Colonial mentality and volunteerism

"How perspectives originated in the colonial era still influence present-day interaction."

A case study about the colonial mentality of volunteers and local Ghanaians and its influence on volunteer projects.

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"The key to understanding is to see through each other's eyes"
- From the song *Great Spirits* from the movie *Brother Bear*

Colophon

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Preface

Colonialism has always been a subject that I have been interested in. In my bachelor thesis I looked at a volcanic eruption in the Philippines and the reactions to it through the lens of colonialism and postcolonialism. This gave me insights in the perspectives of people that were related to their time of colonization. It has always intrigued me how views and perspectives from the colonial era still live on in the present-day world.

If someone had said to me at the start of my study in Human Geography: "*you are going to do research in Africa and life there for 2,5 months*" I would have laughed and said: "*That would be cool, we will see*." Now at the end of my study in Human Geography I have visited Morocco, Ghana and I even made a jump into Burkina Faso territory. These journeys have given me many insights into the complexity that is different cultures and people. These journeys have also shown me that Human Geography was the right study for me. Human Geography for me is everything combined: geography, sociology, history, economy, politics, environment and many other aspects, with people at the heart of the web.

In February of 2010 I came in contact with the organization ICLI (Inter Cultural Learning Institute) who gave me the opportunity to do actual fieldwork research in Ghana. This gave me the chance to actually observe these perspectives from the colonial era in the behaviour and actions of people, both volunteers and local Ghanaians. I own a thank you to ICLI and Jolanda Goes for giving me the opportunity to go to Tamale in Ghana to actually conduct a research based on empirical data, instead of only a literature study, on what is now called *colonial mentality*.

I would also like to thank all the wonderful people who I met in Ghana, from ICLI and through daily life. Thank to them I felt like I lived here for 2,5 months instead of only being a visitor for that period. They showed me a new attitude of life, one of relaxing instead of stressing about the little problems from which Western people could learn a lot. But on some occasions this attitude could also be irritating when missing the three basis needs of water, electricity and gas. But as the Ghanaians would say: "That's Africa! Don't stress, it will come. The pipe will open tomorrow!" This of course did not happen for another two weeks. But we learned not to stress about it because stressing would not make the water (gas or electricity) come any faster.

A special thanks to my parents who kept believing in me through the whole process of writing this thesis. I want to say thanks you to my friends, especially Linda, for listening to me when I needed to talk about the writing process and telling me over and over again that I could do it. I want to thank Lothar Smith for all the time he gave during the writing process of this thesis, which has not been without difficulties, and the encouraging words he offered after each meeting about the chapters I had written.

Thank you for reading this thesis.

Miriam Huisman
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Abstract

On the global scale it are always the Western countries in power who tell the other countries of the world how to do things the 'right' way, according to democratic and capitalistic principles. The behaviour of these Western countries that the West is superior to all the other countries can be traced back to the colonial era in which many Western countries were the rulers of colonies in Asia and Africa. In these colonies, rules and principles were implemented according to Western ways without the concern if these rules and principles were even applicable to these countries that often had a different culture and a different set of moral and values. The people in the colonies had no chance to protest and over the years they may have started to believe that the Western way is indeed superior to their own way.

This thesis researches if this perspective of superiority of the Western ways can also be found on a smaller and more local scale. In this case in volunteer projects in Tamale, Ghana. The behaviour and interactions of volunteers and local Ghanaians are observed to see if these perspectives are still present and if the Western volunteers see themselves as superior to the local Ghanaians and if the local Ghanaians indeed believe that the Western ways are better than their own. These perspectives can be related to the colonial mentality of the volunteers and local Ghanaians. Colonial mentality is defined as "*the perspectives of present day people that have their origin in a historical colonial context and are apparent in the attitude and interaction towards others.*" A question that arises is if these perspectives, a person's colonial mentality, influence the effectiveness of the volunteer projects both actors work in. From this question the following objective is formulated:

> *To examine to what extend the 'colonial mentality' of both volunteers and local people in Tamale (Ghana) is of influence on the effectiveness of the volunteer projects in Tamale.*

In this thesis the effectiveness is related to the way in which the attitude and the interaction between the volunteers and the local Ghanaians affect the actual work during the projects. It is not related to the actual benefits of the projects for the local people. From this objective the following central question can be formulated:

> *How does the 'colonial mentality' of both volunteers and local people in Tamale (that are involved in the volunteer projects) influence the effectiveness of the projects?*

In order to answer this central question, the colonial mentality of both volunteers and local Ghanaians has to be examined. The colonial mentality of a person is analysed through observations of the behaviour and interactions between and towards the other person (from the other actor group). A person cannot be asked directly for his or hers colonial mentality or perspectives since these perspectives are part of the subconscious and behaviour related to them is mostly performed unaware. Therefore, observations are the best way to analyse the colonial mentality. The observations will take place according to the methods of participant observation in which the researcher becomes part of the environment that is observed. Observations have been done in a period of 2,5 months in Tamale in Northern Ghana. Three different contexts were observed in order to create a broad spectrum on the colonial mentality

of both actors. The first context consists of preparation of the volunteers and especially observes the Educational program set up by the International Cultural Learning Institute (ICLI). This program sets out to create an equal environment in which different cultures can learn from each other. The second context consists of the volunteer project on which the volunteers and the local Ghanaians work together. The third contexts consist of the daily life in which the volunteers and local Ghanaians interact with each other in an informal environment.

The observations are analysed through a theoretical framework set up from the theories colonialism, neocolonialism, postcolonialism and post-development. From these theories a post-development nature or a neocolonial nature can be extracted. A post-development nature means the application of the hospitality principle. People should interact in an equal environment in which both side can learn from each other, acknowledge each other's knowledge, respect each other and recognize and accept that there are differences in culture. No culture or way of knowledge should have superiority over the other as both are equally important. A post-development nature is related to a low colonial mentality while a neocolonial nature is related to a high colonial mentality.

A volunteer that has a low colonial mentality has a strong post-development related nature. He or she is open-minded towards the other culture and they will create a hospitable environment around them in which persons from different cultures and those who have different believes are equal and differences are respected. A volunteer that has a high colonial mentality will have a strong neo-colonial related nature. He or she will have the opinion that the Western way of knowing is the right way of behaving and acting and he or she will not be open towards other ways of knowing and impose his or her own Western knowledge.

Local Ghanaians that have a low colonial mentality have a post-development nature and will be open towards the Western culture and will have respect for the differences that exist between their own culture and the Western culture. However, they will not see the Western way of knowing it as the right way of living and behaving. They see the importance of their own culture and the possibilities in development of their own people without or with less help of the West. In contrast, local Ghanaians with a high colonial mentality still have many of the perspectives that originated in the colonial era. They perceive the Western world to be ideal and the Western ways as the 'right' ways. Their opinion is that Ghana would be better off with the help of the Western world and the Western ways of knowing and development.

In order to analyse if the perspectives of the actors are related to the colonial era and thus can be defined as part of their colonial mentality the historical and present-day context of Ghana needs to be researched. Ghana has a long colonial history that start in 1471 when the Portuguese were the first European power to set food in Ghana. Throughout the centuries the British acquired more power and in 1874 they became the former colonizing power of the Gold Coast Colony (former name of Ghana). The interest of the British lay mainly in the south of Ghana which had the raw materials like gold and cacao that could be exported. Over the years the British transformed the economy according to their needs while on the political front keeping control of the country. The Northern Territories, the northern part of Ghana, were incorporated in the Gold Coast colony in 1901 after the conflicts about the hinterland with France and Germany. After the incorporation of the Northern Territories the British were not interested in the development of the North since the southern part still needed to be better

developed. The Northern Territories stayed behind in development, politics and education which to this day still is of effect on the peripheral position of the Northern region in Ghana.

From the analysis of the observations of the behaviour and interactions between the volunteers and local Ghanaians, done in the three different contexts, the following can be concluded:

- The volunteers that were observed during the field work have a low colonial mentality. They are open-minded towards the Ghanaian culture, morals and values. Through discussions they try to create an understanding and respect between both groups for the other culture, morals and values. During their actual work as volunteer they are more aware of their colonial mentality as they do not try to convince their way of acting or working is the better way. They are also aware of the colonial mentality of the local Ghanaians as they try to avoid being put in an expert role by the local Ghanaians. The nature of most volunteers is therefore in resemblance with the post-development nature.

- The local Ghanaians that were observed have a higher colonial mentality than the volunteers in all contexts although none of them are at the extreme level of high colonial mentality. In the second context the teachers had a particularly high colonial mentality as it was their opinion that the volunteers could teach even though the volunteers had no experiences in teaching. They, thus, tried to put the volunteers in an expert role. This reflects their perspective that Western people are more qualified than Ghanaians, a perspective that can be related to the perspectives from the colonial era. In the other two contexts their perspectives on the West reveal their ideal and stereotypical ideas of the Western world.

The colonial mentality of both actors is contradictory. This contrast leads to problems that affect the effectiveness of the projects. The higher colonial mentality of the local Ghanaians in the projects leads them to have certain expectations of the work the volunteers are capable of doing. Volunteers, because of their low colonial mentality, do not perceive themselves as capable of doing the tasks the local Ghanaians expect of them (for example teaching) and do not feel comfortable in doing these tasks. This has as consequence that the tasks set for the volunteers are not performed in the project thus affecting the effectiveness of the projects as the task that the volunteer was expected to do is not taken over by a Ghanaian. A volunteer will get another task or invents one themselves but these tasks do not have any or a positive influence on the effectiveness of the project or influence it in a negative way.

A lower colonial mentality of both actor groups would benefit the effectiveness of the project. The volunteers already have a low colonial mentality, in order to create an equal situation in colonial mentality the colonial mentality of the local Ghanaian people should be lowered. This can be done through an educational program in which, through the principal of hospitality, a more post-development nature of both actors is created by giving both actors groups an environment to discuss their different cultures, morals and values which will lead to an understanding of both cultures instead of perspectives based on stereotypes, prejudices and ideals. This will create a respect from both sides for each other cultures, thereby creating a lower colonial mentality which will influence the effectiveness of the projects in a positive way.

1 Introduction

Colonialism and perspective, these two concepts are inextricably linked. Perspectives, the way we see people, have always influenced how we treat each other and communicated with each other even though our perspectives of people are not always correct. Perspectives played an important role during the era of colonialism as perspectives on the colonized people influenced the way the colonizers acted towards them (Said, 2003). We all have different perspectives because we are biased by our own cultural, moral and behavioural set of rules. These sets of rules differ from culture to culture, nation to nation and can even differ on the level of family. One person might think that something is correct while the other thinks of it as something he or she would never do. The following anecdote for this situation happened to me during my stay in Ghana for my field work research:

> It happened several times that I was asked if I wanted to be a man's second wife. In the Ghanaian culture it is accepted and very normal for a man to have multiple wives while in my own culture having more than one wife is forbidden by law and frowned upon by culture. My answer would be, after I made some comments about my own relationship status: *"I want to be the first and only wife."* And the man who had asked me would look at me a little bit confused.

My perspective on this matter is completely different than theirs and it has led to some very interesting conversations about the topic. This is just one small example of how perspectives can differ between persons. While in this case the different perspectives were accepted by the other as we agreed to disagree, and thereby maintained a diversity in the perspectives on the institute of marriage, there are other situations in which another persons (or group) perspective is not accepted and dismissed as irrational and immoral. This is what happened during the colonial era and will be discussed in later chapters.

Discourses, which can be defined as: *the setting or domain in which words are used and take on specific meaning ... in relation to other words within a stream of understanding* (Agnew, 1998) can be seen as the perspectives different people have of each other depending on their own cultural and moral background. The discourses that are central to colonialism are described by Edward Said in what he has named Orientalism. Orientalism described how the Western (Occident) world sees the Orient (often the East but also Africa and the New World). Back in the colonial era people from the Old World (Europe) saw the people from the Orient as backwards, heathen, immoral and irrational while they saw themselves as the exact opposite: developed, religious, moral and rational. In one word, they saw themselves as superior to the people living in the Orient. This resulted in the feeling that these 'poor' people needed to be 'helped' or as it was implemented, ruled. The colonialists implemented their discourse (their doctrine) on to the colonized people who had no say in the matter. They were, after all, seen as backward and irrational. From the colonialists views these people needed to be educated and shown how politics, economics and agriculture and later industrialization and capitalism worked. Often a new religion (Christianity) was also introduced. Frequently these newly introduced discourses had a negative effect on the already existing authorities. These authorities were seen as backward by the colonizers and soon replaced with the authorities and institutions of the colonizer (Sharp, 2009). This frequently led to the first conflicts

between the colonized and the colonizer. In some cases it is argued that had there been no colonialists these colonized civilizations (nation-states) had developed on their own speed and with their own strength and could have become as powerful as the nations that colonized them and be equals to the other nations in the world (Davidson, 1992/1994). Unfortunately this can never be proven true or false.

During the colonial era cultures, morals and other discourses were implemented on people and situations without the consideration of the notion if the discourses were applicable to these people and situations, which was often not the case (Sharp, 2009). But are the discourses from the colonial era not still living on in today's world? Is imperialism a part of the discourses used during colonialism? And is globalization not part of a new form of colonialism called neocolonialism?

Through the process of globalization everything in this world is connected. According to Kiel (1999, in Potter, Binns, Elliott & Smith, 2004, p. 126):"*globalization refers to a world in which societies, cultures, politics and economies have, in some sense, come closer together*". He furthermore adds that the process of globalization also involves the intensification of worldwide social relationships, serving to link events in widely separated places (Kiel, 1999 in Potter et al., 2004, p. 126). The process of globalization is applicable to the processes of economics, politics, culture, social issues, technology and environmental issues. If something related to the processes mentioned above happens in one country or one part of the world the rest of the world will react. In today's world the countries that have the most power have the most influence in the world economy and world politics. The theory neocolonialism says that even though colonialism through direct rule (as in the colonial era) is not existing any more (with the exception of a few cases), the developing countries of this world are still ruled by the powerful countries through their political and economical systems.

The Arab Spring is a good example of neocolonialism through the political system. The Arab Spring is a number of revolutions led by the people of several countries in the Middle East and Northern Africa. Even though these revolutions were started by the inhabitants of the countries, support quickly came to them when their goals became clear. The main goal of the rebelling people still is a more democratic government of their country. Democracy is viewed by the powerful nations of the world (in this case mainly the United States and Europe) as the best way to govern a country. However, sometimes the way of democracy we have here is not applicable in that specific ways of the countries were the revolutions of the Arab Spring are. Even the democratic way of government in the United States differs from the democratic way of government in Europe. Still, as soon as the governments of the powerful countries saw what happened they offered help to the (rebelling) people to get them to democracy. Besides political measures and sanctions towards the governments of the rebelling countries, in case they would not give in to the rebels' demands, military actions were also included in a way to help the rebelling people to overthrown their government. An example is the revolution in Libya in 2011 in which the United States and several European countries united under the UN-flag to help the people of Libya fight against the regime of Kaddafi (NOS, 2011). These interventions can be seen as a way of trying to establish control in order to make sure that everything goes according to plan in order to achieve democracy, or as it could be called, the Western way of government. And with this urge to control and influence the situation, are

these countries not telling the rebels in the countries part of the Arab Spring how to govern their countries in the 'right way'?

This is just one of many examples in which the western world says *"We know best, our way is the best. Do it like this."* without concern if their way will be effective in the other country that possibly has another culture, life-style, society, values and customs. Examples of this behaviour can also be found in the colonial history. Scott (1998) gives an example of this behaviour regarding colonial agriculture policy in British East Africa. He says about the colonial policies the British implemented: "*The point of departure for colonial policy was a complete faith in what officials took for 'scientific agriculture' on one hand and a nearly total scepticism about the actual agricultural practices of Africans on the other."* (Scott, 1998, p. 226). The British had a scientific view of agriculture (and other systems like politics and economics) analogical to how it was practiced at home. They also wanted to implement these rules and practices in Africa which in many cases did not work and did more harm than good as is also seen in the examples that Scott (1998, p. 227 – 228) gives. Scott mentions solutions for erosion of the soil which would have worked in Britain but were counterproductive in East Africa. This is just one of many examples that shows that colonial policy implemented in Africa or in other parts of the world did not work. And even though these examples may show the West that they are not always right in their implementation of rules and practices they still see their way as the best and behave with an attitude that says *"We know best"*.

