

ASHESI UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

Pan Africanists Ideas and the Ghanaian Educational System.

BY

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this Thesis is the result of my own original work and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

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I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the Thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by Ashesi University College.

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Acknowledgment

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Abstract

This study sought to measure the level of priority or focus given to the study of Pan Africanism among undergraduate students. Students selected for this research paper were from the University of Ghana and Ashesi University College. A lecturer was interviewed to find out about the relevance of the study of Pan Africanism in modern Africa. Students from the history department of the University of Ghana were given questionnaires to fill. The questionnaires aimed at finding out if they had all taken courses on Pan Africanism and how their knowledge on the topic affected their thoughts and opinions on Pan Africanism. Students from Ashesi University College were randomly selected to answer the questionnaires set to find out if they had ever taken a course on the topic and how the learning environment affected their thoughts on Pan Africanism.

A lot of literature was read to give the study strong credibility and validity. Literature such as the autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah, speech given by Marcus Garvey and others were read to throw more light on the topic. The introduction gives a brief history of why and how the movement started, literature review analysed some articles that focused on the Ghana at fifty celebrations and other articles looked at the different groups and their thoughts on African unity and how Africa should find solutions that best fit the African context. The study was a qualitative study and highly dependent on responses given by the target population. Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data received from respondents.

Abbreviations

AU – African Union

OAU – Organisation of African Unity

UAR – Upper Volta

NAACP – National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

UNIA-ACL – Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Community League

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

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Chapter One

1.1 Introduction and Background

This chapter focuses on the background of this research paper. The African history is reviewed from the arrival of the Europeans in Africa to when African countries gained independence from Europeans. This chapter gives an introduction to how and why the Pan African movement was initiated. The chapter gives readers the reasons as to why the black race was found in different parts of the world. The chapter also throws more light as to why and how Africans were colonised, and why they wanted to be given their independence. This chapter goes on to give the various reasons that forced the black race had to come together to fight for its independence from European powers.

1.1.1 Early years of Pan Africanism

From July 23 to 25 in 1900, the Trinidadian Henry Sylvester Williams organised the first Pan African conference in London, England. Henry Williams while working to qualify as a barrister in England met Africans studying and living in England. After listening to a South African speak of her personal experience of racial cruelty, he decided to set up the African Association in 1897. During the three days the conference heard Africans from British colonies; the United States of America and the United Kingdom speak about the racial discrimination they experienced. The African association after the three days conference in 1900 was changed to the Pan African Association. The primary objectives of the Pan African Association were;

- “To secure the civil and political rights of Africans and their descendants throughout the world.
- To encourage friendly relations between the Caucasian and African races.

- To encourage African people everywhere in educational, industrial and commercial enterprise
- To approach Governments and influence legislation in the interest of the black race and to ameliorate the condition of the oppressed Negro.”ⁱ

Professor Tony Martin also from Trinidad came up with the first and basic definition of Pan Africanism as “the attempts by African people to link up their struggle for their mutual benefit”ⁱⁱ. African people in this context included all those living in Africa and those in the diaspora. Pan Africanism was to benefit Africans regardless of where they are in the world. He wanted all Africans to come together and seek to end all the political, emotional and social struggles of the Black race. Thus the Pan Africanism movement was “inspired by anti colonial and antiracist African descents living in North America, West Indies and Europe during the 19th and 20th centuries.”ⁱⁱⁱ Pan Africanism was first started by English Caribbean intellectuals who were quickly joined by African-American intellectuals. After this initial meeting, Pan African meetings were organised by W.E.B Du Bois an African American born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts on the 23rd February 1868. He is referred to as the father of Pan Africanism because of how much he contributed to the development and sustenance of the movement. He organised a lot of pan African meetings and conferences but the most significant meeting in the history of the movement in Africa was the Fifth meeting held in Manchester, England.

In early 1944, Du Bois was approached by two Jamaicans, Dr. Harold Moody and Mrs Amy Jacques Garvey the second wife of Marcus Garvey; founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Community League. The UNIA-ACL was founded in Jamaica in 1914 and its first division outside Jamaica was founded on May 1917 in the United States. After moving to the United States on the 23rd March 1916, Garvey worked during the day and gave speeches on corner streets at night. While giving these talks, he realised that people of African ancestry in the US did not have a leader that could motivate them to fight for better treatment

from the whites. He believed Africa should be for Africans and this perspective gave him the motivation to speak to those of African descent about moving back to Africa. On May 9th 1916 he held his first public lecture at the St Mark Church in the Bowery. After this meeting, he and thirteen others set up the first international UNIA-ACL branch. He aimed at making African Americans understand that in order for them to have a good social, economic and political life, they needed to join other black people in other parts of the world and live as one. In a speech he said "We hear the cry of "England for the Englishman," of "France for the Frenchman," of "Germany for the German," of "Ireland for the Irish," of "Palestine for the Jew," of "Japan for the Japanese," of "China for the Chinese." We of the Universal Negro Improvement Association are raising the cry of "Africa for the Africans," those at home and those abroad. There are 400 million Africans in the world who have Negro blood coursing through their veins, and we believe that the time has come to unite these 400 million people toward the one common purpose of bettering their condition"^{iv}. He wanted all black people to unite and live together for a better life.

Garvey set up businesses to improve the living conditions of African-Americans and to sponsor the activities of the back to Africa movement. Some of these businesses were, the "Negro World" a newspaper that began publication on the 17th August 1918, and the "Black Star Line" a shipping transportation that was incorporated on the 27th June 1919. This shipping line was to transport goods, and eventually carry those with African ancestry back home to Africa where they were to be united with Africans from across the world. On September 1919, the "Black Star Line" obtained its first ship. The company made a lot of profit during its first year of operations. Unfortunately, the breakdown of different parts of the ship, poor maintenance and record keeping caused the company to suffer losses which eventually caused the company to end its operations in 1922. In 1928, the United States government deported Marcus Garvey back to Jamaica on charges of mail fraud. After he was deported, he travelled to Geneva to present the League of

Nations with a petition on behalf of Africans and African descent. This petition outlined the world wide abuse of the black race. In 1929 Garvey founded the People's Political Party, Jamaica's first modern political party which focused on workers' rights, education and aid to the poor. Later in 1935, he moved permanently to London where he died on June 10th 1940. He was buried in London but in 1964, his body was sent to Jamaica where he was declared the country's first national hero. Marcus Garvey had great influence on Kwame Nkrumah's ideology about Africa's liberation and unity. In Kwame Nkrumah's autobiography he noted, "I think that of all the literature that I studied, the book that did me more than any other to fire my enthusiasm was Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey published in 1923."^v The black star in the Ghanaian flag, designed by Theodosia Okoh was inspired by Marcus Garvey's Black Star line.

Du Bois was approached about the necessity of a post war Pan African meeting. This meeting became the 5th Pan African Congress, the most significant Pan African meeting in the history of African liberation. Du Bois' view on Pan Africanism was that Africans should form a strong brotherhood and seek self government for some African countries especially Anglophone African countries. After the meeting organised by Sylvester Williams in 1900, Du Bois organised the first ever Pan African meeting in February, 1919, Paris, France. This first congress was poorly attended; it had just 57 delegates who represented fifteen countries. The 2nd congress was held in 1921 and was held in several sessions in three different European cities; London, Paris and Brussels. In 1923, the 3rd congress saw held in Lisbon. The 4th Pan African congress was held in New York in 1927 and it had 208 delegates with 2000 people attending. After the fourth congress, Du Bois had lost his enthusiasm about the movement and went on to channel his energy on the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People which he helped found in 1909. According to the NAACP website, the organisation aims at ensuring the political, educational, social and economic equality of rights of all persons and to eliminate

race-based discrimination (NAACP Mission Statement). Before setting up the NAACP, he and other intellectuals set up the Niagara movement in 1905 in which he served as the General Secretary. After, the independence of Ghana, Du Bois moved to Ghana in 1961 and in that very year, he gained Ghanaian nationality. He remained in Ghana until his death in 1963. He was 95 years old; his body was not sent back to the United States but was buried in Ghana. Du Bois was the International President for the 5th Pan African Congress which was held in England Manchester from the 15th to 21st October 1945. This meeting had 90 delegates representing the African continent. After the 5th congress, Du Bois handed over leadership of the movement to the younger men at the 5th conference because he was then 77 years old. Kwame Nkrumah mentioned in his autobiography, that Africa for the very first time was represented at a Pan African congress. "As the preponderance of members attending the congress were Africans, its ideology became African nationalism a revolt by African nationalism against colonialism, racialism and imperialism in Africa."^{vi} It was after this conference that African countries began to fight and demand independence from European colonialists.

