and around the world, I observed this country to be particularly hospitable.[37]This observation is not based on the availability of luxury amenities but on the expressed goodwill of the people. This is the humane context in which to situate the data. Unfortunately, as I will now show, the political climate of the country cannot be as easily romanticised.

Figure 20: Map of Africa Showing Tanzania



Source: GraphicMaps.com

[37] This is my personal experience, not intended as a generalization.

The post-independence years of Julius Nyerere were a time of social transition. Tanzania was one of five countries in a research project by Samoff and Carnoy which studied education in countries "that have rejected capitalism as the basis of production relations in their economies, and are all attempting to construct the foundations of a new social system on a national scale" (Samoff & Carnoy 1990, p. 3).[38] As regards the outcome of that transition, the less that is said the better. As seen in the examination of *Ujamaa* above, when Nyerere left office as president of Tanzania the country was in economic quagmire. Pertinently, despite the 'socialist attempt' in Tanzania, experts on the country nonetheless identified the problem of "ruling class dominance" (Mbilinyi 1980, p. 4) also evident in the rest of post-colonial Africa.

Today Tanzania is one of the poorest countries in the world in terms of per capita income. In particular, the people in rural areas are generally impoverished. These rural dwellers, who depend on livestock and food crop production, constitute 90% of the country's poor. Although they are good farmers, I observed that the farms run by priests and nuns, behind parishes and Church institutions, were more productive than those of the vast rural poor. In addition to the fact that the priests and sisters said they used fertilizers, the villagers' farms appeared generally under-resourced. One Catholic religious community even had enough resources to make wine for commercial purposes.

The economy of the country depended on agriculture, which accounted for about one quarter of GDP and provided about 85 per cent of total exports. In a country of 50 million people, Agriculture employed 80 per cent of the workforce. On the Human Development Index of the United Nations Development Programme, Tanzania ranked 152nd out of 187 countries indexed in 2013 – which is when the data collection for this study took place.

[38]The other four of the five countries in the case study are China, Mozambique, Cuba and Nicaragua.

Current UN statistics indicate that 67.9% of the country's population lives on below one dollar (US$1) per day. Foreign aid generally accounts for about 28% of the national budget. Looking further at the 2014 statistics of the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDG) Indicator, Tanzania's situation is generally typical of sub-Saharan Africa. (http://unstats.un.org/unsd/mdg/Data.aspx; Also see details in the IFAD website: www.ruralpovertyportal.org/country/home/tags/tanzania). Despite this picture of dire poverty painted by the UN, much of the country's huge availability of arable land remains uncultivated. For example, Tanzania has 95.5 million hectares of land, of which 44 million are classified as arable. Yet only 27 per cent of that arable land has been cultivated. One participant, complaining during an interview session on his farm, confirmed these geographical facts or statistics:

> "All person want school (an education) and office (white collar job); who will work (cultivate) this place (pointing to the vast uncultivated land stretching westward beneath the setting sun)?" – Oral Interview/Culture/6.

At the same time, the villagers generally wanted education for their children, and the above comment may be a reaction to that general desire. I found no evidence to indicate that people did not believe in the value of education. According to available statistics, Tanzania has seen a rapid increase in enrolment in education at all levels since 2001. In particular, primary education enrolment was over 95% by 2007. "Secondary school enrolments tripled between 2004 and 2007" (Wedgwood 2010, p. 842). However, increased educational access over the years has not translated into poverty reduction. According to Wedgwood, "Achieving mass access at the expense of quality appears to have had a negative impact on equality" (2007, p. 383). Here again the problem is one of equity – as defined in the introductory chapter of this thesis. The villagers' desire for generally the same quality education as the elite is central to the problem of this study. Here is a brief look at the village.

Baobab Village of RUCIT

Besides the preponderance of the baobab tree, with its distinctively huge trunk, RUCIT was similar to any average African village. Like most other rural African communities, RUCIT was patrilineal and had its own Indigenous Knowledge system before the country was colonized by European powers. Family was important, was primary. The people possessed rites of passage that formed part of the socialization of the young. However, I did not observe this.

Figure 21: Baobab Trees



More prominent were rural skills, such as those necessary for subsistence farming and cattle rearing. According to earlier statistics, "82.1% of the employed labour force (of the country) work in agriculture, forestry or fishing" (Wedgwood 2007, p. 385). The people of RUCIT would fall into this category. The above skills were essential for the survival of this agricultural community. I observed boys herding cattle, and girls (as well as some boys) were also monitored during various activities at a stream. Life in this vast pastoral context was very much in contrast to living in any of the cities. I noticed that many of the young people in the village desired to move to the capital city. There were two major cities that attracted people, Dar es Salaam and Dodoma. There were other cities and towns as well, such as Mwanza – regarded as a commercial hub for many rural Tanzanians.

Figure 22: Bird's Eye-view of Dar es Salaam and Dodoma



Above is Dar es Salaam; below is a picture of the outskirts of Dodoma and surrounding villages – including the site of this study: Both photos were taken by the researcher aboard a small plane from Dar es Salaam to Dodoma in July 2013.



While Dar es Salaam is the economic capital, Dodoma is the political capital but is less economically "developed" and sparsely populated.[39] Dodoma is about an hour's drive from the site of this study, namely, the village where the school is situated. Most families had relatives living in one of these big cities. One village family survived on the income of their daughter who worked as a nanny in the capital. She earned about $95 per month, which supported her and the family in the village. The main reason for this urban migration was to escape the African rural poverty mentioned in the UN documents. The school context was a contrast to the dire reality in the village.

The School Context

The school in this study was run by a Catholic religious order according to its social justice outreach mission. It was a typical Catholic high school in terms of quality education and the traditional Catholic values of the order. The school was staffed by Priests, nuns, seminarians (priests in training) and a team of lay people, including young Western volunteers, all dedicated to the social outreach vision of the religious order. The students of the co-ed school come from all over the country. Unlike the site of the pilot study, this school had managed to admit some children from the village. The school head confirmed:

> Yes, we have some children from the local village now studying in the school, and they are doing well.
>
> (Oral Interview/School-Village Culture/51).

[39] I switch to the present tense when I am stating current statistics or official figures, and this is as opposed to reporting data from the field - which are in the historical past tense.

The Principal did not go into any specific explanation about the admission procedure for the village children in the school. Was it strictly on merit? One of the school's administrators confirmed that it was part of the school's policy to ensure that the poor are able to get into the school. Some money had been donated to that effect by a benefactor. Whereas little or no English is spoken in the indigent village, English was the sole language of communication in this elite school. The school and village represented the dual culture in Africa. Today's African children have therefore been referred to as "coordinate bilingual", which means "operates in two or more languages, and controls two cultures – two world views (Odora-Hoppers 2000).[40]

Unlike some other elite schools visited in Africa, there was no sense in this Tanzanian school that the poor were not welcome. Since all the students wore uniform attire, it was not possible to tell who were the poor among them. However, from observation, the English spoken by one of the students originally from the village was not as good as that of the other students. Besides that language proficiency, the teachers said the poor students did fairly well.

It was impressive to see that the school's entrance examination and rules for admission appeared not as stringent as those of LJC (Participant Observation/school-village/6) which may have made it possible for indigent children to join the school. Nonetheless, the school appeared affluent and designed for the elite. Its grounds covered more than 50 hectares of land. There were no serious remedial programmes for the indigenous-indigent who might have needed help to compete with elite children who attended much better primary schools. Could CASIT be inadvertently contributing to the problem of inequality in Tanzania by training mostly the elite?

[40] See also: Mazrui, A. M, 1998, "Language and the Quest for Liberation: The Legacy of Frantz Fanon", In Mazrui A. A. & Mazrui, A. M., The Power of Babel: Language and Governance in the African Experience. Oxford: James Currey.

Some have argued that educational inequalities in Tanzania mostly "arose through the growth of private secondary schools in the late 1980s and early 1990s" (Wedgwood 2007, p. 389). The elite school in this study would be one of the high-quality private schools in the country. The Tanzanian government did set up a National Education Trust Fund (NETF) that was sponsored by the Norwegian Development Agency, under the auspices of the World Bank. The fund was aimed at providing scholarship funding to secondary education in non-government schools like CASIT. Evaluations of NETF revealed that it actually increased regional inequalities in Tanzania (Brock-Utne 2000). Such failures reinforce my argument for the need for a more localized approach.

Having presented the context under the three headings of country, village and school, I now return to a presentation (and some simultaneous discussion) of the themes that emerged from the data.

Emerging Themes

After months of sifting through the various groups of similar ideas in the data, I eventually amalgamated these clusters of ideas into eight broader subjects. Economic or material poverty is the first and most glaring theme that emerged from the school community. As a participant observer, it was not such a striking theme. The people of the village were not starving. They produced enough food in their farms to sustain their families. The villagers were the ones who often used the term *hakuna matata*, which means no problem at all, during informal conversations before or after the interviews. I have no record of and almost never heard that expression used in the school community. From the perspective of economic deprivation, one would expect to have heard such words of contentment from the elite rather than the indigent.

On the other hand, the villagers appeared to live on less than one dollar ($1US) per day. An aspect of this is that the purchasing power of US1$ was higher in Tanzania than in England or any of the Western countries. Local food and drinks were much cheaper. In terms of income and wealth, it was difficult to measure the assets and consumption expenditures of the village, since much of their food and other resources were not bought but came from their farms and productivity. From a participant observer perspective, the villagers could still be considered poor. That observation would be even truer if one applies the eleven aspects of the OECD "Better Life Index" (OECD 2011):

- Income and Wealth
- Jobs and Earnings
- Housing
- Health Status
- Work and Life Balance
- Education and Skills
- Civic Engagement and Governance
- Social Connections
- Environmental Quality
- Personal Security
- Subjective Well-Being

Based on the above, the meagre economic resources of the villagers were only one aspect of their well-being. There were no good health facilities in the village. The roads were mostly unpaved and dusty, as can be seen from the photo above, except for the main road to the capital. The politicians were far removed from the lived experience of the villagers; there was no senior government official

living in the village. I do not think that was because of any security fears. People felt secure in the village, but this was more due to the absence of threat than the presence of security measures put in place by the state. The school had a security house at its entrance, manned twenty-four hours a day.

In addition to poverty, seven other broad themes from the data are presented and discussed below.

(A) Tale of Poverty

How can the huge socio-economic gap in Africa be bridged through education? This has been one of the central questions underpinning this research inquiry. First, the data provided evidence of this gap. If there had been no face-to face interview but rather a case where the participants were merely given sheets of paper to write down their thoughts, the vast majority of the student participants would have basically written about the poverty of the villagers. The result would have been merely a long list of 'what we in the school community do for the village community.' Such was the case with my first round of questioning; some of which is represented in the feedback below.

> **Rory**: Before coming to this school, I didn't know if there was such people existed who live such hard life. When I went to … (the village) I was shocked to see how people live and need our help….
>
> **Researcher**: So you didn't know there were such poor people at all, until you had this experience (community service).
>
> **Rory**: No, I (pausing) you know, like, did not know. Their kind of life is different from our own… the guys (the villagers) there they just live a very hard life and can still manage to be alive. Yes, they are different from us (Oral Interview/Poverty/5).

What this and many similar comments show is the socio-economic dichotomy or schism between the school and village communities. The tale of the villagers' poverty continued to be expressed by several students in an audio interview conducted at the dormitory exit as the students came out for afternoon sports. I used the opportunity of changing the headphone to interrupt their narratives and informed the students that I was more interested in what they have experienced in themselves while working in the village, rather than a list of what the school community does for the village. Although the word *inequality* or *injustice* did not appear much in the interviews, the participants' comments continued to confirm the theme of socio-economic inequality between the school and the indigent host community. There were dozens of similar comments from the teachers as well. On the question of how an indigent child from the village could gain admission into the school, a teacher had this to say:

> **James:** I hear in America such children as those in our villages can get into excellent schools through sports scholarship. Here it is only by academics and if your family can afford to pay the high tuition (Oral Interview/Poverty/8).

By Tanzanian standards, the fees (about £700 per year) were seen as way too high. Compared to the pilot site in Nigeria, LJC, that amount appeared to me as meagre - to adequately provide for a student's room and board. Despite the relatively low tuition fees, only the Tanzanian rich could afford to attend the school. A few benefactors of the school provided some need-based scholarships for poor students, but the minimum academic requirement to access the scholarships was beyond the middling village child. Unfortunately, as suggested by James, there were no sports scholarships or any similar award. It was not clear to me how a sports scholarship worked or would be implemented.

What was obvious is that there was no observable admission option that circumvented the otherwise insurmountable academic requirement for an indigenous-indigent boy or girl.

Another teacher particularly intrigued me because he seemed to blame the villagers for their inability to study in the school; to cite one example of his comments:

> **Patrick Ojambo:** I have the following observation on the people of the area: Most of the dwellers are poor, living in small houses and so view us (the elite school) as a monumental institution of high repute. Many would like to have their children in here but cannot afford to for two main reasons: They have not prepared their children educationally well, so they miss the opportunity. Others think it is for the elite and the haves, and so have a negative attitude towards it. Yet others feel it is in the wrong location, incompatible with this location (Written Interview/Poverty/49).

An oral interview would have given me an opportunity to follow up on the above comment. Unfortunately, this was among a pile of written responses given to me by the deputy school head during my final days in the field. What this teacher did not seem to appreciate is the vicious cycle of poverty. I would argue that the villagers “have not prepared their children educationally” because they cannot afford to send their children to good primary schools that would prepare them for this elite school. They themselves did not receive a good education, so are caught in a poverty trap. Studies have shown that "students who are compelled to attend school longer by compulsory schooling laws earn higher wages" eventually (Krueger & Angrist 2000, p. 34). According to this finding, it is through education beyond the primary level, in the case of those referred to in Patrick’s

comment above, that people can climb out of poverty. There is no doubt that the village children themselves would love to study in the elite school. Some would even have liked an opportunity to see the inside of the school compound.

> **Kinamungu:** I don't hope to ever be able to go and study there; just take me to see inside the school's compound, and I can boast to my friends that I have entered that place (This is a translation, Oral Interview/School-Village Culture/16).

The villagers would not dispute the view that quality education is a means to poverty alleviation. They simply cannot afford that kind of education, and there are no "compulsory laws" to guarantee *quality* education for the poor. Tanzania has a Higher Education Student Loans Board, which has enjoyed relative success (Nyahende 2013). But this is again a focus on access, and in this case at the higher education level. If the village families had the means or opportunity for both access and quality at the primary and secondary levels, and still remained uneducated, then it would be fair to speak of a negative attitude on their part. Maybe a few of their comments could be interpreted as "negative attitude towards" education, as in this apothegm: *"school people are for the city"* (Oral Interview/School-Village Culture/11). That comment was not so much a disdain for the elite school nor for education but a fear that children educated in such a school would become alienated from the village without even the guarantee of a good job. Apparently, the issue for some of the participants was not only about the doubtful nature of economic gains from education but loss of cultural ties as well. Based on such comments in the village community, I noted that some of the villagers saw education as preparing people for life in the city. No one I spoke with thought that they or their children could receive such an excellent education, as in the elite school, and still return to rural life.

This is in a country where only 27 per cent of the arable land in the countryside is cultivated. An elite or good education therefore seems to contribute to the desertion of the rural areas. Despite the rural-urban migration, some of the older villagers had tales of the city culture that they found repugnant. Rising levels of unemployment among those leaving school is no news in African cities (Villegas et al., 2008, p. 104). Participants spoke of city squalor, crowded and rat-infested accommodations. Some girls who had gone to the city and could not find the desired jobs had taken to prostitution. For one particularly strong Catholic woman, prostitution was the greatest evil among the sins of the city. The obvious manifestation of that evil was for her the reality of HIV/AIDS.

> Many of them become sick (gesturing with her finger to demonstrate thinness or emaciation) … you know what I mean? (Oral Interview/Poverty/32).

The above lady explained the harsh reality of young men and women who leave the village healthy but only to return to die a few years later – looking severely emaciated by the deadly virus. Much was said about the dangers of street hawking, touting, street children, chaos and individualism in the city. Despite this view, many of the young people still preferred to move to the city. Reasons given include availability of money, amenities and fun. Indeed, there were neither cinemas nor a sports stadium in the village.

I had intended to merely focus on the school-village relationship. Suddenly another aspect, urban-rural tension, emerged from the discussion.[41] This tension gives a broader dimension to the nature of the inequality between the elite school and the village community.

[41] In the cyclical nature of a qualitative research, I had to retrospectively include the Lewesian rural-urban migration in the literature review.

Nature of Socio-economic Inequality

Since both communities (school and village) were situated in a rural area, I never thought of issues of comparison with the city. Discussing with the above lady and a few others, I felt the rural-urban dichotomy was strong. This is reminiscent of the Lewesian model discussed earlier. Clearly, she preferred the simple life of the village to the "perceived lack of culture in the city" (my own field notes). The woman's preference was not a penchant for poverty and rejection of riches, as not everyone in the city was rich anyway. Knowledge of city poverty abounded. It was more of a perceived difference between the city culture and life in the village. Although the school was situated in the village, one could not but feel that members of the school community represented the city dwellers. The participants in the school community had compassion for and were in solidarity with the villagers, but they did not appear to necessarily identify with their neighbours. For many in the school, students and staff alike, the emphasis remained placed on the poverty of the village:

> **James Mulenga:** There is still so much acute poverty and gross inequality. The case of this disparity lies elsewhere: the government and her development partners -national and global economic structures *(*Written Interview/Poverty/34)

Thus the nature of the inequality was, for the school participants, ultimately an economic issue rather than related to any socio-cultural superiority. Some American scholars also insist that such inequality is about being socio-economically advantaged or disadvantaged (O'Connell 2008) rather than as a result of a cultural divide. According to this perspective, if the children in the village had the same economic opportunities as their elite counterpart, they would equally excel academically and otherwise. Mr. Mulenga's above response to the questionnaire has been truncated.

He, like a few other young teachers, ultimately saw the government as the source of the problem of inequality. Indeed, in the short term, the problem of socio-economic inequality may be better tackled by the government and big parastatals rather than immediately through education. I shared my opinions on this with a few participants.

My view is that, like the leadership in most African countries, the followership has a huge role to play through specific local responses to socio-economic inequality. Blaming Africa's socio-economic problems on its leadership alone partly identifies the problem. Without the people of Africa partaking locally in the task of socio-economic transformation, education and democracy would have little impact on the continent. Even if a more perfect Nyerere were to emerge with a faultless system for educational development, I explained to some students, a responsible followership would still be required. Gone is the era of lone heroes. It appeared to me that the school-community relationship creates a structure for a greater participation in the task of socio-economic transformation. I identified an obstacle to such participation. I initially noted this hindrance as "people's poverty perception" (Participant Observation/Poverty/16) but will explain it below under two headings: *I am not Strong Enough to Dig* and *Overcoming the Privilege Pothole*.

-"I am not Strong Enough to Dig"

I asked one student why he and his mates thought life in the village was hard. He said he was not physically cut out for manual work, such as farming and going to the stream. His response was reminiscent of the householder in Luke's Gospel, whose master relieved him of his stewardship.

> What shall I do now that my master is firing me as his manager? I have not strength to dig, and am too proud to beg (Luke 16:3).

Like this Biblical household manager, the elite students appeared resigned to mental labour. This seemed tied to the participants' general view of an educated man/woman. When the elite and indigent were asked what they would do after they have received a good education, most of them wanted to work in a government office or a big firm in the city. When I asked a group of students if anyone would like to be a farmer, they all laughed – presuming I knew the response already. I pressed on:

> **Researcher:** Why is a government or office job better than farming? (The laughter continued, but when hard-pressed to respond one of them said:
>
> **Anonymous Student:** You will have more power! (Cachinnates)
>
> (Oral Interview/School-Community/34).

Other research findings (Serpell 2003) have shown the perceived connection between a good education and a correspondingly excellent job after school. But I found that the indigenous-indigent children showed less disdain for manual labour. Yet it turned out that they too would prefer to leave the farm if they had a good education. One cannot therefore romanticise about any innate love for the fields among the indigenous-indigent. It appeared that farming, rural life in general, was a necessity for survival. If some of them were envious of the lifestyle of their elite counterparts, it was not a desire to overthrow private property. The indigenous-indigent wanted an opportunity to flourish as well. A young man in the village, Abednego, who had finished his secondary education in the local public (government) school made it clear he did not want to continue tilling the field. The young man's friend agreed, and added, "The best thing is to go abroad and have a comfortable life there. In fact, there is nothing here." There are two aspects to my discussions with these young men.

First, Abednego and his friends spoke of people who had gone to school but have no jobs. Besides being able to speak better English, which no one took notice of in a Kiswahili-speaking setting, they were more impoverished than other rural people with lots of cattle. This point bothered on the question of the perceived aims of education. For Abednego and his friends, it was to get a lucrative job. Years spent in school could otherwise be spent acquiring lots of cattle and producing farm products. What is the point of "wasting" those years only to discover there are no 'government jobs' (Oral Interview/Poverty/81). You return to the same farming as anyone else. "Imagine?" (He asked, as if expecting a response from me).

In the second part of the discussion, I noted in my diary that he and his friends had a glorified view of the West and a narrow view of progress – lauding the large empires created through past conquests and a luxurious (Western) lifestyle today. He was sad that he was denied a visa to go work (manual labour) abroad and earn more money than the most senior teacher in the village school. He had heard he could earn more than $10 a day as a cleaner, and calculated that in a month he would have earned more than many of those with white collar jobs in Tanzania. He moaned:

> Why can't I get out of here, go there (abroad, that is Europe or North America) to work and earn good pesa (money)? (Oral Interview/Poverty/89)

I explained to him, in more simple terms, that we are not really in a free market economy, as some would have him believe, and consequently the movement of labour is restricted through immigration. When Abednego and his friends kept asking me "why", I explained to them that they are expected to develop their own community. I ranted on about how Africa had not always been stagnant, and explained that they should not underrate the adverse effects of imperialist history in the continent….

The conversation continued until I left the country. I may have been too didactic with the young men. They tended to bring out the teacher in me. They also represented a whole different dimension to the interview, and so I will return to them later under the heading Minority Voices.

I wrote at length in the research diary that Abednego and his friends had been greatly affected by the Western media (Observation/School-Village Culture/11). The media tended to portray a perfect picture of the West. Commercial billboards abounded that ultimately glorified Western beauty and wealth. Yet the data showed that material and technological progress is only one aspect of a society. The communal spirit of a people – especially in the face of suffering - is an important perspective that emerged from the data. This latter perspective is often absent in the media portrayal of Africa. While Africa may have many problems, the predominant impression of the African culture portrayed in the mass media is an atrabilious one – mostly of material misery - in contrast to the technological bliss of the West. Such a picture seemed to have affected many of the young people in Africa, such as Abednego and his friends, who are therefore bent on migrating to Europe or North America. A Culturally Responsive education might include "critical analyses of how ethnic groups and experiences are presented in mass media and popular culture" (Gay 2002, p. 109). While the media hurdle seems to be a question of perception, the next socio-economic obstacle is more real.

