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Rethinking the African Space in a Global Education Project: A Representational Reflection in the Context of Nationalism

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Abstract

The call to a global education project involves transformations of educational ideologies, policy formulation, systems restructuring, and curriculum reforms that go beyond national/local considerations. While advocates of globalization have identified inherent advantages in these transformations, the paper argues that in terms of the 'globalism' of its origins, values, and the standards it advocates in education, there is much that meets the eye. It uses attributes such as the origin of the global ideology, the main agents of global educational decision making, and the proposals of the kind of global history curriculum, to argue that a deeper consideration of these attributes reveals Euro-North America as generators and regulators of ideation while Africa and the Global South in general are forcefully involved consumers to the detriment of national and indigenous education orientations that should be prioritized. The paper concludes that until such times when issues of egalitarianism are considered in its ideation, decision making and flow of knowledge(s) within which Africa and the Global South find representation, globalization of education would

continue to be seen as the perpetuation of the entrapment of Africa within the global matrices of power.

Keywords: *Globalization of Education, Africa; Global South, History Contents, National Sovereignty, Decision making*

Introduction

> We have a global economy that is not structured around democratizing and including people in the decision-making. It's operated in secret (Danaher, 2000).

African political entities have transformed from the ethno-nationalism of the pre-colonial period to the modern state nationalism of the postcolonial period. This is not however to claim that ethnic nationalism is a thing of the past. With the up-surge in post-1945 nationalism, most of the colonial entities acquired independence with arbitrary colonial boundaries that were put in place in the 1880s. Independence meant national sovereignty in terms of the new states' ability to have an organized government, be self-contained, self-directed, and regulated. It also meant that the states had a right to exist based on their variously set indigenous forms of knowledge and systems of operation.

National sovereignty in Africa with ideologies of indigenization and Africanization essentially became the unspoken rule of the new nations' right to exist as independent territories, in laws, policies, and geographical boundaries (Mekoa, 2018; Tondi, 2018). Through these ideologies, states gradually moved from being answerable to, sharing power with, or continuing to use colonial epistemes in their educational systems (Epstein & Halloran, 2017) as this was viewed as perpetrating dependence and neo-colonialism (Fanon, 1963). Independence was therefore quickly followed by reforms which essentially repudiated the erstwhile colonial frames of operation.

Contemporary developments, however, require a re-orientation of national policies in favour of a more global outlook. Such is the call for globalization. Judging by the premise that being global implies a global and consensual agreement of its importance and thus, the necessity of its existence as a commonly binding phenomenon; a global involvement in the setting up of its principles of operation and its decision making processes which encompasses the principles of representativeness, this paper discusses the origins of the global idea, its principles and standards,

and its major gatekeepers to determine the extent of its globalism. It argues that falling short of such a global representativeness puts globalization at a similar level with erstwhile Euro-North American-centric ideologies imposed on the rest of the world for its own sake.

Conceptualizing Globalization

Globalization is a fluid term that is applied in every aspect of existence. It refers to all the processes by which people and nations are incorporated into a single society; a global society (Albrow & King 1990). This requires the transfer, adaptation, and development of values, knowledge, technology, and behavioral norms across countries and societies in different parts of the world. The typical phenomena and characteristics associated with globalization include the growth of networking, the interflow of technological, social, cultural and political ideas, learning areas and their contents: the solidification of international alliances, collaborations and exchanges, multicultural integration, and most especially, the use of international standards and benchmarks (Cheng, 2000 cited in Bakhtiari, 2011). These tenets imply that globalization advocates the increasing interdependence of the world (UNDP 1999). Robertson (1992) described it as the "squeezing together of cultures" while Harvey (1989) talks of the de-territorialization of social, political, and economic relationships. Simply put, for globalization to take root, some aspects of countries' national sovereignties would be surrendered, revised, or reformed in order to accommodate supranational agreed rules of existence.

Proponents of globalization argue that the move from established nation-states to a global order is advantageous for free trade, global economic growth, job creation, industrial competitiveness, lower prices, and, especially for developing countries, the infusion of foreign capital and technology (Collins, 2015). With such chances, it is believed that prosperity is spread and conditions for the fostering of democracy and human rights flourish (Collins, 2015; Held, McGrew, Goldbalt & Peratton, 1999). It is therefore suggesting that the best form of existence today is one which moves beyond national sovereignties and closed systems towards a tolerance of a world view of things where national boundaries and governments' indigenous policies and barriers do not limit action and where supranational, sub-regional and international affinities are created (Slater, 1998) and enforced. It also means that

globally tested ways of knowing and doing, as well as globally set principles and regulatory frameworks are adopted.