Kwame Nkrumah in his autobiography mentions that it was during this congress that valuable ground work for independence of British Africa was laid down as he wrote, "the reason why it achieved so much was because for the first time the delegates who attended it were practical men and men of action and not merely idealists contenting themselves with writing theses but not quite unable or unwilling to take any active part in dealing with the African problem."^{vii} Practical men such as Kwame Nkrumah and Jomo Kenyatta put in place activities that enabled them gain independence for Ghana and Kenya in 1957 and 1963 respectively. Since the participants understood the need for decolonisation, they were able to rally the masses and fight for freedom. African descendent found themselves in different parts of the world due to the Atlantic slave trade. The Atlantic slave gave right to people like Marcus Garvey's idea that all Africans should be get back to Africa, their home

where they could live a better life. Others such as W. E. Du Bois and Henry Williams wanted to seek independence for the African people. The Atlantic slave trade was the reason why Africans were spread out throughout the world and it was the beginning of the discrimination of the black race.

1.1.2 The Atlantic slave trade

During the age of discovery, Europeans explored the world with the intention of trading with other worlds. In this endeavour Portugal rose as the most powerful nation and was the first to discover Africa. "The Portuguese first arrived in Goree, Senegal in 1444; they named the island "Ilha de Palma" meaning Isle of palms"^{viii}. Again, the Portuguese were the first European power to arrive on the Gold Coast in 1471 in the town of Elmina. They built the first ever European castle in Sub-Saharan Africa in 1482 and named it Sao Jorge da Mina (St George of the mine). In 1637, the Dutch were able to overpower the Portuguese and took control of the castle until 1874 when the British took over the castle. This castle, like many other castles, built by other European powers all over West Africa was meant to store traded items like gold, ivory and salt until these items were ready to be shipped to Europe. In the latter years of the 15th century, European powers discovered the New World and needed a steady source of human labour to work on plantations the Americas; the newly discovered world. This need was the beginning of the Atlantic slave trade where; West Africans were forcefully taken away from their home continent on ships to North and South America, Caribbean and Europe. This human trade caused the depopulation of Africa as well as displacement of Africans around the globe. Enslaved Africans were discriminated against, and mistreated for many centuries. In 1807, Britain decided to make the trade illegal and in 1808, the US Congress joined in and abolished the trade. Though the trade was abolished, Africans were still smuggled into the United States. "By the end of the 19th century, most of the world's nations perceived the slave trade as illegitimate."^{ix} Britain and other European powers' active opposition to the slave trade was not because they grew a

conscience, it was because they found something new and more profitable than slavery. They discovered that machines could work faster and better than humans. The discovery of machines was the industrial revolution.

1.1.3 The Scramble of Africa

“The industrial revolution; promoted the end of the Atlantic slave trade. The introduction of machineries in Europe made European powers rethink the slave trade. These powers needed Africa to be stable so that they could trade legally with Africans. Europeans needed Africans to work on plantations in Africa; export produces were sent to Europe where machines transformed them into finished goods. The finished goods were re- exported to Africa for Africans to buy. Some of the products from the plantations like Peanut was grown so that the oil can be used as lubricants for the machines in Europe. This new system of trading did not involve the displacement of Africans. By 1874, the British had moved permanently in the Gold Coast to ensure that all was in place to ensure that the new system of trade was going on smoothly. In 1884, King Leopold II of Belgium announced that he owned the Congo Basin (Republic of Congo), the then German Chancellor, Bismarck Otto Von later made the world know that Togoland (Togo), Kamerun (Cameroon) and the South West Africa (Namibia) were his properties. These declarations had “European leaders perceive themselves as locked in an imperial race to acquire territories to prevent the balance power from tipping too heavily in favour of their perceived rivals, hence the characterisation of this historical period as the scramble of Africa.”^x These declarations led to the beginning of direct colonisation of Africa, the declarations forced European powers to divide Africa into various parts so they could better control and trade with Africans without fighting themselves.

Europeans had a conference that lasted for three months in Berlin; the conference began on the 15th November 1884 and ended on the 26th February 1885. At the time, 80% of Africa was under traditional and local control. European powers scrambled to gain control of the interior of the continent since they already had

control of the western part of the continent. The British had control of the Gold Coast, and they signed dubiously worded treaties with local leaders. The signing of the treaties gave the colonialists the right and power to colonize Africans. Africans on the home continent were not treated differently from those who found themselves elsewhere in the world. They were discriminated against and made to work to enrich Europe. The Pan African movement came to be because of many reasons, firstly because intellectuals of African descent in the Caribbean and North America wanted to be treated fairly and equally as the white people. They did not want to be treated as inferior because of their skin colour. They wanted good jobs and be respected and be given equal opportunities as their white counterparts. Africans on the other hand wanted independence from their colonial masters. They wanted to make decisions concerning their country, they wanted the oppressors to leave their continent and leave them in charge of their continent's matters. There were many factors that forced the birth of Pan Africanism. Africans and African descent across the world realised they all were faced with similar discrimination and therefore needed to come together to stop it. A black soldier who fought hard and bravely alongside European soldiers was not given the recognition they felt they deserved was also a factor that fuelled the birth of the Pan African movement.

1.14 Reasons for the Pan African Movement

The World Wars were also major factors that influenced the call for African nationalism. After fighting alongside white soldiers, black soldiers had lost their illusion about the superior white race; black soldiers became aware of the myth of the supposed superiority of white people. African soldiers perceived that they were stronger and more courageous than their white counterparts and therefore deserved to have the same financial benefits accorded to white soldiers. Instead the way they were treated did not change; they were still regarded as inferior human being that did not deserve the same respect given to the white people. Thus, African soldiers formed and joined veterans groups who were key players in the movement that

sought independence. Another factor was the decolonisation of Asia where; numerous Asian countries gained independence in the 1940's. The ill treatment imposed on Africans and the people of African descent in their own homes, the two World Wars, and the decolonisation of Asian countries forced Africans to wake up and seek independence from European colonialists. As Kwame Nkrumah states in his autobiography, "it was this fifth Pan African Congress that provided the outlet for African nationalism and brought about awakening of African politics consciousness. It became, in fact, a mass movement of Africa for the Africans."^{xi} Although Francophone Africa was not represented, the West African National Secretariat organised its first meeting called the West African conference held in London. This conference gave Francophone West African countries the opportunity to include themselves to the movement. Leopold Senghor and Sourous Apithy attended this meeting and supported West African unity. Though, Europeans settled in all parts of Africa, not every country on the African continent was colonised. Pan Africanism however, brought all African countries both the colonised and the not colonised came together to seek independence of the entire continent.

1.1.5 Colonisation and the growth of African Unity

Ethiopia was never colonised despite it being occupied by the Italians from 1936-1941. Liberia founded in 1822 of mainly freed slaves from America declared its independence in 1847 and this prevented the country from being colonised. Egypt, despite being subjected to British rule gained its independence in 1922. African nations' independence can be put into four main groups. The countries that gained independence in 1950's, those that gained independence in the 1960's and the third group's independence began in 1974 and the final group gained their independence in 1980's up until 1994. Ghana was the first sub Saharan country to gain independence on 6th March 1957. After Ghana's independence, Francophone African colonies began asking for independence from their French colonial masters. Charles De Gaulle had no option than to have the "oui/non" election in French West Africa

and French Equatorial Africa which was held on the 28th September 1958. All French colonies voted “oui”; meaning they wanted to remain under the French rule. The Republic of Guinea was the only French colony to vote “non”. In October 1958, the Republic of Guinea was proclaimed. To revenge this act by Guinea, the French on leaving Guinea took everything away with them including technical assistance and financial aid. The first President of the Republic was Ahmed Sekou Toure. The newly independent Guinea in need of financial aid approached Ghana; Ghana, received a substantial amount of money from British after its independence. On the 28th November, 1958, the Ghana-Guinea Union was formed; this was the nucleus of the United States of Africa. In May the following year, the Union was named Union of African States. Mali joined the Union of African States in 1961. Unfortunately, the Union fell apart a year later because Guinea began reaching out to the United States. The Union’s flag was the Ghanaian flag with three stars in it. In December 1958, the All African People’s Congress took place in Accra Ghana. This congress was the first Pan African meeting to take place on the African continent and in an independent country. There were flags and banners of different African countries flying high. Outside the conference room the words “Forward to Independence Now”, and inside the conference hall, was written “Hands off Africa! Africa must be free.” During the meeting, Algerians expressed their desire for a standing Pan African army while Angolans complained that only 68 African children attended secondary school, Kwame Nkrumah on the other hand was busy preaching to leaders about seeking to gain independence as well as African unity. At the end of the meeting, Algerians had the full support of all African countries represented as long as it sought independence in a peaceful manner.