- Overcoming the Privilege Pothole

Several of the roads in Dar es Salaam had many potholes. Yet my taxi driver was often able to manoeuvre around some of the holes without slowing down. Others were too big, such that the car moved too slowly. It often tested my patience to see pedestrians moving faster than a taxi I had paid much for to arrive early. So I considered it a privilege when the potholes were small and navigable.

Similarly, some of the issues associated with privilege can be overcome. I have already mentioned how some of the elite children are "not strong enough to dig." Nonetheless, they were also not uncaring 'spoilt brats'. This particular school community was responding at a local level to the problem of socio-economic inequality by having the students take various food and material items to the villagers on Saturdays. In a sense, this is an educational response to the problem of poverty and inequality. The response here could also be described as consciousness-raising. By this I mean that the students were learning to become aware of the situation (socio-economic inequality) around them. According to Freire's pedagogy, the individual develops and grows through learning experiences provided by situations in his or her daily life. In his words, "Students, as they are increasingly posed with problems relating to themselves in the world and with the world, will feel increasingly challenged and obliged to respond to that challenge" (Freire 2000, p. 62).

It was clear from conversations with the teachers and administrators that this exposure to the poverty of the village children was such a learning experience. According to a senior admin staff,

> **HoD:** This (community service) is a shocking experience for some of our students – especially the very rich ones.
>
> **Researcher:** Nothing educates one as a shock! (Oral Interview/Poverty/66).

The hurdle I have referred to as the "privilege pothole" should not be difficult to overcome in this case. The gap between the elite students and the indigent community is not quite one of modern billionaires and cavemen. Although I mentioned that many of the students had not been aware of the reality of poverty, that fact is relative. All the students in the school were by no means urbane sons and daughters of the world's super rich. There were some poor students in the school community.

Nonetheless, the students were generally more privileged than the people of the village. For example, the students did not need to worry about how their three daily meals came about; there was a well-staffed canteen inside CASIT. The school accommodation was very good, supervised by some diligent nuns and seminarians on the staff. The villagers had to cope with the scorching heat; the school had air conditioning or fans. There was also the issue of health security: while there was a clinic right inside the school compound, the villagers had to travel outside their village to receive any such medical attention. These are all children from the same continent, but the above contrast brought to the students' awareness an 'African culture of inequality' – as one teacher put it.[42] Only through this school-village interaction did the students gain a fuller awareness of this problem of inequality. I observed that this awareness is crucial for any response to the issue of socio-economic inequality. As a result of this consciousness, the implications of the relationship between the school and village went beyond taking material supplies from the school to the village community. A further examination of the interaction revealed a cultural aspect, to which I now turn.

(B) School Culture Distinct from Village Culture

Another sub-research question in this study is about bridging the gap between home/cultural experience and schooling. This question appeared to be addressed by a second theme discernible from the data, which is an expressed divide between the school culture and the village culture. One participant situated this rift in the context of colonial education. Educated people were still seen as tending to take on the ways of the colonial tradition. According to a retired primary school teacher in

[42] This is one of the very rare occasions when the word *inequality* was used in the data.

the village, colonial education was a transfer of social order; a transition from the traditional to the ideological world of "colonial masters." He felt that, till today, African education is still negotiating that transition, as every aspect of progress is still measured in terms of emulating the West.

> **Researcher:** Are you criticizing the schooling system after years of service as a teacher?
>
> **Retired Teacher:** Yes I am (hands spread out – as if to say "I make no secret of this)
>
> **Researcher:** What exactly is the problem with the school system?
>
> **Retired Teacher:** A lot of things…very many things my friend. But to put it as one thing (summarize) let me just say that holding that paper (certificate) does not mean there is something up here (points to his head).

He then went on to give examples of desperate measures people have taken to either pass examinations or get the school certificates.

> **Researcher:** Do you mean there is an undue emphasis on examinations?
>
> **Retired Teacher:** Yes, instead of on actually learning something for yourself (Oral Interview/School-Village Culture/16).

Indeed IPS has been seen as placing undue emphasis on passing examinations at the expense of genuine learning (Fuller 1991; Rogers 2004). The retired teacher lamented the fact that this was all because success at the examinations secures the certificates needed for employment. The ultimate aim of IPS becomes to secure a good job. This is akin to what Freire calls "banking education" (Freire 2000).

The term is used by Freire to describe and to critique the traditional system of education that treats students as empty vaults into which educators deposit knowledge. In relation to the village community, I am not sure if this is a fair criticism of the school system. Does every education, including IK, not involve storing up information for later use? As others have also explained, the economic and cultural agenda equally come into conflict in African education (Serpell 1993, p.3). And there was also no evidence in the data that the current IPS system should be rejected. As will be seen later, some in the village community rather pointed out the need to synchronise what is learnt in the school with what obtains in the village. Such dialogical approach is consonant with existing literature. For example, some universities in Nigeria appear to have a tradition of academic dialogue with the indigenous system:

> Obafemi Awolowo University is known for its approach of bringing versed custodians of traditions, who are not lettered, into the mainstream of formal education to deliver papers and even teach certain in-depth aspects of the Yoruba traditions (Kolawole 2005, p. 21, cited in Banda 2008, p. 199).

On the other hand, it seems to me a remarkable achievement for such unlettered 'versed custodians' to deliver their papers in a Federal University (multilingual) like Obafemi Awolowo - or OAU as it is commonly known. Nonetheless, such involvement of traditional elders or custodians of IK in IPS is not impossible, maybe feasible, through sustained interaction between the educational institution and the indigenous community.

Yet some of the teachers interviewed in the school community saw difficulty in transferring IK into their teaching routine. It is not as if, as one teacher put it, IK has a "textbook with clear topics or something like that" (Oral Interview/School-Village Culture/13). This teacher made a valid point.

Some scholars affirm this difficulty encountered by teachers (Cavallo 2000; Steinlin 2007). The teachers genuinely appeared to find it difficult to see how it was possible to teach about culture in their particular subjects and within the curriculum. In the context of the village community, IK could be infused as part of daily living, but the IPS system was more complex. One teacher asked me a rhetorical question:

> **Math Teacher:** "How do you turn a Mathematics class into a lesson about African culture?" (Oral Interview/School-Village Culture/19).

It is not clear if this was an expression of frustration about the feasibility of Cultural Responsiveness in teaching or merely a moment of low-teacher morale. However, he walked away before I could follow up. Some authors have argued that teachers may themselves be obstacles to CR because IK "is not always valued or encouraged by some teachers" (Semali 1999, p. 307). While I do not think the teachers in this case did not value IK, I had wanted the math teacher to shed light on specific difficulties or to recommend any desired course of action. I had spoken earlier with a close colleague of that same teacher who said "education is a civilizing mission." According to him, the students were to be trained to be able to relate with their mates anywhere in the world. He insisted that he was in favour of integrating local cultural elements into the learning process. One cannot argue with such a view. Nonetheless, it did appear to the researcher that creating such "international citizens" (my words, which he confirmed) may have been more important to him than the local culture. I cannot be sure about that conjecture on my part and have no data to assert that any staff in the school expressed any real opposition or even reservations about CR in education.

On the contrary, there was acknowledgement of a gap between the school culture and the rural community culture and the need to somehow bridge that gap. According to the disciplinarian, "we must ensure that the students are trained as Africans" (Oral Interview/School-Village Culture/2). It was also not clear what that training completely entailed. From my conversations with him, it was clearly not about teaching the rituals and customs of the local village inside the classrooms of the elite school. His assistant and a few other participants were of the view that school gave the children 'head' knowledge but not necessarily the required skills to live in the African community. There was some insistence on more discipline, with some participants in favour of corporal punishment. The American volunteers and some other staff members were against such punishments. Besides discipline, however, what exactly is the African element to be brought into the school system? On this point, one village elder was more available for a follow-up conversation:

> **Kitenge:** School should do like the church is doing, encouraging traditional marriage as well as performing Church weddings.
>
> **Researcher:** How and why do you say that?
>
> **Kitenge:** Because I think it should first be… 'certified' (my word) that children have learnt traditional and home skills from their family before being admitted into a school. If you don't already know how to take care of your compound, you are not going to learn it in school. (Oral Interview/School-Village Culture/39).

Thus "traditional and home skills" emerged as an aspect of the village culture that could be shared with the school. This was confirmed by data from other participants. In addition to specifying what constituted such skills, this raised a pedagogical question as well as who should be a teacher.

From the conversations, it was clear to me in terms of the teaching and learning of IK that all adults in the village can act as 'teachers' to the young in learning the traditional ways of the village. What about assessment? The village participants were themselves aware of the contrast between IPS and IK. I later asked Mr. Kitenge and another participant how such "traditional family and home skills" could be ascertained or assessed. In the school, assessments were assured; there was clearly no shortage of tests and examinations.

> **Researcher:** How do we know when a child has learnt to take care of home and environment? (Oral Interview/School-Village Culture/41)

The other participant required a translator, so I have summarized their views based on the feedback from the translator. The skills covered a broad range of activities in the daily life of the villagers, ranging from fishing to weaving of baskets; from sewing to carpentry, as well as horticulture and animal husbandry. They both explained that it would be obvious if a child has not learnt a set of skills because "the learning is practical" (Mr. Kitenge). They gave examples of how the learning by a village child could be easily verified: a vegetable not planted properly; a meal not as tasty as mother's; an errand not properly executed; information about birth attendance or plant identification not recalled, as well as other aspects of "lessons in daily life" that can be assessed continuously. I explained to them the difference between Formative and Summative assessments (Baird 2014, pp. 129-132). After a long discourse by the interpreter, we agreed that theirs was Formative assessment.

From a CR perspective, it was not clear to me how such localized lessons about "*home and environment"* are to be integrated into a rather universal IPS system. The cultural rituals specific to the community were even more localized. I decided to speak with Mr. Kitenge about such rituals.

Initiation Rituals and Other Indigenous Traditions

Mr. Kitenge went on to explain some age-grade rituals that prepare the young for adulthood. There was much reticence about the female initiation rituals. This could be seen as part of the lack of transparency often associated with IK. Since the fieldwork was not an ethnographical study of any particular tribe, I was not specifically interested in details about the local traditions. To give the benefit of the doubt, I rather understood his reticence in terms of the cultural sensitivity of indigenous rituals. This was no surprise, for such traditional initiation rituals abound in Africa (Banda & Morgan 2013, p. 201; Emeagwali 2015). My observation was that traditional ritual practices were no longer popularly practised. This would be in line with Molony's observation about Nyerere's *Uzanaki* tribe.

> Adherence to such customs as *ezinyaangi* rites of passage and handing-over ceremonies is today defunct in Uzanaki, and the traditional political organisation is now of the past (Molony 2014, p. 28).

I decided to interrogate Mr. Kitenge on the dangers of one aspect of the rituals for the boys, which involved remaining in the forest at night time. After a long discussion, he insisted that what constitutes danger or a violation of a child's rights "depends" (meaning it is contexted or cultural). Back inside the school's canteen, one staff, originally from the village, explained to me that even the idea of child-exploitation is cultural. According to him, it is not exploitation when a child from the village is made to sacrifice his education in order to work and support his sick or ageing parents. In the absence of viable state institutions to ensure a people's health and survival, the family has to employ its most reliable resources: the children. The child growing up in the village therefore learns self-sacrifice. On the contrary, a parent of a similar elite school in Africa, not this case, once complained to me that students in elite schools tend to be incapable of self-sacrifice.

> Students who have so much available to them are bound to be self-centred. This is the case with my child (Parent).

It appears the above parent would like her child to learn some of the village values of sacrificing for the community. While all aspects of the initiation rituals of African communities cannot be incorporated into learning, the positive spirit behind them (self-sacrifice, cooperation and productivity) could indeed be valuable. However, I could not and cannot see any value in the relative subservience observed among the girls of the village.

In a related conversation about initiation rituals, while travelling between Dodoma and Dar es Salaam, I was told not to describe female circumcision as 'mutilation' – which is the word used by the NGOs in Tanzania to describe that ritual practice. Based on a 2013 research study in Tanzania, Childreach International came to this conclusion: "female genital mutilation (FGM) is carried out with impunity" This was referring to some rural communities in Tanzania (https://www.childreach.org.uk/sites/default/files/imce/FGM-C%20Policy%20Position.pdf). Contrary to my expectation that FGM was an oppressive cultural practice promoted by men, this was a woman defending what she insisted should be called "circumcision" rather than mutilation. I expressed my surprise to her, to which she responded:

> Many of our men would be quite happy to end it (FGM).

There were varied views expressed by a few participants concerning the issue of FGM; basically, it was too sensitive a topic for me as a male researcher. Hence I could only speak with a few people about it, merely asking their views as politely as possible. There was no consensus on the matter. The discussions were rational, with valid explanations on both sides of the argument - for or against.

My view, which I eventually expressed during one conversation, is that it should be left to the community to decide whether to continue or stop a particular cultural practice. Unless the ritual constitutes a clear and present danger or evil that is unavoidably inherent to the procedure, as certified by the experts, the ultimate decision should come from the community. The reader may recall here the concept of Community-Validity. Also earlier mentioned is the fact that culture is dynamic. When a particular practice becomes obsolete to a people, they would change it themselves, hopefully through a process of progressive dialogue. The varied views of the study participants could be seen as an expression of a dialogue in progress rather than a static view of cultural practices.

Despite the different opinions expressed about various topics, the bottom line of the findings is that everyone agreed it is important for the family to play its traditional role in the education of a child. Cultural perspectives may change concerning the various practices, as the community deems fit in their own time, but the family should be involved in the students' education.

> **George, School Staff:** For us in Africa, as you can see among the villagers, the family is the foundation of education. Not to just come drop off children in boarding school and disappear.
>
> **Researcher:** Are you saying boarding school is not ideal or a good thing?
>
> **George, School Staff:** I am saying education in the African community next door is the responsibility of the family, so everyone is involved. We remove children from that kind of thing (structure of community guidance) so they become unruly here in the school (Oral Interview/School-Village Culture/91).

The issue, as raised above by George, is therefore not about specific traditional rituals or practices of a particular African community. It may or may not even be about incorporating the values behind those practices of the village community. The issue rather is the same question highlighted in the indigenous literature. According to a team of authors, "Does the Village Still Raise the Child?"(Swadener *et al.* 2000). A number of the participants, both in the school and village, felt that if the family is removed from the education process, then the answer is clearly 'No, the village no longer raises the child' (my words paraphrasing their views).

Schooling Within the Family

Cultural Responsiveness stresses the need for education to include "the children's homes" in order to enable students "to develop an understanding of life as holistic - not bifurcated, splitting their school and home lives" (Monkman *et al*. 2003, p. 256). This view coincides with the African holistic perspective mentioned earlier (Mbiti 1969). Data from this study affirmed the importance of "home training" - as the school disciplinarian put it. At the same time, my findings pointed to an indirect criticism of an aspect of schooling: the boarding system.

One of the research questions of this study is 'what factors may affect integration of indigenous ways into the school system?' There was 'an elephant in the room' during some of the conversations with school participants. An obstacle seemed to be emerging from the discussion, but we were hesitant to acknowledge it. The hurdle seemed to be the boarding school – an issue I had not anticipated. Although a boarding school is more difficult to run than a day school, having taught at both kinds of institutions myself, data emerging from the field began to question my presumptions about the supreme effectiveness of boarding schools.

A number of the participants seemed to be saying that a boarding system is less supportive of a Culturally Responsive education. Some of the teachers said that a day-school allowed more for parental involvement in the education of the child; others said it was difficult to deal with parents who seemed to be at a loss regarding how their wards were evolving or developing into adults far away from home. Therefore it is arguably even more vital for a boarding school situated in a village community to involve the community in the education of the child. Findings of theorists like Lave, Wenger and Rogoff, have shown that much learning can take place out-of-school. Their idea of cognitive apprenticeship is comparable to the trade apprenticeship experienced by many African children. Learning occurs through the interaction of experts and novices focused on completing a task; thus cognitive skills are developed through participation in an actual learning experience (Rogoff and Lave 1984; Lave and Wenger 1991).

For many of the students in the school, an interaction with the villagers might be the only chance they would ever have to be anywhere near a family activity of milking a cow, manure administration or raising chickens at home for eggs and meat. A random survey revealed that most of the elite students had little experience at home of farming and gardening skills. I forgot to ask those who said they had some farming skills if they acquired such skills at home or in school. The nature of the responses was such that each student responded yes or no and handed the microphone to another student. I however noticed that this lack of farming experience was predominant among the girls. Yet such productive activities, probably more than white-collar jobs, are vital for the economic revival of both the country and the continent. Travelling through rural Africa, I noted in my personal memo that the myth of a post-agricultural society is not the reality in Africa. As stated in the UN document, most Africans still live in the rural areas http://www.ruralpovertyportal.org/in/region/home/tags/africa.

Food production in rural areas is crucial for the continent. The spirit of cooperation that seems to characterize the agriculture-related activities is just as crucial. Should education not be closely connected to this rural experience rather than preparing students for a post-industrial world that is far from their reality?

This second theme in the data so far appears to highlight the importance of the village culture. Such a romantic presentation of the rural culture would not be faithful to the overall data. I now present some contrary views of rural or village culture.

Culture Not Quite Cute

Not everyone was proud or affirmative about the rural culture. One teacher complained that the local culture does not encourage time-management. According to him, people come late to activities, and some simply have no sense of time. It is not clear how much of that is culture and what may be individual laziness. As Tao notes, even among teachers in Tanzania there is a huge problem of absenteeism (Tao 2013). The headmaster of a local primary school and a senior teacher from that school were very adamant about this issue. Time consciousness is important for a school setting, understandably, and a culture of lateness ought not to be allowed in any school system. This may have been the reason the problem of lateness appeared to some participants as more evident among people in the village community. At play here may have been the relationship between practice and identity, which is beyond the scope of this study but is explored elsewhere concerning primary school teachers in Tanzania (Barrett 2008). Where the students and teachers come from a society that has a culture of lateness, this would have some bearing or impact on their work in the school.

In an earlier comparison with British constructs of professional responsibility, Angeline Barrett shows how teachers in Tanzania see their identity as being "co-constructed" with the local community (Barrett 2005, p. 43). Barrett's study concludes:

> Tanzanian teachers become demoralized …in a context where the culture of the local community conflicts with that of formal schooling (Barrett 2005, p. 60).

As a participant observer, I could understand the headmaster's perspective about relative tardiness in the village community. While I found people to be extremely hospitable during the fieldwork, they were also relatively laid back. This is in comparison to, for example, people in Nottingham or in my native city of Benin in Nigeria. Some of the participants were aware of this, and a few blamed the relaxed attitude on the socialist philosophy of *Ujamaa*. In his response to the written interview, this senior teacher was not only critical of the culture but also blamed *Ujamaa* for the dire situation of the village as a result of what he termed 'African Socialism':

> **Critical Teacher:** As a result of the "UJAMAA" system (African Socialism)[43] introduced by President Nyerere, the village community has seriously suffered from lack of a good education system and good educational institutions. This is one of the biggest failures of all Tanzanian government since independence… (Written Interview/School-Village Culture/19).

[43] I have posted this written interview verbatim, so the brackets are not mine (unlike in other comments).

In general, listening to people criticize *Ujamaa* and Julius Nyerere, whom I hold in the highest esteem, was distressing. I had imagined that *Ujamaa* would appear as a major theme in the data. It soon became clear only a few weeks into the data collection that the participants were not as enthused as the researcher about the socialist philosophy. As I had resolved not to impose my own agenda on the research study, as much as that is possible, I stopped asking about *Ujamaa* from people who were not as enthused in talking about it. A condemnation of *Ujamaa* is not necessarily a criticism of the Tanzanian culture.

A specifically cultural critique came from Abednego, the young man in the village mentioned earlier, who had finished his secondary education. He vehemently did not want local cultural practices to be integrated into what is taught in school.

> **Abednego:** Some of the cultures are bad...

A few other boys were with him, and one of them interrupted him and said he felt the local culture had reached a stage of obsolescence. “All dis things are finish (no longer relevant)”!

> **Researcher:** I don’t understand what you guys are talking about; could you give specific examples.
>
> **Abednego:** For example, some parents endorsing (sic) their children in Gule Wamkulu; there they do learn bad things…producing different rubbish... But when they send their children to school, they learn good culture; they learn good things in school.

> **Researcher:** So you really think the school culture is better than the traditional cultural ways of training young people in your culture?
>
> **Abednego:** Yes.
>
> **Researcher:** Why?
>
> **Abednego:** For many reasons sir. For example if they get educated, they will get job. After they get the job, they will get the money in assisting the elders, or parents, or their grandfathers and mothers… (Oral Interview/Minority Voices/6).

I left this particular interview curious, first about this "bad thing" called *Gule Wamkulu*. Secondly, I wondered why the young men who had completed their secondary school education would seem to despise their traditional African culture. I noted this in my research diary for further enquiry. I eventually gathered that *Gule Wamkulu* was basically a cultural dance which one author described as a "main form of ritual entertainment" originally native to an indigenous tribe from Malawi (Phiri 2004, p. 31). I later found out that one of Abednego's parents was from Malawi, and this dance was just an aspect of a whole grooming process of the young. I now move to that aspect of the village culture, namely, training the young.

Training in Entrepreneurship

I also noted in my research diary that there is need to be careful about glorifying the stoicism and hard work of the villagers. However, the entrepreneurial spirit of the villagers remained undeniable. It was the sheer hard work in the field that ensured sustenance for those rural people. The village children, in addition to whatever IPS they are able to get, were being trained as entrepreneurs.

Freire's view of IPS (1973, 1993) is that it is a form of schooling merely in preparation for the job market. In this sense, the village children were receiving their own local version of schooling.

I also observed that people took so much pride in their productivity. I ate some tasty pigeon peas in the home of a participant and naturally expressed my compliments. His response came:

> Father, (addressing me respectfully) I am proud to tell you that that was from my farm, ha ha ha.... (Participant Observation/School-Village Culture/8).

In asking the question, therefore, about how education could become more Culturally Responsive, it seems the productive spirit of the people is an aspect that education could build on. Sending computers to rural schools may be less Culturally Responsive than enhancing the students' ability for irrigation, harnessing the resources of the environment, constructing drainage and fostering their productive skills. School certificates by themselves would not solve the problem of poverty and related issues. Even within this elite school, the young French volunteer working in the IT office showed me many old computers and other electronic gadgets heaped up in a storeroom. There are no recycling facilities in much of Africa for such gadgets.[44] How sustainable for our environment, so dear to rural peoples, is the culture of gadgets?

This is not to say that computers and other ICT learning aids are not needed in Africa's rural schools. The question is about sustainability and establishing what is most needed and appropriate in the culture at any given time. Often, what is most expedient may not necessarily be the latest gadget.

[44] I have always held the view that anyone able to soon set up a giant recycling plant in sub-Saharan Africa, for metals and plastics, would become a billionaire within a short time.