While the above tenets of globalization may be self-evident in some parts of the world, a parallel growth of knowledge has been taking place which argues that globalization poses dangers of marginalization amongst other negatives. Here, it is argued that by legitimising adherence to international legislation over national constitutional precepts and advocating the establishment of collective identities and knowledge bases, as in global citizens and the globalization of education, globalization undermines national sovereignty and indigenous knowledge(s) which some parts of the world fought hard to acquire (Burbules & Torres, 2000; Mebrahtu, Crossley & Johnson, 2000). Besides, the eroding of cultural norms of some societies (Sharma 2017) and other exploitative effects on working class people (Collins 2015), globalization has been identified (even within the West) with negative consequences which justify, at worst, its non-application or, at best, the use of a long spoon when dining with the devil principle. Worst still, when it comes to questions of power and agency, as to who is the initiator and driver of globalization, its motivations, and what it stands to achieve as results, the situation becomes even more compounded. These problems have led to questions regarding the sincerity of the idea as a commonly developed space for mutual benefits.

While education is seen as a tool for transformation in the society, globalization affects and impacts educational policies and practice in a number of ways. There is evidence of tension regarding the ways that globalization has imposed itself especially in view of the nature of standardization and cultural hegemony it advocates (Burbules & Torres, 2000) in learning spaces, principles and resources. Such tensions would be limited where global consensus characterises its formation and principles of operation. A probe into its origins, its major tenets—the powers behind its implementation—and to a micro extent, its proposals for a global history education curriculum is necessary for conclusions regarding representativeness and genuineness of goals. This would enable us discard or confirm the views that (1) globalization is a continuous package in the imperial/colonial agenda which erodes the Global South of its power, its knowledge, and its being and that (2) it is a misconception that globalization affects Global South sovereignty adversely (Sharma, 2017). As Carnoy (2016) asserts, the position that this paper attempts to push forth may be problematic from the perspective of

modernist science but is unavoidable if one has respect for the social significance of difference, democracy, as well as ideological/theoretical representation and positionality.

Nature and Purpose of Relevant Education: A Peripheral Logic

In a recent paper advocating Afrocentric studies in the midst of 'hostile' Western scholarship (Mekoa, 2018b), education is presented as an ideology with particular interests positioned by power and agency. This makes it not just biased, innocent or neutral but having political motives which are entrenched through it as a system. Being neither apolitical nor unbiased, necessitates (for our case) questions such as whose interests does a global education system serve? Who determines what constitutes knowledge or curriculum? What values are to be transmitted? Whose values are transmitted through a global education system? Does education foster unity or diversity in the society? Does it foster equality, democracy, and justice for all? Does it foster liberation and resistance or passivity? Does it develop or under-develop its subjects? According to Mekoa (2018b), these are crucial questions particularly in this period of struggle for the development of African scholarship and education in the context of globalization.

Being suggestive of an all-encompassing phenomenon in the field of education, I attempt to show the extent to which it was founded on a global consensus of relevance and thus an involved process of establishing its principles as well as a globally inclusive nature of its knowledge base, terms of reference, and principles of operation rather than prescriptions emanating from one part of the world to another. These findings would enable me take a position regarding the accusations of western imposition, the silencing of African indigenousness, and the suppression of African nationalisms in what can be seen as another phase of "the entrapment of the South within the global matrices of power" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013).

What Does Globalization of Education Mean?

The terms globalization of education and internationalization of education are sometimes used to refer to the same trends in educational transformation. In a study conducted with 180 peer-reviewed articles which made use of the terms (Rezaei, Yousefi, Larijani, Dehnavieh, Rezaei and Adibi 2018), the authors, concluded that the definition of

internalization of education is the same as that of globalization of education. While we acknowledge that there may be differences, they speak to the principles of taking education beyond the scope where national ideologies play central roles; a kind of dispossession. Globalization of education advocates profound changes in national educational systems, management, and policies that are sharply different from embedded nation-state norms (Cohen and Kennedy, 2013). It is characterized by a weakening control of the state over educational policy and structure in favour of a more liberal outlook to educational decision making where international organizations, foreign bilateral and multilateral partners, donors amongst others, have a heavy influence in determining the educational policy, structure, management, schools content, as well as, examination systems. This trend is described as "the complex forms of 'networked' governance" fostered by new supranational regionalism (Koppenjan & Klijn, 2004).

In terms of the curriculum content, globalization implies that the cultural content of education which is a characteristic of national education policies—issues of indigenous knowledge, education for local reality and national sovereignty—should give room for more domains of human life that have global character (Ramirez, Meyer & Lerch, 2016). It must be mentioned that advocates of globalization of education have strongly criticised nationalistic education (Nozaki, 2002; Cayir, 2009) calling for schooling to touch on an expanded set of domains such as sexuality and family life, personal self-expression, as well as multiple cultural frames which fit a person into a multicultural international context rather than limit him to a uniquely forged national domain.