Kwame Nkrumah boldly addressed his audience at the end of the meeting saying, “The scales have fallen from our eyes, we have got a clear vision of the future. We shall from now on march forward in solid phalanx, united in the spirit of brotherhood and solidarity, so formidable in our strength that all the forces ranged

against us shall not prevail.”^{xii} On the 25th May 1963, in Addis Ababa Ethiopia the Organisation of African Unity was formed because of the disagreement between the three main groups which had different ideas as to how Africa should unite. 32 independent countries and further 21 states joined over the years with the last country being South Africa joining in 1994 formed the OAU. The three different groups were Casablanca, Monrovia and Brazzaville groups. The Casablanca group was made up of Ghana, Guinea, Mali, UAR, Algeria, and Morocco. This group wanted a new Africa, an Africa that in order to gain integrity has to form strong bonds with other African States; stand on its own and finally face the rest of the world. The Monrovia group on the other hand were less adamant in their effort to eradicate all colonial influence in their various countries. They did not want to reject the close ties they had with the West. They were less anxious to build a completely new Africa. The Brazzaville group shared similar ideas as those of the Monrovia group in that they thought Africans should come together through cooperating with each other. As a way to satisfy the various groups, the OAU was formed. This body was to help all African states gain their independence by eradicating all forms of colonialism from Africa, to promote international co-operation, achieve a better life for Africa’s people and many others.

On the 9th September 1999, Libya’s President Muammar Ghaddafi called for the formation of African Unity. During the Lome summit of the OAU on the 11th July 2000, the AU was adopted. The AU had similar objectives as that of the OAU; the AU’s objectives were slightly updated to fit the modern day needs of the African people. Some of the new objectives were to promote peace in Africa, promote security and stability on the continent, promote democratic principles, promote and protect people’s rights. The AU was initiated on the 8th July 2002 in Durban, South Africa. Today, Pan Africanism is a thing of the past in most African countries. African unity is no longer the norm; individual states are dealing with their own set of problems. West African states have been trying to share a common currency for

years but there is no talk of Africa uniting as one political state. Africans cannot travel within the continent without a visa. When there are humanitarian issues, Africans have to wait for the international world to intervene. The most recent activity that brought Africa together as one was the World Cup held in South Africa in 2010; with the motto Africa against the world. This chapter gave a summary of the African history; when Europeans made initial contact with Africans to the Atlantic slave trade which caused the displacement of Africans, to the scramble of Africa. This was when Africa was divided by Europeans to facilitate their control over the continent. Colonisation followed immediately after the scramble of Africa. The chapter also stated reasons for the birth of Pan Africanism and the call for African unity by Africans living on the continent and around the world. Pan Africanism led to the independence of all African countries. This chapter was to throw more light on how Pan Africanism can to exit, it was to understand why and how Africans were scattered across the globe, and why there were talks and actions put in place to return home to Africa. The chapter was to aid this thesis describe the events that led to Africa's colonisation and independence.

1.2 Problem Statement

Colonial schools taught Africans about the wars of the Gaul, the lives of Joan of Arc and Napoleon as if Africa had never had a history, a past, a geographical existence or a cultural life of its own. We know that Napoleon was strong and fearless, and Joan of Arc stood up for what she believed in, what of Yaa Asantewa who was also fearless, or the warrior king Sunni Ali Ber, who lead the Songhai Empire. Fortunately, today African students are at liberty to study about their history, connect with their identity. Pan Africanism was an ideology African elites who upon seeing the hypocrisy of the white man decided to come together, fight for the freedom of the African continent and demand for better living condition for Africans descendants across the globe. The movement was promoted so Africans at the time

and those to be born after could have the privilege of being free from all forms of colonisation and also to be treated equally with the white man. Pan Africanism is a movement that encourages, promotes African solidarity worldwide. This unity was what helped in the African continent being free from all forms of colonisation. Today, Africa still has room for improvement and the movement can still be used to improve the lives of Africans. Improvement of the lives of Africans through Pan Africanism calls for awareness of the Pan African movement. Since pan Africanism was an elite idea, it is reasonable to associate the movement with today's elites. The problem is that today's elites have no or very little knowledge of the Pan African movement. Today, Pan Africanism has become a static platform were African heads of state use to keep their schedule busy. Instead of thinking of means of working together for the welfare of the African people all they seek is aid from the west. Since Pan Africanism today is associated with this group of individuals the ideology that was meant to promote hope and dignity of the African people has become a defeated one. Perhaps, the Pan African ideology needs to be more popular amongst the elite once again. The problem with this is that African elites are not even aware of Pan Africanism. The curriculum used for undergraduate students in Ghana gives very little preference on the topic of Pan Africanism.

This makes those who will take over the mantle from the leaders of today to know very little about their identity and the benefit of working together with other African countries. This cycle of soliciting funds from the West will continue unless those to take over the mantle are educated on Pan Africanism. The first Pan African meeting organised by Sylvester Williams was to learn, be educated about the issues Africans in different parts of the world were facing. Upon educating themselves, they began the Pan African movement. Others such as Marcus Garvey, Walter Rodney went round educating others about their rights and how coming together to help one another. Bob Marley through his song "One love" educates the black race about oneness. He used his song to teach the people about the need to be one, about the

need to promote Pan Africanism. If Africa is dependent on its resources instead of external aid, then there is the need for Africa to educate its elites on Africa and its people. If Africa will ever achieve togetherness, then there is the need to put in place systems to ensure that it is achieved; education is one of such systems. Imagine the attitude, reaction of Africans when they are forced under one government without first being educated. The outcome of them being forced to be one could be resistance and angry crowds seem to be all that is seen in Africa. There is the need to remember that even within nations, there is the problem of tribalism not mention what will happen if Ghanaians and Nigerians or Ivorians and Senegalese feel they have being forced into an alliance they do not want to take part in. If they have knowledge, about the benefits, then perhaps, they will be willing to put aside their differences and work together to promote oneness. In my opinion, Pan Africanism is the summary of the African history; the past, the present and our future. Pan Africanism is the tool which Africans can use to identify themselves as one from across the globe. If the curriculum does not promote or include the study of Pan Africanism, then our students will not know their history, they need to know who is an African. Learning about Africa and its people will make them realise what Africa and its people.

Africa cannot be cured without knowing its disease, understanding Africans means understanding their problems and the only way to understand them is to study them. The present is a build up of the past, what students learn today is what have been said by people over the years. As the African proverb goes, “he who is behind the farmer sees how crooked the path the farmer is weeding is”. From time to time, there is the need to go back to see how straight or crooked ones path is. If the path is straight, one can continue but if it isn't, then the necessary measures must be taken to ensure that all is well. Africa too needs to take some steps backwards; study, inform itself about what and how it got some things wrong. In view of this proverb, co-ordinating with the person behind is also necessary otherwise, the farmers will keep going backwards or keep moving forward on a crooked path. African nations need to

look out for each other; co-ordinate with each other then the long awaited development of Africa can finally be achieved. The study of Pan Africanism will ensure that students know their history, and will promote co-operation amongst Africans.

1.3 Research Question

How much of the syllabus, teaching materials used to teach undergraduates students include topics of Pan Africanism? And how does what students have been taught affect their attitude towards Pan Africanism?

1.4 Research Objectives

This research seeks to explore the extent to which the syllabus used for undergraduate students educate them on Pan Africanism. The paper seeks to explore and find out how much or how little is taught on Pan Africanism to undergraduate students.

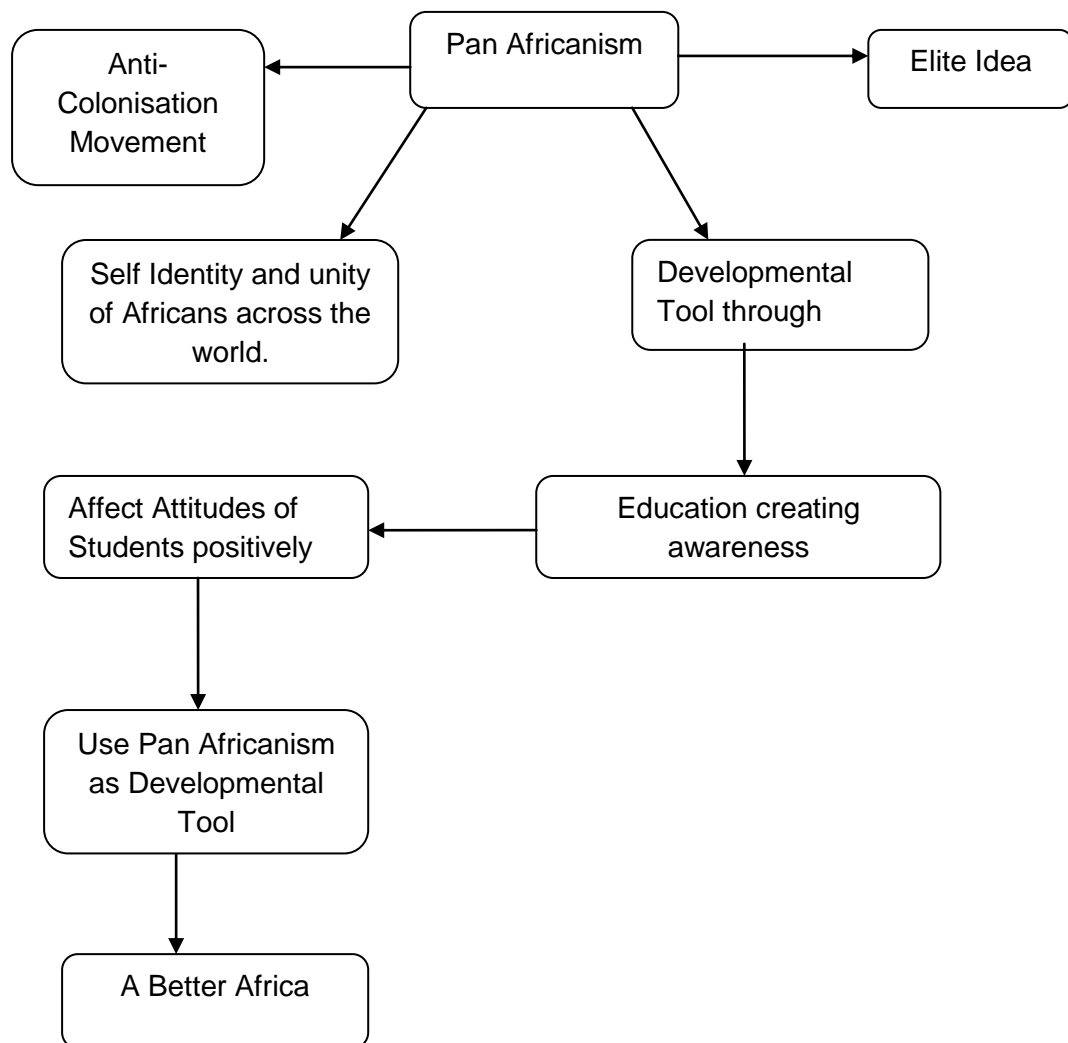
This research paper also seeks to find out the attitude of undergraduate students toward Pan Africanism. How do the students feel about Pan Africanism, what are their thoughts about the movement?