Cultural Responsiveness therefore means that education should be based on the African community as it is (currently a dumping ground for sundry items) and not how we imagine it to be. If there is food shortage and people need to be encouraged to be more agriculturally productive, then the whole of education should not be geared towards white-collar jobs. For example, knowledge of routine rural family activities such as carrying out basic irrigation techniques and rearing chickens could go a long way to reduce the continued importation of food, including frozen chicken, into hot Africa. As it is, education in the school focuses on "completing the scheme of work" or as another put it:

> **Teacher:** To be honest…we concentrate on teaching the syllabus. If your subject is not about culture, why should you come to class and speak of culture? (Oral Interview/School-Village Culture/109)

As the statement itself indicates, the above view was expressed forthrightly as a minority view. Most of the teachers interviewed politely said that they do their best to make their teaching as Culturally Responsive as possible. This latter view may have been expressed politely as well, by that teacher's standards. If teachers are not able to filter the curriculum content and teaching strategies through the students' "cultural frames of reference" (Gay 2010, p. 26), the result would be a gap between the school's activities and the local reality. The generally Western curriculum run in Africa's schools is not free from the culture of the West where those curricula originated. This is even more evident in elite schools that prepare students for SAT, GCSE and other international examinations. As argued by the multiculturalist, it makes sense to have a Culturally Responsive pedagogy that would avoid "discontinuities between the school culture and the home and communities cultures" (Gay 2010, p. x). Some in the village saw a divide between school expectations and cultural expectations as the reason their children cannot gain admission into the school. According to one respondent:

> **Mama Peace:** "My poor child is very talented and hardworking when it comes to farming, hunting and selling but cannot enter that school! There they don't care about such things (laughing) except book work…" (Oral Interview/School-Village Culture/22).

The above statement is a translation into Kiswahili rendered by her son. The issue is not just the fact that most children from rural villages cannot pass into elite schools. The concern is that whereas the entrance examination measures academic skills, not too evident in the village children, there is no way of measuring those talents which the village children do have but are lacking in the students in the school community. Are there forms of assessment that allow for an appraisal of the unique skills and understandings of indigent/indigenous African children? The case school had no such system of appraisal. This elder seems to claim the village has:

> **Captain:** There is much scrutiny in the traditional initiation ceremonies, which turns a small boy into an adult and a girl into a woman. That for me is the real examination. Today you don't have to do any of those any more, as long as you can go to school and memorize some things and pass! (Oral Interview/School-Village Culture/11).

It was not clear to me exactly how such a traditional scrutiny or rite of passage could be integrated into the school system. Yet the difference in talents between both sets of children continued to be clear to all. This was the case on one special occasion when the school head gave permission for the students to attend an annual festival, *Nane Nane,* which I understood as the modern equivalent of a trade fair. I was one of the student chaperons, and we were all agog to behold this local fair. En route to the venue, I tried to find out from the students what they were anticipating.

Figure 23: Animals displayed at the Nane Nane Trade Fair



Some of the animals displayed for viewing at the *Nane Nane* trade fair. Above are two tortoises, and below is a lion. Both photos were taken by the researcher, outskirts of Dodoma in the Summer of 2013



Researcher: So what are we going to see at *Nane Nane*?

Anonymous Student: It is a market!

Researcher: I see, *Nane Nane* is the Kiswahili word for market?

Anonymous Student: No, market is *soko*

Researcher: Okay, what does *Nane Nane* mean then?

(Oral Interview/School-Village Culture/36).

To the last question above, a number of the students responded "a big market" - while the rest of the responses may have included "agricultural show" or "exhibitions." Upon reaching the *Nane Nane* grounds, the students were awed by the sheer variety and quality of the skilfully made wares displayed by the villagers. In addition to farm products, there were fanciful hats, wristbands, necklaces and various ornaments made from the seeds of wild plants as well as various leather products. The Western volunteers who joined in the trip affirmed that the bracelets and other items were of genuine craftsmanship. How could education tap into or enhance the traditional skills behind those products? Highlighting these local skills should not undercut the fact that many of the rural children were out-of-school and some illiterate due to the prohibitive cost of schooling.[45] Some of the participants in the school appeared to play down those skills and regarded them as *jua kali.*[46]

[45] The economic role or value attached to education has been well documented over time in various studies (Leacock 1976; Serpell 1993; Morgan 2014).

[46]I inquired about the meaning of *jua kali* and was told it literarily meant 'harsh sunlight", so any labour that involves sweating under the heat of the sun is referred to as *jua kali.* Some authors have argued that such attitude to manual labour may have contributed to the failure of *Ujamaa* (Semali 1999) in the country.

What could be learnt from the apprenticeship training behind the items displayed at *Nane Nane?* As others have noted (Rogers 2003) such training in practical and life skills are generally of the same functions as adult education in Western societies. Most of the items at the trade fair were handmade without formal scientific training and any modern technology. Not all the items were made from farm products; slippers made from used car tyres confirmed for me the dynamic nature of culture (Sillitoe *et al.* 2006). In the discussion on the way back from the fair, someone in the group I chaperoned said that he wished the many professional engineers and scientists in Africa were as productive as the villagers. While that may be an exaggeration, one wonders if the integration of such traditional skills into IPS would help university graduates to be more 'productive' at a practical level. Other participants stated that there is not much practical evidence of formal scientific education in Africa. Although quite a number of the elite students only had vague ideas of what would be their future careers, none gave a thought to *jua kali*. Yet an economically poor country like Tanzania needs an abundance of such practical skills. Some authors have stated that this is a major weakness of the educational system in Africa, its impracticability, and so have argued for the inclusion of such skills in the school curriculum (Banda 2008; Emeagwali 2015). From my observation and the data gathered, such inclusion would be difficult with the current IPS based on subjects and aimed at promotion exams and certificates. With the IK of the rural community, there is the earliest awareness of a practical career choice. The rural learning seemed to be, not aimed at promotion to another class, an end in itself through the practical fruits of what was learnt. In that open market were industrious boys and girls selling the fruits of their handicrafts in the heat of the sun to tourists in large hats. That was hard work encouraged by the need for economic survival and achieved through apprenticeship learning (Rogoff and Lave 1984; Lave and Wenger 1991). According to an academic staff member:

> **Luyembe:** You can see that the children in the village are stronger and more at home with their environment. Compared to the village children, these students are like butter. The fieldwork or practicals they do in school is window dressing.
>
> **Researcher:** Sorry, what do you mean 'butter' or 'more at home?'
>
> **Luyembe:** See, outside the shelter of our boarding school and the comfort of their homes, the students cannot survive out there in the real world. Look, they can barely stand the heat of the sun for a few minutes during outside assembly. Under the midday sun, the village children would farm for hours….
>
> (Oral Interview/School-Village Culture/71).

The above academic member of staff would later offer his further analysis of how those wares represented something of the nature of the village children. Contrary to the impression often given of villagers or rural Africans as people sitting under the coconut tree waiting for the fruit to drop, these were very industrious people. There were no coconut trees in this arid area of Tanzania. The people survived the harsh reality of their physical surroundings based on their tenacity and traditional skills for harnessing the resources of their environment as best as they could. Those skills and the people's resilience, compared to their "butter" counterparts in the school, owe to social or rather family structures rather than to state institutions. This was not a welfare state.

The villagers tended to have multiple jobs to make ends meet. Some of the village children would hawk their farm products outside the village. Most households were not just farmers; someone in the family was often also a security guard or a cleaner in the school or in a makeshift restaurant.

The income from such jobs was not much but went a long way. This study did not ascertain people's incomes. However, the researcher ate a few times in one of such local restaurants, where a full meal and a drink cost about £1 (one British pound). Income from working in such a restaurant would therefore not be high but was a valuable addition to resources from the farm.

Specifically, the villagers' entrepreneurship is rooted in a spirit of cooperation, which is in turn based on traditional family values. This may be a feature of any rural and agrarian group of people anywhere in the world, and so not specific to this particular African community. That does not make this feature of the community any less valuable. In fact, its universality may even be an element of added value for a wider human community that could be driven to extinction by ruthless competition. It is therefore worth examining the most striking aspect of the people's values.

(C) An Anthropocentric Dimension: Community as Cultural Value

A third theme prominent in the data is the value of community, which has been termed in the literature review above as communalism: "whatever happens to the individual happens to the whole group" and vice versa (Mbiti 1970 p. 109). This theme emerged in various contexts. There was evidence of communal solidarity in extended-family patterns of life where uncles/aunts, nephews/nieces and grandparents, often live within the same household.

When a family has a bad harvest other less unfortunate families come to their aid. It was generally expected that those who are doing well help those who are struggling. Even the strong respect for elders was spoken of in terms of older people being better able to bring people together and tame the possible discord brought on by the unruliness of youth. Those who found the theme of community most striking were the American and British teachers (volunteers) in the school:

> **American Volunteer:** I have been struck by how frequently people say “we are together” or “Tuko pamoja” here. (It’s even the slogan for a beer advertisement.) Being together isn’t just a means to an end, it is the end. Additionally, when the results of the national exams are announced people focus on how the group did. This is different from my home culture, which places much more emphasis on the individual and individual success (Written Interview/School-Village Culture/18).

It was amazing for me as well to see how people, especially in the village, spoke often of education as a way of lifting their families out of poverty. Education was almost seen as a lottery ticket. Once I suggested to a gathering that there are people who value education on the grounds that once they get educated they will live a happy and fulfilled life. This was not to a focus group but at a send-off gathering for some young Western volunteers who worked in the school and village. I then asked around the room what each of them would consider as the goal of a good education. Not a single person (of about 20 people) repeated that personal fulfilment and happiness would be their goal. The vast majority spoke variedly about helping their family, building up their community or country, as the goal of education. It is not clear how much of this was due to their knowledge of my identity as a religious who similarly shared an altruistic vision of education. Were they just saying what they thought the researcher would like to hear? That may not have been the case. Even if their responses were merely philosophical or intellectual, such affirmation of community is noteworthy. During other conversations, participants often spoke of the value of togetherness. In any case, the school’s sense of the communal spirit in the village is definitely not contrived.

School Saw Community Value in Village

While there was a good sense of community among the staff and students of the school, there seemed to be a stronger spirit of community in the village than in the school. This may be natural, as the village was more tribally homogenous than the school. I will return later to this idea of the tribe or clan – as a theme of its own. In this section, the tribe or clan may not be the central factor in the community spirit of the school. Some school practitioners saw themselves more as earning a living, rather than as "belonging" to a community. This may be understandable. However, it is important to mention that many in the school indeed saw themselves as giving something back to society and hoped to encourage their students to think the same way. At the same time, not everyone glorified or romanticized community life in the village. A non-Tanzanian staff in the school, though from Africa, had a constant complaint. This staff cultivated a farm accessible by the villagers. Several times this staff moaned: "people keep stealing my vegetables" (Interviews/minority voices/ 6, 9, 13). Further discussion revealed that, in his/her (for anonymity) opinion, the villagers did not seriously consider that to be stealing. "I blame it on their *Ujamaa*" was the conclusion.

Overall, the staff and students of the school expressed their admiration for the sense of community and cooperation they had seen in the village community. Here are some examples from the written responses to the questionnaires returned by staff and student participants in the school:

> **Julia Camara Tabone (Teacher): …**The community spirit is inculcated into the young members of the village for the benefit of self and others.
>
> **Sr. Innocentia (Nun):** In this community (referring to the village) what I learnt is that to live in solidarity with others is very important…
>
> (Written Interview/School-Village Culture/61).

The nun who used that word 'solidarity' later explained it to me in a way that is faithful to, or equates with, the idea of Communalism described earlier. According to her, the people helped 'to bear each other's burdens.' She explained how people would routinely take turns to water the farm of a sick farmer. Other staff members expressed their appreciation for the togetherness that marked life in the village community. The researcher was informed about a practice known as *harambee,* which the participant said is even better practiced in other parts of East Africa such as Kenya. This is a form of fundraising for a sick or bereaved member of the community or anyone in dire need of a substantial amount of money. Friends and relatives are expected to make financial contributions in such emergencies. Thus the UN standard of poverty does not apply here.[47] That benchmark does not appreciate the impact of *Harambee.* According to one of the teachers, *Harambee* makes it possible for a very poor man to even afford a wedding ceremony with lots of food and drinks for more than a hundred guests. The students were even more in admiration of the community life of the village.

Students' Views of Village Reviewed

The comments of some of the students could be put in the context of "missing home" while in a boarding school rurally located. That may be the case with this one:

> ***Estella:*** … on our parts (as for us), parents will help (with providing material needs) but it is very difficult for them to know our problems and know our (personal) needs … because he or she doesn't spend much time with his or her daughter... (Oral Interview/School-Village Culture/43).

[47] The UN standard is the possession of less than $1 a day.

Estella said she would much prefer a life without luxury but with a community spirit as obtained in the village. She would not, though, settle for what she saw as the abject poverty that existed there. Thus this is not a glorification of the villagers' life. It is rather an appreciation of an aspect of their culture that the participants in the school would like to integrate into the life of the school community. Based on such comments as the one above, it could be argued that, for teenagers leaving home for the first time and denied in boarding school much of the luxury they are used to back home, it would not be unusual that some students would see value in a close-knit rural family life. One student had described the village community in these terms:

"At least someone cares."

(Participant Observation/School-Village Culture/9).

On the other hand, there is absolutely no luxury in the life of the village children to attract these elite students en masse to life in the village community. Only a few of these students may have been speaking out of being home sick. This is not certain. Besides the tiny minority who may only have been longing to be reunited with their immediate families back home, a much larger number of students spoke in different ways about their admiration of the sense of togetherness which they saw in the village families. Is there an inherent loneliness in urban life, crowded but alone? Here are a few examples of students who, I felt sure, were not speaking out of a longing for the long holiday as well as the hugs of parents and siblings back home. This first comment below was made while other students were speaking about the poverty of the villagers:

> **Emy (Student):** Although in the village, the people living there are poor, they have decency of humanity and so live a healthy and happy life.
>
> **Researcher:** What do you mean by 'decency of humanity'?
>
> **Emy:** Oh, I mean that even if they are poor, they see themselves as a group instead of every person on their own. For me, sir, they live as one big family compared to us in the school or at home. Yeah, that is what I see… (Oral Interview/School-Village Culture/4).

Emy's comment was in no way an indictment of the school for not providing an adequate community spirit nor of her family as not loving enough. Staff and students may be comparatively too busy for some of the cultural niceties of the local culture. On many occasions I heard *karibu sana*, meaning you are most welcome, from villagers working in their farms. The word *karibu* occurred very often in the conversations in the village but not as much in the school. *Asante* or *asante sana* were also regularly used at the end of conversations in the village. People were grateful for my visits to their homes. It should have been the contrary, but they were the ones constantly saying *asante*. The only equivalent display of such gratitude observed in the school community was on the day some student participants were compensated with soft drinks for sacrificing their play time to speak with the researcher about *Ujamaa*. They were invited into the school's tuck shop, and the researcher ordered a bottle of coke or an equivalent soft drink for each participant during the interview. As they filed out of the shop after the interview conversation, each one said 'thank you sir' and disappeared. (Participant Observation/School-Village Culture/9).

Therefore I think Emy's comment above was more descriptive rather than judgmental. The students still loved their families and school community; yet they were captivated by what one of them described as "learning as a family". Could this be an example of a failure in the educational system where the role of the family in the student's education appears to have been surrendered to the school? Some authors see the failure to acknowledge the role of the family in traditional socialization processes as representing a distortion in the IPS system (Serpell 1993, p. 22). The next comment provides more specific details about the source of the togetherness perceived in the village:

> **Elias:** When we go there (the village) we find that children work with their parents. When they wake up in the morning, they go with their parents to do some work like farming, and there is cooperation among them because everyone is doing the same thing. For us, every person in the family has their own work. (Oral Interview/School-Village Culture/26).

The above comment may give the impression that much of the cooperation comes from the nature of the villagers' activities of subsistence farming and other daily "works of survival" – as someone in the school put it. That may be true. There was also another observation expressed by the students indicating that, not only do rural parents spend more time with their families, life in the town and city often does not promote a community spirit.

> **James**: …compared to them (the village community) in town there are so many things, like electricity, and for them (the villagers) there is no electricity. With the presence of electricity, somebody can be using the computer all the time from morning to evening.

Researcher: And…

James: …be on the computer; they don't know what is going on about their brother or sister… (Oral Interview/School-Village Culture/53).

What James was saying in a roundabout way is that gadgets like computers and satellite television, now common in many African towns, often adversely affect the spirit of community. I visited a rich family in Dodoma and my host turned on a large-screen television (presumably to entertain me) rather than the repeated greetings and social conversations that would characterize a visit to the village. While staying at a hotel not far from the Dar es Salaam airport, a man I spoke with expressed his concern about the culture of "individual meal" in the country. He said the ritual of a family sharing a meal together was fast disappearing in the cities, partly due to the emergence of fast foods.

Despite the emphasis on community, the school community did not seem to want a socio-political system based on communal living – such as *Ujamaa*. Nyerere was still fondly referred to as *Mwalimu* – meaning "the teacher" in Kiswahili. However, many of the school participants did not consider his *Ujamaa* philosophy as still applicable to Tanzania. Accompanied by the head boy and head girl of the school, I moved around the classrooms and hostels asking a simple question of the participants: "Do you think the *Ujamaa* philosophy is good for Tanzania?" The majority of staff and students responded "No". It was not immediately clear what one should make of the seeming inconsistency between the value placed on community by the school participants and their negative comments about *Ujamaa.* Apparently, there is no necessary link here. Contrasts in the community spirit of the village and of the school would later be further strengthened by views from the village.

Village Affirms "Tuko pamoja" or Community as Value

To briefly recap, the students of the elite school said the village children were closer to their parents and siblings than were the students themselves. One reason given is that the rural children worked with their parents in the field. The field becomes like a school where learning is done in cooperation. What is learnt is of obvious relevance to the individual and the community, and there is not the least competition during this field activity. According to the students, this bonding among the village families is something most desirable, especially where elite parents only pay the bills and have no time for much quality conversation in the family. In the end, although the elite students have all they need, including computer games and other gadgets, they do not have anything like the close ties that the village children enjoy. And they said the situation was the same regarding the relationship with their siblings. The elite students' comments become more glaring in contrast to the views of the villagers. Some of the children in the village were clear that education should not separate them from their community, instead should be a way to improve the lot of their community. Some of them were shocked to hear that, in the West, there is such a thing as 'old people's home' where the elderly are cared for by strangers.

> **Researcher:** We talked about this before; you said you could not imagine not having your grandmother and grandfather at home. Is that true of other families in the village; would they all have their grandparents at home?
>
> **Kamalo**: Yes, they are all at home.
>
> **Researcher**: Shege, your grandparents live with you at home.
>
> **Shege:** Yeah. (Gesticulation indicating where else would they go?)

Researcher: What if they are so very old and can't take care of themselves, you don't send them to an institution where people are employed to care for them?

Evariste: No, we don't have that programme here.

Researcher: Well, it's not a programme; so you don't have old people's home?

All (in unison): No, no, no…

Kamalo: We stay with them at home.

(Oral Interview/School-Village Culture/59).

Indeed there was no old people's home. Many old people who had lived in the city rather came back to the village. This may be true anywhere else, as older people may prefer the countryside to the hustle and bustle of the city. It seems in this case that the communal life of the village, where elders are loved and respected, was more life-giving for a retiree than any possible nursing home in the city. The above conversation continued as the boys explained the importance of caring for the elderly within the family. It was obvious that the spirit of community or *tuko pamoja*, as the Western volunteers in the school call it, served a social function for the people of the village. Whether or not one agrees with the view held by some African intellectuals that *community* or "Communalism" is a characteristic element of any indigenous African culture (Letseka 2000, p. 181-183; Mbiti 1969; WIREDU 1998) the survival of these rural people seemed to me to depend on *tuko pamoja*. Again, even this supreme quality ought not to be exaggerated.

Not So Communal – Says Minority Voice

The survival of rural people may depend on *tuko pamoja,* but a few participants explained that this is not always the case. According to an adult participant:

> **Sacul:** Many are killed by these same rural people.
>
> (Participant Observation/Minority Voices/8)

I was then made aware, reminded, of the mob justice in many rural areas of the country. This had to do with villagers' reactions to fatal accidents on highways running through rural villages. I was told that when such an accident involves, for example, a lorry and a small car, causing the death of a passenger in the car, the people of the village rush onto the scene and attack the lorry and its driver. The same fate would befall the car and its driver if it were involved in an accident with a cyclist or pedestrian, resulting in the death of the cyclist or pedestrian. The mob would not be interested in the cause of the accident. They would simply descend on the larger vehicle or on any vehicle if a cyclist or pedestrian died in an accident. I asked a Priest–participant if this could be a subtle resentment against socio-economic inequality? This was his response:

> **Fr. Kikongo:** It is solidarity with the underdog – although a strange one that I cannot agree with nor fully understand.
>
> (Oral Interview/Minority Voices/12)

Below is a photograph of a vehicle that was stoned by a rural community not far from the site of study after a road accident involving a different vehicle and a pedestrian. The aim of the stone attack was to either kill or inflict serious bodily harm on the motorists. Such a violent attack should dispel any pacifist impression or generalization about a rural African community.

Figure 24: Vehicle Damaged by a Rural Community in Tanzania





Above are pictures of the vehicle I travelled in to the site of study; the photos were taken by a research colleague and show the damage done to the vehicle by a rural community in Tanzania.

(D) A Theistic Dimension: Religion as Cultural Value

More than Communalism, another cultural value, religion, may even be more central to the people's belief. The participant observation overwhelmingly showed that religion is even more characteristic of the people than Communalism. The word *Mungu,* which means God, was heard often. Much was ascribed to God, including good health and any event of joy. There may be a few people who do not cooperate with others, or do not feel a sense of belonging to the community, but everyone in the village and in the school professed one form of belief or another in God. Practically all participants and everyone encountered in the field had a religion. There were no atheists. Although people belonged to different faiths and denominations, there was no religious antagonism.

Mr. Niku: Yes, everyone is a believer, we have different religions here. Christianity is practiced; Islam is also done (sic) and others do practice traditional religion, but the upstanding (outstanding?) one is Christianity. There are so many denominations, but these religions are practiced freely; nobody disrupts the religion of the other, everybody prays peacefully.

Researcher: So it's not like in my country, Nigeria, where the Muslims and the Christians are always fighting.

Mr. Arri: Not at all, no, not at all.

Researcher: So there are no atheists here?

Mr. Niku and Mr. Arri: Noo! (Mr. Niku adds "That's a strange story).

Researcher: In England, it's not a strange story at all.

Mr. Arri: But are they very serious in believing in that?

Researcher: Well, as far as I can see, yes.

Mr. Nicholas: On Sundays, what do they usually do, if they don't believe in God?