In a globalized curriculum, the universalizing of social sciences tend to replace traditional instruction in history and culture while the cultural and historical materials which transcend old civilizational and national boundaries become routinely employed as global curriculum contents (Frank & Gabler, 2006) to the detriment of local and national historical roots and developments. In addition to that, in a globally oriented social studies education, "the notion that a primary function of education is to create national loyalty comes into considerable disrepute" (Ramirez et al., 2016). The child learns to be a good citizen, certainly, but a good citizen of the country is now seen as a good citizen of the world. Humanity is valorised, and respect for diversity is emphasized (Moreno, 2016). Regarding globalized schools contents, if the national curricula does not disappear, it may only co-exist with cosmopolitan and multi-cultural

schemas (Meyer et al., 2010) and textbooks would become strongly associated with the extent of national linkages to the wider world with the hope of developing global rather than national citizens (Buckner & Russell, 2013).

As far as quality control and standards guarantee are concerned, assessment and systems evaluation must be based on international testing standards such as the Programme for International Students Assessment (PISA) tests in the Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) states and those of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEEA) and the various International Ranking of Universities based often on internationally set conditions for achieving a knowledge economy (Hogan 2011; OECD 1996; Powell & Snellman, 2004) to the detriment of national priorities. The table below is an attempt to summarize educational transformation from a national sovereignty base towards a global outlook.

Table 1: Education for National Sovereignty and Education for Globalization

Aspect	National sovereignty	Education for globalization
Policy	State-determined; national goals of education.	Determined by international conventions and bilateral agreements.
Management and control	State-managed and controlled education system.	Open to external control; adherence to international policy frames is obligatory; UN and its agencies such as UNESCO and UNICEF can override national policies or call for their revision.
Outlook	Often nationally oriented to meet national demands of employment, heritage preservation, national identity and citizenship.	Global, liberal, changing as determined by international conditions; often receptive to external influences; focus on satisfying international partners and donors; towards a knowledge economy.
Structure	State-determined educational system structured as national resources and needs require.	Adherence to educational structures determined by bilateral and multilateral agreements is prioritized.
Examinations	State-set and oriented exams; national boards of education with structures and exam systems	Examinations are based on internationally set standards and assessment systems; must be vetted and accredited by

	determined by local policies and exigencies.	internationally recognized institutions or examination boards of foreign countries, often from the West.
Affiliations	Not necessarily imperative for the system to meet its desired national goals although insights into what is being done in other countries is important.	Educational systems must be affiliated to internationally recognized institutions mostly from the global north who vet and approve the structure, functioning and evaluation systems.
Curriculum	Based on locally determined educational policies; often nationally and local content oriented.	International in outlook; may include national contents but also significantly contain contents about the rest of the world.
Language of Instruction	Instruction and exams can conveniently be undertaken in a national language or mother tongue.	May include an indigenous language but would require the use of non-native languages to accommodate principles of international education.

Source: *Author (2020)*

Advocates of globalization hold that the transformation of education from national to international frames is closely linked to the rise in the global discourse of contemporary conceptions of society itself as a sort of educational construction, and a product of educational development far from the erstwhile depiction of education as producing people for a given society (Ramirez et al., 2016). However, an investigation of the origin and direction of flow of global ideas, the powers behind global policy making, the principles, and nature of educational packages it advocates would unearth evidences which point to the fact that globalization of education is not geared towards serving the interest of the entire world, least that of developing countries and the Global South. Despite the clearly attractive principles that humanity is to live in a global village, the idea is increasingly being viewed as a measure for the 'Centre' to establish another stranglehold on the 'Periphery' for its own good. Below, I make an argument on this using its origins, directions of flow, its governance principles and standards (in terms of whose standards) and its proposals for school content, especially in the social sciences.

From the West to the Rest: Origin and the Direction of Flow of Global Education Tenets

An understanding of what modernity means to Africa directly drives home the message that based on its origins, globalization is not a selfless project of bringing together all parts of the world for a harmonious and selfless living. This is because its origins are a replica of the same project that inspired imperialism and colonialism. It is therefore another phase of colonialism given a different name. Although advocates of globalization talk of "migrants as another crucial example" of the good opportunities provided by globalization (Giddens, 1990), the extent of acceptability of Global South migrants in the North, (if not for the same purposes as in the times of slave trade) compared to business deals by giant corporations from the North in the South can be appreciated as a phenomenon designed by the North to push their influence and get the world into their grip.

As an arm of 19th century imperialism, Western schooling and ideas of knowing have since remained deeply implicated in processes of internationalization and global economic integration. Throughout the course of history, Western conquering powers, their religious movements, and traders each carry with them new approaches to acculturation and learning (Mundy, Green, Lingard & Verger, 2016). However, a common feature of all the approaches is that they all emanated from the Cartesian *cogito ergo sum* (I think, therefore I am) which for long, stood as the foundation of modern Western sciences and which allowed the West to claim a "non-situated universal view of knowledge" (Escobar, 2007:197). This view is what has been termed "an epistemology of *Punto Cero* or the point zero" which conceals itself as being beyond a particular point of view; hiding its local and particular perspective under an abstract Euro/Western-centric universalism (Grosfoguel, 2011:12).