The 'Arab Spring' is an example of such behaviour nowadays and on the larger scale, but can this behaviour also be found on a much smaller scale? For example, in volunteer projects in the developing world. This is the question that I will address in this thesis. Volunteer are most often young adults (age between eighteen and mid-twenty) from the western decent who come to the developing world to 'help'. Do these volunteers share the same attitude towards the developing world as the world-leaders in geo-politics? And what is the attitude of the local people towards the volunteers that come to 'help' them? How do these perspectives of 'the other', their 'colonial mentality', influence their behaviour towards each other and how does this, in the end, influence the project the volunteers are working on?

1.1 Formulation of the problem

Based on the questions raised above the following objective for this thesis can be formulated:

> *To examine to what extend the 'colonial mentality' of both volunteers and local people in Tamale (Ghana) is of influence on the effectiveness of the volunteer projects in Tamale.*

The goal of this research is to examine the interrelation between the hidden colonial mentality of both volunteers and local Ghanaian people and how this has an effect on how effective the projects the volunteers work on can be. The colonial mentality of both actors will be researched in three different contexts. The first context consists of the preparation of the volunteers and the local Ghanaian people who work together in the projects. The second context consists of the interaction between both actor groups during the volunteer work and the third context consists of the daily life the volunteers interact in during their stay in Tamale.

Colonial mentality is defined by David & Okazaki (2006) as the psychological legacy of the colonial era that is still present in the behaviour of the colonized population and their attitude towards the 'other'. In this thesis the focus will not be the psychological issue but this definition gives a clear idea of what is meant by colonial mentality before this concept is adjusted for this thesis. This thesis will focus on the perspectives that are created by the psychological legacy of the colonial era and how these perspectives still influence the present day interaction between the descendants of both colonizers and the people who were colonized in the past. For this thesis, colonial mentality is defined as: *the perspectives of present day people that have their origin in a historical colonial context and are apparent in the attitude and interaction towards others.* The conceptual model of this definition can be seen in figure 1.1 below.
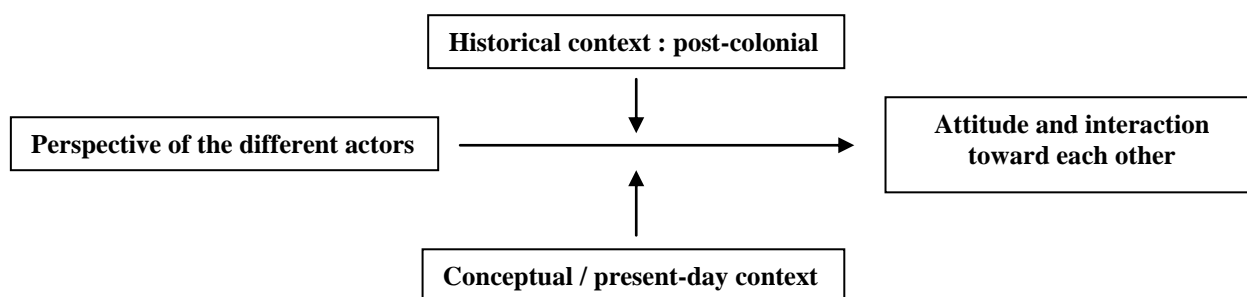
Figure 1.1 Conceptual model for the concept of 'Colonial Mentality'

A colonial mentality is present in both the local people and the Western people. This is not taking into regard by the definition of David and Okazaki who only research the colonial mentality of the formerly colonized people. The colonial mentalities of both actor groups have a connection to the views of Orientalism (views of the Western people on the Orient) and the views of Occidentalism (the views of the Ghanaian people on the West). These concepts will be explained further in chapter two because both Orientalism and Occidentalism are related to the theory postcolonialism.

The colonial mentality will be researched by observing the communication and interaction between volunteers and local Ghanaians. Some specific actions in communication and interaction as well as attitude can be seen as a demonstration of a colonial mentality. For these actions will be searched in the actions of volunteers observed by the researcher. At the beginning of the observation there will be no specific points that are searched for in order to not create a bias. In the beginning the researcher will be completely open to observe all actions. As the research proceeds in time some specific points will be taken in account while observing the actions of the actors. The colonial mentality of both actors cannot be understood by only looking at how perspectives are created today. To understand the colonial mentality of the actors the historical context of Ghana needs to be discussed in order to understand the present-day context. Enabling us to see the influences of the historical context in the present-day context in Ghana and the influence it has on the attitude of the actors. This discussion of the historical context of Ghana will take place in chapter four after which the influences of the historical context on the present-day context will be discussed in chapter five.

The concept of effectiveness as mentioned in the objective is not meant as way to measure how much the local Ghanaian people actually benefit from the projects the

volunteers work in. Even though the dependent or independent nature of the projects will be discussed this is not the main significance of effectiveness in this case. In this thesis effectiveness concerns they way in which the attitude and interaction between the volunteers and the local Ghanaian effects the actual work during the projects. Furthermore it will be researched if the actions of the volunteers and the local Ghanaians in their interaction and attitude have a positive or a negative outcome for the projects.

Central question
The above discussed objective and conceptual model have led to the following question that will be central to this thesis:

> *How does the 'colonial mentality' of both volunteers and local people in Tamale (that are involved in the volunteer projects) influence the effectiveness of the projects?*

The main sub-question of this central question is the following:

> *What is the colonial mentality of both volunteers and local Ghanaians?*

The colonial mentality will be analyzed from the observations made during the fieldwork according to a conceptual model which will be presented in chapter two that incorporates a set of theoretical concepts which will also be discussed in chapter two. The sub-question about the colonial mentality of both actors will be answered in the concluding chapter (chapter nine) after which the central question will be answered in the same chapter.

1.2 Scientific relevance
This thesis will give more insights into how views that originated in the past during the time of Orientalism and colonialism can still influence today's views and communications. It shows that the legacy of colonialism still lives on and did not stop at the end of the colonial era. Views originated in what is named by Said as Orientalism still play a huge role in today's society when it comes to views the Western world has of the developing world. Orientalism can be described as an outsider's interpretation of the East (the unknown/Orient) by the Western world (Said, 2003). The opposite of Orientalism is Occidentalism. Occidentalism can be described as an outsider's interpretation of the West by non-western people (Buruma & Margalit, 2004). Both Orientalism and Occidentalism contain a lot of prejudices and stereotypes which can be both positive and negative but both are of great influence in the views that the different actors have of the 'other' group. This thesis shows these Orientalistic and Occidentalistic views between the local Ghanaian people and the visiting Western volunteers in the preparation of become a volunteer, working as a volunteer and participating and becoming a part of Ghanaian society (as much as possible).
The origin of the perspectives of the volunteers and the local Ghanaian differ to a certain point. Both have origins in the colonial past, history lesson both groups have had and the influences from books and the media like television and the internet. However, the local Ghanaians have probably interacted with volunteers before the group that is researched came to Tamale for their volunteer work. The local Ghanaians have worked with volunteers in other projects, interacted with them on a daily basis during their daily lives. Furthermore, with the stream of volunteers that come to Tamale each year they see volunteers on the streets every

day. These facts have shaped their perspectives on volunteers already. Prior experiences with volunteers have provided them with knowledge about what to do or not to do.

This is in extreme contrast towards the volunteers. Most of them are first time volunteers who have never been to Ghana, or even Africa, before. They have no prior experiences to build on and their perspectives are still being shaped. They only have stories they have been told prior or seen on television, history lessons and their Western world perspectives (from books and the different media) to base their actions and ways of communicating on. This difference in experience, one completely new and fresh to the experience, the other experience through actions and interactions in the past has an effect on the perspectives they have on each other. This fact will be included in the research and will give a new view on the perspectives both volunteers and local Ghanaian have on each other.

This research will be of an explorative nature, which means that the conclusions cannot be used to generalize for all the interaction between local Ghanaian people and volunteers. There will be two units of analysis, namely the volunteers and the local Ghanaians, who will be observed in the process of interaction and communication. Even though the research is of an explorative nature it can be used as a stepping stone for future research which will help to understand the behaviour and interaction between the local Ghanaian people and volunteers, and thus help to improve the effectiveness of volunteer projects. On a more global scale it can help to understand the interaction between local people and volunteers in every country better which can lead to a better understand of both groups of each other and also a better end result since better communication and understanding often leads to better results. The conclusions of this case between local people and volunteers can also be used in different contexts in which Western people and the 'other' interact with each other. More research possibilities of this thesis will be discussed in chapter nine.

1.3 Social relevance
The social relevance of this thesis consist of the fact that it will help both volunteers and local Ghanaian people understand each other better by improving their interaction and communication. Neither volunteers nor local Ghanaian people will probably read this thesis but that is where the coordinating volunteer organizations come in. Volunteer organization can see this thesis as a advice report on how to inform their volunteers better for what to expect, what is to come and how to improve the interaction between volunteers and the locals in the projects, the organization and daily life. By volunteer organizations both organizations set by Western people as organizations set up by locals are meant. Most of the time you see that an organization has a local office where local people run everything and an office in a Western country where the volunteers are coming from.

Volunteers are mostly young adults between the ages of eighteen to mid-twenty although you also see people of an older age. Most of them are from western decent and come to the developing world to 'help'. Not always are they prepared for what is to come, they are not well prepared, either to their own fault or the organizations fault. This thesis can help volunteer organizations to better understand and anticipate the problems in interaction between volunteers and the local people so that the interaction between the two actor groups can improve. If the problems in communication and interaction can be solved the

effectiveness of the volunteer project on both development and cultural exchange can be improved.

The local Ghanaians can also gain from the results from this thesis aside from the possible increase in effectiveness of the projects. In the concluding chapter some recommendations will be made on how to create a better understanding of both actor groups about both cultures. Therefore creating a program that can help to lessen the stereotypes and ideological views that the local Ghanaians probably have of the West.

There is also a social relevance of this thesis on a larger scale. The interaction between the Western volunteers and the local Ghanaians is a small scale example of interaction between different cultures. Knowledge gathered from this thesis regarding the perspectives one group has on the other group can be used in research regarding other small scale interactions between different cultures or can be used on a larger scale like the interaction between people from different cultures in a multicultural society. Multicultural societies face the problem of acceptance between the different cultures. If the process of acceptance and interaction between different cultures can be understood on a small scale (between volunteer and local Ghanaian) through this thesis it could give advice and ideas on how to help to solve the interaction and acceptance problems in a multicultural society.

1.4 The country Ghana

The cases that have been chosen to be researched in this thesis are volunteer projects in the city of Tamale, capital of the region Northern Ghana. After looking for volunteer organizations to participate with I encounter the organization ICLI which stands for (International Cultural Learning Institute). ICLI is besides a volunteer organization also an organization that encourages research on volunteerism and development (ICLI website, 2010). With the help of ICLI I had the possibility to spend 2.5 months in Tamale in order to make real-life, current day, observations instead of only conduction a literacy research.

Tamale provided to be an interesting city to research. The city lies in Northern Ghana and is the biggest city in the region and it is also called the 'development work city' of Ghana. This is related to the many volunteer organization that can be found in Tamale and the many volunteers

Figure 1.2 Map of Ghana and its regions
Source: http://www.devongoestoghana.wordpress.com

that these organizations attract towards Tamale. Therefore, the presence of many volunteer organizations and volunteers would enhance the chances of successful conducting of the research.

The Northern part of Ghana (in the colonial era referred to as the Northern Territories), which includes several other smaller regions besides the Northern Region, is less developed then the Southern regions of Ghana (Dijksterhuis, 2005). This is related to the colonial history

if Ghana, in that time called the Gold Coast. Ghana was officially colonized by the British in 1874 but the informal colonization by several countries began after 1471 when the Portuguese set food on the land of the Gold Coast. The Portuguese were quickly followed by British, Spanish, Danes and Dutch colonizers who each build their own forts along the coast (Dijksterhuis, 2005). The focus of the colonialist lay mostly in the southern regions of the country because of its fertile soil for crops (one of them cacao) and the presence of gold. Since no crops the colonialist needed could grown in the dry North and there was no evidence of the presence of gold in that region the main economic value of that region was normal trade and slave trade. The slave trade is an essential part of Ghanaian and colonial history. The Northern part of Ghana only became interesting for the colonialist as part of the 'Scramble for Africa' which started a territorial feud between Germany, France and the British (1888 – 1901) over the Northern Territories (Mahama, 2009). In the end the British took hold of the Northern Territories and in 1901 they became part of the Gold Coast colony. Even though the Northern Territories were now part of the colony, the main focus of the British was still the Southern part of the country and developing the Northern regions was not one of the central priorities of the colonialists (Mahama, 2009). When Ghana became independent in 1957, the Northern Territories were not content with this development. They wanted to stay dependent of the British Empire a while longer so that they too could prosper from the development that the colonizers brought the Southern regions and would hopefully also bring to the Northern Territories (Mahama, 2009). Their arguments were not heard and Ghana, including the Northern Territories, became independent in 1957.

These facts still influences the less developed status of the Northern region and is probably also one of the reasons why Tamale attracts a lot of development organizations. The volunteer projects in Tamale have very different natures. Volunteers can work on construction sites and help build a new school, work in the hospitals, work at primary schools (both public and private) or work at orphanages. Some volunteers work at projects that do not fall in these categories but these were not research during the researchers stay in Tamale. More information about the volunteers and the volunteer projects can be found in chapters three, six, seven and eight. A more elaborate discussion about the history of Ghana, the influence of the colonial era on present day Ghana and to which perspectives and prejudices this has lead can be found in chapters four and five.

1.5 The actors
There are two groups of actors that are observed in this research. The first group consists of the volunteers that have come to Tamale to work in the volunteer projects. Most of these volunteers in Tamale are between 18 and 25 years old with a few expectations in which they are older. These volunteers are in Tamale with a volunteer organization (from Europe or America) that helped to get them accommodations and projects to work on. Most volunteer organizations have an office in Tamale itself which has local Ghanaian employees and were the volunteers get their volunteer projects from and can get help if any problems might occur.

The second group of actors consists of the local Ghanaian people who are involved in the projects, are part of the volunteer organization and the people who interact with the volunteers on a day to day basis. Most of these local Ghanaian people have interacted with other volunteers before while the new volunteers have probably never met a Ghanaian person

before (except any of the Ghanaians part of the volunteer organization in their home countries).

The interaction, communication and behaviour between these two actors groups will be observed in three different contexts. The first context consist of the preparation both volunteers and local Ghanaian have had prior to the beginning of the projects and during the first few days or weeks after the arrival of the volunteers. Some volunteers have had in more intense preparation program then others. The influence of these preparation/educational programs on the communication and the perspectives of each other will be researched. The second context consists of the interactions, communication and behaviour during the work at the volunteer projects. Do both actor groups treat each other differently in these environments? The third context consists of the daily life of the volunteer during their stay in Tamale and how this context chances the behaviour between the two actor groups. Daily life consists from talking to each other at the local internet café, the local market, on the street or the café. These three different contexts will be more elaborately discussed in chapter three after which the observations in each context will be discussed in chapters six, seven and eight.

1.6 Lay-out of this thesis

This thesis is composed of nine chapters. The second chapter contains the theoretical framework of this thesis in which the used theories colonialism, imperialism, Orientalism, neocolonialism, post-colonialism and post-development theory will be discussed. Furthermore this chapter contains the extensive conceptual model behind the central question of this thesis. The concepts in this conceptual model will also be discussed in this chapter. The third chapter is the methodological chapter in which the methods used in this research will be explained. Chapter four will give an overview of history of Ghana that is relevant to this research. The influence of the past on present-day Ghana will be discussed in chapter five. Chapter six, seven and eight cover the analysis of the data gathered during the research in which each chapter will discuss one of the three context mentioned above in paragraph 1.5. In these chapters examples from the researched cases will be used to either support or oppose the analysis of the concepts from previous chapters. Chapter nine will be the conclusion in which the sub-question about the colonial mentality will be addressed and the central question will be answered. Furthermore, several recommendations will be made regarding the colonial mentality of both actors and the future research possibilities of the subject of colonial mentality will be discussed.