Researcher: Some watch football, some go and visit friends…

Mr. Arri: We can't believe it. (Both laugh)

(Oral Interview/Theistic Dimension/19)

The above would be a typical conversation on the issue of religion and atheism among the research study participants. It would represent the view of nearly all the participants. The idea of atheism or an atheist was foreign to many people there. I explained to some participants, who had never heard of the word, what *atheism* means. The idea that the world came into being of its own accord was very strange to them, often greeted with laughter. This is a striking dichotomy often presented between the Western and African worldviews. As Chivaura puts it:

> The differences between African and European worldviews ... relate to differences in their attitudes towards the material and the spiritual. Africans regard them as compatible (Chivaura 2006, p. 214).

As evident in the data, the emphasis on the spiritual is indeed strong in Africa, where there is a holistic interrelationship between nature, human beings and the supernatural. Such a holistic worldview is often seen as a challenge to the teaching of science (Fakudze 2003; Jegede 1995; Ntuli 2002; Ogunnyi 2003). Some have proposed an alternative knowledge system where the sacredness of reality is essential (Chilesa 2003). According to Ntuli, writing from her West African context:

> with rural people, and even with many township dwellers in South Africa, the role of divine beings, ancestors, sacred places (like isivivane), sacred people and sacred objects needs to be addressed. To touch on these issues is to compel our Westernised intellectuals to experience severe conceptual violence, and yet many of them secretly subscribe to these beliefs (2002, p. 63).

I would argue that when one reflects on the history of Western societies, it becomes evident that the 'Western world' has had a very strong religious heritage (Durant 1927; Delanty 2000; Breidlid 2002). Therefore, this particular dichotomy may not be as strong as it is often presented. Nonetheless, to return to the data, religion appeared to be a most pervasive attribute both in the school and in the village. It is impossible to overemphasize the strong religious motivation that was present both in the elite school and in the village community. How should this ubiquitous characteristic be understood?

I did not engage in theological debates with the participants. A general inference would therefore suffice as a participant observer. It could be inferred that the nature of the participants' religious attitude is a belief in a creator of the human and non-human world. The details about this creator were determined by the individual's particular religion or denomination. There was generally not much concern for differences in doctrines. One of the villagers said he was a Catholic, but when a new Pentecostal church was opened less farther away the family switched to the nearby church. I was slightly disconcerted by this but had to control my reaction. There was also evidence of syncretism. Some people seemed to occasionally combine contradictory traditional beliefs with their Christian faith, by melding or merging local religious practices with Christian rituals. During the pilot study, I had spoken with a learned lady who adamantly remained faithful to her traditional religion. The text of that conversation is an example of such religious melding or syncretism (see appendix 5). The situation was slightly different with the school.

School With a Religious Vision

Like the village, the school had a religious outlook. The very interaction by the school with the village community seemed to have a religious motive. This was definitely true of the school as an institution; a religious vision inspired its mission statement of social justice and particularly of outreach to the poor. Many in the school, staff and students, had embraced the vision. Therefore at the individual level there was evidence of a religious motivation among many of the participants as well. A participant in the school drew my attention to this pericopé:

> Suppose a brother or a sister is without clothes and daily food. If one of you says to them, "Go in peace; keep warm and well fed," but does nothing about their physical needs, what good is it? (James 2:15-16)

The education in the school was therefore not a mere transfer of knowledge but had another dimension that involved the development of a moral and religious character. This moral-religious aspect could be regarded as the Theistic dimension of the school community relationship. The emphasis on syllabus and meeting targets sometimes overshadowed this moral and religious dimension. Besides the various religious activities that took place in the school, this dimension manifested itself in the social outreach of the school community. Staff and students seemed to be completely altruistic during outreach activities like the Community Service or CS. By contrast, the daily business of knowledge transfer understandably appeared self-centred. Teachers were often preoccupied with marking of scripts and furnishing students with their grades, but the Theistic dimension of the school appeared to be the source of authentic altruism. The school community prayed for others at the Mass and prayer sessions; there they remembered the poor and the suffering.

Therefore the school's CS and general relationship with the village appeared to have received more inspiration from the Theistic dimension of the school. The same cannot be said of the other aspects of the school's life, especially the curricular transfer of knowledge. The impact of the Theistic was evident in the students. Despite being still very young to have a religious vocation, a number of students spoke from a religious perspective.

> **Researcher**: Let me ask you all one question: why do you volunteer to go to the village?
>
> **Rual**: I am a Christian
>
> **Researcher**: Okay, and you, is it also because you are a Christian?
>
> **AYUBA**: No I am not a Christian. I am Muslim.
>
> **Researcher:** Oh…tell me more about that, so your father is Muslim?
>
> **AYUBA**: Yes, and my mother too.
>
> **Researcher:** Are they happy that you are doing this Christian project?
>
> **AYUBA**: Yeah, they know it and are happy for me helping poor people. We have this too in Islam
>
> (Oral Interview/Theistic Dimension/21)

That turned out not to be an isolated case, as a number of other Muslim students were involved in this otherwise Christian mission of helping the indigent village community. The Theistic dimension of their education appears to be what enabled them to enter into a dialogue with the local people. This aspect of the students' education is similar to what Martin Buber calls "Education of Character" in *Between Man and Man* (Buber 2014). As Morgan and Guilherme note, education for Buber is dialogical and enables the student to transcend individualism. Buber's "dialogical education fosters moral and ethical attitudes…it encourages respect and a loving attitude towards the Other…" (Morgan & Guilherme 2014, pp. 100-101). The students in this study were learning to live selflessly, morally and ethically, based on a clearly religious motivation. Here is another example that appears to be evidence of a religious motivation in the participants. The following occurred 'out of the blue' in the middle of an interview session with a number of students.

> **Uturumihe:** Can we sing a song that is related to charity? … a Swahili song.
>
> **Researcher:** What, you want to sing a song (in the middle of an interview session)? …Okay… just use this (mic).
>
> (CHILDREN SINGING)
>
> **Researcher:** Excellent, so could you say what that song means…
>
> **Uturumihe:** The meaning of this song is that without God's love, we are nothing, but with love, we are something, so we should love people as we love ourselves.
>
> **Researcher:** Excellent, that's great, thank you.
>
> (Oral Interview/Theistic Dimension/6)

Upon reflection, the central theme of that song is a common denominator of the various religious manifestations evident among the school participants. The idea of God's love (to be shared with others) or of a loving God (creator) is central to the interaction between the school and village community. Their various religions or denominations may have different doctrines, but in the lived experience of the people doctrinal differences were not an issue. There were no academic debates about heresies. The people's religious faith was not about an elaborate set of theological truths that separate religions. It was a belief in a loving God and an invitation to share that love with others. This observation prompted further reflections, which were entered into the research journal (Participant Observation/Religion/13). The reflections are summarised below**.**

The people's faith in a loving God amidst so much poverty and suffering is striking. The atheistic position would argue that the reality of evil provides one kind of argument to deny the existence of such a benevolent God. For these participants, the very essence of their faith lies in the sense of triumph for being able to believe in such a God despite experiencing setbacks in life. I have elaborated on this elsewhere:

> Across different religious traditions, though variously exaggerated among fundamentalist groups, one finds this adamant quality of faith (Ibhakewanlan 2014a, p. 65).

This quality, for example, is the perspective of the Christian faith found in the theology of St. Paul. According to Paul, people with Faith are the ones that Hope amidst suffering in a God of Love. This could be summed up in the famous passage from his First Letter to the Corinthians (13.13): "And so there are only three things that last, faith, hope and love. But the greatest of these is love."

Faith That Does Justice Because Rooted in Love

Love is the force that propels justice. The school's commitment to social justice is not merely the product of reason. While reason is not to be neglected, it should be shaped by Love. It seems that Love enabled the school's striving to uplift people who daily experience poverty and suffering.

However, religion, by itself, did not take away the socio-economic divide among participants. They were all religious devotees, but they remained the rich and poor devotees. The religious attitude of the elite was less likely to border on superstition; the school community was more likely to speak of God's love and the village tending more to speak of miracles. The nuns and some staff in the school would often go in their cars to the local Church and attend Mass with the villagers. After the prayers, each returned to their socio-economic state. God was for all but each for himself or herself. Even in the unifying activity of worship, there are still two cultures – of the elite and the indigent.

It therefore seemed to me that although much happiness resulted from the various religious experiences on Sundays, the rest of the week was more affected by the sundry material needs of life. Pious religion alone did not seem capable of addressing the stark inequality even at worship. Something more responsive was needed, and I was not sure what that could be (Participant Observation/Theistic Dimension/16).

(E) A Culturally Responsive Teaching Approach

The fifth theme from the data deals more directly with CR at a pedagogical level. Hence this section of the data concerned more the teaching staff. The teachers in the school were mostly young and vibrant. Many taught with great passion and effectively carried their students along. The teaching was mostly based on the transmissive approach. It was also observed that the school practitioners' understanding of teaching and learning was in terms of "inculcating in the students" facts and figures.

> **Omondi:** The focus of my work in the school is to impart in my students knowledge of the subject matter (Oral Interview/CR Pedagogy/7).

The implication of the point Omondi was making is that the academic duties of the school were, arguably, too overwhelming to allow for much else besides *"to impart the subject matter."* Hence it seemed the school practitioners did not have enough time to enable students to make as much connections between their studies and the important issues in the society – be it the community or nation. Some teachers said it was all about setting questions and marking one assignment or the other. The teachers' fear was that if they spend too much time on interactions aimed at helping students marry the subject matter with their local culture and related matters, they may consequently miss their deadlines. There is therefore the problem of the curriculum, which assigns to each teacher a scheme of work that must be covered and examined or assessed. Hence the result tends to be transmissive teaching and rote learning. Would not the task of identifying talents be difficult where there is so much emphasis on 'covering' the syllabus and achieving high grades or scores?

I raised the problem of rote learning with one of the teachers, who simply said it is only possible to have non-transmissive teaching in Europe or America. Based on his experience, he was of the view that a chalk-and-talk approach still dominates education in much of Africa. However, as Thompson rightly cautions, "The idea that all western approaches to schooling are consistently learner-centred and that African approaches are always transmissive would be a caricature" (Thompson 2013, p. 50). If a learner-centred educational approach is to be applied from a Western country or institution to an African institution, however, Thompson suggests that the professional language be 'culturally translated' to respect their conception of the world and communicative habits. Such adaptation is consistent with the Culturally Responsive approach, but it was not clear in the field how that transition could take place within the current educational system. Some of the teachers would have liked to spend more time interacting with students and encouraging them to learn by using real life situations to explain the subject matter.

> **School Admin staff:** "We would like to see our curriculum based more on the everyday lives of our students, but you can only do so much?"
>
> **Aziza:** I would love to know more about each of my students, have much information about their backgrounds, especially those from … (different places). Now we just group all the students into one as "the students" (gesticulating to indicate a collective and impersonal sense) *(*Oral Interview/CR Pedagogy/3, 5).

What the above two participants from the school say they have not been able to do is precisely one of the guidelines of CR in education. According to the National Centre for Culturally Responsive Educational Systems (NCCREST) in America, an essential principle of a culturally responsive education is "*learning about students' past experiences, home and community culture."* According to NCCREST, by learning about the culture and world outside the school, the teacher is able to use the cultural experiences for teaching and learning (Campbell-Whatley *et al*. 2006, p. 6).

It also seemed the students themselves had settled into the transmissive learning of the school. But one student felt that education does not delve into things that matter to her. Another compared life in the school to the village community.

> **Lucy**: I wish our studies were done in cooperation like the way the children in the village live.
>
> **Researcher:** How do they live?
>
> **Lucy**: I mean studying together and achieving everything together, no first, second and third... (Oral Interview/CR Pedagogy/11).

This student was a minority voice. It is not clear what may have influenced her view. The rest of the school community generally saw and pursued teaching and learning as transmissive and teacher-centred. Yet this was not necessarily by choice, as already mentioned; the transmissive approach rather appeared as the best way to 'cover' (rather than uncover) the curriculum within the given time-frame. This is in line with research findings that have examined how differences about knowledge production and other material differences in teaching conditions influence teachers' understandings of the learner-centred approach.

Based on a 5-year collaboration of American and Tanzanian teachers focusing on six Tanzanian secondary schools whose teachers participated in a workshop on the learner-centred approach, the study found "that teachers' views of knowledge production are profoundly shaped by the cultural, economic, and social contexts in which they teach" (Vavrus & Bartlett 2012, p. 634). I think the findings in this study corroborate the above conclusion. The workload, curriculum organisation, school schedule and the general working conditions of teachers, are contextual factors in determining the pedagogy.

Another factor that may have influenced the transmissive approach observed is the Language of Education or LoE. The fact that the teaching was in English, as opposed to the local language, may also not be favorable to a more creative approach to teaching. The absence of a local LoE in this circumstance would have been particularly disadvantageous for the few village children admitted into the school. A point was made during an interview about a tendency for 'local' children to always speak in Kiswahili. For such children who are especially rooted in their local language, a foreign language may not render well the cultural symbols that help to connect teaching to the community's reality. How would "cultural translation" help in this case?

I earlier mentioned in the literature review, the possibility of "bringing versed custodians of the local traditions into mainstream formal education. Yet even if these custodians of the indigenous culture were to be allowed access to the school as in Nigeria's OAU (Obafemi Awolowo University) mentioned earlier, though unlikely in this case, for the purpose of disseminating IK to the elite students, the language of education in the school would remain an issue. This is a perennial problem, the language of education or LoE. As the LoE is crucial to the central topic of Cultural Responsiveness in education, it must be examined as a theme of its own.

(F) Are you a *Mzungu?* - Language of Education

A most fascinating aspect of life in Africa is linguistic pluralism. For example, although Sierra-Leone is about the size of Scotland, the West African country has 16 mutually unintelligible languages. Four of them are officially national languages in that country. Putting the number of languages in Sub-Saharan Africa at over 1,250 (one thousand, two hundred and fifty) the 1980 World Bank report on education in Africa stated: "The diversity of linguistic backgrounds in Sub-Saharan Africa greatly complicates teaching (World Bank 1988, p. 43).

The participants did not have such a problem of a complex multi-lingualism. Everywhere, people communicated in Kiswahili. Even foreigners were expected to have some basic level of Kiswahili. I did not. On many occasions, people were surprised or maybe disappointed that I, an African, could only communicate with them in English. Hence one participant once asked if I was a *Mzungu* – meaning a foreigner in this case but normally means a white person. As a result of the prevalence of the local language everywhere and in every aspect of life, Tanzanians have had a reputation of not being as good in English language as other Africans.

> **Kaba**: You notice our (Tanzanians) English is not very good, eh?
>
> **Researcher**: Why do you say that?
>
> **Kaba**: Because we use Kiswahili as our national language, we don't speak English as well as other countries.
>
> **Researcher**: Well, at least you have a national language.
>
> **Kaba**: English is the language of education. Everyone has to learn it and use it well.

Researcher: Would you rather have Kiswahili as the language of education?

Kaba: Of course, from primary to university, but it is no longer feasible *(*Oral Interview/LoE/11).

It seemed to me like a tragedy that a country that proudly employs the local language in practically all other aspects of life is forced to use a colonial language as the LoE. On the other hand, "forced" may not be the right word because Tanzania was arguably the most radical African country historically on the issue of LoE. Brigit Brock-Utne examined Tanzanian's "reintroduction of English from the 5th grade in primary school in maths and science in the Kiswahili speaking island of Zanzibar" (2013). She criticized as "unfounded" the belief in many Anglophone African countries that English is better than the local languages in the teaching of maths and science. English may be developing as the LoE in other non-colonial settings, such as in the Netherlands, but this is after an educational/intellectual tradition has been established in the local languages of such countries. I severally tried to discuss this issue of LoE with a number of the participants. There was a divided opinion on the issue. Some argued that education would have genuine impact in the country if the LoE were Kiswahili. Others said it was more important to be in touch with the rest of the world.

Kaba: English is the language of global business.

Researcher: Is it really 'either or'; could you maintain both languages?

Kaba: You have to tell that to them…(pointing a forefinger upward)

Researcher: Them?

Kaba: The government (laughs) (Oral Interview/LoE/6).

Each one to whom I proposed a midway point on the language issue, as in the above conversation, did not feel it was within their power to make a difference. In the end, everyone agreed that it is ultimately the responsibility of policy-makers. Such agreement appeared more like an escape, I observed. It seemed like the proverbial important job that everybody was sure that somebody would do so nobody did it. Kaba's attitude of laughing off the language issue would not alert the policy makers about the urgency of a local LoE.

A striking observation during the entire fieldwork was how strenuous it was to have a conversation through an interpreter. After hours of simultaneously translating back and forth for me (into English) and for the villagers (into Kiswahili), the interpreter was often visibly fatigued. He may have occasionally felt frustrated as well. To varied extents, this is what was happening in the classrooms. An African teaching in English is ultimately translating continuously the subject matter. The subtleties of much valuable knowledge may be lost in translation for cultural reasons. This is because academic knowledge and skills are best learned using the cultural "frames of reference of students" (Gay 2002 p. 114). Language is an integral part of the culture. Various authors have described as ludicrous "the notion that education has nothing to do with cultural heritage…is about teaching intellectual, vocational and civic skills" (Gay 2010, p. 22). The gravity of this is that it is a human rights issue for people to learn in their own language:

> Indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions, providing education in their own languages… (United-Nations, 2007).

That right to a local LoE appeared to be obscured by global and economic concerns. This was the perceived danger, fear of linguistic isolation or impoverishment, evident in the data gathered.

In summary, as a participant observer, the elite students in this study were more fluent in English compared to the people in the village community. The students nonetheless spoke at a faster pace when speaking in Kiswahili. Their responses were quicker when they spoke with others in Kiswahili during informal conversations. With the villagers, on the other hand, I sometimes had to ask for a 'translation' even while we were communicating in English – supposedly. Yet English is the language of teaching and learning for all, elite and rural alike. This put the children of the village at a disadvantage. Does this have to be the case in a country with a national language that is seen, as one participant put it, as "the home of Kiswahili?" Many consider Kiswahili the most fast spreading local language in Africa? "Swahili is incredibly powerful as a *lingua franca* in Tanzania and is not likely to yield this particular status to English" (Eleuthera 2007, p. 25). However, some of the young people in the village, the minority mentioned in the previous chapter, placed their hope in the English language. In the battle for survival in a competitive world, they did not see a bright future for themselves armed chiefly with Kiswahili. This market value of language was a strong element for the young men.

On the one hand, the global dominance of English was taken for granted and pursuing a local LoE seen as futile. Yet people remain conscious of their tribal or local identity outside the classroom. Forcing people to learn in the colonial language has not taken away their affiliation to their various tribes or clans. As I will explain below, that allegiance in this particular case is not to be understood as tribalism.

(G) The Nation or the Tribe

During the pilot study in Nigeria, I encountered a problem with the initial aim of this project. The research design originally involved producing a cultural and language 'translation' of the standard entrance examination into secondary school for the benefit of indigent/indigenous people (see appendix 1). I presumed that the translation would be undertaken in the generic Hausa language of the area. However, after discussing with the chief and elders of the village community where the elite school was located, the community explained that any such translation should be in the original language of the particular ethnic group native to that village. This proved impossible because the village was no longer ethnically homogenous. Indigent children from other tribes were also members of the village and would be excluded if Hausa were not used.

Unlike many African countries, such as Nigeria with more than 350 different ethnic groups and languages, Tanzania is more homogenous (Okonjo-Iweala 2012, p. 1). I did not notice such strong tribal affiliation in Tanzania. This sense of the relative homogeneity of this East African country affected the nature of my eventual participant observation. The fact that everyone spoke the same language, Kiswahili, made me initially assume an ethnic homogeneity. I therefore tended to ignore some comments from participants who told me:

> "I am …. (name) from…(mentioning their particular part of the country)."

It was while going through my notes long after the fieldwork had ended that it dawned on me that I had failed to hear what people were saying to me across Africa. This was more evident during the pilot study in West Africa. I have included here data during the sampling in Ghana.

Researcher: Hello, I am John-Okoria from Nigeria

Teacher: I am Doris from the Volta Region; you're welcome…

(Oral Interview/Nation or Tribe/1).

There were several of such occasions where people introduced themselves to me mentioning their particular ethnic group or their part of the country. I had overlooked that aspect of the data. When I later phoned Doris to ask why it seems some people see themselves first as part of an ethnic group rather than as citizens of the country, the response came:

Blood is thick! You see, the tribe is natural,

but the country is artificial (Oral Interview/Nation or Tribe/2).

Yet this is an important characteristic of CR, *socio-cultural consciousness* - which refers to an awareness of how one's own thinking and behaviour are influenced by ethnicity, social class and language. This influence cannot be less true of Africa, where there are different tribes, often conflicting and speaking different languages. Despite being a fairly homogenous country by African standards, there were several distinctive Tanzanian ethnic groups encountered during this fieldwork. I did not observe any tribalism in Tanzania so the use of the word 'tribe' may be problematic here. In an ethnographic study of Tanzania, Phillips and Stambach (2008) showed that educational opportunities are often acquired in the country through close social relationships of reciprocity and within families and their extended kin. I would therefore prefer to see the Tanzanian case in terms of close family ties or kinship or clan.

Generally, in Africa, I have noticed that people who did not necessarily know their local MP knew their local tribal chief or elder. This relates to the question of whether traditional African chiefs, age groups and women's groups, could play any role in IPS. Furthermore, should not this sense of identity, the tribe, be part of the process of adapting education "to the needs of the common people" (Dougall 1950, p.313)? Of course, Dougall was not referring to the tribe. I am aware here that tribalism is generally a feared word, more so in academic circles. I observed that people of different clans generally try to show that everyone lives in peace and harmony with others. This appeared very true of Tanzania, both in words and deeds. Yet this was also the impression given in West Africa, where there are many tribes with mutually unintelligible languages and who sometimes engage in violent tribal disputes. During an earlier fieldwork in Rwanda, all the Tutsi and Hutu I met spoke of people of the different tribes living together in peace and harmony. While in Tanzania for this project, Rwanda commemorated the 20th anniversary of the ethnic genocide that saw the tribal massacre of 800,000 ethnic Tutsi (www.historyplace.com/worldhistory/**genocide**/**rwanda**.htm). Of the violent tribal disputes in Africa, one need not say more but note and pass on.

Suffice it to mention here that allegiance to one's tribe should not necessarily mean hatred of other tribes. People were proud of their particular clan, and after a prolonged and careful review, I have noted such pride as a positive cultural value. It is the last theme presented from the data, though not necessarily the least important, before looking at the Minority Voices.

(H) From the Mouth of Babes: Reiterating the Minority Voices

First, who generally were these Minority Voices and what may have influenced their views? Factors such as age, gender and status may have affected the views of the Minority Voices. They were mostly young males of no particular influence in their society. Could their comments be the outcome of those factors? There were other similar young males among the participants who did not share such views. On the other hand, none of the elderly participants held any of these minority views. Could the older/other participants have been conscious of the fact that I am an African researcher who would be sympathetic to a particular African cultural perspective? One could as well say that the young men may have been influenced by the Western media or some other external factor. It is difficult to ascertain what may have influenced any viewpoint. Given that there is no evidence of adverse factors within the research process itself, it is fair to consider the Minority views as valuable to the findings.