With the Cartesian doctrine, the West made its knowledge the only truthful and universal knowledge. By assuming universalism, she denied any possibility of coevalness and engendered the impossibility of a simultaneous African or Global South epistemology, dismissing it as the "unrewarding gyrations of barbarous tribes in picturesque but irrelevant corners of the globe" (Awasom & Bojan 2009:3). This prejudicial evaluation conferred on Europeans the right to judge and analyse other people (Amin, 1972) and justified Western imperialism. Advocates like Rudyard Kipling called on Europeans to take up "the White man's

burden…by sending the best they breed to serve their half-devil, half-child captives' needs" (Kipling, 1962:143) through western education amongst others.

Advocates of globalization agree that Cartesian determinism is a phenomenon of the 19th and early 20th centuries, as newly minted educational systems of Western states were carried around the world by colonial powers (Mundy et al., 2016). However, they do not agree that the proliferation of Western colonial education is synonymous to efforts in the internationalization or globalization of education. On the other hand, terms alluding to globalization such as "worldwide extension of capitalism" (Cohen & Kennedy, 2013), the "spatialization of modernity" (Featherstone & Lash, 1995) and "globalization as providing a giant additional impetus" to capitalism all point to the fact that globalization has its origins in and is part of the continuous proliferation of Western imperialism.

It is also being argued that the post-WWII period and the attainment of national sovereignty by African states marked a new phase in international politics. It ended former master-colony relations and led to these nations taking seats in the UN and establishing bilateral relations with other nations on the basis of equality. These developments made the internationalization of education a formal issue arena for international policy makers and international organizations (Mundy et al., 2016) different from those of the colonial period and on an egalitarian (sovereignty-sovereignty) basis. De-colonial theorists have rejected this position and have shown how western imperial educational ideas have continued to be ceaselessly spread to the rest of the world in the post-WWII period through the creation of international organizations, the signing of bilateral agreements between erstwhile colonized people and their former oppressors after independence.

These have generated three developments: neo-colonialism (Nkrumah, 1965), neo-liberalism (Diang, 2013), and globalization, all of which have proven that the granting of Global South sovereignty is a myth and merely a "European game" (Maldonado-Torres, 2007:240). Within these developments, the Global South continues to be dominated by the spread of Western technology, the heavy-handedness of transnational/multinational corporations, western-led international governmental and non-governmental organizations, universalization of mostly western standards of evaluation and theories of development, and the (sometimes unconditional) infusion of western social movements and

ideas some of which are taboo in most parts of the south (Giddens, 1990). This is what is referred to as the continuous proliferation of "longstanding patterns of power" that have been in existence since Europe began to spread its influence to the rest of the world in the 16th century (Grosfoguel, 2007).

These developments are all not only being replicated in policies of globalization but were earlier phases of globalization as the same pattern of power continues to define culture, labour, inter-subjective relations, knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations to the present day (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). Because they didn't serve the African and Global South interest in the past, there is a high level of scepticism that globalisation can be different. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, in an effort to warn those who seem to believe in the UN and its agencies as structures that represent the world on an egalitarian basis, argued that:

> The reality of that post-1945 normative order, was that, postcolonial states were admitted into the lowest echelons of the hierarchical and asymmetrically organized global international system in which the USA and the major European powers continue to monopolize the permanent seats in the UN Security Council and the veto power in this body. What therefore emanates even from the UN doesn't take into consideration the African logics as the body is part of the Euro-American dominated world system and constitutes a continuation of the world order that has accommodated anti-systemic socio-political and economic formations in the Global South and in their current advocacy of *globalization*, they have continued as before to shield the Global South from de-imperialization, instead of fostering it (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013:344).

The idea pushed forward here is that, unlike the perception of the establishment of the UN and the attainment of African independence by the advocates of globalization as the birth of a new period of equity in global relations and diffusion of ideas, the post-WWII new international order did not lead to the abandonment of the educational principles of 19th century modernism characteristic of metropole-colony relations. They have rather been continued through the Western dominance of decision making and policy formulation in international organizations and through neo-colonialism, neo-liberalism, and globalization, which constitute the latter phase of coloniality of power (Maldonado-Torres, 2007).

With the same origins as imperialism, power of agency, and direction of flow of global ideas and principles (from the West to the rest), globalization hardly serves the interest of the Global South but rather creates more opportunities for Western exploitation and subjugation of the rest of the world. In this case, a West-oriented global network rather than a societal/national logics will drive education (Castells, 1996) and, from experience, will be based on the Descartian logic of the rest of the Global South as "*terra nullius"* and the people as "*anima nullius"* (Santos, 2006:1) in need of Western theories, contents and principles to solve their problems.