2 Theoretical framework: theories and concepts related to colonial mentality

This research revolves around the colonial mentality of both volunteers and local Ghanaians in Tamale. To establish what is part of the colonial mentality in the behaviour of the local Ghanaians, the colonial history of Ghana and the relation of the Europeans to this history will be reviewed in chapter four. This historical context will establish the views the Ghanaians and the views they have gotten forced upon them and create a background for the perspectives they have today. However, a theoretical framework is required to analyze the history of Ghana and the influences that the colonial era still has on present day Ghana. This framework consists of several theories that will be discussed in the first part of this chapter. The theories that will be discussed are *neocolonialism*, *postcolonialism* and *post-development theory*. These theories will also help to establish the colonial mentality of the volunteers who are mainly from a Western origin since it established the perspectives that the Western people had and still have and which live on in the volunteers.

When discussing theories like neocolonialism and postcolonialism the theories of colonialism and imperialism cannot be ignored. Neocolonialism and postcolonialism originate from or are a critique on the previous theories. Not taking the theories of colonialism and imperialism into account would create in insufficient background knowledge when discussing the theories of neocolonialism and postcolonialism. Therefore the theories of colonialism and imperialism will be discussed first with a special focus on the British colonial attitude and policies since Britain was Ghana's formal colonizer. This special focus on the British way of colonialism is related to the postcolonial nature of this thesis. Postcolonialism and its critiques do not generalize colonial power and knowledge. The theory takes into account the historical and geographical diversity of colonialism and the need to link the critique to the material and specific contexts (Blunt & Wills, 2000). Therefore, postcolonial scholars argue that the colonization and the colonial process are different for each country. Therefore it would be impossible to give a general description of colonialism since this would deprive and not fully represent the British way of colonialism. In the second part of this chapter the concepts used to analyse the colonial mentality and influence it has on the effectiveness of the projects will be discussed. These concepts will be discussed in paragraph 2.6 and are all related to the theories discussed in the first part of this chapter.

2.1 British colonialism and imperialism

Colonialism and imperialism are often discussed together because they both involve forms of subjugation of one people by another group of people (Young, 2001). However they cannot be perceived as the same. Colonialism was mainly economically driven and was focused on practical reachable locations, mainly coastal areas for trading posts. Initially no attempts were made to go further into the land then the coastal area. Edward Said makes the distinction between imperialism and colonialism by arguing that imperialism involves '*the practice, the theory and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory*' while, in contrast, colonialism involves the '*implanting of settlements on a distant territory*' (Said, 1993, p. 9 in Gallaher, Dahlman, Gilmartin, Mountz & Shirlow, 2009, p.116) Young (2001) explains this further by arguing that colonialism was solely for the development of settlements or for commercial purposes while imperialism acts more like a state policy and an ideology (Gallaher et al., 2009). The argument Lenin makes enlightens the distinction even clearer as

he suggest that imperialism is the highest form of capitalism which developed after colonialism and was distinguished from colonialism by monopoly capitalism (Gallaher et al., 2009). The process of colonialism will be explained further below with a specific focus on the British colonial process regarding Ghana.

Lenin gives three reasons for the acquisition of colonies in his book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (Howard, 1978). The most important reason to acquire a colony was that these colonies would provide raw materials. In case of Ghana this meant gold and in later year's cocoa after the cocoa plant was imported from South-America (Moerkamp, 1997). Slave trade was also an important part of the economic value of Ghana in the colonial era. Throughout the years Ghana's economy was transformed by the British for the optimal production of both gold and cocoa while simultaneously destroying the original crop farming in Ghana (Howard, 1978). Both gold and cocoa are still Ghana's main export products. The second reason Lenin gives is the provision of new markets for the capitalist powers (in this case the European countries) to export their finished products to. Ghana imported many of the products it needed because there was no own production mode for these products in the country (either there never had been in the case of European luxury products or because the production had been stopped in favour the gold and cocoa economy). The third reason Lenin gives is that the colonies provided a cheap labour force and therefore the profit from production could be higher. Howard (1978) argues that this was not the case for Ghana because there was no labour-force that was exploited. However, Ghana may not have had a labour-force that was exploited in Ghana itself but many Ghanaians were exported as slave to work on plantations in the Indies or (Southern) America. Therefore Ghana did indeed provide a cheap labour-force. Imperialism, in contrast to colonialism, was driven by the need for expansion of state power (Young, 2001) and often involved a race between the different European powers for territories. In the case of Ghana it can be argued that the occupation of the coastal area and the Ashanti-region can be seen as an act of colonialism while the occupation of the Northern Territory and the Volta-region (former Togo-land) after the Berlin Conference in 1884 – 85 was an act of imperialism due to the (armed) struggle between Britain, France and Germany over these areas. More about the struggle between these countries over the Northern Territories can be found in paragraph 4.2.3.

Another reason for colonialism according to Young (2001) was the desire for new living spaces for their own citizens. When the Europeans set out to find new land the main goal was to find new place for their own population to settle and not to rule over others. The ruling of other happened nonetheless since the land the Europeans found was populated. The fact that the land was populated did not stop the Europeans since many European countries shared the view that the indigenous people had no right to own the land they lived on (Young, 2001). This view originates in the fact that the inhabitants of the lands were not seen as real people and only people (who reflected Western standards) could own land. While colonialism is often seen as a way of the European powers to export their cultural and moral values as part of the colonization process, this was not the primary concern and goal of colonization (Young, 2001). The export of cultural and moral values was a by-product, in a later stage, of the main reasons as discussed above: trade, economic exploitation and in a lesser sense settlement of own surplus population (Young, 2001).

The colonization process of each colonial power is different (as argued in postcolonial theory) as each colonial power had its own distinctive colonial views. However, even if two countries are colonized by the same colonial power this does not mean that the colonization process for both countries is the same (Young, 2001). The colonization process for each country was different because for each one the context and goal of the colonizers behind the colonization was different. For example, India and Ghana were both colonized by the British but their colonization process is very different.

For Britain, Ghana's formal colonizer, even though the rules for the colonization process for each colony were coming from the same colonial ministry in Whitehall (the centre of British rule in London), the implementation of these rules was different for each colony (Young, 2001). The massive size of the British Empire and its complicated framework of different cultures confronting and interacting meant that no one really ruled it in any concrete sense (Whitehead, 2007). The Secretary of State for the Colonies (in Whitehall) only laid down the general (guiding) principles for those in control in the colonies, the governors. In practice this meant that flexibility and expediency were at the essence of the British colonial policy (Whitehead, 2007). This policy, which can be seen as 'elastic', was based on the principle that *"the maximum of initiative and responsibility should rest with the colonial administration rather than with the officials in Whitehall"* (Whitehead, 2007). Therefore the way in which each colony of Britain was administered (and the reason for being acquired as a colony) was very different. This is in contrast to the French colonial rule in which the rules were implemented more strictly in every single colony while the British colonial officials had more freedom to implement the rules according to context or their own interests (Young, 2001 & Davidson, 1992/1994).

The British colonial system was one of association (Young, 2001). This may sound, at first, more liberal then the French system of assimilation but it is not. While the French had no respect for other cultures and institution already in place when they colonized an area, their opinion was that the colonized people could learn how to become French. In this view the colonized were seen as equally capable as the French themselves. The British however viewed the people they had colonized as backward and incapable of learning and therefore they had the opinion that these people needed to be ruled for their own good (Young, 2001). Although the British seemed to have respect for the cultures and the institutions of the colonized this was only because they viewed the colonized to be incapable of learning how to behave according to British values and morals and to be educated in the British way of knowing (Young, 2001).

2.2 Neocolonialism
The theory of neocolonialism is criticized by both postcolonialism and post-development theory. These theories can be seen as the opposite of neocolonialism. To analyse if the cases observed are of a post-development / postcolonial nature the direct opposite needs to be included too as a case cannot be defined if there is no opposite to define it against.

In the present post-colonial era there are still countries that have colonies but since the 1950s most colonies have gained their independence. However, even though these former colonies have gained their independence it can be argued that they are still being misused through various economical and political means in a persevering former colonial relationship

(McEwan, 2009). This phenomenon as called neocolonialism. As argued above, colonialism and imperialism are commonly seen as the same but this is not the case. Neocolonialism and imperialism *are* however more closely related. Young (2001) argues that neocolonialism is an indirect new version of the old system of imperialism. The central idea behind neocolonialism is the following:

> *The developing countries are still too dependent of the developed (Western) countries. In contrast to the colonial era there is no form of direct ruling but the countries are indirectly controlled by the powerful developed economies through their political and economical structures (Johnston, Gregory, Pratt, & Watts, 2000, p. 545).*

The process of neocolonialism began shortly after the ending of the Second World War when both the colonial system and the old imperial system came to an end. After the Second World War the resistance against the imperial system became stronger. Young (2001) gives three reasons why the old imperial system that functioned during that time seized to exist. The first reason was that the resistance of the colonized people against their colonizer became stronger in every country, in some countries supported by the USSR, China and Cuba. Secondly, the colonial system had become too expensive for the European powers because the resistance grew stronger and the European powers themselves were (financially) exhausted by the Second World War. The last reason was the pressure coming from the USA who saw the colonial trading blocs as barriers for their own economic expansion (Young, 2001). The colonial powers soon gave in and in the 1950s and 1960s many countries became independent.

However, after independence many countries, Ghana being one of the first to become independent in Africa in 1957, found themselves in a position in which they still not had all the power and control they fought for. Even though the newly independent countries had the political control in their countries they had no control over their own economies. Their economies were still in control of the former colonial ruler as the colonizers had often rebuild the economies to their own needs and in most cases destroyed the production capabilities of a countries economy making them dependent on import to get most products. Formerly made arrangement and the power of the international market were further reasons why the Ghanaian government was not in control of its own economy as they had become too dependent on the international market in the colonial years. Hence, the former colonized state is still dependent on the former colonizer, therefore not changing the situation from the colonial status that much. Furthermore, besides control of the former colonial ruler other players came into view in the following years (Young, 2001).

These players are the international organizations like the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the World Trade Organization (WTO) who are primarily ruled by the former colonial powers and the world biggest economies. For example the USA holds veto power in the first two organizations and the G8 has a big influence in all these organizations (Johnston, Gregory, Pratt, & Watts, 2000). All these organization still have a large power over both economic and political rule in the world, thus also in the former colonies. For example, most former colonies have huge debts with the World Bank and other countries. Organization like the IMF can offer the countries lower interest rates, new loans or

debt release if they follow certain programs and rules. These programs are called Structural Adjustment Plans (SAP's). The SAP's normally exist of rules and programs to cut back state expenses (social/public programs) and raise more state income (increase taxes) while also opening up the economy to foreign trade and competition in which only the strong enterprises will survive (Stiglitz, 2007). The implemented rules and changes are often according to Western example, giving superiority to the Western way of knowing. Opinions about the SAP's are divergent. Critiques often argue that the programs are anti-democratic, undermining national sovereignty and are a new form of imperialism (Johnston, et. all, 2000). Furthermore it is argued that through the SAP's acquiring aid is made depended on having to make profound changes in the macro-economic policies and politics of a country. An example of this is Ghana were a democratic election was required to happen before new aid was given to the country (Dijksterhuis, 2005). SAP's have been, and are still, implemented in many countries in the Third World (but also countries in the Western world, for example Greece in 2011/2012). There are only a few countries, Ghana being one of them, in which the implementation of the SAP's can be viewed as a frail success (Johnston, et. all, 2000). Young (2001) has argued, as mentioned above, that neocolonialism is an indirect and new version of imperialism. The Structural Adjustment Programs, ruled by the developed nations, can be seen as a neo-colonial construct as they indirectly control the political and economical structures in developing and Third World countries. Stiglitz, former Vice President of the World Bank has also given critiques on the SAP's, he argues that development and debt relief are in need of a new approach. An approach that emphases on the differences of each country and not implementing the same rules and changes in every country (Stiglitz, 2007). This open the way to a more post-development way of development aid which will be discussed in paragraph 2.4 of this chapter.

The term neocolonialism is first mentioned by Kwame Nkrumah in 1965 in his book *Neocolonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*. Kwame Nkrumah is also the first President (and first prime minister) of Ghana after the country became independent in 1957. He ruled from 1957 until 1966 when his government was overthrown in a military coup (Moerkamp, 1997) after his regime had become too much of a dictatorship. Nkrumah main argument in his book is that neocolonialism is a continuation of traditional colonial rule by other means (Young, 2001). These means being, as argued above, being mainly economically and politically. Furthermore Nkrumah argues that neocolonialism is the worst form of imperialism because: "*For those who practice it, it means power without responsibility and for those who suffer from it, it means exploitation without redress*" (Nkrumah, 1965, p. 5). Nkrumah's argument shows the danger of neocolonialism since no responsibility can be awaited by those who have indirect economical and political control over the countries. During the colonial era this at least was different. It can be argued that in the era of neocolonialism the people have completely lost their voice since in the colonial era they still had some kind of voice against the colonizers. Giving the people in the developing countries (or the oppressed people in general) their voice back is one of the key aspects of postcolonialism which will be discussed in the next paragraph.

2.3 Postcolonialism

Most 'post-theories' express their critique on the previous theory, however they still build upon the concept and discourses from the previous theory. Postcolonialism is not such a 'post-theory' as it does not build upon colonialism. Postcolonial perspectives can be viewed as anti-colonial as it researches the impact of colonialism in both the past and the present (Blunt & Wills, 2000) and stands for everything that colonialism was not (Huisman, 2009). This theory is about letting the voices of the unheard (the former colonized) be heard in opposition to colonialism (and neocolonialism) in which these voices were repressed (Huisman, 2009).

Postcolonialism can be defined in two different ways as it can have two different meanings. One definition is time related and is about the period of decolonization and the period after that. When this definition is meant, post-colonialism is written with a hyphen. The other meaning of postcolonialism, as an approach and theory that will be used in this thesis (and is written without a hyphen), is defined by the Dictionary of Human Geography as: "*A critical politico-intellectual formation that is centrally concerned with the impact of colonialism and its contestation on the cultures of both colonizing and colonized peoples in the past, and the reproduction and transformation of colonial relations, representations and practices in the present.*" (Johnston et al., 2000, p. 612) In this thesis the main point taking from this definition will be the last part to which the perspectives influence the colonial mentality can be related to.

As mentioned before, postcolonialists try to let other voices / discourses (for discourses also see paragraph 2.6.2) be heard so that they may get a place next to the discourses from the Western way of knowing instead of being dominated by them and can be seen as equals. Furthermore, postcolonialism is a critical approach that, as mentioned in the definition, tries to analyze the impact of colonialism on the world. In his book *Postcolonialism and Development* (2009) McEwan sums up the core strategies of postcolonialism. The first goal is to destabilize and break the dominant discourse of imperial Europe (also known as the Western way of knowing). The second goal is to challenge the spoken and written dominating discourses, for example, the homogenizing concept: 'The Third World'. This concept is a loaded term full of (negative) associations that is applied to many countries because of their geographical location and or history. Postcolonialism seeks to dismantle the power, presentation and theorization behind these concepts (McEwan, 2009). Furthermore, postcolonialism offers an alternative view on the world. A view of the non-dominant, non-Western way. Through the recovering of the history and the knowledge of the former dominated people, postcolonialism tries to change the way in which people view and think about the world in a strict western way (Huisman, 2009) and give them their voices back.