The Minority Voices have already been integrated into the above seven themes. An eighth Node was created for the Minority Voices in Nvivo to ensure that such voices were not lost in the data. It is hoped that this has not been a rosy presentation of the school and village communities. The Minority Voices have ensured that there was a more balanced data presentation. Abednego and his friends saw the traditional African culture as capable of perpetuating poverty. These important voices were appreciated, such as the teacher who complained that the African culture does not encourage time-management. More importantly, the views of Abednego and his friends hold a special place in this thesis.

Not Limerence But IK as Ephemeral

Abednego and his friends did not lose respect for their traditional norms and cultural identity. They were also not merely infatuated with the images they saw in the Western media. Their views represent a genuine critique from within of the possibility for IK to preserve and reproduce a culture of poverty. In this postcolonial epoch, IK may be ephemeral. Such knowledge is of little economic value, an unspoken truth among the vast majority of participants. Abednego and his friends articulated this, and the migrants to the cities may have voted with their feet as well. According to the young men, the traditional or native knowledge, local ways of knowing and worldview, is not economically viable. What is the point of attempting to restore Indigenous knowledge systems to a starving population?

The culture that needs to be addressed seems to be that of an ever-growing inequality. The rural community may have IK, but they are indigent. And no one in the school or village wanted to become poor or remain impoverished. In summary, none in the village or in the school advocated for a total return to rural living and to IK as a replacement for IPS. Thus, despite being a tiny percentage of the population, the Minority Voices have proved to be most significant in this study. At the end of the data collection, I invited one of the young men to the school, and it was the day I gave my closing words to a group of students.

Closing Words to Student Community

I met the people of the village individually in their homes, farms, market or Church. While it was not possible to meet the villagers as a group, it was much easier to address a group of students and staff at the end of the fieldwork. Here is a sample of one of the farewell interactions with a group of students.

> **Researcher:** So, that has been very good. You do a lot of things for the children in the village, and I thank you so much for that. Continue to teach them and give them food plus other items. More importantly, it is what you have been learning from them that struck me most. Those things you have learnt from them you should keep in mind, because you can enrich your own life because of these things that you've picked up. Whether rich or poor, it is very good to have a sense of bonding with one's family and community. It's also good for us to be close to nature and care for the environment. So thank you very much, and I wish you all the best as you go home on holidays. I am sure I'll see some of you around again. How do you say goodbye in Swahili?
>
> **All:** Kwaheri.
>
> **Researcher:** So kwaheri….

Summary of Key Findings Alongside Research Problem

In the above pages I have presented some of the raw data from the fieldwork. In the end, despite the disparity between them, both communities (school and village) appear to gain from the relationship and may have even more to gain from each other in the future. In exploring that relationship, the key findings were categorised under themes identified based on my reflections during participant observation and in relation to issues raised repeatedly by the respondents. The minority voices have been seriously taken into consideration.

These key findings respond to the research question of how education could become responsive in a way that addresses the socio-economic inequality in Africa. This goes beyond a mere translation of cultural symbols (Banda 2008) or gathering a set of Culturally Responsive teaching strategies (Hill 2012). In terms of culture, however, it is the spirit of cooperation as a community that stands out for me in the data from the village. Student after student commented on the communal value of the village culture. Both staff and students expressed great appreciation for the village culture. A love rooted in service equally stands out in the data from the school. The village children were full of appreciation for the concern shown them by the school community.

How do the themes from the data generally address the topic and research questions of this study? The first of the two-fold problem at the epicentre of my investigation is the impoverishment of the rural poor, or indigenous-indigent; the second is that African elite students have become more and more "alienated from their indigenous traditions and communities of origin" (Herzog 2008, p. 99).

John Herzog notes the consequences of such alienation: “for many decades poor nations have sought to emulate the education systems of rich countries… in most poor countries, however, these attempts produced disappointing results” (*Ibid.* p. 98). Perpetuating this disappointment is an elitism that was identifiable soon after most African countries gained political independence. In the decade that followed independence, postcolonial education began separating the African populace into the urbanised elite and the rural indigent. In Zambia, for example, the Ministry of Education there conducted an evaluation of the country’s educational system and “The main finding was that the education system was creating class inequalities producing an elite class with an individualistic and white-collar mentality, who despised manual work…” (Banda 2008, p. 57). The report of that education ministry resulted or culminated in an Education for Development policy, which, as in many other African countries, was never implemented. It was seen as socialist, in line with the climate of the time. The Cold War years that followed Africa’s independence affected the policies of African governments. It was “the era too of competition between capitalist and communist states to gain influence in Africa” (King and McGrath 2012, p. 3). How useful are the findings of this study in relation to these socio-economic and educational issues raised by these authors?

Is the education in CASIT not rather implicated in the widening socio-economic gap between the elite and the indigent? Some would consider the CASIT students as part of the elite class, the descendants of those Western colonial authorities trained and handed political power after African countries gained independence (Hountondji 2000, p. 39). Gramsci’s view of society, as divided into rulers and followers, is that the former’s hegemony not only determines and perpetuates the status quo but inclines the latter to collaborate in the system of domination (Gramsci 1988). Therefore, is current elitist education a continuation of colonialism with a mere cosmetic difference?

For Hountondji, the kind of educational status quo currently perpetuated in Africa is one that is oriented to "meet Western economic and social needs rather than the needs expressed in Africa" (Hountondji 2000, p. 43). How true is this based on this case? Rogers explains that the current educational system does not appear to prepare students to "change the society in which they find themselves and make themselves happy where they are" (Rogers 2003, p.2).

Precisely the kind of education desired by Rogers, in his above view, is what I was seeking in this study. Before the fieldwork, I was searching for a framework for "identifying and integrating cultural values into education within a particular culture" (Pridmore 2014, p.2). Data from the school-village interaction framework has revealed communal cooperation and a service-oriented education. The interaction was given a strong economic voice by the Minority Voices. An important reminder from the Minority Voices is that economic issues affect people's lives as much as culture may determine their way of life. The data further confirmed that rural children are poorer and trail their urban counterparts considerably in access to education (Tikly & Barrett 2011). That finding is in line with the problem of inequality presented in the opening chapters of this thesis.

The above findings, in fact the entire school-village interaction, were enabled by the outreach programme or Community Service of the school community. The CS achieved both a cultural and economic function for the indigent and the elite. It is also important to note that the moral-religious vision of the school made the interaction possible. The school community was strongly aware of the emphasis placed on service by the religious Order that ran the school. Could such a vision of education be systematically employed to help in achieving genuine Cultural Responsiveness? That way, in response to the main research question, education at the elite level may respond to the research problem of elitism and inequality explained in the introductory chapter.

Figure 25: Summary Table of Key Findings and Analysis

Themes	Elite-School (CASIT) Data	Village-Community (RUCIT) Data	My Observation
Poverty	-Poverty perceived holistically, was a surprise for some students. -Sense of obligation to act or respond both materially as well as by tutoring in village.	-Poverty was perceived mostly in strictly economic terms. -Sense of helplessness among some of the young and a desire to emigrate to the city.	-Both CASIT and RUCIT see poverty, in whatever form, as an evil to be overcome. -Inequality not articulated but implicit in comments.
Culture	-Mostly from the towns and cities; most have never farmed for a living; among the nation's rich or upper middle class. -Most of the students had had good nursery (pre-primary) education.	-Indigenous to the area; depended mostly on livestock and food crop production; among 90% of the country's rural poor. -Family (and farm) provided pre-primary education.	-Contrast less stark with the CASIT staff who were certainly non-elite but of much lower middle class. -Still, two cultural worlds within the same territory.
Communality	-Community spirit a desired value; students envied ties of solidarity evident in the village. -Weaker family ties; more independent of family/relatives	-Community spirit or *Tuko pamoja* a lived value; very strong ties; closeness and dependence on relatives and other extended family.	-School's perception of village ties may be a bit romanticized by some. -It seems there is more solidarity in rural living.
Religion	-Of high importance; mostly Catholic; basis of outreach to the indigenous-indigent; no atheists; some reflection accompanied the faith; a well-informed approach to belief.	-Of great importance; both Christian/Muslim and local beliefs; faith was not really questioned; no atheists found; much was attributed to God or *Mungu* -Much reverence for nature.	-Centrality of religion in contrast to the West; the reverence for nature not the same as worship and also not evident in the school. -Is the quantity or degree of religion not excessive?
Continued on the next page			

CR Education	-IPS and little or no IK; the instruction only by teachers; IPP; much documentation. -A co-ed; so more male-female interaction; highly structured environment; sports and recreation; wide range of subjects; much memorizing; emphasis on assessments, especially the summative type.	-IK was more dominant; minimal/poor quality IPS; other adults/family as teachers; focus on social roles, occupational skills. - More gender separation; apprenticeship learning; Task-based assessments; lack of knowledge documentation.	-Village IK limited to the community's context; less transparent compared to the more generalizable IPS. - Not much CR (in the pedagogical sense) in the school; CR teaching is ideal but not practicable within IPS.
Nation or Clan	-More sense of a nation-state -A Dilemma, due to urban culture and a distance from the clan; sense of national identity, though still identified with clan. -Much awareness of the power politics of country; marked by ethnic heterogeneity.	-More sense of the ethnic-nation, local/clan identity. -Not a Dilemma, probably due to not much encounter with the national infrastructure; primary identity was local; ethnically homogenous; a sense of pride in the clan.	-Across Africa, ethnic identity is real, even among the very urbanized. -Rather than wished away, ethnic pride should be acknowledged, but in a positive way and as a value to promote the greater good.
Language of Education (LoE)	-Relative English fluency -Code-switching between Kiswahili and English -Little knowledge of the traditional proverbs and general wisdom orature.	-Little or no English. -Possess huge repertoire of traditional proverbs, songs, riddles & wisdom sayings -Foreign LoE problematic for teaching and learning.	-LoE is an intractable problem; colonialism not solely to blame for the current LoE stalemate; -Economic factors very strong; the solution is not an 'either or' one.
Minority Voices	-Mostly among the young; held a critical view of the legacy of Nyerere; mostly believed *Ujamaa* was bad for the country. -Indifferent to IK, but thought society now too individualistic for rural life or indigenous ways. Less vehement.	-Chiefly among the young. -Saw indigenous culture as of little economic value; played down IK. -Criticized traditional practices of initiation etc. -Vehement, desire to emigrate to the West.	- The indigenous-indigent minority voices here posit not a cultural emphasis, but economic concerns. -They cut across both school and village. -They represent not returning to rural life.

6. MATTERS ARISING

Life's most persistent and urgent question is, 'What are you doing for others?' (Martin Luther King, Jr.)[48]

SPRINGBOARD FOR DISCUSSION OF CASE

RUCIT was a standard village in rural Africa, and CASIT was a typical elite school run by the Catholic Church in Africa. The main finding in studying both communities is that elite education can indeed respond to the problem of socio-economic inequality where that project is supported by sufficient interaction between the elite and the indigent.

The school-community relationship provided fruitful interaction for two culturally distinct groups. If this elite-indigent dichotomy is true of Tanzania, I have found no reason to presume that a similar socio-cultural chasm would not apply in similar settings outside Tanzania. I have already discussed in the methodology chapter the degree of potential generalizability in a case study, in particular, the "modes in which case study findings are generalizable" (Buchanan 2013, p.365).

In this chapter, I will argue in favour of a school-community engagement in comparable settings by taking up themes that appear quintessential in the case for a genuine CR approach. This discussion will be guided by the research question: "How could education, especially at the elite level, become Culturally Responsive in a way that responds to socio-economic inequality?"

[48] Darlene Price (2012) *Well Said.* New York: AMACOM, p. 7.

Chapter Outline

There are three parts to this chapter. The first part makes a case for an elite-indigent interaction. The second segment argues in favour of a pedagogical vision, such as the IPP, as an important aspect of a school-community dialogue. The third part is a narrative that provides summary headings of the thesis thus far. The purpose of the summary is to highlight, in light of the data, the essential themes from all the preceding chapters.

Case for Elite School and Rural Community Relationship

The responses from participants and my own observation in the field have indicated that there is need, and it may be productive, to integrate the rural culture of indigent children with the school culture. Based on these insights from the feedback and participant observation, I shall argue as follows: First, I would contend that the elite-indigent interaction could *Provide an Economic and Cultural Interface*; it may be a *Path to Participative Learning;* thirdly, it *Possesses the Power of Dialogue*, and such interaction could be an appropriate *Response to the Current Ecological Crisis.* Finally, while Tanzania did not appear to emphasize the tribe, in contrast to my experience in other parts of Africa, particularly in the pilot study, I point out that it seems the *Tribe is Alive* in Africa.

Provides Economic and Cultural Interface

The data showed that the elite students and the villagers represent two different socio-economic and cultural realities. One group of children appears well versed in Western education, while on the other hand the other group seems better schooled in the indigenous ways and language.

This contrast goes beyond material deprivation. It includes capability for participation in the development of their country. One participant, mentioned earlier, blamed the government for not empowering the rural community (Written Interview/Poverty/34). Based on the concept of non-distributive justice explained in the literature review (Fraser & Honneth 2003; Young 2011) the absence of quality education and social amenities in the village constitute an inhibition of the capabilities of the indigent to develop and "exercise their capacities" (Young 2011, p. 37).

The students had to learn about this predicament in the village through the opportunity to observe and interact with the indigent. The elite often spoke about the inadequate resources in the village and expressed empathy for the deprivation that was experienced daily by the rural dwellers. The students also became more aware of the unique nature of their own socio-economic and cultural situation. As others have noted, it is indeed important to be aware of how one's socio-economic status affects learning (Osborne 2000, p. 3). In my view, such awareness is an important aspect of the context of learning.

Therefore, the school-community relationship could act as both a window and a mirror. In addition to learning about the reality of those on the other side of the socio-economic divide, contextual learning also refers here to knowledge of one's own context (Rogoff & Lave 1984, p. 8). In the course of their cognitive development, students may explore their own family histories, ethnicity and other local forms of identity, as specific and relevant to each student. As elite students are also likely to be the future leaders of their country, situating learning in a real context of socio-economic inequality would hopefully lead to more complex forms of self-regulated learning towards a sense of responsibility for the less privileged. Education at the elite level would thus respond to socio-economic inequality.

The school itself, through a direct experience of the local community, may acquire "cultural referents" with which to "impart knowledge, skills, and attitudes" (Ladson-Billings 1992, p. 32) in a way that has economic and cultural relevance. An education thus adapted could contribute to a cross-cultural dialogue between such indigenous community and the knowledge system of the West - as represented by the elite school. The result may lead to a hybridized system of learning or knowing that combines economic and cultural concerns. Hybridization here means an integration of rural community knowledge or IK with the school curriculum. Other recent studies, albeit with a primarily cultural emphasis, have shown the relevance of such hybridization (Banda & Morgan 2013; Bagchi & Fuchs *et al.* 2014).

Based on the Minority Views in my data, I would strengthen the economic emphasis of such hybridization. Without undermining the importance of foreign aid to educate the poor, my argument is that much more can be achieved locally and more sustainably through a local elite-indigent interface. There exists high quality education in Africa's elite schools; similarly, there is much wealth in Africa, as already shown through the export and GNP figures. Hence there is certainly capacity for the poor to be provided with some quality education. Unfortunately, it is wealth transcended by inequality. By creating an enhanced social sensitivity in the elite students, this interaction would arguably help achieve greater educational impact in the long run.

Path to Participatory Learning

I think a crucial issue of pedagogy in Africa today is the tension between Transmissive Learning and the Learner-centred approach. That issue was discussed earlier in the literature review.

In that literature chapter, I drew on the Constructivist approaches of the American multiculturalists such as Gay (2000, 2002, 2010) and Hill (2012) as well as social learning theory (Vygotskiĭ 1994; Freire 2000). According to Freire, "Problem posing education affirms men and women as being in the process of becoming, as an unfinished, uncompleted being in and with a likewise unfinished reality" (Freire 1993, p. 65). Freire thus challenges the view that the teacher is the knowledge expert. However, the pedagogy that emerged in the data tended to be predominantly Transmissive Learning – where the teacher occupies "the position of external boss or dictator" (Dewey 1938) of knowledge. This appears to be largely the teaching pattern in other parts of Africa, such as Nigeria, generally teacher-centred or often non-learner-centred (Thompson 2013).

Beyond the classroom, there was a different learning approach. The elite students went into the village every Saturday to teach, with no adult teachers directly involved. This could be described as participatory learning; students teaching one another, teaching and learning from their village peers. Lave and Wenger rightly situate learning in a process of "co-participation, not in the heads of individuals" (Lave & Wenger 1991, p. 13). As 'teachers', the elite students learnt much non-academic knowledge from the village boys and girls. All were teachers; all were students – elite or indigent – and their relationship could easily be interpreted through the lens of Vygotskiĭ's model of peer interaction (Vygotskiĭ & Cole 1978, pp. 53-54).

The students appeared to have also employed what others have described as social reasoning skills that are normally employed outside the academic domain or the "structural developmental perspective" (Lubin & Forbes 1984, p. 236). Lubin and Forbes observed that there is a link between such social reasoning and behaviour. Based on a cumulative body of research on peer interactions, they state that such social relations significantly shape the overall development of young people.

Children come to know themselves through relationships that provide opportunities for learning in cooperation with others. The point here is that the peer social interaction can result in greater sensitivity both in learning and relating with others. This collaboration did not only seem different from what obtains in a typical classroom; it appeared to contrast with the individualistic nature of the ranking system in the school. In this collaborative learning, there are no prizes to be won; no ranking is required, and no heroic tales of the academic genius are necessary.

Yet there is great value to this learning through social interaction. In this case, meaningful relationships were built between school and rural community members. In the future, I foresee that the elite students would engage more in community-related activities with the village. At an even higher level, formal partnerships between the school and the rural community could be formed. Parents would be included in this educational process, especially rural parents who, as other researchers have found, tend to educate their children through apprenticeship - learning by observation and participation, with the field providing the practical educational environment (Barrett 2008). Education around the principles of apprenticeship activities could be recognised within IPS. As Barbara Rogoff insists, “children’s cognitive development is an apprenticeship” because they “are active participants in understanding their world” (1990, p. 37).

My general view is that different learning approaches are useful depending on the context. In the current setting, I would argue that the school-community relationship would both enable and make productive an integration of the apprenticeship/participative approaches with the current forms of predominantly transmissive learning found in this and many schools.

Possesses Power of Dialogue

The school-community interaction also appears capable of offering a dialogical approach to relationship with the other and the world. The elite and the indigent of our society are not destined to be in conflict. The data indicate that each would rather benefit from a relationship of dialogue – especially as the indigent are lifted out of poverty. According to Morgan and Guilherme (2014) the aspect of education that concerns the formation of character "can take two distinct forms: that of dialogue or of defiance" (*Ibid,* p. 56). They argue that the path of dialogue is typified by the philosophy of Martin Buber, while the strategy of defiance is epitomized by the approach of Frantz Fanon. I mentioned Fanon earlier in the literature review, specifically his *The Wretched of the Earth* (*Les Damnés de la Terre* of 1961) in which he suggested the use of violence against colonialists. The dialogical (or defiant) approach to education has political, religious, ideological and other implications. Should violence be used to overcome cultural domination or a colonial LoE?

There exist today extreme forms of the defiant approach, somewhat evident in some of the violent campaigns against the West and Western education. Such senseless destruction is embodied in the atrocities of the *Al Qaeda* network and *Boko Haram* in Nigeria. *Boko Haram* means "Western education is forbidden" (Ibhakewanlan 2014b). The CASIT-RUCIT study could be viewed as a particular form of dialogue between the supposedly Western-style education and the indigenous community. There was no evidence in the data that everything colonial should be rejected and replaced with indigenous approaches. What emerged was rather a need for renewed dialogue between both perspectives. Lessons can indeed be learnt from traditional practices without an overly dramatic change in the syllabus. In the long term, curriculum could become a strategy through which the learning community, elite and indigent, achieve socio-economic goals through dialogical interaction.

- Part of a Postcolonial Dialogical Vision

Suggestions about collaboration at the level of curriculum are not new (Sillitoe *et al*. 2006; Kanu 2007) as a pathway to dialogue between school and community in a post-colonial context. In this dialogical vein, I think the school-community interaction could be considered as part of a larger postcolonial vision of cooperation, rather than competition, in the various spheres of life (Huggan & Tiffin 2015). Although data from this study showed that a culture of cooperation is central to the way in which a typical rural African community learns and lives, this may be true of similarly pastoral communities in other parts of the world.

> A human community really starts its historical being as a community of cooperation in production through the division of labour; the simplest is between man, woman and child within a household; the more complex divisions are between branches of production such as those who are sole hunters, sole gatherers of fruits… (Ashcroft *et. al.* 2003, p. 288).

It is important to avoid any caricatured dichotomy between Africa and other parts of the world, since cooperation may be a fundamental human attribute that is applicable to wide-ranging relationships among communities and nations. In today's capitalist society, the indigenous/indigent peoples of the world might have no chance of survival without cooperation with the wider world. What is needed today is more global collaboration in all the spheres of life – economic, political, religious, environmental and other aspects of human life.[49]

[49] I have previously argued that spiritual, economic and socio-cultural issues be addressed integrally for an adequate psychological understanding of the human person in the post-colonial era (Ibhakewanlan 2003).

The centrality of dialogue and teamwork in the school-community relationship supports this current holistic approach. Huggan and Tiffin (2015) add an ecological emphasis to global cooperation in terms of “narrowing the ecological gap between coloniser and colonised, each of them locked into their seemingly incommensurable worlds” (p. 2).

Response to Ecological Crisis

My third case for the school-community interaction is in the context of grave ecological concern (Posey 2006, pp. 25-30). In his recent encyclical on the environment, Pope Francis states that through "a throwaway culture which affects the excluded", human beings are responsible for the current environmental crisis.

> “I urgently appeal, then, for a new dialogue about how we are shaping the future of our planet. We need a conversation which includes everyone, since the environmental challenge we are undergoing, and its human roots, concern and affect us all… The earth, our home, is beginning to look more and more like an immense pile of filth"
>
> (Francis 2015, nos. 14, 21).

In the section of the encyclical titled “Global Inequality”, the Papal document conjoins the ecological crisis with the problem of mass poverty. We “must integrate questions of justice in debates on the environment, so as to hear both the cry of the earth and the cry of the poor” (no. 49).

The destruction of the ecosystem and the impoverishment of the masses find resonance in the high importance RUCIT placed on closeness and respect for nature. The data also showed that through their reliance on the land, rivers and trees for their very survival, the indigenous-indigent community had a sustainable relationship with the environment. Much of African literature also confirms rural people's close relationship with the environment: "there is also unity that is grounded in our worldview, spiritual ecology and cultural/religious practices" (Goduka 2000, p. 65). Others have contrasted this indigenous approach with the current global consumerist system that "preys on Mother Earth" (Kovach 2009, p. 76). In light of the United Nations' appeal "about learning to live in respectful relationships with each other and with our world" (UNESCO 2005), it seems the interaction with a rural/indigenous community may help awaken in urban students more sensitivity or respect for the environment.