Wikan (2015) asserts that globalization must be considered a separate and autonomous phenomenon from neoliberalism. He, however, agrees that there is little empirical evidence to argue that these processes have developed out of a commitment to enhance individual freedom. Instead, he argues, the policies adopted since the 1970s, when neoliberalism began to show its head, seem to have emerged as an attempt by the advocates of globalization to increase their socio-economic gains around the world. On his part, Harvey (1989) considers neoliberalism as hegemonic while Litonjua (2008) asserts that neoliberalism is the main driver of globalization and that globalization itself can be seen as both the effect of, and the move towards global neoliberalism. If these developments are seen as offshoots or outcrops of "previous attempts to impose civilization on the rest of humanity by expanding imperial powers, normally involving conquests and which today require a willingness to submit to the former victor's civilizing values and superior laws and institutions" (Perlmutter, 1991), then there is every reason to suspect the global mission as part of what Nkrumah termed "the last phase of imperialism" (Nkrumah, 1965:x).

Owning the Piper and Determining the Tune: The Global Education Content

Apart from globalization being a West-initiated phenomenon, questions regarding who dominates standard-setting and educational content proposals and whose standards and contents are expected to constitute the global education programmes further raise scepticism regarding equity in representation on the global project. Within the educational domain, examples which are quickly cited as attributes of a globalized educational system include the ability to communicate in two or more

international languages; technology-enhanced education; the inculcation into educational systems of international values and ethics (Moreno, 2017); adherence to international standards and principles of educational evaluation; and curricula that emphasise multiculturalism and a knowledge economy and the overarching influence of international governmental and non-governmental organizations in national education domains (Mundy et al., 2016). The extent to which Africa and the Global South are not merely perceived as stakeholders but as initiators of the ideas can tell the extent to which rationality is applied in the global education project.

Moreno (2017) argues that global education requires the mastery of at least two languages that predominate the world, and top on the list is the English language (Shoshan, 2015), to which can quickly be added French (especially for Africa) and Spanish in Latin America. At a time when it has been significantly proven that education is essentially enhanced by indigenous medium of instruction (Ouane & Glanz, 2004) African and most Global South indigenous languages do not constitute part of the global language project. English, French, and Spanish continue to be advocated as languages that would lead to the enjoyment of greater social, economic, professional, cultural and intellectual benefits in a globalized world.

How then is globalization different from imperialism when the Privy Council at the British Colonial Office insisted that colonial schools had to diffuse grammatical knowledge of the English language as the most important agent of British civilization of the primitive people of Africa; or when France saw it fitting to insist that "French was to be the substance of knowledge and the matter on which pupils of all schools were to be taught and examined and of official colonial administrative and business communication" (Ndille, 2016)?

The OECD emphasized that in the globalized world, language competencies are increasingly important. It has argued that it is no longer an advantage for a job seeker to speak only one non-native language (OECD, 2012), implying that the native language can be a drawback in a global world, and that there is need for people to master more than one non-native language. This is because, since culture and language are inextricably intertwined, learning the non-native (Western) language, necessitates familiarizing oneself with that culture as people often express a perceived change in their identities as a result of experiences with other languages and cultures.

Globalization therefore becomes a tool of identity transformation and acculturation that orients other identities towards a western identity through Western language mastery as it was in the days of colonialism and imperialism. If this is not the case, and we continue to see globalization ideally as egalitarian cultural diffusion, it would be an interesting study to investigate the number of people in the UK, for example, engaged in the study of the most popular African languages—Swahili or Hausa—and those in Africa engaged in the study of English. While waiting for the outcome of such findings, it is important to note that the continuous advocacy for the use of alien languages in a global education project is already yielding negative results for the indigenous cultures and languages. Bitja'a Kody in his 2001 study of language use in the city of Yaoundé-Cameroon, found that 32% of young people between 10 and 17 years old do not speak any Cameroonian indigenous language and French is their only language of communication (Anchimbe, 2006). This population is bound to increase in an exponential manner by the next generation, given that the respondents will not be in a position to transmit the indigenous languages to their children as calls for the use of western languages as agents of globalization intensify.

Other attributes of a globalized educational system include the role of international organizations such as the United Nations, the World Bank, UNESCO, the IMF, the OECD and others. In the most part, they are driven by former colonial masters and continue to impose their rhythm on the socio-economic and political life of the world. They set standards of procedure and action in every aspect of education to which the rest of the world has to adhere. Such standards are often those of the western societies (PISA, TOEFL, EILTS etc) which are spread around the world (Scheicher & Zoido, 2016). Schools in the Global South for example are expected to affiliate with those in the north to obtain system credibility and accreditations in what looks like a return to the colonial era. This is what is meant by "contemporary globalization processes setting the stage for new types of power and complex pluri-lateral forms of influence on domestic educational systems and creating new and more globalized education policy discourses and a more formalized global policy architecture" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). The effect of this is that it weakens "putatively national public policy domains" (Mundy et al., 2016) of the Global South countries, leaving them at the consuming end of Euro-American designed policies (Bourdieu, 2003).