Postcolonialism as an approach can be divided into two parts which can be related to the goals mentioned by McEwan. Sharp (2009) claims that postcolonialism is structured through geographies of imagination, knowledge and power. For Sharp, these are the three key elements postcolonialism is focused on and she divides them in two parts, the part of geographies of imagination and the part of knowledge and power. One part addresses how the world became represented in literature, art, movies and songs. Sharp calls these 'geographies of imagination'. The way the colonizers portrayed and wrote about the colonized became the way the people who had never been to the colonies saw the colonized. These views and images of colonialism are still part of our present-day world, even though we now have a

more 'accurate' view of the world (Huisman, 2009). The geographies of imaginations described by Sharp are the spoken and written dominating discourses McEwan describes. Sharp (2009) gives the example of 'Indiana Jones' in which the white male saves the native people from disaster because they were not able to do this themselves. Another example is the main public's view that people from the Third World are backward and ignorant if they do not want to work and behave according to the 'Western way'. This part of the postcolonial approach will be mentioned in chapters six, seven and eight during the discussion of the several contexts of the volunteers and their communication and life with the local Ghanaians. While the volunteers have been influenced in their thinking through history, literature, art and movies the Ghanaians are also influenced in their thinking. Through the television shows and movies they have seen the Ghanaians have established a view of the West that for them is 'the real thing'. The issues that arise between both volunteers and the Ghanaians and their source for the 'real view' and perspectives will be referred to in chapters six and eight.

In the other part of the postcolonialism approach Sharp addresses the power and knowledge aspect. This part focuses on the past in which the colonial powers produced and used knowledge to overrule the people they had colonized and in what way this resulted in an unequal relation between the colonial powers and the colonized, even in the present-day world (Huisman, 2009). The power/knowledge relation is an important concept in the postcolonial theory and it is primarily based on scientific knowledge (Huisman, 2009). The use of technology and the belief in science by the colonizers was seen as superior to the colonized. For that reason scientific and technologic knowledge was used to dominate the colonized. The power/knowledge relations described above are at the core of colonialism as they were used to enforce a sense of difference between the West and the non-West and are therefore important to the postcolonial approach and this research. These relations still influence present-day communication and behaviour between people from the Western world and people from the non-Western world as one group is still seen as superior to the other on many occasions by both groups. Power/knowledge relations can also be found between the volunteers and the local Ghanaians, for example in the role of the Western people as experts which will be discussed in paragraph 2.6.4.

2.3.1 Edward Said's Orientalism
Said is seen as one of the main inventors of postcolonialism, even though in his book *Orientalism* (published in 1978) the word postcolonialism is never used as Said refers to it as Orientalism (Huisman, 2009). Orientalism can be seen as the basis from which postcolonialism was constructed. In his book Said focused on the relation between what he calls the Occident and the Orient. By Occident he means the 'western' world and by Orient he means the 'east' although Africa is also part of the Orient. Said makes the important point that the Occident and the Orient are imagined spaces, they are a man-made invention (Said, 1978/2003, p. 5). He further claims that "*The Orient is an idea that has a history and a tradition of thought, imagery, and vocabulary that have given it reality and presence in and to the West.*" (Said, 1978/2003, p. 5). The views from Said's Orientalism are still present in the West as discourses originated from the colonial era are still dominating. The concept discourse and its relation to Orientalism will be further discussed in paragraph 2.6.2.

The opposite of Orientalism is Occidentalism. Occidentalism can be seen as the stereotyped and (sometimes) dehumanizing view on the Western world while Orientalism can be described as the stereotyped and (sometimes) dehumanizing view on the Orient (either the East, the Middle-East or Africa, for unknown reasons South-America is not often mentioned). In this thesis the perspectives of the volunteers can be seen as Orientalistic while the perspectives of the Ghanaians will be based on a Occidentalistic view, both as mentioned by Said and Sharp, are originating from imaginary, literature and vocabulary.

On a side note, in this thesis the terms Western World and Third world as well as Orient and Occident are used to make a clear division between these two parts in the world even though it can be argued that these terms are too generalizing (Young, 2001) and part of the 'othering' process, a concept of Edward Said. Because of this reason it needs to be stated that not all people in the West are democratically and capitalistic (discourses part of the western way of knowing). Furthermore, not all people in the Third world are not democratic and capitalistic, especially not in this time but also not during the colonial era. Not all people in the Occident have Occident-views (an example can be migrants) and not all people in the Orient have Oriental views (an example of these could be the (neo) colonial elites educated in the West or in Western way of knowing). Still, even if both terms are too generalizing they will still be used because a distinction needs to be made in order to avoid confusion.

2.4 Post-development theory

The third theory that will be taking into account during this research is post-development theory. This theory makes the assumption that development work is structured by Western motives and further argues that the ideas and needs of the local people who are meant to prosper from the developing aid are not met. This theory is relevant as it illustrates and is critical of a continuation of the discourses from the colonial era in which the Western people (from the Occident) know best and the people from the developing world are seen as backward. Furthermore, post-development theory offers new perspectives that will hopefully change the dominating discourses. Post-development theory is related to post-colonialism since they both share the view that the Western domination of the world is too strong and other voices need a chance to be heard and respected.

Although there are many scholars with their own views and critiques on post-development theory there are two central hypotheses of post-development theory are rarely challenged by the critics and usually accepted by them (Ziai, 2004). These hypotheses consist of the two following statements made by Ziai (2004, p. 8-9):

1. *The traditional concept of development is Eurocentric.* The concept of development was constructed by people coming from the Western world: Northern-America and Europe. In this Eurocentric concept the own society is seen as being the ideal norm, the way it should be. Development is often seen as something that should go exactly to the model of development as it has happened in Europe and Northern-America. Other societies who do not meet up to this ideal norm are viewed as inferior and labelled as 'underdeveloped' (Ziai, 2004). This is equal to the way the former colonialist in the colonial era viewed the 'other'. In this Eurocentric concept of development distinctions are made between 'us' and 'them'. The same distinctions that were made during the colonial era. We are developed, they are undeveloped or backward. We are moral whilst they are immoral. We are rational

people, they are irrational people. These distinctions are part of the Orientalist views mentioned by Said and play a role in the 'othering' process (also see paragraph 2.6.2)

2. *The traditional concept of development has authoritarian and technocratic implications*. These implications consist of the fact that whoever gets to define what development is and how it can be achieved is in the position of power. Development is usually associated with a 'positive social change' that is wanted. Organizations of development that also have a high position of power, like the IMF and the World Bank, use their power to force mandatory changes onto countries and governments in order for these countries to get development aid. The critique and question behind this statement is that the person/organization in power gets to define what the 'common good' is and what and who should be sacrificed in order to achieve the 'common good' (Ziai, 2004). Post-development theory argue for a bottom-up approach in which the people who are in the need of help are asked for their opinion of what the 'common good' should be in development.

Ziai (2004) claims that the development discourse has evolved from the colonial discourse. The development discourse is an evolution of the former colonial discourse because it still conceptualizes the South from a Northern perspective. We, the Northern people, have decided what the concept of development means. We have decided what a developed person should have and what the indicators are for a 'good' (developed) life. The critique on this by post-development is the following. Who decides what exactly development is? From this Eurocentric view development is mainly seen from an economical point of view. It is about the material goods people can afford and the standard of living which is also according to Western standards. But what if development was measures according to other indicators. Ziai (2004, p.8) argues that if we would use the data about violent crime, racisms, suicide, isolation and environmental destruction as major indicators for a 'bad' or 'underdeveloped' the Northern countries would not score high on that development scale. This was also mentioned by one of the teachers during the Educational program of ICLI during a lecture on what exactly can be seen as developed.

Post-development theory gives major critique on development and even argues that development should be abandoned because it does not work (Agostino, 2004; Moyo, 2009). Dambisa Moyo argues in her book *Dead Aid* (2009) that aid as we know it does not work because it is only a short term solution that does not tackle the long-term problems. Moyo gives the example of a local mosquito net maker. He makes 500 nets a week and has ten employees that each support fifteen family members. However, when aid is send to Africa to fight Malaria, mosquito nets made in the Western world are send to Africa that flood the market. The local mosquito net maker is put out of a job because the market is flooded by free nets and this creates a loss of income for him and his 10 employees (Moyo, 2009) who will fall further down in poverty. Moyo argues that it would be better if the mosquito nets would be bought in the African countries themselves from local Africans, creating employment, economic gain and thus development along side fighting the problem of Malaria. She further gives ads that foreign aid has not helped development over the year but has actually created more poverty because of the reasons given above (Moyo, 2009). Ton Dietz (in Schmidt, 2012) (professor in Human Geography and head of the African Studies Centre in Leiden) does not agree with the notion that development should be abandoned, but he agrees that the way of development aid needs to change. Dietz argues that we need to change to a 'linking and

learning' way of development in which experts are brought together with promising projects and capital to really benefit the poor people in the world (Schmidt, 2012). A change from a top-down approach in which people are told what to do to an approach in which people are learned what to do.

Post-development theory does not give an alternative discourse for development, it does however give some alternative examples to development. These alternative come into existence from the things that do not exist in development or that development lacks according to post-development theory (Agostino, 2004). These alternative examples also represents what post-development theory stands for namely respect and promotion of diversity, the importance assigned to local practices and local knowledge (as Moyo also gives importance to local products and production), the questioning of the centrality of the economy of human life and the a strong opposition to capitalist development (Agostino, 2004, p. 204).

One of the concepts put forward by post-development theory, in order to help achieve their stands, is 'hospitality'. Hospitality is defined as: "*to acknowledge and respect others, the different, the unknown and which will most necessarily change the host.*"(Estava, 1993 in Agostino, 2004, p. 207 & Agostino, 2004). It means that people recognize the differences that exist and accept these differences and will not try to change to other in their own self-image. An example of a cultural differences between Ghana and the West that need to be accepted, even though it can be seen as a direct opposite, is the fact that in Ghana a man can have multiple wives. In the Western culture this is not normal and even legally forbidden but in order to create good contact, communication and respect the Western people need to accept and respect that having multiple wives is part of the Ghanaian cultures. On the other hand, Ghanaians also need to respect the fact that woman from the Western culture will often say that they do not want to be a second wife. This is a practical example of how the principle of hospitality can be used. The concept of hospitality will be used to evaluate the interaction between the volunteers and the local Ghanaians in the different contexts. For this evaluation the concepts of a 'post-development nature' or a 'neocolonial nature' are created which will be discussed in the next paragraph.

2.5 A post-development nature versus a neocolonial nature
In this thesis the postcolonial theory and the post-development theory will be used in a combination with the neocolonial theory from which the attitudes of the volunteers and the local Ghanaians are observed. Can their attitudes be related to the post-colonial theory and post-development theory in which differences are recognized, local knowledge and practices get importance and can, most importantly, the concept of hospitality be found in their behaviour and actions? Or are their attitudes of a more neocolonial nature in which the Western people still know best and development needs to occur according to the Western plans and knowledge? This had led to the following two concepts which will be used to judge the interaction and the nature of a project in chapters six, seven and eight.

An interaction, project or case can have a post-development nature. This nature combines the theories of postcolonialism and post-development at the concepts that both

theories inhabit[1]. A post-development nature means the application of the hospitality concept. People should interact in an equal environment in which both side can learn from each other, acknowledge each other's knowledge, respect each other and recognize and accept that there are differences in culture. No culture or way of knowledge should have superiority over the other as both are equally important. Each project or interaction between volunteers and local Ghanaians will be evaluated according to these principles to see if a post-development nature is present.

The opposite of a post-development nature is a neocolonial nature. In interactions and project that have a neocolonial nature the Western people and their way of knowing will be superior to the knowledge of the other. This superiority is either self-established by the Western people or forced on the Western people by the other. In a project of a neocolonial nature the voices of the non-Western people are not respected or listened too by the Western people. Furthermore, the non-Western people will give more importance to the ways of the Western people than their own ways. A neocolonial nature can come from both the Western people and the Ghanaians both or just from the Ghanaians in the case when the Western people have a more post-development nature. These possibilities will be discussed when looking at the cases and interactions observed done during the field work.

The nature of an interaction or a project is related to the colonial mentality of a person or group. The exact relation between the nature and the colonial mentality of a person will be discussed after the observation are analysed in chapter nine.

2.6 Concepts from conceptual model

The conceptual model behind the objective of this thesis and its central question is an extensive model with several different concepts that are all of influence on the colonial mentality. The concept of colonial mentality is at the centre of the conceptual model which can be seen in figure 2.1 on the next page. The concepts seen in the conceptual model above will be discussed in this paragraph and their importance for this research will be explained.

In the figure it can be seen that two discourses, the Western one (blue) and the Ghanaian one (green) come together in the middle of the model and create a new third discourse through the interactions between both cultures that is influenced by the colonial mentality of both actors. This third new discourse is a combination of both cultures and, depending on how these two discourses interact, is related to either a post-development or a neocolonial nature. The post-development nature or the neocolonial nature of the interactions in each context will be discussed in chapter six, seven and eight.

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[1] The concept is called a post-development nature even though this nature has aspects of both postcolonial theory and post-development theory. The name 'postcolonial theory / post-development theory' would have been too extensive to use.

Discourse

Influence of educational program

Influence of 'Western way of knowing'

'**Colonial mentality**' of the volunteers involved in the researched projects in Tamale

Expert role

Interrelation between volunteers and the local Ghanaians

New Discourse of two interacting cultures

Effectiveness of the volunteer projects

Influence of 'Western way of knowing'

Discourse

Influence of 'Ghanaian way of knowing'

'**Colonial mentality**' of the Ghanaian people involved (and profiting) from the researched projects in Tamale

Influence of educational program

Dependence / Independence of projects

Discourse 1
Discourse 2
The New 3th Discourse

Figure 2.1 Conceptual model

2.6.1 Colonial mentality

As already mentioned in the introduction the concept of colonial mentality for thesis can be defined as: "*the perspectives of present day people that have their origin in a historical colonial context and are apparent in the attitude and interaction towards others.*" A colonial mentality is present in both the Western volunteers and the local Ghanaians. Both actors base their perspectives on a historical colonial context that still influences us in the present-day through literature, art, movies and songs as argued in paragraph 2.3. Revealing the colonial mentality of a person can be difficult because it involves looking into a person's mind, especially in this case an instinctive part of the mind. When people act according to their perspectives this is not always done consciously, creating a grey area also know as a black box in which no person can see (see figure 2.2 on the next page). Thus, it is not possible to look into the black box of a person's mind. It is also not possible to directly ask a person about the subject since most of the behaviours and actions that are related to the black box of a person's mind are often performed unconscious and instinctive. However, to reveal the colonial mentality of both actor groups an insight needs to be created in the black box of the mind of those persons. This is done by analysing the observations according to grounded theory which will help to uncover the underlying perspectives in the black box of both actor groups. The grounded theory method will be discussed in paragraph 3.3.1 of the next chapter.