1.5 Theoretical Frame work

A theoretical frame work is the lens through which the researcher looked at the study. This chapter descript how the theory guiding the study, creates a relationship between the problem and the cause effect. The theory used to guide this study is the Social construction theory. The Social Construction theory states that values, beliefs of the society would not exist unless the people in the society approve of them. The origins of the Social Constructionism theory can be can be traced in part to an interpretivist approach to thinking. "Burr (1995) acknowledges the major influence of Berger and Luckmann (1991) in its development. In turn they acknowledge the influence of Mead, Marx, Schutz and Durkheim on their thinking"^{xiii} the theory states that things in the society would not exist in the society unless the

humans in the society made it. The things in the society are created specifically to meet the desires of the people in the society. If the society was different, things in the society will have been created differently. In relation to this study, Africa has to put in place measure that will promote the outcome required by the Africans. If Africans want to one day unite, work together for the benefit of the people of the continent, it has to put in place values, to built the people to one day accept Africa's oneness. If Africans was to construct togetherness, unity, it has to build its values and interests to meet that goal. All constructed things in the society were constructed because the people wanted it that way, the thing best suited the society. Like the article written by Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo, Africa needs to come up with solutions that fit the African context. If the ideologies of Pan Africanism are ever going to be used for the development of Africa, then Africans, not Europeans have to find ways of Africans working together. The theory states that whatever values or beliefs a society holds dear are by-products of human choices is Pan Africanism our choice, if yes, we need to realise Pan Africanism in Africa today. This theory states that ideas and beliefs are results of the conscious effort of the entire society not a specific group of people in the society. African leaders may decide to join Africa has body but without the approval, conscious effort of those in the society. Pan Africanism would not exist unless the society builds, or approves it. The only way society will approve of Pan Africanism is that they are educated; the society is made aware of the benefits of using the ideologies of Pan Africanism. When Africans come to the realisation that they share similar problems, they would realise that they can come together build values, beliefs that will help Africa attain its glory. Education, creation of awareness in the society is the only way the people will be informed. When they are informed it becomes easier for them to help build values that will promote the Pan African movement, it becomes easier to work with other Africans.

1.6 Cognitive map



Pan Africanism in its early stages was associated with African and African descents elites, it was to give hope and self identity to the black race, help stop colonialism and be a tool used to unite and develop Africa. The question is how can this tool be used when African elites are ignorant about it? There is the need to educate the elites so that they can use the tool to develop Africa and better the lives of Africans. Education will expose them to the ideas and benefits or the movement and this will influence their attitude in a positive way. If their attitudes are positively influenced, then they will use the tool to develop the African continent.

CHAPTER TWO

2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter focus on literature written by scholars on Pan Africanism. The chapter discusses information on the Pan African movement. For this paper, articles reviewed include articles written went the movement first began, what the government of Ghana is doing to promote Pan Africanism and what obstacles are preventing the use of Pan Africanism as a developmental tool in Africa. This chapter aims at supporting my research; it shows the need for my contribution. In this chapter, the written works of other scholars will be reviewed, evaluated to show the link between previous works and this research paper. The chapter also shows the credibility of this thesis paper; relevant journal articles will be used to prove that the writer has knowledge in the field of this research paper. The literature review chapter will help throw more light on the topic in that, what has been written in the past, what is been done today and the opinions of scholars on what might happen in the future of Pan Africanism will be discussed. The chapter will also show how different this research paper is from previous works.

In an article written by Charles Andrain, he looks at the history of the Pan African movement. The article was divided into three main sections but for this research paper, the first section will be the focus point. The section looks at the different forms of Pan Africanism. Pan Africanism seeks the unity of Africa and all African peoples. The search for this unity brought different thoughts as to how Africa should be united. "One form of Pan Africanism desires to attain economic and social progress through pragmatic or functional unions."^{xiv} Most French colonised states were in favour of this type of unity. In 1961, twelve French speaking African states agreed to have a more inclusive functional union. These States, Cote d'Ivoire, Senegal, Cameroun, Chad, Gabon, Mauritania, Niger, Dahomey (Benin), Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), Congo, Central African Republic and the Malagache Republic agreed to share a single air transportation system, a permanent Inter- State Economic

Secretariat, a mutual defence pact and unity in foreign affairs. These states were willing to be unified through any means except to surrender their national sovereignty. Individual states did not want to yield its territorial control to a central authority.

My argument in this case is why where the other citizens not involved in the decision making. The masses vote to have a say in who is to lead them. Why not allow them to have a say in this situation to? Their voices were not included because they did not know what was going on. If they were educated, and knew what the movement wanted to achieve perhaps they would have accepted a central power. Pan Africanism wanted to set Africa and its people all over the world free of racial discrimination and colonialism. Africans wanted to have a say in the decision making of their countries that is the reason they fought for their independence. Here we are with just a selected few making all the decisions because they did not have the minds to educate the people.

Kwame Nkrumah in his autobiography mentions that he had to educate the people of Ghana in order for him to have their support. What happened to all the education after the independence of Ghana? Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta and the others had to be educated in order to make the decisions they made when seeking freedom for their peoples. The article mentions that, members of the second group were in search of a cultural union to restore the cultural heritage of Africa's pre-colonial past. Presidents such as Leopold Senghor wanted to bring back the West African Kingdom of Mali. Likewise the President of former French Congo wanted to restore the ancient Bakongo Empire. The third group was in search of political unity; this desire was strongly fuelled by ideologies. Ghana and Guinea were the strongest advocates. This group shared the ideas of W.E.B DuBois and Marcus Garvey. This group wanted freedom from all non African tides, in 1961 the two main countries alongside Mali formed the Union of African States. This Union unlike the others envisaged a common economic and monetary policy and shared a common

diplomatic representation but political association remained loose. Charles Andrain's article also mentioned that in their quest to unite Africa, Pan-Africanists needed to build a feeling of pride among Africans. How can the African have a sense of pride when he does not know who he is? How can Africans want to forge a union they know nothing about? African leaders can decide to unify Africa but if the people of Africa themselves are not united in mind then the union will be invalid. They have to understand that they are one and need to stand as one then the union can achieve its aim. The only way to unite Africa is by educating its people about how similar our history is. Also the African needs to know that all Africans are faced with the same troubles because they share a common past and the way forward is to come together and work as a team to make meaningful progress for the continent and its people.

In his article, Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo elaborates on all the things African leaders are doing wrong in their quest to unite Africa. The first thing he mentions is that African leaders are copying development methods of Europeans. His agreement with which I strongly agree is that "no people, nation or continent can socially progress without building the foundation of its actions on its own history and culture."^{xv} Again, I ask how can Africa with a different history and culture from the Europeans follow, do the things that are working for Europeans. Why not promote our culture and history and find ways of moving forward in our own context after all, our problems are different from those of Europe. He mentions that Pan-Africanism was the ideology of a certain group of people and not the ideology of all Africans. He states, "It is only when it becomes a popular ideology that it can move from an individual or group of people's ideology to an ideological vehicle for collective struggle and change."^{xvi} Pan Africanism can work only when its ideologies are popular among Africans, and the only way to ensure that it is popular is to educate others about those ideologies. The Africans will elites and others will be aware only after they have been educated on the movement. Once they are educated, they can now take a stand. Tukumbi mentions that Pan African can only be real if one

becomes aware of who one is, and where one stands. When companies are attempting to achieve a goal or a target, the first thing they do is to get all the workers on board; give them an update, educate them on what the company aims at achieving and how it will achieve it. The key word here is education; that is the only way African leaders can get Africans on board Pan Africanism. The more they know about themselves the more they will be willing to do what is right to improve their home, Africa. The writer mentions that leaders must be transparent and spread the message of Pan Africanism. He makes mention that even though Felix Houphouet-Boigny the first President of Cote d'Ivoire was not a Pan Africanist; he was transparent and wanted openness in order to promote development through cooperation.