A critical aspect of the ecological issue is the rural-urban drift evident in the feedback from participants. With many urban societies today flooded with the homeless and the urban-indigent, polluting the environment due to lack of modern amenities required for life in the city, it seems that much can be learnt from the knowledge and customs of the indigenous community. Urban homelessness, for example, may not be completely solved by more housing schemes. Insights from RUCIT confirmed that the home is not merely a house but includes a community that provides identity and a sustainable way of life. Intensified migration to the cities of the world, Lewesian model, may therefore not be the perfect solution envisaged by some of its proponents - such as John Fei and Gustav Ranis (Ghosh 1985, p. 95). Today the migration problem is further compounded by a global refugee crisis. As the world marks World Refugee Day, more than fifty million people are on the march to various towns and cities around the world (UNHCR 2015).

Rural-Urban migration would arguably only result in more unemployment, overcrowding and pollution, as the global economy seems to have become too complex; the market does not appear to be able to regulate itself. As the ILO recently stated, the "erosion of certain institutions that govern the labour market has contributed to rising inequality in many countries across the world" (Berg 2015, p. 1). The result is the feasting of a few, the famishing of the multitude and the consumerism of many. The elite-indigenous learning approach may teach students to adjust to a sustainable lifestyle, and possibly even encourage, in certain circumstances, a return to the bucolic lifestyle or even subsistence farming of the indigenous society. Subsistence farming based on crude implements may no longer be ideal, but the way of life of pastoral peoples nonetheless remains valuable. Not only could such rural living provide greater fulfilment to a greater number of people, a communal spirit, it may also help humanity to reconnect with nature.

The Tribe is Alive

Another reason to support closer school-community interaction is the role that ethnicity continues to play in society. According to a recent study, "ethnic relations in society continue to be among the most challenging and controversial issues of the 21st century" (Mastro 2015). Every person encountered during the pilot and actual field study belonged to one ethnic group or the other. As noted in the literature chapter, the first guideline of the National Centre for Culturally Responsive Educational Systems (NCCREST) in America is *socio-cultural consciousness.* It is important to acknowledge how thinking and behaviour are influenced by ethnicity. As with the American socio-economic context where race confers privileges (Feagin 2014, p. 55) certain powers and privileges often accrue from being affiliated to a majority or minority tribe in Africa – depending on the local situation. An interaction with a tribal community may help staff and students to explore how their

own ethnic identity may have an impact on the learning experience. Exploring the tribal or ethnic context of learning is to appreciate the place of one's own ethnicity/clan in shaping personal history.

The development of an awareness of ethnic identities and values is not to promote tribalism but, on the contrary, aimed at developing a broad perspective that acknowledges and appreciates the reality of other tribal or ethnic groups. Due to the sensitive nature of tribalism and a fear of being labelled tribalist or ethnic bigot or racist, there is a tendency to engage in teaching and learning as if tribalism or at least the tribe is not an issue. Such denial could have disastrous consequences as with the Rwandan genocide of 1994, when educated and religious people engaged in the tribal massacre of hundreds of thousands of fellow human beings. Examples of such genocides abound in other parts of the world. In Africa, it seems the tendency to undermine the tribe may have its roots in the post-independence agenda of some of Africa's leaders.

Mozambique's post-independence President Samora Machel once declared: "for the nation to live, the tribe must die" (Mamdani 1996, p. 135). His statement represents the penchant of post-independence African countries to undermine ethnic and tribal identities in favour of building an economically "developed" Western-style state. Employing the colonial languages as LoE across the continent may also be viewed in light of this post-independence trend. More than fifty years after African countries gained independence the continued presence of many ethnic conflicts on the continent is testimony to the fact that the tribe has not died. Similarly, despite decades of education in the colonial languages, hundreds of African linguistic groups continue to dominate life outside the classrooms. Rather than his failed attempt to kill the tribe, maybe President Machel should have declared dialogue or interaction with the tribe as avenue to nationhood. That means a loftier sense of interaction with the indigenous community.

In interacting with other ethnic groups, students may come to understand that the language or ways of their own tribe is not universal. That may even be a surprising revelation for some people. The problem I experienced while attempting to construct a cultural and language translation of the entrance examination into the elite school, due to disagreement over which ethnic and language group should be used, impacted upon me very deeply during the pilot study. My underestimation of people's allegiance to their local tribe frustrated that initial objective. Despite the noble aim of translating the standard entrance examination into secondary school for the benefit of the indigent, the indigenous people of the village gave priority to the language of their tribe. In the end, the translation proved impossible and was not undertaken. This partly reflects the fact that tribal affiliation is still a strong dimension of much of the African context. Teaching and learning within this context should acknowledge that reality. However, a value system or vision is indispensable to any learning within such a context. That leads to the second part of this chapter.

A Vision for the Practice

The students' interaction with the village community was rooted in a vision of universal brotherhood (sisterhood), based on belief in a God who created all and demands justice of and for all (Exodus 22:26-27). For the school as an institution, a social justice principle guided its outreach to the poor. It seems the school-community relationship was successful because staff and students embraced that altruistic vision conveyed in this case through the IPP. I shall use the IPP cycle to guide the following discussion in making the case for a pedagogical vision of solidarity. As a reminder, the IPP follows an Experience-Reflection-Action cycle. Learning is an *Experience* that requires a *Reflection* that should lead to *Action* (Florio 2013).

An Education from *Experience*

Experience, they say, is the best teacher. Here I mean especially the experience of the "other" – including the stranger. The students in this study each brought a unique experience or history. Experience in this sense goes beyond a strictly intellectual grasp. It includes the whole person. In IPP terminology, St. Ignatius of Loyola saw learning as involving the whole person, "mind, heart and will" (Meissner 1992; Florio 2013). The affective as well as cognitive dimensions are therefore involved in the experience of learning and interacting, for example, with the village community. The idea is that a mere intellectual understanding, without involving the affective dimension of learning, will not move the student to Reflection and Action. The quality of the Action is dependent on the wholeness ("mind, heart and will") of the Experience.

Experience could be direct, in the form of conversations in the village or discussions during laboratory investigations, or some other form of participation in a school activity. Such direct experiences are usually more vivid. By contrast, indirect experiences involve reading about the activities. For example, reading about the poverty of a rural community or the harshness of the Sahara is less vivid than an actual immersion in any of those situations. However, a teacher could encourage students to use their imagination and senses to have a fuller experience of a lesson about a particular genocide in history. Be it in the classroom or in an actual village community, the students could still have a genuine experience of the "other" during learning - in a manner that moves beyond, or even contrasts with, their previous experiences (Jesuit Institute 2014).

Based on my participant observation, I believe that there is no substitute for a direct experience. Many students reported that they had never met anyone as poor as the villagers. Their previous direct experiences of others had an impact on how each one entered into the relationship.

It seems helpful for students to cultivate and acknowledge previous experiences before any meaningful immersion in a different community. The personal experiences of students could then be infused into the process of teaching and learning.[50] A climate of trust would enable the student to be confident that personal information about his or her experiences would not be used in an embarrassing way. Rather, those personal experiences would enable a link between past and present. A Culturally Responsive education therefore requires teachers to know about the life experiences of students (Villegas & Lucas 2002). Knowledge of that Experience would facilitate Reflection.

Knowledge through *Reflection*

In Plato's *Apology*, Socrates said the unexamined life is not worth living (Plato 2013). Experiences of others must be reflected upon in a constructive manner. Listening to the elite students reflect on their experience of the Community Service, it was evident that the school-community relationship yielded much fruit for them through self-examination. Such reflection could be undertaken more systematically through reflective writing, where students engage in introspection and put down their thoughts in personal journals. Students would be given a chance to discuss with their teacher or mentor the content of the reflective journal. The student-teacher/mentor conference would be personalized by incorporating the students' known experiences or background into the discussion. A discussion of that nature would also have the added benefit of providing an opportunity for individualized instruction for any student who may be having difficulty with a particular experience or in any area of learning.

[50] It may be helpful for the students' immersion in a rural community to be credited in the annual or periodic assessments.

Based on the IPP principle, the teacher engages the student in skills and techniques of Reflection. In the Ignatian Pedagogical Paradigm, Reflection has its roots in the personal experience of St. Ignatius. He experienced different stirrings in his own life, desires that were often contradictory. His experience of reflection was therefore to discover what impulse led him to "good" and which inclined him to "evil". This fundamental dynamic of the Ignatian *Spiritual Exercises* is the basis of Reflection in IPP (Jesuit Institute 2014). Memory, understanding, imagination and feelings are used in this process of reflection on the essential meaning and value of what has been learnt in order to discover its relationship to other aspects of life. The teacher can aid the reflection through questions that may broaden the student's awareness and impel him or her to consider the experience of others, especially of the poor. In this manner, reflection encourages a personalized teaching that is at the same time learner-active. Thus the aim of reflection is not merely to assimilate the subject matter but to develop the person integrally.

For many of the student participants, reflection on their experience was clearly a formative and sometimes liberating process. The hope is that the students' reflection would then shape their consciousness of their ways of thinking, habitual attitudes, values and beliefs. Ultimately, the expectation is that their Reflection would lead to Action in service of others.

Knowledge for Action

By Action, in the context of this discussion, I mean the activity that flows out of Reflection. The duty assigned to the elite students on Saturdays is ultimately not necessarily what is referred to here as Action. As mentioned in the data chapter, the tasks could be the distribution of food and other material items or teaching a set of children in the local village school. Since such tasks were often

carried out as a group during the school's Community Service, the deeper level of engagement with the socio-economic situation would have occurred through the activity of introspection by individual participants. This is the process of Reflection explained above. It is this introspection that would then lead to Action. The individualistic nature of such introspection is not to undermine the importance of the group reflections that occurred among the participants.

Thus the CS, all that good work in the village, is still somewhat at the level of Experience. A certain level of transformation, such as an increased sense of compassion for or solidarity with the indigenous-indigent, would hopefully occur during the Reflection. Action is the product of such reflection. Having reflected on their experience of the school-community interaction, participants would ask themselves 'what should be done about this situation?' Action follows from this sort of question. The school-community interaction thus becomes a means (Experience plus Reflection) to social Action. Distributing food and tutoring in the village may serve some immediate ends, just like overseas aid, but ultimately the entire CS has the potential for a future action that will hopefully lead to a greater goal of socio-economic transformation.

The school administrator had high expectations of the elite students in their future roles as adult leaders who would transform society. He often said one of them could become the President of the country, but "whoever that person may be must not forget the experience" (better their reflection on that experience) of their work in the village. The school head was aware that many of his students were appalled by the material deprivation of the villagers. Hence although the immediate objective was for the students to have an experience of serving the village in material ways, the final goal was in terms of the future action that would flow from their reflection on that experience. Whatever that action may be, in the IPP cycle it is evaluated and soon becomes an experience to be reflected upon.

At the high school level of this study, the students' reflection may not immediately lead to action that will transform the world into a global community of perfect love, peace and justice. It can nonetheless constitute a small step in an educational response towards the utopia of a socio-economic transformation of the world.

Recap of Vision

In summary, the educational vision presented above is about the service of others. This second part of the chapter has also attempted to show that such a value-education, guided by a pedagogical paradigm like the IPP Cycle, can enable education to be of greater *economic* and *cultural* relevance. The IPP educational principle enhances socio-cultural interaction through the teacher–learner relationship; where the teacher's primary role is to create the appropriate socio-cultural context and to facilitate the growing relationship of the learner with knowledge and with others. Then through a continual interplay of the student's EXPERIENCE, REFLECTION AND ACTION, the learning process would hopefully help in the passing on of genuine Culturally Responsive knowledge.

Synopsis of Thesis

Thus far in this chapter I have discussed issues from the data in support of a more intensified elite-school and rural community relationship that is guided by a pedagogical vision. I have used the IPP framework because it provided the vision in this particular case. This third part of the chapter will now provide four summary headings to capture the various segments of the thesis. It offers the reader a continuous storyline. Each précis will begin with a summary statement, which is subsequently explained within the rest of the heading. First is the very purpose of this case study.

Hope Renewed in a Field of Dreams

This research investigation was motivated by a search for justice in the face of the mass suffering caused by inequality. An increasing disparity in the academic performance of children of Africa's elite and that of indigent/indigenous youngsters was made evident in the WAEC and UN statistics (UNESCO 2014, p. 2). On the question of financial aid to Africa, it seems, based on the level of poverty in the village as expressed by the elite students, some aid would greatly help the underprivileged. At the same time, there is need to seek local solutions to the problem of poverty because aid has only been partially effective (King 1991; Crossley & Vulliamy 2010).

The issue of *poverty* was connected to inequality and hence the question of *justice*. Such concepts were therefore clarified in the introductory chapter and reviewed further in chapter two. The perspective of justice based on Catholic Social Teaching, in terms of compassion for and solidarity with the indigent, also paved the way for a deeper understanding of the elite-indigent interaction. The school-community relationship studied was a localized response to the problem being examined. Judging from the valuable data that emerged from the fieldwork in Tanzania, there is renewed hope in achieving the goal to find a local response to inequity in education as well as related socio-economic and cultural issues. Meanwhile precious insights developed from an examination of the existing literature on CR and school-community relations, a review that revealed an elusive programmatic interaction.

An Elusive Programmatic Interaction

The literature search was motivated by a desire for a localized or culturally sensitive theory that deals with educational inequity; but, in the various approaches considered, there appeared to be insufficient focus on elite-indigent interaction. Relevant studies on Cultural Responsiveness examined include the works of Ladson-Billings (1984, 1995, 2006); Nieto (2001); Gay (2000, 2002, 2010); Howard (2003); Banks and Banks (2003, 2004); O'Connell (2008) and Hill (2012). These authors, while providing valuable insights, focused on the American context. The real weakness in the American literature, from my perspective, is that its primary emphasis was to resolve the 'achievement gap' between white students and ethnic minorities. Specifically that meant improving test scores for weaker students, rather than attending to the interaction between the mostly white elite and the indigent – predominantly made up of ethnic minorities. My dialogical approach to CR went beyond improving the test scores of the indigent. It included the economic question as well as the issue of "recognition" of the indigenous character of the indigent (Fraser & Honneth 2003). Hence the need was raised for an appraisal of the particular skills of indigent/indigenous children.

The second part of the literature review examined local CR approaches in Africa, beginning with the historical precedence offered by the 1920 work of the Phelps Stokes commission. Based on the decolonized methodology of this study, the commission's report was criticized. This was in line with the conclusion that "political statements and documents often reflect dynamics separate from practices on the ground…" (Yamada 2010, p. 25). Despite its apparent CR objective, the report did not seem to dialogue sufficiently with the indigenous perspective. Long after the work of the Phelps Stokes commission, the World Bank report confirmed that African nations largely maintained many of the colonial traditions of education (World Bank 1988, p. 43).

The report may have rightly identified that "Indigenous education among all groups remains an important transmitter of cultural identity from one generation to the next", but it offered little framework for integrating the said indigenous knowledge with the school curriculum. A later report by the 1996 UNESCO commission on Education for the 21st Century identified some tensions or relationships in the 21st century. The sets of tensions and relationships corroborated some of the issues raised here, such as the tension between the local/ indigenous and the global; the Spiritual/religious and the material or secular. The UNESCO report was excellently visionary; however, how the relationship or tension would be addressed in specific settings was left to the local contexts.

It is in light of the need for a contextual or localized approach that the insights of Africa's founding fathers were also considered. So too were those of African writers like Achebe (1959, 2010); Mbiti (1969); Mazrui (1978); Higgs (2000) and several others. Far from presenting a hagiography of these Africans, the conflictual nature of their various perspectives was highlighted. The section on the "Conflict of Perspectives" particularly highlights the absence of a complete consensus or a unified approach. The very LoE remains intractable. With the exception of Ujamaa, none of the other local CR approaches (such as Consciencism, Négritude, Authenticité) presented a practical pedagogy. Even Ujamaa, also criticized for its heavy-handed approach (Brennan 2014) and as conceived by "one of the elite" (Molony 2014, p. 203), appeared to lack a convincing elite-indigent dialogue. Although appearing to denounce elitism, *Ujamaa* did not, in the end, offer sufficient conversation with the indigent.

A similar gap was identified in the literature on school-community relationship. Much of the existing writings dealt with contexts, unlike in rural Africa, where there is often not much discrepancy between the school culture and the indigenous community culture. For the school in this case, English was the *lingua franca* on the premises, whereas Kiswahili was the only language spoken in the village community outside the walls of the school. In addition to language, there were other differences – even in the menu and mannerisms. Thus the examined literature on school-community relationship outside Africa did not seem to provide a sufficient basis for the kind of inter-cultural interaction sought here. On literature within Africa, some works did focus on cultural interaction (Buchert 1994; Dei 2004). However, these other studies did not appear to offer an adequately clear picture of that elite-indigent discourse.

Ultimately, it appeared that the African literature on CR lacked what could be termed as a 'programmatic interaction' between the elite and the indigent. This study may therefore be significant in drawing attention to the importance of that interface. The current paucity of such interaction may be a confirmation or evidence of a socio-economic and cultural apartheid. As that interchange is the nucleus of this work, an appropriate methodology was sought to that end.

An Appropriate Methodological Approach

The question of colonization was pivotal in deciding on a methodological approach. Therefore a "decolonized methodology" was employed. Since I was trained within the Western academy and so susceptible to being perceived as "the outsider within", a participatory approach known as ACBR was chosen in order to address this potential limitation (Higgs 2010). Two guiding principles pursued in determining the methodology adopted here were 'Decolonization' and 'Communalism'.

They were both consonant with African philosophy, which delineated ACBR from traditional Community-Based Research approaches (Ibhakewanlan & McGrath 2015). Specifying an understanding of "the philosophy and methods" of CBR has indeed been confirmed as needed for an "improved community-based research" (Ahmed, Beck *et al*, 2004). The distinguishing elements of this philosophy were identified as: Relational Understanding of the Individual, Social View of knowledge/Existence, and Theocentric Perspective. The value of nature or the physical environment was also emphasized as part of this perspective.

The African emphasis of the methodology chapter did not undermine the recognition of issues of validity, reflexivity, generalizability and ethical standards (BERA 2015) in the design. These were treated within a Constructivist framework. As already explained, Social Constructivism was employed as part of a philosophical worldview. Based on my judgment about the appropriateness of the above methodology, I would suggest that the data from the field could usefully be described as a 'patrimony of communal dialogue.'

Patrimony of a Communal Dialogue

Data from the relationship between the school and its host community provided valuable insights for responding to the research question. Issues emerging from the actual experiences of students and staff with their rural neighbours constituted an economic and socio-cultural gulf. Yet the relationship was not marked by class hostility or visible envy. I think this fact justifies my dialogical approach to CR. The eight themes that emerged from the interaction formed the basis of the discussion and the rest of the thesis. Two of the themes help to summarize the ogdoad; the first is the economic gap between the elite and the indigent, and the second is the cultural divide between them.

In terms of the economic gap, it emerged that the indigent were not idle and starving to death. What they lacked was the opportunity to flourish. As regards the elite, their CS revealed a noble and altruistic dimension that education could explore: human beings are not merely selfish automatons. In terms of the cultural divide, the more people were educated, the more they appeared Western and looked Westward for solutions to local problems. This confirmed some of the views expressed in the literature (Hountondji 2000, p. 43). Good education still meant eventually obtaining government or office jobs. This is why I think a genuine Culturally Responsive education is still very much needed to address the economic and cultural issues of the locality.

Themes that emerged from the data were conceptualized as follows: the anthropocentric, theocentric and environmental or cosmic dimensions. These each represent, in that order, the people's emphases on community, God and their physical environment – especially relationship to land. These three aspects constitute in a holistic way the process or experience observed in the elite-indigent interaction. I have coined the term *Costheanthropic Learning* to describe that holistic experience. It refers to the anticipated outcome of the school-community interaction after Reflection on Experience. *Costheanthropic* is the adjectival form of the word "Costheanthropos", which I have used previously to describe a psychological perspective of religion.[51] Despite the similarity between them, the terms *Costheanthropic Learning* and *Costheanthropos* have different meanings and belong to different contexts. The experience of the above themes by the elite students in their interaction with the villagers is what I have described here as Costheanthropic Learning. This is my contribution based on this research project, which I will now explain in the following conclusions.

[51] John-Okoria Ibhakewanlan, *Costheanthropos: A Psychological Perspective of Religion,* Masters Dissertation submitted to the University of London for the MA in Psychology of Religion, 2003.

7. THE CONCLUSION

"You will achieve more in this world through acts of mercy than you will through acts of retribution" (Nelson Mandela).[52]

This concluding chapter will elucidate the contribution or uniqueness of this study; it will offer some proposals and attempt to draw wider implications of the research findings. First, I shall begin with a brief statement of the research problem and question, followed by a summary of findings in relation to other studies. My personal reflections on the research includes a transformation in understanding as a result of the research experience, which has resulted in a revisiting of some of the definitions stated in the introductory chapter. Lastly, the chapter will point out the significance of this research project as well as some of the limitations of the study and the need for further research.

Brief Statement of the Research Problem and Questions

My research findings have confirmed the problem of socio-economic and educational inequality stated earlier in the research questions. Although coordinated international efforts have put more poor children into schools within the last two decades, "there remain very large regional disparities" in the quality of education among different communities (Morgan & White 2014, p. 40).

[52] Ann Kannings (2014) *Nelson Mandela: His Words.* Raleigh, NC: Lulu Press.

As the research work of Srivastava and Walford has shown, the role of private schools like CASIT is central to this disparity in the quality of education in Africa. According to the duo, the privatisation and marketization of schooling in Africa may have been helping to achieve Education for All and the Millennium Development Goals. However, what remains unclear is the nature and impact of private schools on the educational opportunities of economically and socially disadvantaged children. In addition to Srivastava and Walford, there are other authors whose works are of significance to the findings in this study. In terms of relationship to previous literatures, three of the findings in this study are relevant.

A Summary of Findings Compared to Other Studies

The first finding from the data, poverty as multidimensional, confirms the understanding of poverty expressed earlier by Young (2011) Fraser and Honneth (2003). The absence of quality education and social amenities in the village constitute an inhibition of the capabilities of the indigent to develop and "exercise their capacities" (Young 2011, p. 37). The data also confirmed that rural children trail their urban or elite counterparts in terms of access to education (Tikly & Barrett 2011). The elite children in this case study were teaching the rural children, of about the same age as themselves, even though both sets of children were technically in-school. That finding shifts the emphasis from access to quality in confronting the problem of inequality in education. As earlier mentioned, the UN's MDGs had placed too much emphasis on access.

The second finding, distinctness of culture, confirms the multiculturalist view of American CR experts like Gay (2000, 2002, 2010) and Hill (2012) who insist on the importance of culture in education. My results showed that the elite and the indigent belong to two cultural worlds of learning.