Figure 2.2 Conceptual model for the concept of colonial mentality including black box

Colonial mentality can be related to the concept 'decolonization of the mind'. Decolonization of the mind can be defined as: *"working through the embedded modes of reasoning, thinking, and evaluating the secrete assumptions about privilege, normality, and superiority."* (Sideways, 2000, in Barnett, 2006, p. 1). One could argue that the decolonization of the mind is about lowering the colonial mentality. And thus in a way is getting rid of the behaviour 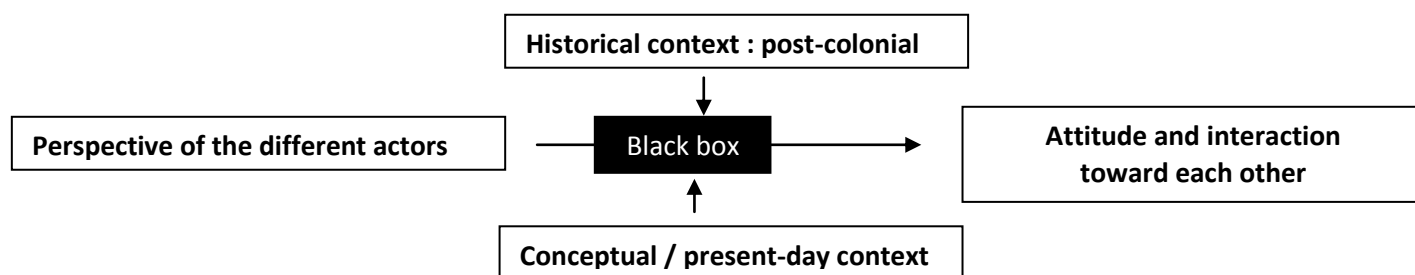and rules implemented by the colonizer. However, Ngugi (1986, in Barnett, 2006, p. 2) argues that the destruction of the western cultural aspects and traditions is not the right way for the decolonization of the mind. Ngugi (1986, in Barnett, 2006) argues for an act of postcolonial invention, in which genres and forms from both western and non-western are fused together to create an alternative modernity. Hence, for Ngugi this alternative modernity would be the ideal postcolonial situation in which no discourse overpowers the other and all are equals. To come to this alternative (ideal) modernity great progress needs to be made which will not happen until people all over the world are more understanding of each other. This understanding can be helped to be created by the hospitality concept of the post-development theory. Decolonization of the mind does not only apply to the minds of the former colonized people but also to the minds of the former colonizers. The people of the Western world need to challenge their self-image of being the self-determining and self-contained entity that is the unique origin of a history and culture that should be (according to them) universally applied (Barnett, 2006). They thus need to see that their way of knowing and acting is not the only 'right' way and that not every developing country should take the road they have taken to get developed. The process of the decolonization of the mind is of influence on the colonial mentality of a person. If a person's mind is far in the process of decolonization this person will adapt a more post-development nature and will have a lower colonial mentality. If a person's mind is not far in the process of decolonization of the mind this person will have a more neocolonial nature which relates to a high colonial mentality.

In this thesis colonial mentality will be analysed from the observations made of the communication and interaction between volunteers and local Ghanaians. Some specific actions in their communication and interaction can be related to perspectives originated in the historical context and are therefore part of their colonial mentality. In the next paragraphs several concepts will discussed that, as can be seen in the conceptual model, are of influence on the colonial mentality of either a volunteer or local Ghanaian. The methods used for observing the behaviour, attitude, communications and interactions between volunteers and local Ghanaians will be operationalized in chapter three. The methods of analysing the perspectives from the observations are also discussed in chapter three. In chapter nine a

conclusion will be formed about the colonial mentality of both volunteers and local Ghanaian and its relation towards the decolonization of the mind of both groups. If both groups of actors can both completely decolonized their minds and be truly equals an ideal situation in development work (according to postcolonial and post-development theorists) would appear in which both groups have a low colonial mentality.

2.6.2 Discourse
The origins of the perspectives people have which influence their colonial mentality lays in the concept of discourse. The concept of discourse comes originally from Michel Foucault. Foucault, a French philosopher, was known for his research on the relation between power, knowledge and discourses (Huisman, 2009). Foucault claims that power and knowledge cannot be seen separate from each other. He says: "*It is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together.*" (Foucault, 1978, p. 100 in Young, 2001, p. 387). Discourse can be defined as:

> *The (present) knowledge, which consist of a series of representations, practices and performances through which meanings are produced, connected into networks and legitimized, through which the world can be observed, understood and gets significance. (Johnston, Gregory, Pratt, & Watts, 2000, p. 180; Huisman, 2009, p.7)*

Discourses can thus be seen as the knowledge that shapes our perspectives of the world. However, discourses and thus knowledge are not unchanging, they are temporarily and spatially specific (Sharp, 2009, p. 19). A simple example of how discourse can change is the believe from earlier times that the earth was flat. Now we know that the earth is in fact not flat, but is a sphere and that the earth revolves around the sun instead of the universe revolving around the earth. These changes in discourse have changed our view on the world. Discourses are fluid and constantly undergoing changes to produce and reproduce a universal view at the world from a specific (time and space related) angle (Huisman, 2009). Because of their fluid nature discourses are affected by power relations. As Foucault argues, knowledge can be used to dominate or overrule others (Huisman, 2009). The group with the most power can argue something is true and in that way suppress the minority who might think differently. Because of the power of the larger group the knowledge and 'truth' from the minor group will not be spread or used as critique. Especially in times in which minority groups did not have a chance to stand up for themselves this scenario was often the case.

During the colonial era several discourses were used to define areas and people as different from European countries and people. This process is called 'othering' and was first mentioned by Edward Said in his book Orientalism (1978/2003). Said argues that in order to give ourselves an identity we use the 'other' to define what we are and what we are not (Huisman, 2009). The process of 'othering' does not only apply to persons but also to countries, areas and cultures. The 'Orient', as people often called the territory other then Europe, is also a way of defining the other country and culture as well as their own.

Different discourses were used in the process of 'othering' during the colonial era. And in most cases these discourses were also used to present the colonized people as inferior to the colonizers as they did not meet the standards in knowledge of the Europeans. Some of the

discourses used in the process of 'othering' of the colonized people were development, science, morality, religion, rationality and race (Sharp, 2009). These discourses can be seen in the model below (figure 2.3). The left word in each square shows how the colonizers where represented (by themselves) and the left word shows how the colonized were represented, according to the discourses of the Europeans.
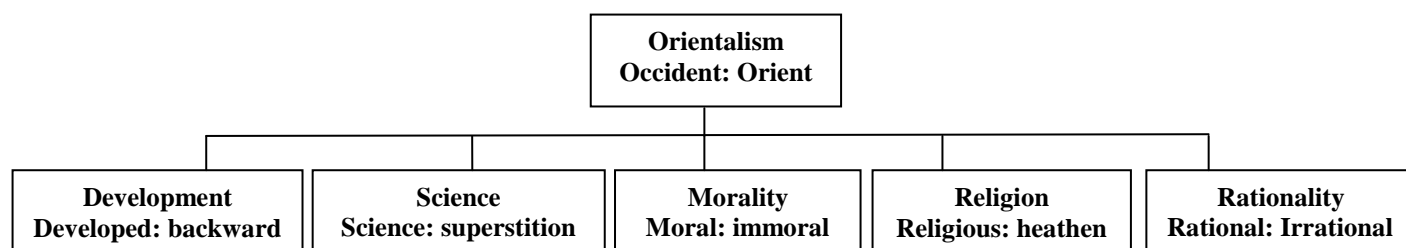

Figure 2.3: Discourses used by the colonized to 'other' the colonized, after Sharp (2009)

As shown in the model above, the way in which the colonized are represented is that they are backwards instead of developed like Europeans. However, this notion about what is developed is according to the discourse of the Europeans. As discourses are a representation of how people perceive the world at that specific time these representations do not necessarily need to be true. It was the Europeans view that the colonized were not developed, not the view of the colonized themselves. The Europeans also saw the colonized as heathens, however the colonized probably saw the colonizers as heathens too as they did not believe in their gods, or saw the Europeans as backward and irrational when they it showed that they did not have any respect for their knowledge of the land and nature. Young (2001) argues about Said's Orientalism and Orient that:

"The Orient has now become an ideological representation with no corresponding reality. There can be no 'real' Orient because 'the Orient' is itself an Orientalist construction. Orientalism was a signifier whose signified corresponded only to a western fantasy world, 'the Orient'. It was a Western projection onto the Other producing only knowledge about 'the Other'. (Young, 2001, p. 389)

This quote above shows that often discourses were a representation that was commonly accepted even though they often did not completely represent the true situation. How untrue these discourses and representation may be, they are still of influence in today's way of knowledge. Representations from the past, especially representations from Orientalism, still play an important way in today's knowledge and actions of countries, this is exactly what postcolonialism tries to understand and is critical of. For example, it is still the main view of many Western politicians that the West should intervene and help when the East or Africa is in trouble and that the correct way to solve problems is according to the Western way (through democratic politics and capitalism). Neocolonialism is also sustained and developed through discourses (Johnston, et. all, 2000). Through discourses countries are still labelled as 'the other'. Johnston et. all (2000) gives the example of the term 'emerging markets' being a term to distinguish them as different and give both positive (economical chances) and

negative (economic risk) load to the term. Other examples of terms that are part of the 'othering' process are, like argued in paragraph 2.3.1, Western World and Third.

In this thesis the concept of discourse will be used as shown in the model in figure 2.1. Discourses are of great influence on either the Western way or the Ghanaian way of knowledge because discourses decide what is part of the way of knowledge at a particular time. For example, which discourse is more dominant in education or between volunteers and Ghanaian people during the volunteer projects? Discourses also have an important role in how the perception of people is on 'the other'. Does the perception that one group has of 'the other' agree with real life? These are a few of the questions that will be addressed and answered in chapters six, seven and eight. In the next paragraph the concept of Western way of knowledge is discussed. This concept is directly related to the concept of discourses since the way of knowledge comes from a group of existing dominant discourses as will be explained in the next paragraph. In the remainder of this thesis I will mostly refer to the way of knowledge (or knowing) instead of discourse but this concept needed to be discussed since it is an important influence on the way of knowledge.

2.6.3 Western way of knowledge
Western way of knowledge is an overall concept of several different discourses that are accepted by the Western people. It can be seen as the Western way of representing the world (Sharp, 2009). In the colonial era the Western way of knowledge was enforced on the colonized people as the right knowledge, as the way of knowledge of the colonized people was often seen as backward and wrong (as shown in figure 2.3). The Western way of knowledge consisted (and still consists) of being rational, developed, moral and religious (Christian) but also heavily depends on science. For example, the religion brought by the Europeans was seen as the right religion while the colonized people already had their own religion. And in the case of Ghana two main religion, the Islam and the traditional (nature based) religion. Furthermore, the way to act regarding other systems like agriculture or economics was related to scientific research and a non-scientific based idea was seen as wrong.

During the colonial era the Western way of knowledge rose to dominance and as of today it is still the most dominant way of knowing as it has the most power in the whole world (Sharp, 2009). To quote Sharp (2009, p. 110): *"Western ways of knowing have become universalized to the extent that they are often seen as the only way to know."* The process of globalization is one of the reasons for the still dominant position of the Western way of knowing over the whole world. And because of the globalization process (which is mainly of a Western nature) the Western way is often seen as the best one (Huisman, 2009). Because the Western way of knowing is so dominant it often clashes with the discourses and the way of knowing of other civilizations in the world that have not yet been dominated and overtaken by the Western way of knowledge, like the civilizations in the Middle-East or Islamic countries. By the people from the Western world these other civilization with other discourses and their different way of knowing are seen as wrong and backwards. This view is similar to the dominant view during the colonial era. Postcolonialists try to let other discourses be heard so that they may get a place next to the discourses from the Western way of knowing instead of being dominated by them and can be seen as equals. Postcolonialists have the opinion, and so

does the author of this thesis, that the Western way is not always the best way or offers the best solutions and that it is good to listen to other discourses with different opinions (Huisman, 2009).

In this thesis the influence of the Western way of knowledge on the colonial mentality of both the volunteers and the Ghanaian people is researched. Furthermore, the influence of the Western way of knowledge on the perspectives of the volunteers will also be researched. While the volunteers only have the Western way of knowledge to base their perspectives on (because even though some of them come well prepared they will still base most of their perspectives on the Western way of knowledge), the Ghanaians have both the Ghanaian and Western way of knowledge to base their perspectives on, this gives an interesting point of view. The Ghanaians will probably base their views of the volunteers on the Western way of knowledge they have gained from shows they have seen on television, movies and the internet. But they also have their own Ghanaian knowledge that will influence their perspectives on how a volunteer should behave according to their culture. All these possible influences on perspectives will be taking into account and discussed in the analysis of the field work data in chapters six, seven and eight.

2.6.4 Expert role
The concept *expert role* revolves around the role as an expert that people (from the western world) might get (involuntarily) assigned. This characteristic can be traced back to the colonial era and the colonial discourses that were implemented during that period. As shown in paragraph 2.6.2 the colonized people were characterized as backward while the colonizers were characterized as developed and smart. This characterization is still of influence in the present-day relationship between volunteers and the local people who benefit and participate in the volunteer projects. Because of discourses implemented in the past and the dominating Western way of knowledge it is still assumed in the present day that people from the Western world have more knowledge about how things should been done then people from the non-Western world.

The central question revolving around this concept is in what way the volunteers get assigned the role of expert during their work in the projects. And by whom do they get assigned these roles. An example of the assignment of an expert role can be a volunteer who has just graduated high school and is allowed to teach English during work on a volunteer project at a primary school while he or she has never had lessons or experience in how to teach a class. Another well known example comes from volunteers who do a part of their internship/residency in an African hospital. While they would not be allowed to practice certain methods at home unsupervised they are allowed to do them unsupervised in the African hospital. The other question central to this concept is how the volunteers feel about the assignment of an expert role to them. Do they feel if it is a deserved role or do they feel uncomfortable and unqualified to handle the expert role they are given? The answers to these questions can be found in chapter seven and eight.

As seen in the conceptual model in figure 2.1 the interrelation between the volunteers and the local Ghanaians is influenced by the possible expert roles that get assigned. This expert role influences the way the relationship between the volunteers and the local Ghanaians will be. Is this a relation of equality or inequality? How do both sides see and experience this

relation? These questions will be answered in the analysis of the expert role of the volunteers in the analysis of the volunteer projects in chapter seven.

2.6.5 The influence of the Educational program
ICLI offers their volunteers or researchers the opportunity to take part in their Educational program. This program has the goal to give people of different cultures a chance to learn with and from each other in an environment where they are equals (ICLI, 2010). This Educational program will take place after the volunteers/researchers have arrived in Tamale and will last for three weeks (of four days). Both volunteers/researchers and local Ghanaians involved in volunteer projects and organizations will be part of the program.

After the program has been finished the participants are asked to fill in a questionnaire to give their opinions on the program. The central question for this concept is what the influence of the Educational program is on the behaviour of both volunteers/researchers (from the Western world) and the Ghanaian people. The goal of ICLI behind this program is to create a better understanding of both cultures for both groups so that the communication between them will undergo fewer problems (ICLI, 2010). Volunteers/researchers are taught about the habits and culture of the Ghanaians while the Ghanaians learn more about the culture and habits of the volunteers. The influence of the Educational program will be researched during the observations of the projects the volunteers/researchers and the local Ghanaians are working on together. Projects with volunteers and local Ghanaians who have not been part of the Educational program (or any educational/introduction program form their organizations) will be also observed to see if there is a difference between the behaviour and contact between volunteers/researchers and local Ghanaians who have been part of an educational program and those who have not.

More about the Educational program and the complications that arose during the research of the program can be found in chapter three and six. The result of the observations and data gathered during the Educational program can be found in chapter six.

2.6.6 Dependent / independent nature of the projects
This concept revolves about the dependent or independent nature of the projects in which the volunteers work during their stay in Tamale. If the projects are of a dependent nature this means that the projects would not exist without the volunteers or would stop existing if there are no more volunteers who can work or invest on the project. An example of a project like that is a project that completely relies on money and donations coming from the volunteers. Another example of such a project is if the work previously done by the volunteers is not taken over by a local Ghanaians having as consequence that the project comes to a stop when the volunteers leave. The projects that are of an dependent nature are not very effective for the local people since they are not sustainable and only offer help for a short period of time (or as long as the volunteers keep coming).

A project that is of an independent nature has volunteers who work on the projects, but their role is not pivotal to the project that it will have as consequence that once they leave the projects will stop. These projects can be projects that are set up with the help of volunteers but have been taken over by local Ghanaians after a period of time, these projects often also have additional sources of income besides the money that comes from the volunteers. Projects that

have or have gained an independent nature over a period of time are sustainable and much more effective for the local people than dependent projects are. The projects that are observed during the field work in Tamale will all be judged on their dependent or independent nature in chapter seven. This concept is interesting for this research as it shows how much the project may depend on volunteers coming from the Western world and have a neocolonial nature instead of a post-development nature which the more independent projects would have.

2.6.7 Effectiveness
As already mentioned in the first chapter of this thesis the concept of effectiveness is not meant as a way to measure how much the local Ghanaians people actually benefit from the projects the volunteers work on. In this thesis effectiveness concerns they way in which the attitude and interaction between the volunteers and the local Ghanaians in the project affect the actual work during the projects, thus the internal effectiveness. In what way do the actions of the volunteers and the local Ghanaians in their interaction and attitude have a positive or a negative outcome on the actual work performed in the projects?