A lot has been written about the conscious effort the government of Ghana makes to ensure that the message of Pan Africanism is spread throughout the country. Most research over the years has been related to what the government has done; the ceremonies, festivals and other activities. While these studies are concentrating on the ceremonies organised by the government to measure the information level of the people of Ghana, my research seeks to measure the part formal education is playing in spreading the message of African unity and building the brotherhood that will make Africans strive to develop Africa and tackle Africa's problems together as brothers. While prior research focused solely on the government, this paper seeks to measure the knowledge of the common people, the citizens of Ghana. After all, Julius Garvey; son of Marcus Garvey said, "Pan Africanism is to represent the voices of all Africans not simply the elites at the top."^{xvii} Then why should government activities be the only instrument used in measuring the knowledge of Pan Africanism among Ghanaians. In her article, Michelle Commander writes about Ghana and its fiftieth celebrations and how it promoted Pan Africanism. She writes how the Ghanaian flag was flying high on the streets of Accra, the country's capital. Cars were painted in the country colours red, yellow, green and the

black star at the centre of the flag. She also makes mention of the then President Mr. John Kufuor's address to the leaders of the various countries represented at the celebration and the youth of Africa; persuading them to stay and build the continent "the future of this continent is yours it is your heritage, and you must stay and be part of building the well- governed, economically vibrant nations we all aspire to."^{xviii} Perhaps if they know their history, then they will better understand that their continent needs them to regain the glory it once had.

Michelle Commander in her article quoted Olisan Wuche Esedebe's definition of Pan Africanism. "a political and cultural phenomenon that regards Africa, Africans and African descendants abroad as a unity to regenerate and unify Africa and promote a feeling of oneness among the people of the African world. It glorifies in the African past and inculcates pride in African value."^{xix} My question is how can Africans promote oneness when they have no idea of what oneness is all about? Pan African promotes the history of Africa; every individual born with a black skin is a target of Pan Africanism. The movement was to fight for the right, promote freedom for all Africans and their descendants all around the world. If they are to promote the movement then they must understand the movement. They all must understand how and why some of their ancestors ended up in parts of the world, how the Europeans were able to colonise them for all those years before they rose and demanded freedom for themselves and those who were to come after them. In short, the African must know his history, his culture and the struggle of his people so as to join hands with his brothers and as a team, work towards the development of Africa. Again, she mentions the fact that Jake Obetsebi-Lamprey, Minister of Tourism and Diasporan Relations at the time advised those in the diaspora to invest into Africa and help in the development of their home. Jerome Johnson, an African-American expatriate mentions that "a Pan Africanist stance is viable only when the people on the ground are involved."^{xx} If people on the ground are not involved, then they cannot relate well with those from the diaspora. If those from the diaspora do not feel the bond they

expect to feel when they arrive, then they will not stay and help develop Africa. In her article, Michelle makes mention of authors who share their experiences of coming back to Africa. These authors all indicated that they did not feel welcomed, they did not feel as if they were back home because the people, those with whom they interacted did not treat them as Africans, they did not see them as long lost siblings coming back home. Jerome one of the authors states that there is a need for the people to be involved if African unity be it politically or co operation among nations is to be achieved. If the people knew the history, they will be glad to see them; they would welcome those from the diaspora back home to Africa and those in the diaspora will be willing to invest in Africa because they feel at home.

In her article entitled "The beacon of Hope for the Black Race: State Race-Craft and Identity Formation in Modern Ghana." Jemima Pierre discusses the Pan African Historical Festival held in Ghana biennially. The festival aims at "bringing at bringing together hundreds of artists, musicians, theatre groups, dancers, and intellectuals from all over the African continent and the diaspora to perform, exchange ideas and strengthen the bonds of brotherhood between Africans and black people in the diaspora."^{xxi} This festival is to celebrate our oneness after asking forgiveness on Emancipation day. She mentions had so many people were by standees even though they were watching they did not understand why the festival was celebrated. She also gives a brief history of Ghana and how hard Kwame Nkrumah had to work to help Ghana gain its independence. She also mentioned the previous and current activities the government is doing to promote Pan Africanism. The Joseph Project, the Slave Project and also mention that UNESCO has also given the government a hand in preserving the forts and castles built in Ghana centuries ago. In all these not once were students, market woman, masons called to participate in this activities. Lack of recognition for them simply means that they have no say in things that concern them. If International Organisations such as UNESCO are ready to help reserve history, then why are party involved not aware that that is

his history? Ghanaians need to know about Pan Africanism so they can participate in the activities organised by the Government.

CHAPTER THREE

3.1 METHODOLOGY

This chapter shows the procedure to come up with data used for this research paper. The chapter also discusses how data collected will be analysed. The chapter also provides reasons, justifications as to why the methods and approaches were used in collecting data. The chapter seeks to analyse the relationship between the variables to show how much of Pan Africanism is included in syllabus used to teach undergraduate students and how the lessons taught affect their attitudes towards Pan Africanism.

3.2 Research Question

How much of the syllabus, teaching materials used to undergraduates include Pan Africanism? And how does what they have been taught affect their attitude towards Pan Africanism?

3.3 Type of Study

This study, a qualitative study was done to explore the level of information of Pan Africanism among undergraduate students in Ghana and how their education on Pan Africanism affects their attitude and thought on Pan Africanism. This type of research is usually done to gain understanding of reasons as to why something is how it is. This study was done to gain understanding as to how much education is given to these students and how this affects their attitude towards Pan Africanism. Since, qualitative studies are subjective, responses gotten from undergraduate students were important for this research, as the responses was used to conclude on how much priority is placed on Pan Africanism through the syllabus used to educate undergraduate students. Responses from students were also used to conclude on the general attitude, thoughts and perception of Pan Africanism amongst students.

Lastly, responses given by students prompted the recommendations given at the end of this research paper.

1.4 Research Design

A research design justifies the logic, structure and the principles of the research methodology. A descriptive research design was used to derive the outcome of this study. This type of research design is at times used to demonstrate or show the relationship between two things or variables. For this study, descriptive research design was used show the relation between what students are taught and how it influences their thoughts. Descriptive research is also used to obtain information on the current situation of a thing or problem. This study sought to describe the process, effort taken to include the study of Pan Africanism in the syllabus used for undergraduate students. This research design method depends greatly on the responses of the target population. Questionnaires and interviews were used to collect data for this research study. Questionnaires were used to find out how much information undergraduate students have on Pan Africanism while interviews with lecturers also threw more light on how and what goes on when coming up with the syllabus used to teach students

3.5 The main concepts used in this study

Pan Africanism as defined by Tony Martin is “Pan Africanism is the attempt by the African people to link up their struggle for their mutual benefit.” Africans in this research refers to Ghanaians currently living and are undergraduate students. Pan Africanism in this research involves the African history from the arrival to the departure of Europeans and Africans working together as a team. Syllabus is the materials, curriculum used by lecturers to educate undergraduate students. For this study, the syllabus used in schools was measured by the level of priority given to Pan Africanism in Ghana. The attitudes of students were their thoughts and feelings are on the movement base on the education they had received.

3.6 Sampling Population

Undergraduate history and political science students were selected from the oldest Public University; the University of Ghana situated in Legon, Accra. Pan Africanism since its early stages has been among the elites, due to this, the best target population to get information about Pan Africanism today is among the elites. Sampling was therefore taken from the University of Ghana because it is the oldest and has the largest varieties of courses. They were given questionnaires to fill out, to find out how much they know about Pan Africanism and how their knowledge affect their attitudes towards the Pan African movement. Lecturers teaching in both the political science and history departments were interviewed to find out what goes into drawing up the syllabus used to teach the students.

Due to a strike in the University of Ghana, questionnaires given to students could not be re-collected. A second sampling population was introduced to get some response to draw a more accurate conclusion. Students of Ashesi University College were randomly selected to answer questionnaire set specially for them. In all, 50 students were given questionnaires to answer, Ashesi University College aiming at training ethical leaders to help solve problems faced by Africans on the African continent. The school has a diverse student population; students from across the African continent are admitted yearly. These students are trained together to think critically, to be ethical and seek to help solve many of the problems faced by Africans. The University is private with a student population 600.