Though within the same territory, the two cultures appeared distinct. In addition to specific differences related to closeness to nature and strong family ties, the disparity was generally both socio-economic and cultural. The data thus contribute *an Economic and Cultural Interface* to the CR project, which the multiculturalists conceived only in terms of bridging the achievement gap between the children of white Americans and those of ethnic minorities.

The third finding, community ties, confirms the views of African philosophers like Mbiti (1969); Wiredu (1980); Akiwowo (1986); Dei (2004); Smith (2009). The recurrent idea of *Tuko Pamoja* in the data is similar in meaning to Mbiti's *Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu.* At the same time, the data also revealed that it is important not to generalize about this spirit of communal affection. The reality of the damage done to the car in which I travelled to the site of data collection is testimony to the fact that such generalization is not tenable. Nonetheless, it seems that, on balance, we may safely conclude that rural living encourages greater communalism. Such conclusion reveals that the school-community relationship may expose urban or elite students to greater solidarity. Herein lies the significance of this project, namely, the outcome of the elite-indigent interaction.

Summary of Significance of the Study

The import of this work is presented below under three aspects: Justice in terms of equality in quality education for all, the rights of indigenous communities, and the ecological significance.

Justice: Equality in Quality Education for All

This study is significant in response to the global concern for the education of the world's poor. Initially, this was in relation to the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals or MDGs.

Figure 26: The UN's EFA Goals



Education for All Goals

Six internationally agreed education goals aim to meet the learning needs of all children, youth and adults by 2015.

Goal 1

Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children.

Goal 2

Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to, and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality.

Goal 3

Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life-skills programmes.

Goal 4

Achieving a 50 per cent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults.

Goal 5

Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality.

Goal 6

Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills.

Source: Online

An important target of the MDGs was the education of the indigenous-indigent, as well as urban indigent. This was to be achieved through the six EFA goals (see figure 26 above for the 2015 EFA goals published by UNESCO).[53] While affirming the EFA goal of providing education "for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children" (goal one), I have argued for the need to adapt that education to the local culture. With the EFA goals seemingly too focused on access (UNESCO 2007) and unachieved, I have offered a new approach. Specifically, this thesis has proposed a specific kind of education or learning, namely, educating through an elite-indigent interaction. Justice demands thus confronting the inequality in quality education. That "challenge of achieving quality education for all" (King & McGrath 2012, p.1) is now part of the post-MDGs.

Post- Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)

The eight MDGs, which range from ending poverty to ensuring education for all by 2015, came to an end this year. On September 25th 2015, the UN defined the post-2015 agenda as Sustainable Development Goals or SDGs (http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/). These 17 SDGs now succeed the MDGs. Goal Four is titled "Quality Education" and is meant to "Ensure inclusive and quality education for all and promote lifelong learning." According to the first target of Goal Four, "By 2030, ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and Goal-4 effective learning outcomes." To achieve the 17 goals, the SDGs require more financial resources and economic growth. Meanwhile the very title of Goal Four is significant, makes quality the watchword.

[53] These EFA goals, effective for the time period of this study, were recently renewed by the United Nations. Later in this section, I offer a brief comment on the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that replaced the MDGs as well as state the continued significance of this study in light of the new SDGs.

It is commendable that the focus seems to have moved slightly from the quantity of children enrolled in education worldwide to the quality in both primary and secondary education–including the issue of equity. However, I still do not think equity can be achieved solely through financial resources and overseas aid to Africa and other poor countries. Equity, in my view, can ultimately be realised by addressing the local and global structures of elitism that inadvertently makes the rich richer and the poor poorer. An elite-indigent framework of interaction remains vital to bridging that gap. It is unclear if and how the new SDGs can confront the elite-indigent gap. This study's focus on the interaction between the elite and the indigent thus remains significant.

A second significance lies in the fact that the SDGs do not appear to specify strong interaction with indigenous peoples and cultures. Would the desired development in the SDGs not lead to more pillaging of the earth's resources and Lewesian migration patterns? I think interaction with indigent-indigenous peoples, especially through education, remains crucial to achieving the philosophical and spiritual change needed for a sustainable development.

The Rights of Indigenous Communities

Another significance of this work can be seen from the importance placed by the United Nations on learning among indigenous-community groups. Hence the worth of this study could be described in terms of helping to find out if and how communities in Africa are fulfilling the 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of indigenous-community groups:

> Indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions, providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning (United-Nations 2007).

Although this study is not essentially about Indigenous Peoples or Indigenous Knowledge, its examination of the relationship between an indigenous community and an elite school could contribute to a cross-cultural dialogue between IK and IPS systems.

Ecological Significance

Just as the current global financial crisis has shattered the myth of progress in terms of infinite economic growth, so too has the ecological crisis revealed the danger of divorcing development from the environment. An educational study of a rural or indigenous community may be relevant in today's context of ecological crisis or concern (Posey 2006, pp. 22-24). What is presupposed here is that such a rural community particularly has a close relationship to nature. The presupposition has basis in research studies. The findings in this study also confirm the view that villagers in Africa have been found to be able to control their farming and hunting activities in a way that allowed the natural environment to repair itself. The depletion of animal and plant resources, research evidence showed, is an industrial or modern economic phenomenon (Banda 2008). For rural people engaged in subsistence farming, hunting is not the same as poaching or shooting animals for fun.

Through an investigation of the interaction of a school with an indigenous community, it may be possible to see if such interaction contributes in preparing students to work towards a sustainable future in the current ecological climate. As the UN put it: “Sustainability is not just about conserving the environment, but about learning to live in respectful relationships with each other and with our world” (UNESCO 2005). In addition to the issue of socio-economic justice, earlier stated, this study has attempted to highlight as well the issue of eco-justice.

Thesis Findings as a Contribution to Knowledge

This thesis is the first research from Africa on Cultural Responsiveness in the context of community and elite-school relationship. Other research studies (Buchert 1994, Dei 2004, Banda 2008, and others) similarly contextualized education within an African context. However, such previous studies did not concentrate on the problem of inequality by focusing on elite-indigent interaction from both a cultural and economic perspective.

The findings from this study also point to a moral vision as vital to contextualizing learning. This is therefore not only an academic study about indigenizing learning through inter-cultural exchange and a liberatory education on behalf of the indigent. A moral vision of solidarity with the poor and accompanied by a pedagogical framework emerged from the school-community interaction. Ultimately, the central contribution of this thesis borders on the question of the aim of education.

Education for Others Through a Moral Vision

Altruism emerged in the school community, particularly among the elite students. This confirms that human beings, at least students, are not strictly self-seeking creatures in competition to excel in the world. According to Reiss and White, the fundamental aim of education is two-fold: to enable the student to lead a life of personal/individual flourishing and *to help others to flourish* as well (Reiss 2014). Is there any danger that people would not pursue their own individual flourishing? I would rather emphasize the second aspect of the above aim based on the African cultural perspective, which sees individual flourishing in terms of the community (Mbiti 1970, p. 109). So my interpretation of "*Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*" is "I flourish because the community flourishes." Without the flourishing of the community, my own personal thriving rests on a shaky foundation.

Unless the global community prospers, the prosperity of a section of the globe may be precarious. As stated in the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, "No one can be authentically human while he prevents others from being so" (Freire 1993). If we do not reach out to the poor, the poor may reach for us.

What the altruism of the elite students shows is that human beings, at least students, are not strictly self-seeking creatures in competition to excel in the world. Schools can therefore be places for the service of others. Even elite schools do not have to be shaped by selfish economic calculations. Educational policy can still be anchored completely on the common good rather than be rigorously profit-driven. Rich students may have joined elite schools to gain huge socio-economic advantages in the future. However, these elite centres of learning may be the place for the hearts and minds of future leaders to embrace solidarity with the poor, to appreciate the natural environment and represent self-transcending values. Such tri-fold education would indeed be worthy of the name *Costheanthropic*. For that to happen, there is need for a moral vision based on service of others.

I do not propose a vision of "education for others" as a quick fix solution to the suffering of the poor. Many generations of children educated within such a worldview would make a difference in the global fight to eradicate poverty. This fight requires a realistic development goal. The SDGs still do not say what should be learnt in the schools and how it should be learnt; it expects a routine fulfilment of the course of study. A definition of madness attributed to Einstein is 'repeating the same thing and expecting a different result.'[54] In the face of a perennial problem of impact in education, teaching and learning should not only be measured by the academic knowledge transmitted within the classroom. This study recommends re-examining the vision of education in terms of service of others.

[54] There is no reliable evidence that Einstein gave this definition, and as a psychologist I am aware that this is not a definition of insanity.

Limitations of the Study

There are many limitations to this study, and a few are prominent. The constraints are essentially two-fold, internal and external. The internal refers to those that are personal, while the other limitations are external to the researcher.

Personal Limitation

The first constraint is that I have received the same postcolonial education occasionally questioned in this thesis. How objective is my reflection? Is the methodology that I have employed truly decolonized? Similarly, there is the question of religion. My Christian and Catholic worldview may have affected this research process in more subtle ways than can be easily detected. It is difficult to ascertain if I was sufficiently aware of my possible influence as a Jesuit school administrator collecting data in a Catholic school. I had to consciously switch roles as a headmaster and simply observe the school and village community as an outsider. One can only hope the participants were not in any way 'intimidated' and that what was observed was the reality. Equally, my writing in a non-African language is also a limitation, as language conveys culture.

Studying a Changing Africa

Secondly, the village community that I studied will change – the signs were there. I had to be driven for more than 20 minutes outside the school to find a supermarket. In the years ahead, many shops and business buildings are likely to develop around the village, as has happened with similar schools in areas that were once considered rural Africa. As the architectural landscape becomes hybridized, so too will the people's cultural perspective. Some of the villagers were already employed as non-academic staff at the school. With income will come change in life-style and maybe culture.

It may become difficult in the future to tap into the essence or the traditional nature of the village. However, the school was only a few years old during the fieldwork, and the village community still generally remained undisturbed by their new neighbours.

Orality

There was a relative scarcity of documents compared to the volume of information available by oral transmission. There was no real alternative to talking with the community. People preferred asking others for directions rather than using maps. The vast majority of questionnaires sent out were not returned, as most participants were more willing to speak informally rather than write down their thoughts. This is directly related to the next limitation.

Limited Literature

There were booklets about the elite school, its history and vision, but there was limited literature about the village community. Their specific way of life is also not documented, except as part of the wider Tanzanian, Swahili and East African culture. This would be true of most small African villages. The main reason for this is that the way of life in much of rural Africa is passed on from generation to generation via oral tradition and the process of socialisation by the elders of the community. Apparently, this is true of indigenous communities in general: "...much skill as knowledge, and its learning across generations is characterized by oral transmission and learning through experience and repetitive practice" (Sillitoe 2000, p. 4). This goes to confirm the importance of a field study of this kind. The data could only have been gathered through an immersion in the local context and by speaking with people on the ground.

Unfortunately, this dearth of written scripts in most traditional African societies has in the past led some to argue that Africans have no history. The German philosopher Hegel thus dismissed Africa as the land of childhood (Hegel 1823, p. 174). More recently the eminent Oxford historian Trevor-Roper insisted that there is no history of Africa except that of Europeans in Africa (Trevor-Roper 1965; 1969, p. 9). I do not subscribe to such a narrow view of history or culture, in terms of literature and of "progress" – understood as technological advancement. Rather, the understanding here is that the culture of any community should not be valued or devalued using the criteria of any other society. That means the absence of a published history of a rural village does not devalue the worth of the community nor their experience. After all, much of written history is often a distortion of the past to suit one's prejudice; as argued by Rousseau, history is "the art of choosing, from among many lies, that which most resembles the truth" (Durant 1927, p. 617).

Lack of Homogeneity?

Africa is a huge continent both in size and linguistic-ethnic diversity. While visiting schools and communities in different parts of the continent for this project, I needed to be careful about homogenizing or generalizing about the African experience based on a particular community in an otherwise vast landmass. Africa is larger than the USA, Western Europe and the Asian sub-continent put together. The vastness of the continent is only matched by its variety. With relatively low population density, there were many scattered small communities with relatively distinct cultural practices. Even within the RUCIT community, there was some variety and richness. Literature on Africa has emphasized this point:

> This immensity and diversity might lead some to conclude that it is not possible to discuss indigenous/African philosophies and spiritual wisdoms in any meaningful way because there is bound to be considerable variation from one group to another throughout the continent (Goduka 2000, p. 65).

Nonetheless, my observation is that, just as there is much commonality of experience in the impoverishment of Africa, there is equally great similarity in culture across the rural areas of the continent. While language, ancestral tales and other aspects of the local history may differ, there is much similarity in the lifestyle of a rural African community in Tanzania and far away Nigeria. The idea of *a nation*, the political and geographical unit into which the world is today divided, is a recent phenomenon – especially in Africa. As the colonial partitioning of Africa was not undertaken along cultural lines, there is apparently great interaction across countries of the continent. Till this day, the Masai people still wander with their cattle, without a national passport, across the Kenyan, Ethiopian, Tanzanian and other borders (a great privilege not to have to worry about visa). That indigenous tribe may be the indigent equivalent of the "nomads of transnational spaces" (Hayden 2012, p. 57).

The Language Hurdle

Although East Africa is not strange to me, having lived and studied in Kenya (1999-2002) with Africans from several East African countries, I never became fluent in the local language. During those years in Nairobi, I travelled across the sub-continent and watched people communicate with each other in Kiswahili. Yet at the end of my three years there, I could not fluently speak nor understand Kiswahili. Therefore I may have indeed been "an outsider" in some of those data collection sites on linguistic and ethnic grounds (Smith 2012).

I relied on an interpreter during the interviews in the village. Although the interpreter was a native Kiswahili speaker and who was equally fluent in English, the feedback he passed on may not be a mimesis of actual events; there may have been a mondegreen or some data could possibly have been lost in translation.

Geographical Challenge

Another area of difficulty is that the weather was very harsh everywhere I did the fieldwork. West Africa was intensely hot and humid during the pilot study. East Africa was extremely arid, none of the petrichor of Britain. This geographical extremity may be significant. Some of the data gathered emphasize the people's relationship to their environment. People seem to have found resilient ways of living with their physical environment rather than attempting to control it. Unlike the four seasons in Europe, the African climate is marked by a severe rainy season and a scorching dry season. Insects of all sorts tend to flourish, with stubborn mosquitoes everywhere during the data collection. I slept under a huge mosquito net for three months in Tanzania. Physically, it was a debilitating environment. Even as an African, one can nonetheless acknowledge the outstanding quality of resilience that goes with life on the continent.

Case Study Limitation

While this case may provide in-depth descriptions of a particular school-community relationship, the results remain suggestive – for want of a better word. The themes that emerged from this particular exchange may not be true of another school-community relationship if the study were implemented in the same manner. There is ultimately no indubitable technique for determining what would be the outcome of any replication of this case.

Secondly, the school was faith-based. Although the students were admitted through a random nation-wide entrance examination, it can be expected that the majority of enrolees would be sympathetic to a religious cause. This suggests that the findings may not be generalizable to other elite schools without such a religious character.

Thirdly, young people sometimes tend to be overly self-conscious and consequently may become reticent. Since the interviews were mostly recorded impromptu, some students may have been nervous while speaking into a microphone with the knowledge that what they say could be replayed. Fortunately, there was no notable hesitation to candidly respond about the village or the school community. There was also no significant difference between the written responses and what was captured on the voice recorder.

Although I captured what was seen and heard without drawing conclusions prior to the actual data analysis, it is possible that some themes may have been omitted or not identified during the coding with Nvivo. I take full responsibility for these limitations, and thus undertake that this work is entirely mine.

Policy and Practice Implications – Jesuit and Beyond

Based on the lessons from the pilot site, the 28.5-hectare terrain described by the US ambassador as a "field of dreams" in 1995, the desire for centres of educational excellence in Africa is noble. However, there is an indigent reality outside the fields of dreams that the Jesuits may be creating on the continent. Most African societies continue to lack basic amenities for the vast majority of the populace. While Jesuit schools in Africa may continue to share the characteristically

Jesuit vision of absolute academic excellence, this means that the high academic standards may be raised too high for an indigent child who has not gone through an excellent primary (financially prohibitive) school in Africa. It is a shame, for example, that none of the scholarship students in LJC is from the poor village of Gidan Mangoro where the school is situated. Based on the feedback in this study, the school-community interaction (as evident in the Service Programme at LJC) may indeed be, in the long run, the most significant achievement of the Jesuits in terms of fulfilling the social justice mission of the order on the African continent. This is despite the fact that LJC students were not immersed in the indigent reality of GM. The responses of the elite students in this study definitely highlight the significance of such an immersion. Could the Society make such immersion universal?

Outside the above implication for Jesuit education in Africa, the following suggestions will be briefly explained: Teacher Training for School-community Relations, Elite School-Indigent Community Commission, and Proposing a Local LoE. These suggestions correspond to a rationale in my research approach. Far from seeking what cognitive theory is best for learning, my overall scheme has been to find out how we as practitioners can in concrete ways learn from a school-community interface that would make education more valuable within a given context. First, teachers are key to any such effective system of education.

Teacher Training for CR/School-Community Relations

It was clear that the teachers played an important role in helping students reflect on their encounter with the indigenous-indigent. The processing of students' experiences in the school-community interaction presupposes a genuinely Culturally Responsive (CR) teacher to facilitate the process. Research evidence on CR teaching demonstrates that there is no universal checklist to ensure

teachers are Culturally Responsive (Hill 2012). However, I think it would be helpful for the teacher to have already himself/herself benefited from an immersion or field experience in a setting that is different from that of his or her own ethnic group or socioeconomic status. The success of such field engagement is ultimately at the personal level; a cultural immersion can be a different experience for every teacher. Another level of training is in terms of pedagogy. As seen in the literature from the American context, CR requires teachers to construct pedagogical practices that are of relevance and meaning to poor students' social and cultural contexts (Gay 2010). A teacher-training institute for Culturally Responsive education may help to prepare teachers for that task of achieving greater socio-cultural and economic impact in education.

School-Community Commission

It would also help the goal of the school-community relationship if there were a group of educationists whose role would be to raise awareness, oversee, review and discuss activities and literature on the interaction. The proposed group could also help to create a network of placement options for elite students to experience an indigent community as part of their learning programme. It may even become possible for the commission to plan a curriculum, write textbooks to enhance students' reflection on their experience, and so pave the way for such interaction to be a regular part of school programmes.

Proposing a Local LoE

While Kiswahili was very prevalent during the data collection, much economic value was assigned to the English language. There is the fear that rural indigent communities may not survive in a globalized world as monolingual speakers of their local language. The issue of LoE, as pointed out

earlier in a conversation with a participant, is not an "either - or" scenario. Hence I argue that the colonial versus indigenous language debate should not be polarised.

I propose that the indigenous language be used as the LoE alongside the colonial language – for instruction and examination from primary to university education.[55] The prevalence of interlingual or intralingual code-switching, between non-standard forms and more standard forms of the colonial language, is for me an indication that the colonial and local languages can exist side by side in many parts of Africa (Thompson 2013, p. 47). As regards the difficulty of teaching and learning in an indigenous language, my stated view is that the only way native languages can become sufficiently developed is by first becoming the LoE in their local educational institutions (Ibhakewanlan 2014b). My submission on the intractable problem of LoE is therefore at the midway point, where the local language and the colonial language(s) develop simultaneously.

Suggestions for Further Research

Based on the limitations of this case study, there is much more to learn about the school-community relationship. In particular, it is important to explore this interaction in the context of other elite schools that are not faith-based. This is not to cast doubt on the altruism of secular schools but to confirm whether the same dynamics would be at play in a more secular research environment. It remains uncertain whether or not religion was an overriding factor in the feedback from the students at this faith-based school. A future exploration would include secular elite schools in order to

[55] About two years after the fieldwork for this study, the Tanzanian government recently announced, on the 14th of February 2015, that Kiswahili would henceforth be the language of instruction in government schools. While this may be a welcome development, evidence from this study suggests that extensive preparations would be needed for Kiswahili to actually overthrow the English language as the LoE in Tanzania.

determine if such school-community collaboration would similarly impact on students regardless of their religious affiliation, gender, tribe and social class.

This inquiry has also focused on the rural indigent rather than the urban-indigent, partly because of the possible ecological significance of an indigenous community. Yet it is also important for the elite to engage with the urban-indigent. Since elite students are likely to become the future leaders of their nations, it is essential for them to be aware of both rural and urban poverty. Future research work of this kind would help to ascertain the scope and value of the school-community interface beyond rural Africa. The elite and the indigent exist in other parts of the world. Education, through this kind of interface, may be able to help to address similar socio-economic inequality.

This enquiry has been based on a secondary school, but a future investigation of this kind could follow up on higher education. University students are closer to becoming country leaders than are secondary school students. Data on the introspection of elite higher education students immersed in an indigent community may be more valuable, in terms of examining the impact of such school-community interaction upon elite students.

The students generally saw the relationship with the village as life-changing. But there was no assessment strategy to determine the full extent of the impact of the interaction. Therefore a future study might include procedures and methods of inquiry that would include a pre and post interaction survey. This could be administered to hundreds of participants in various schools where an elite-indigent interaction occurs. Any such future study would hopefully have a larger sample or pool to better determine the students' self-reported transformation. The goal would remain to confront inequality and achieve socio-economic transformation through education.

Personal Reflections on the Research Process

My understanding has been transformed in the course of this research process. In particular, there has emerged a nuanced reconsideration of some of the definitions outlined in the introductory chapter. The following terms have specifically evolved: Culture, Justice, the Indigenous and Cultural Responsiveness. By presenting how my thoughts on each of these key concepts have developed after data analysis, I hope to possibly deepen theoretical understanding.

Culture as Transnational

The working definition of culture in this thesis has been in terms of the various characteristics, "symbols, images, meanings, habitual comportments, stories, and so on through which people express their experience and communicate with one another" (Young 2011, p. 23). I had assumed that the above understanding of culture presumes a common location where the particular group of people create and share the above characteristics and experiences. A geographically situated view of culture is what I had transmitted to my Social Studies students for several years.

However, the school-community relationship revealed two sets of people sharing the same physical territory but living in two different cultural habitats. Within the village community itself, the Minority Voices shared a relatively different perspective. I earlier stated that Abednego and his friends had been greatly affected by the Western media (Observation/School-Village Culture/11). The same could be said of the elite community, who have even greater access to the mainstream media. Indeed, the elite children are "third culture kids: the global nomads of transnational spaces of learning" (Hayden 2012, p. 57). Their culture is not tied to a single location.

It is thus my view that the "symbols, images and habits" (Young 2011), which constitute the lens through which a people perceive the world, may be actual or virtual. Virtual experiences, not geographically confined, include the understandings, capabilities and feelings, acquired through the media or independently of an individual's immediate community setting. The actual experiences refer to those involvements and characteristics that are created and shared by a localized community. My renewed definition of culture therefore is that, without ubiety, it is *the ensemble of the actual and virtual experiences that determine an individual's perception of reality*.