The effectiveness of the projects is influenced by the colonial mentality which has an effect on the way both actor groups act and behave towards each other. Communication and the attitude towards each other play an important role on the effectiveness in the program. Communication in an environment of inequality of knowledge in which one actor group is seen as an expert (according to a neocolonial nature) while this person is not an actual expert will probably influence the effectiveness of the project in a negative way. However, if the communication takes place in an environment of equality and hospitality towards each other (with a post-development nature), creating an understanding of both cultures and ways of knowledge in which none of the ways of knowledge is dominant, the effectiveness of the project will probably be influenced in a positive way as will the actual profit for the local Ghanaians that should benefit from the projects.

The effectiveness of the projects is furthermore related to the expectations that both actors groups have about the actual work they will do during the projects. Expectations that are the same between the two actors groups will influence the effectiveness positively, however, if the expectations of both actor groups are opposites or expectations cannot be realized the effectiveness will be influenced in a negative way. For example, if a volunteers refuses to take on the role of an expert in a teaching environment this could have a negative effect on the effectiveness of the project and the attitude of the Ghanaian teachers involved in the project.

The dependent or independent nature also has a direct influence on the effectiveness of the program. It could be the case that volunteers notice the dependent nature of the project and find out after their have left that the project has stopped. Their involvement and attitude towards volunteer work will change negatively in this case. But if the volunteers see that projects keep working after their gone they might stay involved which can benefit the project on the long term. For the Ghanaians this is also of relevance. Their attitude towards volunteers will change in a negative way if they only see volunteers in projects of a dependent nature, while if they see them work on projects of an independent nature their attitude and behaviour will probably change in a more positive way.

All these possible influences on the effectiveness of the projects, discussed above, will be discussed in the concluding chapter of this thesis in which the colonial mentality of both actor groups will be discussed and related to the effectiveness of the projects. After the analysis of the colonial mentality the predictions made relating to the influences on the effectiveness will be discussed in this chapter and it will be analysed if a high or low colonial mentality has either a positive or negative effect on the effectiveness of the projects.

3 Methodology of this thesis

Even though you can have a good idea on how you exactly want to execute your field work by deciding on your methods beforehand, a field work research, especially a field work research that involves people in a foreign country, can be very difficult. Field work conducted in a foreign country or even a foreign situation will always lead to unknown situations that need to be handled and problems that need to be solved. A key word in doing research in a foreign situation is adapting. In this particularly field work I had no idea which volunteer projects I would be going to research beforehand. I had made a selection of volunteer projects beforehand that would be helpful or not practical (schools and hospitals respectively) but the actual volunteer projects as cases had to be gather when I was in Tamale. This meant constant adapting to the situations and cases I encountered. In this chapter I will discuss the difficulties of the field work in Ghana in relation to the different research methods that were used during the execution of the field work. Furthermore, the research methods used during the analysis of the data gathered during the field work will also be discussed. Each methods used during this research will be explained and its advantages and disadvantages will be discussed. Furthermore a reflection will be given on the problems faced during the execution of the research.

3.1 Research methods

This research is of a qualitative nature because of it focus on human behaviour and the perspectives people have on each other. According to Flick (2006) qualitative researchers analyze interaction between people and there way of acting and dealing according to their own knowledge. Perspectives are an integrated part of these interactions between people. To quote Flick (2006, p. 16): *"Qualitative research takes into account that viewpoints and practices in the field are different because of the different subjective perspectives and social backgrounds related to them."* However, perspectives are difficult to research because asking people directly about their perspectives would lead to answers that are social desirable. Perspectives of people need to be analyzed from the behaviour, actions and ways of communication of people. Behaviour, actions and ways of communication can be best researched through observations since perspectives cannot be analysed from statistical data about behaviour, actions and ways of communication (for example, number of phone calls is not important the actual conversation is). The data from the observations can be further extended by open-interviews in which people are asked to describe or explain a situation from which the perspectives can be analysed. These are all qualitative research methods and will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

The research consists of two parts. The first part of the research is the field work conducted in Tamale, Ghana. Although this part has been preceded by preliminary research at home before the stay in Ghana, the preliminary research will be viewed as a necessary part of the field work and is therefore part of the first part of the research. The second part is the analysis of the data after the field work has been completed. The methods used in both parts of the research will be explained in the next paragraphs.

However, there is one method that is the overall method in this research and is present in both parts of the research. A case study was chosen as the research design for this thesis. A case study is defined by Yin (1989, 23 in Vennix, 2006, p.141) as:

"A case study is an empirical inquiry that: investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used."

This definition explains why a case study is the right research design for this research. The actual field work, concerning the perspectives of both volunteers and local Ghanaians, will take place in Tamale during the participation in volunteer projects. This means the real-life context will be preserved during the field work research. The boundaries between the two different actors are clear, namely a person either belongs to the group of local Ghanaians or belongs to the group of volunteers from a Western origin that come to work in Ghana for a short period of time (ranging from two weeks to 6 months). However the boundaries between perspectives that are either related to the historical or the present-day context are not that clear. Here a grey area exists that will be researched after the analysis of the data gathered during the field work to either place the perspectives relating to the historical context or the present-day context. Another important aspect of a case study that is also mentioned in the definition is the use of multiple sources of evidence (data), also called triangulation. Triangulation is the combination of different methods, local and temporal settings and different theoretical perspectives (Flick, 2006, p. 389). During this research different sources will be used to gather information, the primary sources for that data during the field work stage in Ghana will be the volunteers, the local Ghanaians and the observations made by the researcher. In the second part of the research in which the data will be analyzed, information from previous researches and theories from literature will be used to do so. The concept of a different temporal setting is also applicable to this research since there is a different in the origin of the perspectives which can come from either the historical context or the present-day context. As already seen in chapter two several different (relating) theories are used in this research therefore also creating a theory triangulation.

3.1.1 Different contexts in the research

The field work was conducted in the period between the 18th of July 2010 (arrival in Tamale) and the 24th of September 2011 (last day in Tamale). The field work has taken place in Tamale itself, including the city-centre, neighbourhoods outside the city centre and a village in the rural area of Tamale just outside the city itself. As mentioned in the introduction the two actor groups will be observed in three different contexts. These different contexts are of influence on the research methods used and the role of the researcher.

The first empirical context is the preparation of both volunteers and local Ghanaians. While every volunteer and the local Ghanaians were asked about this subject in either an interview of informal conversation, one case was observed from a close range. This case was the Educational Program by the International Cultural Learning Institute (ICLI), the organization I worked with in Tamale. In this case I really was a participant observer as I fully participated in the program myself. During the program observations were made (these will be discussed in chapter six) about the volunteers, the local Ghanaian participants and the teachers. Afterwards, the participants were asked to fill in an open-question questionnaire or were asked the questions directly. These questions can be found in appendix 1.

The second empirical context consists of the interactions, communication and behaviour during the work at the volunteer projects. In this context observations were made and questions were asked in interviews, during informal conversation and some teachers were asked to fill in an open-question questionnaire. This specific questionnaire can be found in appendix 2. The use of any of these three methods depended on the situation. Due to time limitations I was unable to asks some teachers the questions in person, thus in an interview. In order to gather my information I used open-question questionnaires that were filled in by the teachers and send to the Netherlands from Ghana. In these situations the role of the observer as a researcher was made clear although the actors did not know the specifics of the research. In some observations the researcher had an active role in the volunteer projects (participating in teaching or caring for the children) while in others she had a more static role when observation was required instead of participating (during classes given by a Ghanaian teacher or volunteer).

The third empirical context consists of the daily life of the volunteer during their stay in Tamale and how this context influences the behaviour between the two actor groups. Observations were made and questions were asked without making the role of researcher obvious to lessen the chance for socially desirable answer. In this context I was just another volunteer exchanging experiences with other volunteers which happened all the time as volunteers look out for each other and exchange information. Thus, there was no need to explain why I was informing after their volunteer work and daily life. This context is also the context in which the researcher is a participant observant the most as she is really a part of the daily life and not a visitor for a few days like with the cases of the schools or orphanages. Observations made in this context were written down in a field diary. The third context is also the context in which 'going native', a disadvantage of the participant observation method, is the greatest risk. 'Going native' means that the researcher loses a critical external perspective and adapts the viewpoints that are shared in the researched field (Flick, 2006, p. 223). This third context is relevant for this research as it creates a broaden understanding of the colonial mentality of both actors as some subjects are not discussed in the volunteer projects environment. Subjects like culture, habits and religion will most likely be discussed in this context instead of in the volunteer projects environment.

3.2 Field work research methods

The method of participant observation will be used during the field work in Tamale. This method combines different ways of gathering information (interviews with respondents, participation in projects and observations) while the researcher is part of the processes that are researched. This gives a unique look inside the process instead of just a look from outside the process. Participant observation, according to Dezin (1989, p. 157-158, in Flick, 2006), is defined as: "*A field of strategy that simultaneously combines document analysis, interviewing of respondents and informants, direct participation and observation and introspection.*" The researcher becomes part of the phenomenon in the real-life context and participates in the phenomenon that is researched. This research method makes nearby and close observation possible. There is no 'glass wall' dividing the researcher from the actors. Therefore processes relevant to the research question can be observed that would possibly be missed when observing from the outside, like a non-participant. Because this specific research is about the

perspectives of the actors, non-participant observation is not an option as perspectives are not easily observed through a non-participants perspective.

Participant observation is a flexible method which can be adjusted several times during the research to be able to adapt to the actors observed and certain situations which is essential to this particularly research as argued in the introduction of this chapter. Jorgensen (1989, p. 13-14, in Flick, 2006) gives another important characteristic of participant observation: "*a special interest in human meaning and interaction as viewed from the perspective of people who are insiders or members of a particular situations and settings.*" This research primary subject is the perspective of both volunteers and local Ghanaians people. And as Jorgensen also puts it, participant observations are especially interested in the perspectives of the people that are researched. The researcher gets the unique perspective as an insider in the observed setting, in this case the environment the volunteers and the local Ghanaian interact in. This makes the method participant observation a relevant method for this research.

Furthermore, the method participant observation gives the possibility to differentiate between the many aspects that will be encountered during the research (Flick, 2006). With the help of well developed and concrete concepts from the research question it will be possible to distinguish the important and less important aspects during observations. However, a well prepared theoretical framework can also provide a bias and thus cause prejudice in some situations. This is why the choice was made to create concrete concepts and a conceptual model before the fieldwork was started but to establish the actual theoretical framework after the field work was finished. It can be argued that because of this the participant observation methods has become more like ethnography since it transforms the method into: "*a strategy of research which includes as many options of collecting data as can be imagined and are justifiable.*" (Lüders, 1995, p. 320-321; 2004a in Flick, 2006). The data collected during the field work was all justifiable because of the already existing concepts. However, the way these data would be interpreted by the theories was not yet established. This created a more unbiased point of view to gather more and extensive data that could be useful later on in the research process. Additionally, the volunteer projects of which I would become a part of were unknown beforehand and therefore not easy to prepare for. During the stay in Ghana it was found difficult to find good projects due to the few connections to volunteer organizations ICLI had and the holidays / Ramadan which inflicted with the observations at primary schools. For those reason every project that could be visited was embraced as a new opportunity also giving that part of the research process a more ethnographic character.

The participant observation method can give certain problems. For example, the presence of the researcher can disturb the normal behaviour of the actors and they could start to behave in a socially desirable way. This is something I always kept in mind while observing, participating and interviewing. This could be viewed as a disadvantage to this method, however, being part of the phenomenon observed is the essential part of participant observation. Without the participation it would be a normal non-participant observation in which the role of an outsider is taking in which perspectives cannot be observed efficiently. In participant observation the researcher becomes an insider to understand the context and situation as best as possible from the inside (Flick, 2006, p. 119). While being an insider a researcher needs to take into their own influence on the actors. This influence as researcher could be avoided by not making the role as researcher known. However, this goes against

ethics as it would deceive them about the researcher's goal (Flick, 2006, p. 46). Informing the people who are observed in this research about the exact goals would not be desirable as this increases the chances for social desirable answers. However, I have chosen to enlighten the people who were observed during in the volunteer project that I was doing research on volunteer work but I did not tell them the exact goal, finding their colonial mentality and relate this to the effectiveness of the projects. Reason why this was done can be found below were the influence on both actor groups will be discussed.

To make sure that the involved volunteers are influenced as little as possible I did not announce the specifics of the research. However, I did notify the volunteers that I was a researcher and not just a fellow volunteer. The reason for this is to make sure that no trust between me and the volunteer was lost and that it was still possible to ask personal and deeper questions in a later stage of the field work research. The questions asked in the later stage of the field work were made after the interpretation of the data already collected during the observations. The data was interpreted with the method grounded theory which will be discussed in paragraph 3.3.1. The other actors, the local Ghanaian people, were a more difficult case when regarding the influence I had on them as a researcher. Between fellow volunteers there exists a connection. Because volunteers are mostly from the same culture (a Western one) they trust each other earlier then they would trust a Ghanaian simply because of the cultural differences. For example:

> At the bus station in Accra we were waiting for the bus to Tamale to arrive. We were standing there with the three of us [me and two fellow researchers from Belgium] with our luggage. A guy, from Western origin and Dutch came up to us, put his luggage next to us and started to talk to us. A little bit later a girl, from America guessing on her accent, we did not know asked us if we could watch her luggage so that she could go buy some water. We said 'yes' and watched her luggage for her until she got back. We discussed this incident as we were of the opinion that asking a complete stranger to watch your luggage for a while would not happen that fast in the either Belgium or the Netherlands. But here in Ghana, the girl had no other people she could trust so she went to the people who had the same culture and probably the same morals. She did not trust a Ghanaian to watch her luggage but she did trust three Western girls even though she did not know them.

Regarding the local Ghanaians I could have simply stated that I was another volunteer. However, I decided to make clear that I was doing research but not tell them the specifics of the research. This enabled me to ask questions that a volunteer would normally not ask. Furthermore, if I had to reveal later to the local Ghanaians that I was a researcher if I had told them I was a volunteer this would break the trust between me and those Ghanaians destroying the possibility to ask questions in a later phase of the process.

Because I was clearly of Western origin (white skin, blond hair) the chance for socially desirable answers from the local Ghanaian people was substantial. For example, it was suspected that Ghanaians involved in the project would not make a negative statement very easily because they might think it could hurt the project. An example of this is when a headmaster started to teach a lesson while he normally did not do that after I had asked a question about teaching methods, this example can be found in chapter seven and will be

further explained there. To get more reliable answers trust needed to be build between the researcher and the involved Ghanaians. Even though the actors needed to trust me as a person and a personal band was created each time, I was constantly cautious in what degree my questions and actions would influence the actors of both groups.

Another disadvantage to the method of participant observation is that not all aspects and processes of the phenomenon can be observed, simply because I am alone and I cannot be present during all processes. Also, processes that might be important for the research could not be present during my presence. To make sure that some of these processes are included in the research, interviews and open-question questionnaires were taken from the different actors to get more insight in these processes. The open-question questionnaire can be found in the appendix 2.

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter research does not always go according to the ways it was envisioned beforehand. Therefore, also in the case of this research, a few modifications needed to be made during the research. Because of the time restraint (which will be future explained in paragraph 3.4) a band of trust could not be build up between some Ghanaians involved in some projects. Adjustments were made to distinguish between the normal behaviour and the adapted behaviour because of my presence as a researcher. The volunteers had worked longer on the project then I could be present. Therefore, these volunteers were asked if the behaviour of the Ghanaians changed during the time of their stay and if the behaviour of the Ghanaians was different during the presence of the researcher. The volunteers were not asked to make specific behavioural observations as they were asked afterwards if they noticed a change in behaviour. Unfortunately no behaviour observations by me could be made about the volunteers and if they changed over time. The information given by the volunteers themselves about their behaviour and cultural background was used instead. With some of the volunteers observed it was tried to keep in touch with them after the field work had been completed. With most of the volunteers the contact was lost so no reflecting sessions could be held. One volunteer was met afterwards when he was visiting the Netherlands, however, his work at the primary school had been short lived as he went back to a construction project.