3.7 Sample

Purposive and random sampling methods were used to collect data from the sampling population. Purposive sampling is the type of sampling in which the researcher selects base on specific traits. These traits could be because of the sample's knowledge on the topic, or perhaps because of their willingness to participate in the study. Specific lecturers were interviewed; only lecturers who taught in both or either of the two departments were interviewed. Since the lecturers are

specific, this makes the sampling population specific and not random. Students on the other hand will be randomly selected. All students in the history and political science departments have equal chances of being selected for the study. Any student majoring in both political science and history can be randomly selected to answer the questionnaire.

3.8 Sample Size

In all, responds of 90 undergraduate students were used for analysis. A document written by the University of Ghana, Legon stated that in 2012, the University had a total of 35,683 enrolled students due to time and inadequate resources, this study had to make do with only a small number of students. Two lecturers and the heads of each department were interviewed on the make-up of the syllabus. Due to the strike in public universities, an extra 50 students from Ashesi University College were added.

3.9 Methods of data collection

Data from journal articles, speeches and articles from periodicals written by others in the field were sources of secondary data used for this research paper. Secondary data is data that has been collected someone other than the user. This source of data gives the researcher more information on the research topic. Primary data sources are first-hand information, information that has never been shared. This source of data comes directly from the researcher. For this study, questionnaires given to students to fill out and interviews conducted with lecturers were sources of primary data.

3.10 Data Collection Instruments

Questionnaires were used to obtain data for this study. A questionnaire is a research instrument that contains a number of questions for the purpose of gathering information from the target population of the research. Questions in questionnaires are carefully set in order to get the required data from the target population. The

language used in the questionnaires for this study was clear, simple and easy to understand. The questions were both opened and closed ended; this allowed room for participants to give their views and to answer the questions in a specific and precise manner. The questionnaires given to students were divided into two main sections. The first is about how much the students knew about the history of the Pan African movement. The other section had questions on their views and opinions about the Pan African movement. Interviews were also another data collection method used for this study. An interview is a method in which specific questions are asked with the aim to draw out certain facts from the interviewee. This data collection method is very effective when used to understand the subjective understanding of others. For this study, lecturers were interviewed, the interviews were semi structured; this gave room for interaction between the interviewer and the lecturers. Interviews were conducted to gain understanding of the personal views of lecturers on the topic, how they prepared for lessons, why they used the reading materials they used and others.

3.11 Data Collection Procedure

Questionnaires were given to students by their teachers. This solved the problem of some students refusing to fill out the questionnaires. The questionnaires were distributed over a three week period. For the history department, a lecturer was interviewed before students were given the questionnaires to fill. 30 questionnaires were given to students in the history department. This is because not many students take history as their major. For the political science department, due to a strike, no interviews were conducted therefore questionnaires for students could not be handed out because of the strike. At Ashesi University, students were randomly selected by the researcher to answer questionnaires no lecturer teaching in Ashesi University College was interviewed for this research.

3.12 Data Analysis Methods

Thematic analysis was used to interpret findings for this study. Thematic analysis identifies patterns within the data. This type of analysis is used to summarise the main themes in the data found. For this study, responses gotten from respondents were grouped into different themes. The responses were grouped into specific groups. This method was used to describe the findings of the study and to break down data to its core. The groups were further explained, this gave helped understand the subject experience of both students and lecturers in the history and political science departments.

3.13 Limitations of the Study

The lack of similar research to look on or refer to makes the study more challenging. Since it is the first of its kind, data collection was a bit taxing which was a limiting factor for this research. The ongoing strike in public universities prevented the collection of questionnaires given out. Since students were given questionnaires by lecturers, the responds would have been given back to lecturers. Due to the strike, lecturers were not teaching and therefore could not collect the questionnaires. The strike also prevented other interviews from being carried out. Time constraint; due to time, the little number of responds was what was used to analyse data for the study. Distance and means of transportation were also other limitations. Moving from Berekuso to Legon was not easy due to transportation and the distance that had to be covered. The trip was tedious, time consuming and financially difficult.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 Data Analysis and Findings

This research paper sought to explore the level of information of Pan Africanism among undergraduate students in Ghana and how their education on Pan Africanism affects their attitudes and thoughts on Pan Africanism. This chapter presents the data collected from 10 students and a lecturer of the history

department of the University of Ghana situated in Accra-Legon. The chapter also presents an analysis of data collected through questionnaires from 39 students studying at Ashesi University College. The data analysis was performed around these areas.

- To investigate how much of Pan Africanism is inclusive in the syllabus used to teach undergraduate students in the history department of the University of Ghana.
- To measure how the knowledge on Pan Africanism influence the thoughts and attitudes of history on Pan Africanism.
- The analysis also aimed at exploring how much the learning environment and syllabus used to teach Ashesi students affected their attitudes and thoughts on Pan Africanism.

4.11 Interview with lecturer in the History department of the University of Ghana.

This interview sought to find out how the learning materials; syllabus used in the department included the Pan African topic. The interview was conducted to find out some of the materials used to teach students on the topic of Pan Africanism. During the interview, the lecturer was asked of his personal thoughts on the topic, the relevance of the movement in the modern world and what were his expected outcomes for his students after their lessons. The main themes derived from the interview were, transient lecturers, uncertainty of the continuation of courses, little interest of students on the Pan African topic. These themes were based were the basic reasons given by the interviewee. The interviewee made mention that most of the lecturers in the history department of the University of Ghana were transient. This means that they are basically they are foreign lecturers helping out and at the appropriate time, they will leave to their respective schools. The interviewee himself was a transient lecturer who upon realising the need to educate students on Pan Africanism took a course on Pan Africanism. He mentioned that after his departure, he has no idea of what will become of the Pan Africanism course. He believes that if

nothing is done to get more permanent lecturers, the department that was recently revived will once again be on verge of closure. He mentioned that the lack of permanent lecturers led to a lot of the department's issues. This problem led to the uncertainty of courses that will be taken during the academic year. Uncertainty of courses will eventually lead to the uncertainty of the history department. The course the interviewee was teaching had already been approved, the outlines had already been generated but because there was no one available to lecture the course, the course was never brought up until he came and decided to lecture it. For now, only third year students in the department were taking the course. Fourth year students who have read little on the topic were not inclusive. The interviewee did mention that most students in general had no or little interest in learning about their African heritage. He said "students have not had the training that requires them to know who they are and who gave up their lives for them to be free of slavery and colonization today."

He believes that the study of Pan Africanism is most needed now that world is becoming a global village. "There is now more than ever the need to instil pride in our younger ones so they would not keep selling of Africa's resources to the west." His personal views on the study of the topic are that more noise should be made to promote the knowledge of the African heritage, identity and culture. Africans need to live as Africans and not desperately attempt to live as other people. For now the Pan Africanism course is an elective, he thinks the course should be a core subject where all students will be required to learn more about themselves and their ancestors. According to the article written by Michelle Commander mentioned above in the literature review section, she made mention that the then president of Ghana during the nation's fiftieth anniversary gave a speech asking the youth to say and help develop Africa because no one will do it for us. As the article mentions no one will make Africa better except Africans, if Africans do not know that, or do not know who they are, they will go off to work and save in other countries. Africans are living the

continent in such of something better but when they live, what will they one day come back to? In the article, she also made reference to the fact that African descents living in other parts of the world did not feel welcomed when they visited the land of their ancestors. They feel they are to be welcomed, because after all, we share a common history, heritage and most of all we have evidence of ancestral lineage. President John Kuffour during his speech asked those in the diaspora to invest, visit the mother land. Similarly, the interviewee does not feel the welcomed he anticipated receiving. He personally thought it was because the students knew little about the African history; Pan Africanism. He felt, if more was told them about Pan Africanism, they will know that they share more than just similar skin colour.

The theoretical frame work of this study, social construction makes mention that things in the society will not exit if the people in the society did not put those things in place. If Ghana is to receive invest opportunities, from those in the diaspora, the nation has to make sure that the environment is suitable for that condition. The nation needs to build a welcoming environment for the in the diaspora so they can feel welcomed and loved; feel at home and therefore invest in their motherland. One major way of ensuring this said by the interviewee was that students right from primary school need to be taking courses in African history. He said “modern technology has made both easy to study and stressful to communicate the African history to the youth.” He said once upon a time, children would sit and listen to their elders about great men who fought in great wars that was one of the ways in which history was passed on in Africa. Now the elders cannot communicate what they know to the younger generation but today this is not possible. He made mention that a cause for this could be the structure of the Ghanaian educational system. To him students leaving for boarding school instead of learning from their elders. The interviewee also stated that if measures are not put in place to educate the elites, he believes that they will resist togetherness when the opportunity avails for all African countries to work together. He said, educating students on Pan Africanism will make

them understand the need to come together for the improvement of Ghana and Africa as a whole. During the interview, the interviewee stated his aim for taking this course as “to stimulate general understanding of the bonds that unite Africans at home with Africans in diaspora; in particular, to promote deeper understanding of the history of Pan Africanism; to promote interest in, and open dialogue on, the work in progress toward a united states of Africa.” In view of his aim for the course, some of the reading materials he encourage his students to read are writings from Olanrewaju Edebiyi, Pan Africanism: The Idea and Movement, 1776-1991, Zizwe Poe, Kwame Nkrumah's Contribution to Pan-Africanism: An Afrocentric Analysis and many others. The topic range from the slave trade, to key leaders and their ideas to the fifth Pan African meeting to the sixth region; the AU's diaspora initiative. With these literature and topics on Pan Africanism, hope to expose students to the ideologies of Pan Africanism so in future they might use it for the development of Africa.