Besides the above, the global classroom advocates sets of values and ethics that seek to place the Western ways of living over the rest of the world. Values and ethics as part of a global education programme encourage students to take responsibility for their actions and become citizens capable of contributing to a more peaceful, just and sustainable world. Such capabilities are assessed in the respect of western values; a majority of which are likely to be perceived as taboos in the Global South. These are expected to be taught around the world as part of the methodology of children's education without a consideration of their perceived appreciation in other communities. On the other hand, some of the ethical principles of traditional Africa are seen as primitive and are repudiated. According to Ertl (2016), an understanding of the nature and values of one's own culture is a fundamental starting point for any educational programme claiming to be international. However, within the context of content choice, international education always has a western bias at the epistemological level which may, despite the intentions of being international, increase culture bias. In this way content choice in a globalized system would continue to favour the transmission of Western knowledge.

I sought out what a social studies curriculum would constitute and whether it would be representational in its contents to discard a colleague's suspicion that Africa, like in the days of Hegel, Toynbee and Roper, continues to constitute no historical part of the globe. I use the subject history to show that in a globalized history curriculum, Africa still does not have a place or is even represented as rationally as any Western society. I posit that in the colonial past, history was used to serve the deterministic imperialist interests. As a result, since independence, transformations in the subject history have been used as a means of fostering national sovereignty of the newly independent states. Throughout Africa, the focus has been on re-centring the political, economic and socio-cultural heritage of the people who had been dispossessed by the European history curriculum in colonial schools (Enaifighe, 2018; Marumo & Chakale, 2018; Mekoa, 2018a, 2018b; Ndille, 2018; Uzomah, 2018). Worries as to what a global history programme would look like are answered in Mansilla and Jackson's 2011 project, *Educating for Global Competence: Preparing our Youth to Engage the World.*

In a significantly well thought out manual for a global history curriculum, Mansilla and Jackson argue rightly that:

> The growing global interdependence that characterizes our time calls for a generation of individuals who can engage in effective global problem solving and participate simultaneously in local, national, and global civic life. This requires a nurturing of their global competence (Mansilla & Jackson, 2011: xiii).

Curiously, proposed topics which should increase students awareness of how the world works include the fax machine and other technological developments up to the age of production of objects that are part of their everyday life, such as Apple iPods, Motorola cell phones, Reebok sneakers, and Fender guitars but for topics about Africa, there is little or nothing. Where it is mentioned, it is about HIV/AIDS in Mombasa, Kenya; to "help the children understand how the world is organized spatially" (Mansilla & Jackson, 2011:14); the West as a site of production and civilization and the South, a place of disease, misery and suffering. What then becomes the perception of a Kenyan/African student in such a classroom is an indication of the fact that, like colonization, globalization is not value free as it enhances the superiority and inferiority complexes and coloniality of power, knowledge and being.

As if to confirm what Tondi (2018) calls contempt that the western culture shows towards the indigenous cultures of the South, Chakrabarty (1992) warns that in terms of a global history curriculum, the West would always, out of necessity, render others in a state of becoming. He argues that by every measure, Africa and the Global South will be a subordinated margin of a global history. As seen above, the place of Africa in the global history of technology, or of democracy, or of science, intellectual thoughts and philosophy can be imagined in such a project. This is not because Africans have not contributed to these fields, but because the global episteme is constructed to silence or appendage the non-West. Within the globalized framework, Africa will be highlighted (as it is being done) in the histories of the slave trade (as though it is singularly African), poverty, disease and environmental degradation (Chakrabarty, 1992). It is in this context that I argue that the idea to globalize education risks reversing the gains of the nationalists in the Global South and reaffirming Trevor-Roper (Awasom & Bojan, 2009).

According to Dale (1999), these are mechanisms through which policies for a global education are established. These include imposition, harmonization, dissemination, standardization, and interdependence. In any case, none of these is to the advantage of the periphery as all seem to suggest the introduction of Western ideas to the Global South. As it was before, Africa and the global south as a whole have little or no choice in the matter, since the foreign assistance relied on is often tied to the adoption of reforms dictated by international organizations and their powerful Western members (Mundy et al., 2016).

Based on the evidence provided, we argue that globalization has not departed from the initial aims of colonialism and imperialism whose effects accounted for the post-independence advocacy of local/national education ideologies like indigenization, localization and Africanization. Such policy frames generally reflect reactions of the perceived negative effects of the imported Western epistemologies of the colonial period. The fact that the same drivers of the imperial/colonial agenda continue to drive the global agenda is a direct warning to the Global South that the West is only interested in establishing a hegemony of herself around the globe and this would result in further annihilation of the epistemic basis of the Global South should she abandon the national education projects for a global outlook.