Another adjustment that was made in the research was the open-question questionnaires for the teachers. It was my initial plan to ask the questions from the open-question questionnaires during an open-interview in an informal setting. However, one school was only visited a few days before my departure from Tamale. Therefore, I made open-question questionnaires that I gave to the volunteer at the school who would give them to the headmaster to hand out. Unfortunately I never heard back about these questionnaires as the volunteer had not gone back to the school after I had left. I later send a new amount of questionnaires by mail which were brought to the volunteer organization the school was supported by, by a Ghanaian friend who later send the questionnaires back to me by mail. Only four questionnaires came back and only two were useful for the perspectives of the teachers as the other two were filled in by volunteer nurses at a hospital.

The combination of methods, observation and interviews will give more valid results. The execution of interviews alone would never be enough to get reliable results for this specific research. During interview or questionnaires it could become clear that there is a difference between how people say the act and how they actually act in a certain situation. It

has to be taken in account that the answers given to the questions in the questionnaires will probably be more social desirable answered then answer in the open-interviews since the interviewer can ask deeper questions during an interview while this option is not available during an open-question questionnaire because they were filled in outside my presence as a researcher.

3.2.1 Cases in the different contexts

During the field work in Tamale several cases were visited. One *orphanage* was visited for two days. A *private school* was visited for only one morning, the volunteer the researcher was with was leaving Tamale a few days later and this was one of her last days in the school. A *public school* was visited on several days, but only one day consisted of actual observation of classes because this school was visited on the first few days after the ending of the summer holiday. Furthermore, volunteers that I met were asked about their projects. The data gathered from those short 'interviews' are also used in this thesis. More specific information about the three cases of the orphanage, the private and public school can be found in paragraph 7.1 in which every case is discussed elaborately. These cases are relevant for this research as each gave the chance to see the two actor groups interact as well as to observe situation in which the different concepts like the expert role and the Western way of knowing versus the Ghanaian way of knowing could be analysed from.

Another case used during this research was the educational program by ICLI that took place the first two weeks after arrival in Tamale. This case is relevant because the Educational program revolves around interaction between the two actor groups that can be observed from a real participant observation point since I was part of the Educational program. More information about the Educational program can be found in paragraph 6.1.

Observations in third context gave many examples but these are all collectively gathered and seen as one case because that have the common context of the daily-life in Tamale. These observations will be mentioned in chapter eight of this thesis.

Some volunteer projects were not taken into account while being in Ghana. A choice was made to exclude volunteer projects that took place at a hospital. The reason for this choice is one of practicality and knowledge. I have no background in working in hospitals and therefore the time to understand certain situations would need to be longer then to understand situations in a school or an orphanage. Because of a restricted period in Ghana of only 2,5 months, from which 2 months were actively in Tamale, this time could not be afforded and other project got the preference. Furthermore, the trust needed from a volunteer organization and a volunteer to join them while working in a hospital is much larger then asking a volunteer to go with them to a school or orphanage. If I would have had medical training or experience it would have been easier to get access to hospitals. For these reasons hospitals were excluded as case studies during this research.

3.3 Data analysis research methods

The interpretation of data is at the core of qualitative research (Flick, 2006, p. 295). Data from qualitative research cannot be simply analyzed like data from quantitative research that is already categorized while collecting the data. Before the data can be used in the research it needs to be interpreted. The main goal of interpreting the data from observations, interviews

and questionnaires is to categorize them in order to be used in research to either develop a theory or to add to a theory (Flick, 2006). Interpretation of data can be seen as an unfavourable method to analyze data. Interpretation is sensitive to prejudice. It is important for the researcher using the method to be as unbiased as possible, especially when using the grounded theory method, when interpreting data.

For the interpretation of data several methods can be used. For this research two different methods are chosen, namely grounded theory and qualitative content analyses. The reason for these two different methods is that the data that needed to be analyzed is different. The data collected during the field work will be interpreted with the grounded theory approach. The data gathered from the literature study will be interpreted and analyzed using a content analysis. Both methods will be discussed below.

3.3.1 Grounded theory

The data gathered at the observations during the field work are large in amount and uncategorized. In order to make the data usable for the analysis the data needs to be categorized or coded. Grounded theory is one of the methods that can be used to categorize and code qualitative data like observations or interviews.

Grounded theory uses a method of theoretical coding. Flick (2006) mentions that the interpretation of data through this method cannot be regarded independently of the collection or the sampling of the material. This means that while interpreting the data choices are made about which cases to choose next or the methods of data collecting (Flick, 2006, p. 296). As mentioned in the paragraph about the participant observation method the grounded theory method was used during the field work and after. Some data collected during the first few weeks of the field work was already interpreted to aid the decisions for new cases and more profound questions.

Grounded theory has three main steps. These three steps are not linear, the user will move back and forth between the three steps if necessary (Flick, 2006). The first step is *open coding*. In this step the data are coded into categories that are relevant for the different concepts and the research questions. In the case of this research, an extensive model of the conceptual model shown in chapter two will be used to make the categories that will be used during coding. Even though the open coding categories are made according to the conceptual model every data gathered is given a code or a category even though they may not seem relevant in the beginning (Flick, 2006). However, as the research continues those codes/data may become relevant. Flick (2006, p. 302) says:

> "*Grouping data according to the coding paradigm allocates specificity to the theory and enables the researcher to say, "Under these conditions this happens; whereas under these conditions, this is what occurs".*"

Grounded theory is a good method for developing theories and finding new information. Since there is not much research of the subject of this thesis, the gathered information should be interpreted as open and thoroughly as possible to make sure no essential data is lost.

The second step, *axial coding,* will elaborate between subcategories and categories and will establish the relationships that exists between the categories made and therefore the relationships between the studied concepts (Flick, 2006, p. 301).

In the third step, *selective coding*, all pre-coded categories will be related to one central category or phenomenon. In this research the central phenomenon is 'the attitude and interaction toward each other' from which the colonial mentality of the actors can be analysed. The data coming out of this interpretation will be analyses according to the theoretical framework discussed in chapter two. The information about 'the attitude and interaction towards each other' will be discussed in chapters six, seven and eight.

A problem of the grounded theory method is when to stop analyzing the gathered data because it can be endlessly compared (Flick, 2006). Theoretical saturation decides when interpreting and coding of the data should be stopped. However, the point of theoretical saturation is the decision of the researcher. Therefore the level of theoretical saturation should be kept into account constantly while performing the coding of the observations.

3.3.2 Content analysis

Content analysis is often used to analyse textual material. In this research this method is used to analyse the data coming from literature. The goal of this method is to reduce the material (Flick, 2006), this is opposed to grounded theory in which the data is not reduced but only categorized. One of the first steps in content analyses is to select the texts that can be used for the research. In this step, information is only skimmed shortly and not read completely like in the first step of grounded theory. After analyzing what data can be used for the research, the chosen data is categorized and put in the same categories as used in the grounded theory approach.

In the end the data gathered and analyzed with both the grounded theory method and the content analyses are combined and used to make an overall analysis that can be found in chapters six, seven and eight. The conclusion drawn from the analyses made in these chapters can be found in chapter nine in which the conclusion of this research are written down.

3.4 Reflections on research

During the field work some difficulties were encountered to which some changes in the research were necessary. One of the volunteer projects categories in consideration were primary schools (both public and private). However, the time I spend in Ghana was during the time of the summer holidays of most schools and during this period the schools were closed. The first two weeks of the stay in Tamale were spend participating in the Educational program of ICLI and getting in contact with different volunteer organizations. Only one week after finishing the Educational program the schools closed for the holidays. The schools opened again in the last week of being in Tamale. During this week a school was visited and observations were made, this school made a very good case but because of time restrains further research was not possible. The holiday in the school term could have been anticipated in advance. However, for me there was no flexibility to stay longer or changing the dates of the trip beforehand because classes at university had also started again. Another negative side of the time restrains and the late finding of good projects made it also impossible to create more trust between the researcher and the local Ghanaians.

Another problem that was encountered was that the organization ICLI did not have a much contacts with other volunteer organizations as was anticipated beforehand. One of the volunteer organizations ICLI had contact with had three volunteers, but only one was working on both a school and orphanage projects. The other two were volunteers who were working in the organization itself, one of them was doing research for her own thesis. The three volunteers of the second volunteer organization ICLI had contact with arrived at the beginning of September. One was working on a construction side and later on at a school. The second volunteer worked in a hospital, orphanage and school (day-care) and the third only stayed for two weeks and worked in an orphanage. The projects of these volunteers, especially the first two were all very interesting and participating in them was allowed and encouraged by the volunteer organization itself. Unfortunately, the departure date from Ghana made this impossible.

This chapter has discussed the methods used during this research, the problems that were encountered during the research and how this research was adapted to the encountered problems. The next chapter will focus on the historical context of Ghana relating to this research, information on the historical context was gathered through the study of literate which was analysed through a context analysis described in this chapter.

**4 The influence of the colonial era on Ghana – a historical overview**

Colonization is often seen as one process with common ways in which a colony is colonized. However, as mentioned in chapter two the colonization process for each country is different. The context, the country and the colonizer is what makes each colonization different. As already discussed in chapter two there are two systems of colonization. Ghana's main colonizer was the British. Even though many other countries were present in the Gold Coast during the colonial era, Britain is the country that formally colonized the Gold Coast and later the whole of Ghana. The British used the system of association which has already been discussed in chapter two. The influence of this system on the Ghanaian course of colonization and the Republic of Ghana after independence will be discussed in this chapter. To see the influence the history of Ghana is discussed first. First the pre-colonial era is discussed shortly. To include this period is important because it shows the established 'Ghana' before the different colonizers set foot in the country. Secondly the colonial era (including the fight for independence) will be discussed with a specific focus on the Northern Territories. This is because the field work area is located in the Northern Region and the colonization process for this region is different and the different context needs to be taken into account. Thirdly, the period after independence from Britain in 1957 will be discussed.

By taken into account the historical context of Ghana, although complex and extensive, a better understanding is created to the situations and behaviour that still continues in the present-day context. The present-day context cannot be understood and the colonial mentality of both actors cannot be understood without taking into account the history of Ghana. It needs to be noted that 'Ghana' has never been the name of the colony. Most of the time the colony is referred to as the Gold Coast colony even though this only takes into account the coastal region and some of the land of the Ashanti-region. The name Ghana for the whole country as we now know it was not used until the moment of independence. In this thesis if a specific region is meant the name of the region will be used. If in this thesis all the regions are meant, before independence the name Gold Coast Colony will be used, after dependence the name Ghana will be used.

4.1 The Ghana Empire and migration – Pre-colonization

Before there was the present day Republic of Ghana or even the Gold Coast colony, there was the Ghana Empire. The Ghana Empire was not located in the present geographical location of Ghana. It was located in the current location of Mali in the areas surrounding the Niger River (Dijksterhuis, 2005) as can be seen in image 4.1 on the next page.

At the end of the 11th century the kingdom was destroyed by Islamic warriors from Morocco (Moerkamp, 1997) and the inhabitants of the kingdom and other people from the same region started to migrate south and settled in what is now known as Ghana. The migrants all belonged to different ethnic groups, some groups migrated from the north, others from the east (Moerkamp, 1997). All these groups had a different identity and language and every group settled in a different part of Ghana. In the coastal area the Fanti, Akim, Denkyira, Ewe and Ga can now be found as the biggest groups although there are many smaller ones. In the inland the Ashanti are the biggest group and the British colonizers have had several conflicts with the Ashanti (mostly about trade) before they were finally included into the Gold Coast colony (Howard, 1978). In the Northern Territories the Dagomba's are the biggest group
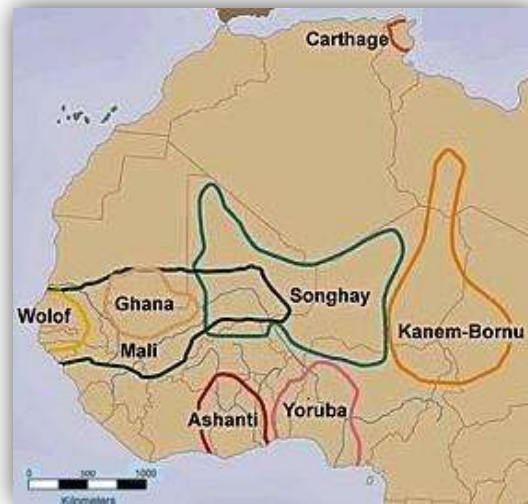
around the area of Tamale. But there are many more ethnic groups in the Northern part of Ghana (Dijksterhuis, 2005) (see image 4.2 on the next page). Each ethnic group saw themselves as an independent nation and this caused clashes over land and raw materials between the different groups. The migration of these different groups is the main reason why there are so many different ethnicities and languages in Ghana today. The tension between the ethnic groups is still the reasons for conflicts in the present day Ghana. It is more the cause for conflict than the three different religions (Christianity, Islamic and the traditional religion) who live peaceful next to each other.

The Ashanti group had a powerful kingdom in the middle of Ghana, it was so well developed that it could be seen as a nation-state. And like a European nation-state it went after the land of it neighbours and sought to rule them (Davidson, 1992/1994). The strength of the Ashanti kingdom is apparent in the conflict between them and the British colonizers. The British only defeated them in 1896 and the Ashanti did not become part of the colony in 1901/1902 (Howard, 1978 & Dijksterhuis, 2005). The important role of the Ashanti in relation to Northern Ghana will be further discussed in the next paragraphs.

4.2 The Gold Coast colony – The Era of colonization (1471 – 1957)
The colonial era in Ghana consists of several periods and depending on how colonization is defined it could be argued that colonization has started at the beginning of each named period. The first period starts in 1471 when the Portuguese, as the first of many Europeans, set food on Ghanaian land. The second period starts in the early years of the 19th century in which Britain slowly started to defeat the other colonial powers in Ghana and tried to get possession of the hinterlands of Ghana (the Northern Territories and Togoland). By 1874 the complete Gold Coast colony was formally part of the British Empire. The third period starts in 1901 when all the other regions of present day Ghana were included in the Gold Coast colony (Ashanti, Northern Territories and a part of Togoland in 1902 as protectorates, Togoland complete in 1919 taken from Germany after the First World War) (Mahama, 2009 & Howard, 1978, Dijksterhuis, 2005). Dijksterhuis (2005) argues that since Ghana has only been completely colonized from 1901 to 1957, when independence was reached, that the colonial
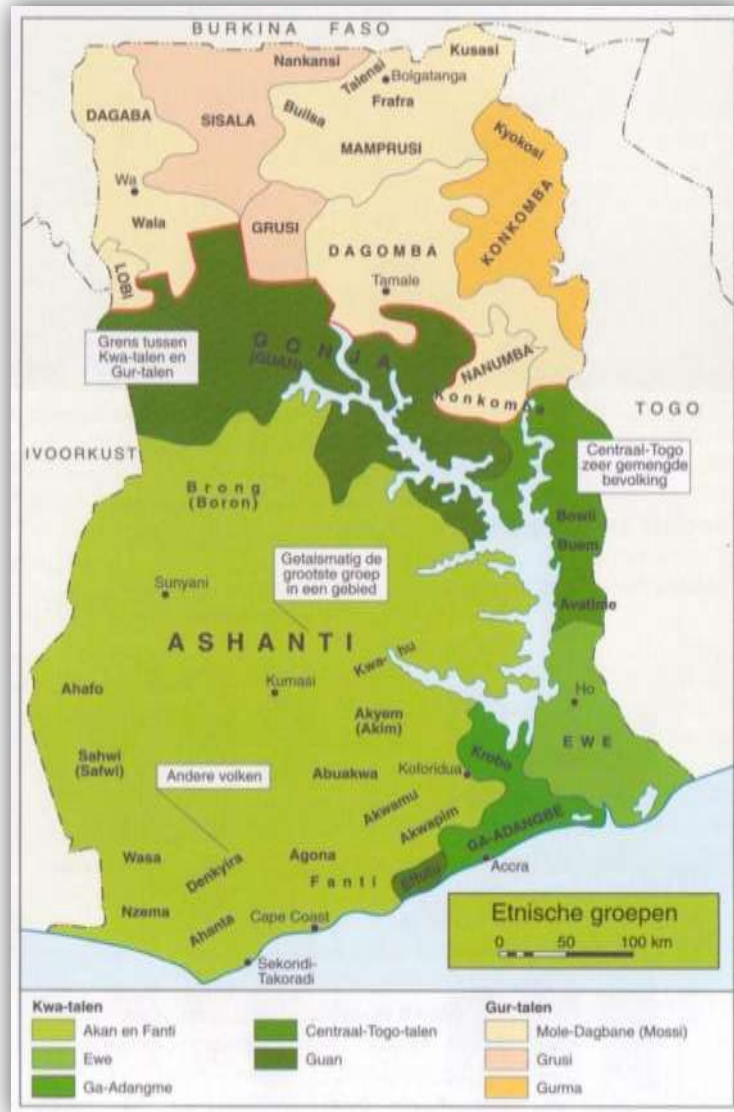
Image 4.2 Different ethnic groups in present-day Ghana (in Dutch)
Source: Dijksterhuis, 2005, p. 27

era was relatively short. However, this notion completely disregards the colonial period before 'formal' colonization. I disagree with Dijksterhuis argument and argue that the colonial period of Ghana has started in 1471 when the first colonizers set food on land. Without looking at the period before 1901 the colonial process and the related colonial mind cannot be understood. All the periods mentioned above will be discussed in the next paragraphs.