4.12 Data collected from questionnaires from history students in the University of Ghana-Legon and Ashesi University College students.

From the data collected from students studying history at the University of Ghana, all of them made mention that they have had some lesson where either the Pan Africanism or leaders of Pan Africanism was mentioned. Though 45 questionnaires were given out, to students offering history only ten were recollected due to a strike action taken by lecturers in all public schools. Six out of the ten respondents had not taking a course that focused on the topic in great details. They mentioned that even though they had some ideas of the movement, their knowledge of the movement was not in great depth. The main themes derived from the respondents, though I believe could have been different is the number of respondents were more were that students thought that little focus was given to the topic. They all thought that because thought they have heard of the word Pan Africanism and some key individuals associated with the movement, they did agreed

that there was a lot more to learn about the topic. They all thought that a Pan Africanism is a good tool for development but the question was that is Africa and its people ready to use Pan Africanism to develop the continent. In view of the theoretical framework, Africans must put in place measures to ensure that their continent is ready for the use of Pan Africanism. From the little collected, they all agreed that Pan Africanism was a great developmental tool. Some of the respondents wrote, "Pan Africanism is needed to provide a single front for Africa to ensure better negotiation deals." Another replied writing that "socially, it has brought and consolidated the unity of the diverse ethnic groups located in the continent". A third respondent wrote, "the idea of bilateral and multi lateral co-operation has been really effective".

For Ashesi students, because a larger number questionnaire was collected, more themes were derived. The questionnaires given to Ashesi University College students were different from those given to students studying at the University of Ghana. Since, history is not a major department in the school, a summary of what Pan Africanism and the school's goals were. Base of these summaries, students answered the questions. The questionnaires also had two sections, the first was to test the knowledge of students on the topic and the latter was to know their thoughts and attitudes on the Pan African movement. 50 questionnaires were given out, unfortunately; only 39 were brought back for analysis. Questionnaires set for Ashesi students were to check how the learning environment and learning materials; syllabus used in the school promoted the study and ideologies of Pan Africanism. The main themes derived from the responses of respondents were, that priority is given to the study of Pan Africanism. A large variety of Africana courses taken by all students have exposed students to the Pan African topic. 18 out of the 39 respondents answered that they had studied a substantial amount of lessons on the topic. These 18 students were able to list a large number of individuals who were involved in the movement. Also, 33 out of the 39 students who responded felt the

school's environment promoted the ideologies of Pan Africanism. Their responses for the learning environment were grouped into two main themes. They explained that because the school authorities go the extra mile to ensure that other African nationalities were admitted into the university they believed the school was promoting Pan Africanism in its own little way. Students explained that officials go round Africa yearly to sell the school's ideologies to students across the continent.

The school authorities in their quest to ensure African students are trained to be ethical entrepreneurial leaders are travelling across the continent to villages and cities to prompt students to apply for admission at Ashesi University College. For this reason, has the theoretical framework will back up the school's authorities are putting in place measures to ensure the school's goal of training African students to be ethical and help solve the problems of the continent. In view of its aim, leaders of the school are making sure that they achieve a specific outcome by ensuring that some necessary steps are taken. The second reason students gave was that due to the diverse population of the school, it was promoting Pan Africanism. Diversity has made students be aware of the different cultures that exist in the continent. The school's population include African nationalities ranging from Cote d'Ivoire in the west to Kenya in the east, Egypt in the north to Swaziland in the south. The school is also training students from other nationalities such as the United States of America, India, Mexico and many more countries. Students not only learn what is taught in class but by interacting with each other during group work for academic purposes, and in the hostel. The environment has made students be conscious of the different culture, belief and value represented in the school. Yearly, ceremonies are organised by the university's international students' club where dishes from different countries are put on display for everyone to taste and buy.

A newly initiated dance class to teach students of the various cultural dances represented in the school are helping students learn more and appreciate other cultures. As Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo states in his article, African must find

solution that fit into the African context. Not every solution develop by the Western world must be copied, Africa must learn to solve its problems by finding solutions that will meet the continent's needs, its culture, values and beliefs systems. In that, to training ethical leaders for Africa, firstly, many African nationalities must be represented, secondly these future leaders need to cooperate and learn together. Living quarters have been made available for all students. Regular activities that promote all students to work and entertain themselves together have been put in place. A student wrote "living with a Nigerian and an Ivorian has exposed me to two other cultures, food, songs and dances." Other answers included, "the school has brought Africans students together and train them on similar ethical while fostering unity and understanding among them." Another respondent stated "the school is influencing the values of the continent by training future leader together, where they learn from peers, identify common problems and solve them." A third respondent mentions that "form strong bonds of friendship from school are formed and when the need arises student will reach out to each other." If Pan African ideologies are ever to be used in Africa, these students with have no problem accepting it because they have lived, worked and played with students from other African nationalities. As one of the students stated, "Ashesi teaches the spirit of community and Pan Africanism is the spirit of community but on a bigger platform."

Students thought that the diverse environment provided by the school has made students through interacting and learning from their friends that Africa shares a lot of similar problems. The stories told by some parents from different African countries sounded similar to those they were privileged to hear from their parents, games played in the various countries were also similar. These little experiences have made students realise many things that they had no idea of. When asked if they would work anywhere in Africa, 30 out of 39 said they would not mind working away out of Ghana. One respondent said, "I have come to realize that our problems are

similar and there is the need to come together to solve these problems.” Another one said “I feel a sense of responsibility to the entire continent not just Ghana. Ashesi was a platform for creativity, making projects that solve Africa’s with students of different African nationalities has made me realise the need to work together to solve our problems. After all, no one else will do it for us.” The environment; measures put in place by the school leaders has helped the school achieve its goal of making students work together to solve their problems. In the same way, if African nations are to ever work together, there is the need to ensure that conditions are put in place to achieve this outcome. Another respondent stated, “I am more knowledgeable of the impact it could make on Africa. Living and relating well with others has made me believe I can live with them peacefully anywhere and anytime”.

Those who have never taken any course on the topic also felt the school still promoted pan Africanism through its learning environment. Six out of the 39 respondents thought Ashesi University’s learning environment did not promote Pan Africanism. They thought the school’s goal of training ethical entrepreneurial leaders for Africa had nothing to do with the ideologies of Pan Africanism. Those who had read and studied the topic referred to Pan Africanism as acquiring “knowledge about our true self, breaking away from bondage of Europeans culture and embrace the African heritage and way of life”. A second answered saying, “Pan Africanism is the unity of African countries, eradicating boundaries made by colonial masters, joining the efforts of Africans living on or outside the continent to elevate the African continent”. They mentioned some key leaders of the Pan Africanism; Kwame Nkrumah was the most popular leader mentioned. Out of the 39 respondents, 32 thought it wise to use the ideologies of Pan Africanism to develop Africa. One answer given was that, “we need to be responsible and take care of our continent. Eradicate imports, solve conflicts and preserve the African culture”. A second said, “It can help eradicate hatred for other African countries”. A third respondent believes “the continent will be self sufficient; tackling our problems collectively with a larger

resource base and embrace the African way of life". They believe that by working together Africa will form a strong force in the world's economy. Together, African countries will find solutions that fit the African continent. Africans can form their own policies that fit into the African culture for better outcomes. When strong bonds are formed among African nations, tribal and religious wars will be a thing of the past. Nations will receive help from other nations during times of war, and because there is unity among member states, citizens will see themselves as one and not necessarily focus on the various tribes. Since the continent will be working together, member states will be thinking in the same line. Pan Africanism in their view will level international markets for all to benefit.

7 students thought that Pan Africanism was a theoretical solution to Africa's problems. The main theme derived from this set of students was that they believe there is the need for national development before implementing Pan Africanism. In other words, they believe the Pan Africanism movement is a step after solving national problems. Some responses were "Ulterior motives of some people at the national level will prevent the implementation of Pan African ideas. We therefore need to take care of these people before coming together". "Need of ethical leaders at the national level is all Africa needs; no need to come together". They believe that there is more to be preparing Africans ready for Pan Africanism. African elites need to be educated; there is the need to instill pride in Africans. They need to be proud of their nationality and instead of jumping at the first opportunity given them to be citizens of other nations. Other reasons for thinking that Pan Africanism is a theoretical solution is that each African nation needs to take care of national problems before coming to help other African countries with their problems. Also, they mentioned that the personal attitude of the people of Africa towards progress and development needs to be worked on. The people of Africa need to take responsibility of their problems. They need to understand that Africans are the cause of Africa's problems, they create

Africa's problems they must therefore find the solutions to those problems. The last point they mentioned was that Africans do not know about Pan Africanism they will therefore not patronise the ideas of the movement.