Globalization of Education: Confirming the Once Beaten Twice Shy Prophesy

The evidence presented above portray globalization as 'that anti-statism ideology which culminates in Western direct intervention in the Global South and the imposition of conditionalities that erode the indigenous political social-economic programs of the postcolonial state and take away the little that is remaining of their control over their policies". This makes the Global South suspicious of globalization considering the impact of imperialism and colonization. Adedeji (2002) argues that by exhibiting similar foundations and characteristics as imperialism, globalization continues the work of the former by working to deny agency to Africans who seek to chart an autonomous path of development for themselves. By advocating a trend led by the West, for the rest of the world, globalization has been termed the "imperiality of knowledge" (Slater, 1995). While globalization embraces the ideas of diversity and limited juridical–political independence, it does not concede the rights of people of the Global South and their leaders "to negotiate

their own conditions of discursive control and to practice difference" (Slater, 1995:366), what Hall and Taylor (1996:136) have termed "sociological institutionalism".

Sociological institutionalism holds that instead of states undertaking 'an aggregation of goal-oriented rational choices by well-informed policy makers,' countries adopt global policies not necessarily because they need them, or because they are effective, but as a result of the 'transmission of cultural practices emanating from the West (Hall and Taylor 1996) due to legitimation pressures that they receive to demonstrate to the international community that they are building a modern state and the fear of reprisals such as the cutting of aid to Ghana and Uganda when Attah-Mills and Museveni refused to grant gay rights (BBC, 2011; Reuters, 2014; The Guardian, 2014). It is for these reasons that the most sincere definition of globalization is the **"**ongoing integration of the world within a capitalist political economy" (Drezner, 2001:53).

Globalization of Education or Indigenization/Africanization of Education

The upsurge in globalization and its implications for educational transformation in the Global South has put African countries in what I sometimes refer to as being "caught between the hammer and the hardplace" (Ndille, 2014). However, an understanding of the purpose and meaning of education for each society would determine the choices that they make; whether they emanate from coercion or rationality. While such choices are being made, it is important to note that decolonization, Africanization, indigenization, nationalization and localization of educational policy, content, management and practices in the Global South as a whole have been seen not just as a form of resistance to globalization and the eurocentrism it implicitly propagates (Mekoa, 2018a; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013); or as a way of exorcising Hegel's ghost (Mekoa, 2018b ; Taiwo, 2004) but most significantly as a vehicle for African indigenous development (Enaifoghe, 2018; Marumo & Chakale 2018; Tondi, 2018; Uzomah, 2018).

A prosaic understanding of educational relevance is the "applicability of what is taught to the needs and interest of students and [their] society" (UNESCO, 2012). Each society has a meaning that it attaches to education and the purpose for which they establish schools. This is often different from society to society judging from their past experiences,

their present problems, and their outlook to the future. Consequently, educational goals are, in terms of nations and people, determined on a national sovereignty basis in order to meet their distinct national needs as they may not be similar to those of other nations. That is why the conception of education as the experience of a people interacting with their environment (Peters 1966), and an eternal process of the adjustment to that intellectual, emotional and cultural environment and the transmission of what is worthwhile to those who become committed to it (Schofield, 1972) would remain popular. In this light, education is expected to initiate each individual into the general culture of his community and ensure the transmission of the culture. Reforming African educational systems to meet these goals has been the major preoccupation of most African countries since independence. This is first of all as a phenomenological and ideological concept in human history in its own right (Tondi, 2018. Secondly it is an essential part of the response to the process of alienation and subjugation of the cultural heritage that this part of the world has experienced through the ideological designs and practices that have characterised erstwhile North-South relations since Columbus landed in the Americas (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). Thirdly, and most importantly, it is linked to the development of marginalized communities encompassing the Global South. Decolonization, Africanization, indigenization, nationalization and localization are principal, conceptual, ideological and theoretical trends that would serve as the panacea for Africa's renaissance and advancement into the 21st century (Uzomah, 2018) rather than imbibing European standards of renewed subjugation beautifully presented as globalization.

While such a perspective of education gives priority to the national/community governing bodies to make decisions regarding educational policies and curriculum content, in the light of meeting the new challenges which the globalization process itself makes evident—marginalizing tendencies and practices and as a means of creating 'common goods' and 'common values' (Garret, Phillips and Piper (2003)—the global ideology of supranational decision making contradicts the Africanization and indigenization perspectives. Tondi (2018), in arguing for Africa to make progress and experience a situation of self-reliance and self-determination, holds that the continent must re-centre her development on strategies that are sensitive to indigenous cultures and realities as some of the Asian Tigers have done, in the face of the political, socio-cultural domination and economic dependence that the

Global North unleashes on the South. Like Confucius argued, the inculcation of "strange doctrines is injurious indeed…. Learning in every society requires that the people should be true to the principles of their society and benevolently exercise them onto their members- this and nothing more" (In Valesquez, 1997).

The adoption of principles such as decolonization and Africanization does not, of necessity, require the closing up of society to external developments that can improve the thought patterns and way of life of the society in question. It however requires careful consideration. First, care must be taken that such a process does not jeopardize the society's indigenousness, except where such plans are congruent with internal directions of policy. Second, and where congruence applies, care must be taken that the external influences do not overshadow the national, local or indigenous. National policies, which are often established on the basis of an emic understanding of the local needs and realities of the society in question, must continue to direct education and external influences must be considered only in terms of complementing such policies and not overthrowing them. In terms of content, a study of local knowledge bases must prevail over external content in national curricula for an effective understanding of the society in question to be achieved in order for a significant improvement to be obtained.