Justice as Compulsory Compassion

In defining the term *justice* earlier, I made a link between culture and justice based on the view that cultural hegemony is a matter of justice. Justice was defined in terms of the equal or fair distribution of the wealth and opportunities of a culture or society (Young 2011). The scope of justice was also extended to "non-distributive" issues (*Ibid.* p.3). While the data confirmed the view evident in Catholic Social Teaching that compassion for the poor can form the basis of justice (O'Brien & Shannon 2010), my understanding of justice in terms of such compassion has been universalized in the course of this project.

First, I had expected the word *inequality*, as representing injustice, to appear predominantly in the data, but that was not the case. There were no issues of retribution or reparation. In the face of perceived suffering, a compassionate love was instead the overriding term on the hearts and lips of the participants. For the elite students, it did not seem necessary to first label the poverty of the village in terms of injustice before reaching out. Poverty, seen in the holistic and material senses, was perceived by all in the field as an evil to be overcome through compassion for all those who suffer.

This empathy appeared to be the product of a dialogical interaction and seemed to be a sufficient motivation for the pursuance of justice - at least at that local level. Previously, I thought this motivation was strictly religious, based on the demands of the Christian God. However, the experience shared by non-Christian participants in the school community confirmed that such compassion could be a basis for justice outside the framework of the Christian religion. It is my opinion that a compassionate commitment to those suffering be a demand of justice. In other words, justice for me becomes *the categorical imperative to act in compassion on behalf of those who suffer*.

Indigenous Knowledge as Knowledge of the Indigent

An important theme from the data is an expressed divergence between the school and the village cultures. One participant, cited previously, saw the cultural divide in terms of a contrast between the school propagating Western values inherited through colonial education, while the village propagates local knowledge (Oral Interview/School-Village Culture/16). On the one hand, it is true that the way of life of rural children appears not to be derived from IPS or postcolonial education (Kanu 2007). Hence their local knowledge, so far understood as IK, seems to set them apart from students in elite schools. On the other hand, what is the ultimate dichotomy in the relationship between IK and the knowledge taught in the elite school? The Minority Voices indicate that it is the economic divide that sets both knowledge systems apart. From various perspectives, some authors have addressed this contrast in terms of "Science Education and non-Western Cultures" or "The Struggle and Renaissance of Indigenous Knowledge in Eurocentric Education" (Battiste 2008; Crossman 2002; Odora-Hoppers 2002; Jegede 1999; Owuor 2007; Sillitoe 2000).

Based on the geographical understanding or definition of *indigenous* stated earlier, it follows logically that every knowledge is indigenous. Cooper draws attention to the *indigenous* nature of the European society over the centuries and efforts "to pay attention to an 'indigenous' located within Europe itself" (Cooper 2009, p. 3). If every knowledge is indigenous, what does *Western education* really mean? Unless the term is used in relation to a particular community in the western part of the world, what is often referred to as *Western education* is indeed what has been described already as "Institutionalized Public Schooling" or IPS. Should this globalized way of learning still be called Western education? Where education, including IPS, is understood in terms of the means by which knowledge is transmitted through generations, including cultural heritage and values, thus applicable to both elite and indigenous-indigent children, there should be no great dichotomy. It seems therefore that it is the labelling (Western versus Indigenous) that creates the dichotomy. There may be little significant difference between the learning system of elite students in Africa and many other students in Europe, America and other parts of the world. After all, many anthropologists believe that there are substantial similarities and overlaps among the various knowledge systems (Sillitoe *et. al.* 2006). The workings of a global economy and the interconnectedness of different societies today pose common problems for education. And recent studies examine how convergences in educational reforms play out in Africa and other parts of the world (Arnove; Torres; Franz 2013).

My renewed view is that the term *"Western education"* could be misleading. Does it mean IPS originated from the West? The art of writing, central to IPS, originated from or was invented in Mesopotamia and maybe simultaneously in Egypt (Ibhakewanlan 2014b). No one says today *"Mesopotamian Writing"* or that the art of writing is Mesopotamian. Why then has the term "Western education" remained so dominant that it is the cause of terrorism in West Africa?

Further research may be needed to help understand why a terrorist group like *Boko Haram* (meaning "Western education is forbidden") associates formal learning with the West. Meanwhile, I think the term "Western education" need not be used generically to refer to IPS, or any formal education, but only in specific reference to such learning in that geographical part of the world. Similarly, *Indigenous* and *Indigenous Knowledge* should not be viewed only in terms of cultural attributes. Data from the field have shed some light on the term by emphasizing a strong economic dimension to IK. It is mostly the poor who appear to possess Indigenous Knowledge or IK. Hence IK, it seems to me, could be understood as a term that gives "recognition" to the rural poor (Fraser & Honneth 2003).

Rethinking Cultural Responsiveness

Cultural Responsiveness was earlier "defined as using the cultural characteristics, experiences, and perspectives of ethnically diverse students as conduits for teaching them more effectively" (Gay 2002, p, 106). Based on the Minority Views, of what use is teaching by cultural symbols to the starving and homeless poor? The school-community relationship presented thus far shifts the attention away from cultural symbols, and other aspects of the local context, to solidarity with the poor. The current CR and IK approaches (Villegas, Neugebauer & Venegas 2008; Gay 2010; Hill 2012; Banda & Morgan 2013 and others) are important. But based on the data and my observation, the pedagogical aspect of integrating traditional practices into IPS appear too daunting and may be unrealizable in the current rigid educational system that is centred on summative assessments and certificates. Do indigenous children need to learn about their own IK through the IPS system? On the other hand, I grant that there may be some contexts (Banda 2008) where an indigenous community might learn better within IPS using their own Indigenous Knowledge system.

What this study otherwise recommends is a bi-dimensional mobility of elite and indigenous students. As stated in the section on sampling, a main reason LJC was not chosen as the site of this study is the fact that the students of the school did not have a direct experience of the village in which the school was located. In the Catholic school in Tanzania (CASIT) the elite students profited greatly from their immersion in the local village. What would be ideal is a bi-directional mobility, which is a combination of both. My understanding of CR thus became *a bi-directional mobility that links school and community in a direct relationship of mutual learning*. Through such mobility, elite students would have access to IK without the difficulty of changing the curriculum and other aspects of the current educational system. Indigenous-indigent children would equally benefit from quality IPS. That interaction is at the heart of my renewed understanding of a Culturally Responsive education.

Claim for Originality

This thesis is the result of my arduous research investigation. The inspiration came from my work at LJC between 1996 and 2011. The topic emerged from the encounter between the students of my elite school and the indigent children of the local village. The research work reveals my struggles and questions about the gross socio-economic inequality in education. While searching for an authentic CR education, this thesis offers a localized/dialogical alternative in the global effort to provide quality education for the indigent. But the path of dialogical interaction is bound to be rocky. This alternative approach I offer does not negate other efforts like overseas aid.

I have coined the term *Costheanthropic Learning* to depict the kind of education that would hopefully take place after a successful elite-indigent interaction. This contribution comes in a long line of far more important works, too numerous to mention. Mine is definitely not the final word.

8. EPILOGUE

> Suppose a man comes into your meeting wearing a gold ring and fine clothes, and a poor man in filthy old clothes also comes in. If you show special attention to the man wearing fine clothes and say, “Here is a good seat for you,” but say to the poor man, “You stand there” or “Sit on the floor by my feet,” have you not discriminated among yourselves and become judges with evil thoughts? (James 2:2-4).

This thesis began with a three-fold driving emotion. It explained the underlying religious inspiration, a philosophical or ideological passion, and a desire for social justice in Africa. The Biblical themes of poverty, inequality and religiosity have found resonance in the data. While still sharing in the eschatological promise of Faith, I have sought for a hope that is immanent. The aspiration of annihilating poverty and suffering, the dream of a just society (free of dire poverty and gross inequality) may still be considered utopian. For example, the expression “Noble Savage” has come to be associated with Rousseau’s writings, even though he never used that term. Yet, these historical attempts at social justice and equality, such as Paulo Freire’s Conscientization, continue to find resonance across the world – despite their perception as utopian or unrealizable “for either the educator or the learner”(Dasen & Akkari 2008, p. 342). Unfortunately, much of this Western intellectual tradition that historically encouraged a ‘utopia’ aimed at the common needs of humanity is a form of socialism that constitutes a stream of militant atheism. This may owe to this brand of socialism’s historical roots in Positivism, Materialism and scientism:

> Anyone who finds Lenin utopian, who states that the attempt to establish a proletarian dictatorship in Russia is a utopian attempt, cannot be a conscious socialist, and cannot have acquired his culture through study of the doctrine of historical materialism. He is a Catholic, he is bogged down in Holy Writ. It is he who is the real utopian (Gramsci 1988, p. 49).

The above view is unfortunate because it shares an important goal with the religious tradition: to liberate the poor and the oppressed. Is socialist solidarity with the poor incompatible with religion? Going back to Plato, religion was essential to the utopia of an ideal city-state. Admittedly, Western society is currently secular. By contrast, the African context today appears more amenable to religion. If a suffering religious people are to strive to bring about a kingdom of justice and equality here and now, how should they go about it in their schools?

Based on the data analysed, education should indeed aspire towards a "necessary utopia" grounded on "the common needs of humanity" (Morgan & Guilherme 2014). From analysis of the literature and data gathered, such utopian quest requires a moral vision. Religion, not materialism, provided that vision in this particular case. Is the failure of Communism unconnected to its rootedness in materialism and scientism? Human beings have a strong altruistic dimension, and feedback from the participants showed that religion seems to accentuate that altruism. With the religious nature of the African context today, education can tap into the philanthropic outlook that religion provides. Thus the continent's hope could be made more immanent; this is the goal of the moral vision of education advocated here.

The vision asks the "why" question of poverty inside the schools. What is the aim of education in this context of chronic poverty and socio-economic inequality? A real moral question for

the elite may become 'why are we so wealthy while the multitude suffers from poverty?' The hope is that poverty is not completely insurmountable in the here and now. Yet the optimism is not in a miraculous quick-fix solution to poverty and inequality but a long-term goal. I believe the moral evolution is towards altruism, and that *Costheanthropic Learning* can enable students and staff to strive towards a necessary utopia. I have great hope that humanity can journey from an old era of ravenous competition and inequality to a new epoch of cooperation and solidarity. Through a process of progress, education can bring about a kingdom of justice and peace– in the here and now.

Symbolic of that transition to a new epoch of justice, this thesis began in its Prologue by referring to the theological tradition that deferred justice to the afterlife. Then the Epilogue opened with a truncated pericopé (James 2:1-4) from a New Testament tradition where the kingdom of justice is rather clearly immanent.[56] The rest of that text, still chiding the separate treatment granted the rich man and the tatterdemalion, may serve as an appropriate conclusion.

> Listen, my dear brethren: Has not God chosen those who are poor in the eyes of the world to be rich in faith and to inherit the kingdom he promised those who love him? But you have dishonoured the poor... If you really keep the royal law found in Scripture, "Love your neighbour as yourself," you are doing right. But if you show inequality, you sin and are convicted by the law as lawbreakers (James 2:5-9).

[56] "…indeed, the kingdom of God is within you" (Luke 17:21).

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10. APPENDICES

1. **Information sheet for Participants in the Pilot Study**

2. **Participant Consent Form**

3. **Interview Form**

4. **Report of Accident during Field Work**

5. **Interview Conversation with an Indigenous Elder**

6. **Demography of Participants in Alphabetical Order**

7. **Ethics Committee Approval**

Appendix 1: Information sheet for Participants



School of Education

INFORMATION FOR PROSPECTIVE RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

1. This is an invitation to take part in a research study on the relationship between elite schools and their indigent/indigenous host communities, case study of a Catholic school in Africa.

2. The reason you have been approached is that this is an African Community-Based Research project (CBR) which involves participatory research that has community elders as members of the research team and as primary stakeholders. Hence as a community elder you are respected as a research colleague.

3. Before you decide if you wish to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please, take time to read the following information carefully:

(a) If you participate, you may be given an opportunity to partake in a process of "Cultural Translation" which involves culturally adapting the standard Entrance Exam into Secondary School. This means translating the Entrance Test into the local language and eliminating any ambiguity.

(b) You would also be encouraged to suggest local modes of assessments according to the skills and values of the local culture.

(c) You are welcome to be part of the administering of the culturally translated version of the exam to the indigent children of the village who failed the standard exam.

(d) You are welcome to be part of the grading of the exam scripts.

(e) You may also be interviewed for your ideas about cultural issues that may be at play between the school and village communities.

(f) The whole procedure, between the translation and the grading of the exam scripts, will last about a month.

(g) Participation in this study is totally voluntary and you are under no obligation to take part.

(h) You are free to withdraw at any point before or during the study.

(I) All data collected will be kept confidential and used for research purposes only.

(J) If you have any questions or concerns please don't hesitate to ask now.

(K) We can also be contacted after your participation at the address below:

Researcher: *John-Okoria Ibhakewanlan, 10 Albert Road, Harbourne, Birmingham, B17 0AN, England; ttxji1@nottingham.ac.uk; tel: +447466601517*

Supervisor: *Dr. Paul Thompson, Room B2, Dearing Building, Jubilee Campus, Nottingham, NG8 1BB, England; paul.thompson@nottingham.ac.uk; tel: 0115 951 4506*

School of Education Research Ethics Coordinator: *Dr. Julio Gimenez, Room C43, Nottingham, NG8 1BB;* educationresearchethics@nottingham.ac.uk; *tel: +44(0)1159514407*

Appendix 2: Participant Consent Form



School of Education

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

(To be signed by anyone in the school or village taking part in the research)

Project title: "Cultural Responsiveness in Education within an African Context of Poverty and Inequality?"

Researcher's name: Fr. John-Okoria Ibhakewanlan

Supervisor's name: Dr. Paul Thompson

- I have read the Participant Information Sheet and the nature and purpose of the research project has been explained to me. I understand and agree to take part.
- I understand the purpose of the research project and my involvement in it.
- I understand that I may withdraw from the research project at any stage and that this will not affect my status now or in the future.
- I understand that while information gained during the study may be published, I will not be identified and my personal results will remain confidential.
- I understand that data will be stored {*Test results and data from interviews will be stored in locked drawers inside room C8 at the School of Education, University of Nottingham}* and only the researcher will have access to it.
- I understand that I may contact the researcher or supervisor if I require further information about the research, and that I may contact the Research Ethics Coordinator of the School of Education, University of Nottingham, if I wish to make a complaint relating to my involvement in the research.

Signed …… (research participant)

Print name …… **Date** ……

CONTACT DETAILS ATTACHED HEREWITH

Appendix 3: Interview Form/Questionnaire



School of Education

PROJECT TITLE: "Cultural Responsiveness in Education within an African Context of Poverty and Inequality: Case Study of a Catholic School in Tanzania."

Researcher: John-Okoria Ibhakewanlan

Supervisor: Dr. Paul Thompson

Central Interview Question: "What is the most important thing you have learnt from the village community (the people or culture) in which this school is situated?"

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Print Name: ……**Signed:** ……..

Role in the School: ……**Date:** ……..

(Please feel free to use extra sheets for more information)

Appendix 4: Report of Accident during Field Work



8 Nov 2014

to Lucas Ng'hwagi

nghwagiplucas@gmail.com

John-Okoria Ibhakewanlan <jo@jesuits.net>

Dear Lucas,

Greetings of peace to you and hope all is well with you, the community and your family?

Thanks again for your kind hospitality to me while in Dodoma. I hope the ministry is going well. Please, give my love and greetings to the others. I presume James (from Kenya) is still there helping you guys. Best wishes to you all.

I recently saw a photo of the car that was stoned after bringing us from Dar to Dodoma. Could you please send me the story behind the picture, explaining the incident. I want to see if I can mention it in my work as an example of the masses resenting injustice and inequality. Only if it fits such theme...

Okay, my brother, I look forward to hearing from you.

Cheers and God bless,
John-O

From: Ng'hwagi P. Lucas



nghwagiplucas@gmail.com 9 Nov 2014

To: jo@jesuits.net

Dear John,
Many greetings from Dodoma. All is well with us and the whole community. Yes James is with us and he is doing fine too. Thanx so much for the mail and the good reminder of what was happening these ends. I steel remember the mass you celebrated for the kids, straight from a non-speaking Swahili and plunged yourself in Swahili. It was memorable and it left something in me.

On the car of Radio Kwizera:
What happened that day is, when these fellows dropped us in Dodoma, they proceeded on their way to Ngara. Shortly before they reached Singida, a major town after Dodoma, they saw a crowd of people.

Khamis, the driver, did not know what was happening. Thus he continued with his safari. However, there was a bump (speed limit bump), and he had to slow a bit. Little did he know that the mob was there for particular intention (avenging for someone who had been knocked by a speeding car that never stopped even after the incidence).

The very day, there was an accident. Someone had been knocked by a speeding car. The driver never stopped and he took himself to a nearby police station. However, the police station was just a small one and the person he had knocked had died. The police officers decided to escort the fellow to a major police station to avoid the predictable confrontations with a mob.

Sure enough as the culprit and the police escort were moving from the police station the saw the mob coming but also the mob saw the car of the culprit speeding off with police escort. In the mind of the mob it was clear that this driver had bribed the policemen and thus the police were escorting him to a safe place and let him go free. The mob then turned wild and begun stoning incoming cars.

It is in this circumstances that, Khamis, the driver of Fr. Damas found himself in. Unknowingly he passed this particular sport and they hurled a huge stone. He never saw it coming, only that he was lucky to have sped a bit to avoid it hitting him on the head. However, if there were a third passenger (the way for example we were when coming from Dar), a death at least to one of us would have been inevitable for it entered exactly on the second cabin.

It was not only a car for Radio Kwizera that was smashed that day. When Khamis went to the police station to report the incident, he found other two were still recoding their ordeals and before he left other two drivers with a similar story arrived.

Mostly, in many places in Tanzania, when you knock someone, it is unadvisable to stop. The best way is to run to a nearby police station. Some people do not trust the police officers and often they take the law in their hands to do inflict the an eye to an eye sort of justice. But also on the other hands, some drivers for sure have killed some people in accidents and bought their way.

In such circumstances, I really do not know who is to blame though of course I would hate so much to be subjected in such a mob justice. Though on the other hand, I understand why some people behave the way they behave.

John, if this fits in what you what to write about, well and good, if not at least that is what happened on that particular day.
Thanx again John for writing me, all the best and kind regards. Luc

Appendix 5: Interview Conversation With an Indigenous Elder

….(After about 12 minutes of conversation)

Iye: (Name means elderly mother): I hear you would like to give scholarship for village children to study in your school.

Researcher: Yes, Iye.

Iye: Great, good, very good; that's because of your religion?

Researcher: Yes, Iye, it is part of our Catholic tradition of education.

Iye: Thank you, my son. Your God must be good, so tell me more about your religion. As you know, we have *Olokun* (god of water) and *ogun* (god of iron) … but how would you describe yours?

Researcher: Well, we don't have any physical description for him. But first He is the God of love and compassion…

Iye: (cuts in) I see *he* is male. Okay, how is he experienced every day, as sun or wind; is he powerful; is he here now?

Researcher: Yes, we describe Him as omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent…

Iye (cuts in laughing): You have given him big titles; he must be proud of himself. Who wouldn't?

Researcher: (no response, mumbled the word 'funny')

Iye: Yes, what did you say?

Researcher: Hmm, nothing, I don't know….

….(About 15 minutes more of conversation)

Iye: OK, thank you for coming and continue the good work you are doing.

Researcher: No, thank *you* for your time. Here is a gift (a crucifix); that's the Son of the Christian God.

Iye Oh, thank you very much (hanging it on top of her door post next to a voodoo item); now I have more protection against those evil spirits that sometimes like to disturb one's sleep at night.

Researcher: Em…please, you see, we would not hang it alongside yours; they don't go together.

Iye: Don't worry, in case one fails, the other would remain effective; thank you….

Appendix 6: Demography of Participants in Alphabetical Order

No.	Interviewee	Sex	Village/ School	Age-range	Position or Other info
1.	Abednego	M	Village	17	Post-High school
2.	Arri	M	Village	48	An Elder
3.	Ayuba	F	School	13	Muslim student
4.	Aziza	M	School	40	Teacher
5.	Eliase	F	Village	32	Farmer
…	**…**	**…**	**…**	**…**	**…**
233.	Emy	F	School	14	Student
234.	Innocentia	F	School	35	Nun
235.	Jamanatu	M	Village	55	Farmer
236.	Kikongo	M	School	40	Priest
237.	Luberwa	F	Village	25	Parishoner
238.	Patrick	M	School	27	Teacher
Gender:	Male	120	**Age**	10-17	186
				18 and over	52
	Female	118			

Appendix 7: List of Publications, Conferences, and Papers

1. Articles Published:

(a) "A Constructivist Search for Knowledge and Truth" in *International Journal of Philosophy and Theology*, http://aripd.org/journal/index/ijpt/vol-2-no-1-march-2014-ijpt; March 2014, Vol. 2, Issue 1, pp. 01–15.

(b) "Violence and the Language of Education in Africa", in *Journal of African Literature and Culture*, http://www.africaresearch.org/ircjnl.htm; August 2014, Issue 11, pp. 13-38; Progeny Press.

(c) "Towards an African Community-Based Research Methodology", in-press, Manuscript ID:SO-14-0901.R1, 2015. Sage Publications.

2. Paper Delivered:

Topic: "Costheanthropic Learning: Indigenous Knowledge as Knowledge of the Indigent"
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HwRzRQbjL1s&list=PLxqeZkfLKhoegaEHubkguYwLWh0MpPblc&index=7
Date: 13th of July 2012
Venue: University of Nottingham Postgraduate Research Conference, Jubilee Campus.

3. Seminar Presented:

Topic: "Towards Cultural Responsiveness in Education"
http://www.lsri.nottingham.ac.uk/node/284
Date: Tuesday 29th of October 2013
Venue: LSRI (Learning Science Research Institute, University of Nottingham)

4. Research Report Submitted:

Topic: "Investigating Assessment in Education for Employability and Personal Development", a multi-campus study (UK, Malaysia and China) based on students' experience, by Dr. Sarah Speight and John-Okoria Ibhakewanlan, May 2014.
On Behalf of: The Nottingham Advantage Award (NAA).

Appendix 8: Ethics Committee Approval



2013/36/JG

School of Education Research Ethics Approval Form

Name	Fr John Okoria Ibhakewanlan
Main Supervisor	P Thompson
Course of Study	PhD
Title of Research Project:	Cultural Responsiveness in education within an African context of pov
Is this a resubmission?	No

Date statement of research ethics received by PGR Office: 19/12/12

Research Ethics Coordinator Comments:

I have read through all the documents attached to this submission and I am satisfied that they meet the criteria for ethical approval of the research proposed.

Observation: Please use the generic email address for the School of Education Research Ethics Coordinator (educationresearchethics@nottingham.ac.uk) on both the Participant Information Sheet and the Participant Consent Form. There is no need to resubmit as long as this change is observed before distributing.

Outcome:

Approved ☑ Revise and Resubmit ☐



Signed: Name: Dr J. Gimenez Date:22.01.20

I consider this research to be above minimum risk.