Chapter Five

5.1 Conclusion and Recommendation

5.1.1 Conclusion

In conclusion, I will say that though little attention, priority has been given to the study of Pan Africanism in the University of Ghana over the years; students from the population sample have shown that they were reasonably aware of the Pan African movement. The aim of this research was to explore to see how much priority is given to Pan Africanism and to find out the thoughts of students on the movement. I can therefore conclude that elites in Ghana are aware of the Pan African movement though they are not being taught about it in the classroom. Their knowledge about Pan Africanism had nothing to do with their feeling about Pan Africanism. As I mentioned earlier, perhaps the conclusion would have been different had there been a larger number of respondents. For Ashesi University students, the school community spirit has been the source of awareness for students. Students through measures created by school authorities have felt and experienced the ideologies of Pan Africanism. Though the syllabus give priority of the study of Pan Africanism, it is the sense of belonging and sharing with others that most affect the perception of students about the topic. I believe that if and when the topic is given more attention or priority, the effect it will have on Ghana's elites will be more promising. Educating Ghanaian elites on the movement will make the change that Africa needs to instil pride in its future leaders.

5.1.2 Recommendations

Recently, a news article posted on the Ghana Business website stated that the first ever Panafest Youth day was hosted by the Mfantshipim Senior High School

in 2012. Policy makers need to put in place measures that will promote the study and awareness of Pan Africanism. The study of Pan Africanism will help instil pride of their identity, help them learn about some of the continent's problems and make them appreciate each other. As the lecturer interviewed for this study mentioned, the study of African history needs to trickle down to students in lower educational levels. Policy makers must make every student at the tertiary level take at least one course that teaches them about their history. This will create awareness among the elites in the country.

Regardless of what they are studying, they should be made aware of their history and the problems the African continent is experiencing. This measure will help make student aware of their heritage and culture so they can embrace the African way of life. Students can be exposed to the major problem faced by Africans in their field of study. For instance, while teaching medical students about Pan Africanism, they will learn about the various problems associated with the practice of medicine in other African countries. Education of elites should not be limited to the class but on television stations, radio programs, through the internet, this will remind them of their heritage at all time.

Open-up barriers: African students at the tertiary level must be given the advantage to freely explore and learn the different African cultures. Students should be able to visit different African countries without having to pay for multiple visas in order to visit multiple countries. Students can be allowed to apply and receive a visa to any country in a different geographical location and use that visa to visit other countries in the same location. For example, a tertiary student from Ghana can apply for only a Kenyan visa and be allowed to visit other East African nations. Students tour Europe more often because it is easier to tour Europe. It is a matter of getting the visa of one European country and one can visit all European countries. Students should be able

to visit Kenya, Ethiopia, Tanzania and Malawi without having to pay for visas for each of the countries.

Also, to attain the visas of some countries, there is the need to visit another country. For instant, the Mauritius embassies are in South Africa, Egypt, Madagascar and Ethiopia. If a Ghanaian student wanted to visit Mauritius, he has to pass through Egypt, Ethiopia, South Africa or Madagascar in order to get to Mauritius visa and then travel to Mauritius reason being that those are the only African countries that have a Mauritius embassy situated in them. A British or a British passport holder can get to Mauritius without any visa. Imagine if the Ethiopian, Egyptian are not available in Ghana, the student will have to spend more to acquire those visas. How will our tourism sector grow when the continent has limited the number of people who can visit? Students and their friends cannot visit other friends or other countries to learn the different cultures and values. The more elites learn the closer it is for African nations to work together.

African universities should promote inter-continental exchange programs. Students must learn together, come up with solutions together to help improve the living conditions of the people on the continent. Exchange programs with promote exchange and study of different African cultures. Government should also make available funds to help other African nationalities who want to study in Ghana but cannot afford it. As Africans, we need to be creative find ways to learn about ourselves and begin setting measures that will eventually facilitate the continent's aim of working together for the benefit of our continent and its people. Has the theoretical framework and articles state, Africa needs to put in place value and solutions that will help the continent achieve the outcome of one day providing better living conditions for the people of Africa.

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Appendix

Appendix A

Questionnaires given out to history students at the University of Ghana.



This questionnaire is to help gather data for my research on how much priority is given to Pan Africanism. Questions in the first section seek to find out how the syllabus used to teach African Studies major broadly explore issues on

Pan Africanism. In the second section, the questions seek to find out students' attitude toward Pan Africanism. Questions are both closed and opened ended.

For questions with options, please circle the answer you think correct.

For all questions without options, please write your answer in the space below the question.

Section One

1. Have any of the classes you have taken included topics on the Pan African Movement?

Yes

No

2a. If Yes, kindly explain what you understand about Pan Africanism?

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2b. If No, kindly explain how you came to be familiar with issues around Pan Africanism?

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3. To what depth do you think the topic (Pan Africanism) was treated?

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4. In classes on Pan Africanism, what aspects did you most enjoy and why?

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5. Can you list four key leaders of Pan Africanism?

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6. Briefly share with me what you know on one the leaders you listed above?

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Section Two

1. In your opinion, to what extent do you think Pan Africanism has been helpful to Africa and Africans?

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2. In your opinion, do you think the ideas of Pan Africanism are useful tools for Ghana, Africa, development (Social, cultural and economic development)

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3. How do you think Africans can work as a team to develop Africa?

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Thank You for participating.

Appendix B

Interview questions with lecturer in the history department of the University of Ghana.



Questions for interviews with lecturer in the history department of the University of Ghana.

This interview is to investigate the details of syllabi on various aspects of African history courses and to assess whether they deal with issues of Pan Africanism.

1. Can you tell me how long you have taught at this University?
2. What are the main courses you teach in African History?
3. I understand the course on Pan-Africanism was recently introduced. Can u tell me the reason behind introducing this course?
4. In the course that you teach on Pan Africanism what are some of the main issues you cover?
5. If respondent answers yes, ask: what are some of the topics?
6. What authors or books do you recommend for your students to read?

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7. Are there any outcomes you expect from your students at the end of each section on Pan Africanism?
 8. How do you make the ideas of Pan Africanism more relevant to your students?
 9. Do you think there is more you can do to make issues in Pan Africanism more relevant to your students?
 10. What are your personal thoughts on Pan Africanism?

Thank you.

Appendix C

Questionnaires given out to Ashesi University Students.



This questionnaire is to help gather data for my research on how much priority school authorities give to the study of Pan Africanism. Questions in the first section seek to find out how the syllabus used to teach Ashesi University College students broadly explore issues on Pan Africanism. In the second section, the questions seek to find out students' attitude towards Pan Africanism. Questions are both closed and opened ended.

For questions with options, please circle the correct answer. For all questions without options, please write your answer in the space below the question. For students who have not read or studied the topic of Pan

Africanism, use the explanations given of the ideology of Pan Africanism and the goals of Ashesi University College provided below.

For this research, Pan Africanism is explained as the attempt by Africans to link up their struggle for their mutual benefit. The ideology of the Pan African movement was to go beyond and break localized tribal identities and national boundaries created by European colonizers. Pan Africanism aimed at bringing all Africans together and improve their living condition.

For this study, the goal of Ashesi University is to train ethical and entrepreneurial leaders for Africa by having a diverse population. Ashesi University College seeks to educate not just Ghanaians but educate students from across the African continent. The aim to raise ethical African leaders has prompted the school authorities to go the extra mile to include other African nationalities to its student population. The school's campus is home and a training ground for future African entrepreneurs who will help improve the living conditions of Africans.

Section One

1. With the aim to raise ethical and entrepreneurial leaders for Africa, would you say that Ashesi University College is a Pan African establishment?
 - A) Yes
 - B) No

Please elaborate on your answer for the question above?

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2. Have any of your courses at Ashesi, prompted you to read on Pan Africanism?

A) Yes

B) No

2b. If yes, please explain the idea/concept in your own words.

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3. If your answer to question two was yes, please list three key leaders of the Pan African movement?

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Section two

1. In your understanding of Pan Africanism, do you think the concept is useful and thus can help to work out some of the issues on the African continent?

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- A) Yes
 - B) No

Please elaborate on your answer.

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2. Do you think that Ashesi University College has a better chance of achieving its aim by training African students together?

- A) Yes
- B) No

Please elaborate on your answer.

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3. Do you think that after studying in a school that trains African students to become ethical entrepreneurial leaders, you will be willing in the future to work anywhere in Africa?

- A) Yes
- B) No

4. How have your experiences at Ashesi influenced your views on Pan Africanism?

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5. Do you think Ashesi University College should have exchange students from other African Universities?

A) Yes

B) No

Please elaborate on your option for the question above.

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6. Referring to the explanation of Pan Africanism above, do you think that Pan Africanism can help solve the problems of Africa today?

A) Yes

B) No

Please state the reason for your answer above.

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THANK YOU.