Where the above conditions are not respected, there is a tendency that the educational system becomes an issue of assimilation into or cultural subjugation by the external influence. The need to be receptive to external suggestions and the learning about external developments is relevant but such openness should become a matter of policy on the basis of equity and reciprocity in terms of 'we are all taking from one another's culture and placing the same meaning on what we adopt about each other' as each society has issues of pride and shame. Any plan therefore, that advocates an openness to the external world by seeking to erode national sovereignty and redirecting policy towards different aims and changing the national education focus and content, without a consideration for equity and reciprocity, should be immediately discounted because, education then ceases to serve the people and rather begins to serve the new policy advocates.

This logic of educational relevance is very important especially for Africa and the Global South which has had a very disparaging historical experience in terms of its relation with the rest of the world. It is one of the reasons that until date, the question of relevance of education to any

Global South society becomes one of the most crucial aspects in any discussion of education. In Africa particularly, the development of education has passed through several stages; from the periods of indigenous developments of education to the introduction of Western schooling by missionaries, through the colonial school and the period of post-colonial reconstruction and transformation (Aka, 2002; MacOjong, 2008). The attention that this field of education has received is evident in the long array of literature on the subject.

While the literature on education in the pre-European period in Africa points to a kind of golden age in African education with its apogee reached in the development of an indigenous scientific and technological base (MacOjong, 2008), studies on colonial education generally agree that this phase was rather a rupture or a pulling down of the established knowledge basis of the pre-European days. This is because, in the majority, colonial education did not grow out of the African environment and was not designed to promote the most rational use of African man-power, material and social resources for indigenous African benefits. It rather sought to instil a sense of deference towards all that is European and capitalist (Rodney, 1982). In terms of who the power of agency was in the colonial period, education was dominated by the capitalist class and the same class bias of industrial Europe was automatically transferred to Africa. To make matters worse, the racism and cultural boastfulness harboured by capitalism were also included in the colonial education package (Rodney, 1982).

An appreciation of the impact of colonial education is very useful to an understanding of the postcolonial educational reform, the peripheral logics of educational relevance and the decolonial position in the current debates of globalization of education. At independence, the approach to education became one of an internal national outlook with calls for Africanization, indigenization and nationalization. It was hoped that such an educational perspective would serve the national needs and rid the nations of the vices instilled by colonial education. Education for national sovereignty therefore became education in, for and with indigenous communities, addressing the need to challenge a long history of coercion and control of the education of such communities by external forces such as colonialism and imperialism (Moll, 2002). It became an urgent need 'to challenge the arbitrary authority of external power structures to determine the essence of the educational experience for African, Global South and other minority people.

In fact, as President Amadou Ahidjo of Cameroon (1960-1982) put it, the goal of postcolonial educational transformation is to "shun all servile importing and transplanting of foreign systems" and to ensure that "the structure and substance of school policy and contents *should* consult the environment, needs, and personality of the Cameroonian people" (in Gwei, 1975:15). There was a general feeling in post-independent Africa that colonial education had not been helpful to the African as it constituted mostly content emanating from policies that were not relevant to the needs and realities of the African environment.

Educational reforms and content revision in African schools at independence were therefore geared towards getting rid of the negative features and misconceptions inherited from colonial educational systems that were designed to serve colonial purposes. Such educational trends should still be essentialized in the Global South despite the difficulties that their adoption and implementation are being rocked with. They should also be viewed as viable alternatives to the principles of globalization of education.

Conclusion

The principles and manifestations of globalization have become so diverse as to give the term many emotive connotations. While there is a view that globalization is an irresistible and benign force for delivering economic prosperity throughout the world, others hold that in terms of power and agency, the principles which undergird its existence exude similar fragrances of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. One of the central concerns of this paper has been the question of representation and equity. Using the origins, direction of flow of global knowledge, the powers of agency, language of exchange and school content, the paper has presented globalization as another phase of the imperial/colonial agenda and argues that this agenda is not in the interest of the Global South. This position is recognized by Moloi, Gravett and Peterson (2009) as well as Bakhtiari (2011) when they talk of globalization being a source of all contemporary ills or the dangerous impacts it has had on national developments.

What was evident in the colonial school systems, simply crept into the Global South through neo-colonialism, neo-liberalism, and, today, globalization of education. Any adherence to global principles in education is a direct reversal of the efforts that the Global South has

made since the end of colonialism in terms of asserting national sovereignty in educational policy and implementation. As a form of resistance, in recognition of possibilities of differences, as the most rational ways of achieving development in the 21st century and positioning themselves at parity with the West, this paper proposes that education for national sovereignty which serves as the gatekeeper of indigenization, decolonization, localization, and Africanization is what the Global South nations need most. This may take time but, with determination, it can be achieved.

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