4.2.1 1471 – Trade with the Gold Coast by different European powers
As mentioned before, the Portuguese were the first Europeans to set foot on the coast of Ghana in 1471. They did not meet a lot of resistance and in 1482 they established Fort Elmina at the coast. The Portuguese discovered trade possibilities for ivory, pepper and foremost gold. In the 16th century another 'product' was introduced to the Portuguese, namely slaves. Slave trade began in the 16th century and did not end until the 19th century (Dijksterhuis, 2005). It is interesting to point out that slavery and slave trade were already existing

institutions before the colonizers arrived (Dijksterhuis, 2005). Due to the conflicts between the different ethnic groups the people that were captivated during those conflicts were kept as slaves to demonstrate the power of the tribe that had captivated them. When the colonizers arrived the tribes saw the opportunity to sell the captured slaves to the colonizers. The people who were sold as slaved were primarily from Ghana's own hinterland, the northern regions of Ghana. Ghanaian scientist related the backward economic situation of the North directly to the slave trade from that time (although there are also other, probably more important, reasons which will be explained in later paragraphs) (Dijksterhuis, 2005). The slaves were shipped from the forts to the West Indies and the new world.

The competition for slaves and gold was substantial and soon other European countries started to establish forts on the Gold Coast (soon named after the main export product). The Dutch got permission from a local chief to establish a fort near Moree (Dijksterhuis, 2005) close to Cape Coast and near to the Portuguese Fort Elmina. Fort Nassau, which was build in 1612 and did not only serve as a trade post but also to protect both the Dutch and the local people from the Portuguese. In 1637 the Dutch conquered Fort Elmina from the Portuguese, furthermore they conquered two other Portuguese forts and established six new forts along the coast. In the 17th century other European nations became interested in the gold and slave trade of the Gold Coast. The British, Danish, Swedish and the Germans (although the last two only for a short period of time) soon established forts on the coast and tried to make trade treaties with the local people (Moerkamp, 1997; Dijksterhuis, 2005).

Between the different European nations there has always been rivalry about who traded with which local group and what was traded. Especially between the Dutch and the British there have been a few battles to concur each other's forts. The local African trade people took advantage of the rivalry between the Dutch and British and often played them off against each other (Moerkamp, 1997). For long the Europeans did not know where the gold or the slaves came from so they were dependent on the locals in order to get their products. However, the presence of the European also had influence on the rivalry and the economical and political positions between the different ethnic groups and tribes. Europeans traded with products like weapons and gunpowder. Tribes who did not have these products were often concurred and were made slaves by the tribes who did have weapons from the Europeans (Moerkamp, 1997). The right to trade with the European powers was often the source for new conflicts. Each ethnic group in the coastal region, the main groups being the Akwamu and the Denkyira, the Fanti and Asanti, had a different band with the European powers. The Akwamu and Denkyira controlled the supply routes for gold and later slaves and overpowered other groups because of their supply of weapons. The Fanti established the Fante, a union between several Fanti-clans, to stand strong against the Asante who were trying to conquer them from the north. Europeans did not have much power in the Fante territory. The Europeans were tolerated as long as they respected the laws of the Fanti (Moerkamp, 1997). The Asante developed themselves as a huge military power in the 18th century. They had been subjected by the Denkyira in the 17th century but in order to defeat the Denkyira they started to subject other groups like the Gonja and Dagomba from the North. The Ashanti eventually defeated the Denkyira in 1701. The Dutch who were allies with the Denkyira at that time tried to help the Denkyira by supplying them with canons but they were too late. Not soon after the Ashanti won a Dutch trade mission was send to their king to establish new trade relations.

They showered him with gifts and denied any help to the Denkyira (Moerkamp, 1997). From that point on the Asante kingdom was a military power that needed to be taken into account. A military power that would give the British a lot of troubles during their efforts to colonize the whole of Ghana years later.

Up until this point the main reason for the European powers to be in the Gold Coast was trade. In contrast to the 'normal' model of colonization there had been little to no attempt to convert the local people to Christianity or to rule them in a political way. The reason that there were no attempts for conversion was that there were only a few white clergymen who were already too busy with caring for their own people (a lot of the Europeans died within a year of arrival in the Gold Coast) to convert the Ghanaian people. Furthermore, the Europeans had a theological problem, the act of slavery clashed with the laws of the Bible and the trade was seen as more important (Moerkamp, 1997). In the area around the forts there were some people who became more like the European people, who were educated by them and sometimes even converted. But this had more to do with their close proximity to the forts and their involvement with the Europeans then the rule / colonization of the Europeans. Most of them were *mulatto*, children of an African woman and a European man. In the later stages of colonization when conversion became part of the process these children were often send to Europe to be educated in order to help with conversion of the locals but often died of diseases soon after their return to the Gold Coast (Davidson, 1992/1994).

4.2.2 The British strive to take over the Gold Coast (from early 19th century)

The rise of the British colonizers to take over the Gold Coast and make it theirs and create a real colony and thereby eliminating all the other European powers from the Gold Coast can be related to the abolishment of slavery in 1807. At the end of the 18th century a movement against slavery came up in Great-Britain. Trade men who had seen the slave markets in Africa themselves and the Church joined the conversation and slave trade was officially abolished by the British in 1807. Denmark had already abolished slave trade in 1802 and the Dutch followed in 1818 (Moerkamp, 1997). The conversion of the Ghanaians to Christianity/Methodism was seen as the best way to fight illegal continuation of slave trade. Britain send its first official missionaries (with the goal of conversion) to the Gold Coast in 1835. British trade men were positive about the missionaries as it would extend the arm of the British influence into the hinterland while at the same time the local people would be introduced to even more European products (Moerkamp, 1997).

The main ethnic groups that played an important role in this period are the Fanti and the Ashanti. Among the Fanti a class of trade men had emerged that gave the British a strong support group that helped to extend their influence onto the local people. Besides the economic gain the contact with the British had for the Fanti they also had military and political reasons to form an alliance with the British. Their main enemy, the Ashanti, were still trying to force their way to the coast with the help of their ally the Dutch (Moerkamp, 1997). The Fanti acknowledged the development and knowledge the British could offer them a class of by the British educated Fanti became the leaders that got jobs in the later colonial government and even later on formed the vanguard of the independence movement (Moerkamp, 1997).

In the first half of the 19th century the influence of the British in the Gold Coast quickly expanded. The strong relationship with the Fanti and the good contacts with the Danish only helped their growing influence. In 1850 the British took over the Danish fort and land without a fight because of those good contacts. In 1831, after the second Ashanti-war, a peace treaty was made between the British and the Ashanti. In this treaty the Ashanti acknowledged the Fanti as independent and promised to bring future conflicts to the British for help and negotiations. In return the Ashanti got easier access to the trade posts on the coast (Moerkamp, 1997). However, the influence of the British in Ashanti territory stayed limited as the British still were not allowed often into the territory, a missionary post wasn't established until 1876.

In 1844 the British and the Fanti established the 'Fante Bond', a treaty signed by several Fanti leaders that established several legal principles and the rule that crimes would be trailed by a British court (Moerkamp, 1977). This was the first formal colonial rule of Britain in the area. However, the Fanti soon saw that even though they were now free of the treat of the Ashanti they now faced the treat to be concurred by the British. The British implied several rules that were met with a huge resistance and after several events nationalistic feelings began to *brew* in the Fanti-region in the 1860s which lead to several conflicts between the British, the Fanti and Ashanti (Dijksterhuis, 1997; Moerkamp, 1994). In 1867 the Dutch and the British agreed on a division of land to make the trade in the Gold Coast easier. The Dutch got the territory west of Elmina while the British got the territory east of Elmina. This division meant that a part of the Fanti-region would now be controlled by the Dutch, the ally of their enemy the Ashanti. As a reaction and to protect themselves from the Dutch-Ashanti treat the Fanti established the Fante Confederation in 1868 which included their own constitution. This made the Fante Confederation the first independence movement even before the formal colonization of the Gold Coast Colony (Moerkamp, 1997). The confederation was only active for 4 years because the Dutch handed over their territory and forts to the British in 1872 (Howard, 1978).

In 1874 the British formally colonized the Gold Coast Colony, which at that point meant the coastal region and a few areas of Ashanti-region that the British took from the Ashanti when they attacked again after the departure of the Dutch (Moerkamp, 1997). The complete occupation of the Ashanti-region took the British another few decades due to strong resistance from the Ashanti-people. The British occupied Kumasi in January 1896 (Moerkamp, 1997) after the Ashanti had forbidden all the trading traffic in the region in 1895. The king and his family were taken captive and deported via Fort Elmina to the Seychelles (an island group northern of Madagascar). This didn't mean a victory for the British troupes. Only in 1900, after four military expeditions, the British were able to completely incorporate and claim the Asante territory (Moerkamp, 1997).

The British occupation of the Northern Territories (after 1874)
Up until the half of the 19th century the focus of the colonizers had mainly been on the coastal region which was now formally colonized as the Gold Coast colony. The Northern Territories had remained generally untouched as trade in products and slave with this region was mainly done by local ethnic groups in the southern part of Ghana. The lack of interest in the Northern Territories can be explained by several factors according to Mahama (2009). As mentioned

before the Ashanti kingdom was great and powerful and obstructed the British from penetrating to the hinterlands of Ghana. Mahama (2009) describes:

> *"The Asantes fought tooth and nail against British attempts to colonize their territories and to extend the British sphere of influence beyond the coast. Britain's initial victories over the Asantes were only temporary and not convincing enough to enable her go beyond Ashanti to acquire more territories."* (Mahama, 2009, p. 3)

The British were strong enough to withhold an attack by the Ashanti on the coastal area (although not all credit for that goes to the British since an Ashanti attack was stopped twice because a disease killed the Ashanti armies). However, the British were not strong enough the attack the Ashanti on their own territory and thereby incorporating the territory into British territory. The fact that there was no evidence of gold or other valuable raw materials in the Northern Territories beyond Ashanti territory in combination with the resistance of the Ashanti made the British less interested in the Northern Territories. Furthermore, the existing markets and trading goods in the coastal region seem to satisfying for the British traders (Mahama, 2009).

The British attitude changed when other countries began to show interest in the Northern Territories as the '*Scramble for Africa*' began on the whole continent and the Ashanti were no longer seen as a reason to stay out of the hinterland. The first country to show interest in colonizing the Northern Territories was France (according to records Mahama uses). The British had sent several missions to the Northern Territory, when possible, to open trading routes with the tribes in that region but they had never showed territorial and colonial ambition in the Northern Territories (Mahama, 2009). During the 1880s the French occupied the areas north and west of the Northern Territories (Burkina Faso and Ivory Coast were French colonies) and it was part of their colonization plan to also incorporate the Northern Territories in as their colony (Mahama, 2009). The Germans also had an interest in the Northern Territories as they had a colony eastern of the Gold Coast Colony and the Northern Territories, namely Togo. In the next part of this paragraph the interest of France and Germany in the Northern Territories and the conflict between them and Britain over the Northern Territories will be discussed.

France had done some exploring missions to the Northern Territories in the 1880s but there are no records that treaties of either political or commercial nature were made (Mahama, 2009). However, the moment France showed interest in the Northern Territories by sending missions to the area the British were concerned for their own future in West Africa. According to the British the French had enough territory in Africa as they occupied most of North Africa. The British saw the interest of France in the Northern Territories as Mahama (2009) mentions as '*a direct attempt to deprive British merchants overseas markets.*' Therefore, the French should be prevented to colonize more land in Africa to protect the British commerce in West Africa. The British government was urged by the Secretary of State for the colonies that they should take imminent action to secure the British spheres of influence in the hinterland of the Gold Coast (Mahama, 2009).

In theory this meant that treaties should be made with the local tribes in the hinterland, in practice this meant that the British would now officially try to colonize the Northern

Territories. George Fergunson was send out into the Northern Territories to establish '*Treaties of Friendship and Freedom of Trade*.' These treaties had as objective to prevent France from taking over trade routes and trade possibilities with the tribes in the North. In the treaties nothing was said about protection because that would only have cost Britain military and financial resources which they did not want. However, a few years later the trading treaties were followed by treaties of protection when the treat of both France and Germany became bigger. Mahama (2009) makes the interesting suggestion that many Chiefs (leaders of the tribes) in the hinterland probably did not know something had changed in the treaties when they signed them again.

The French had their own strategic reaction to the treaties of the British. The French principle of colonization was one of 'effective occupation' of territory (Mahama, 2009). This meant that they had no respect for the treaties set up by the British if the treaties were not followed by an effective occupation of the areas, as was openly stated in a French newspaper (Mahama, 2009). The French and British had several conflicts over land they both wanted to occupy but the British had a weakness in their colonial occupation The British unwillingness for a military confrontation is clearly shown in the next statement of Lord Chamberlain to the Gold Coast administration in 1897:

" *... you should not attempt to occupy any places except those which are in the Hinterland of British possessions and are claimed as British under treaties prior in date to any French treaties; ... You should therefore inform Major Northcott that he may occupy any places in Mossi or Gurunsi, or elsewhere, which are in the direct Hinterland' of the Gold Coast which we claim under treaties, and which are not occupied by the French when he reaches them.*"
- From Chamberlain's letter of 4 June 1897 to Maxwell at pages 496 to 498 of G.E. Metcalfe (in Mahama, 2009)

Mahama (2009) mentions that in 1897 then French had successfully implemented their theory of effective occupation and there was no territory left that was unoccupied by either the French or the British. Negotiations about the Anglo-French border between both governments were ineffective. The British were not satisfied with the proposals the French gave but neither did they give a proposal themselves (Mahama, 2009). On the 14th of June 1898 the Anglo-French convention was signed in which the two powers agreed on negotiated border. In the contracts it was established that tribes would be treated with kindness if they had treaties with the other power, that both powers would not invaded the other or establish treaties in the other's territory and accept the sovereign rights of the Protectorates (Mahama, 2009).

The local tribes had no say in the matter of the border, they heard from Commissioners if they belonged to the French territory or the British territory. If the towns would resist or appear to resist the British delegation would bombard them and let them pay heavy fines (Mahama, 2009). Towns that would be cut in two by the border were divided between the countries. It was agreed that if the people in the respective towns were not satisfied with the country they ended up in they were given a year to move to the other side of the border (Mahama, 2009). Even though these small 'gestures' towards the local people were made, the British and the French essentially divided the territory without looking at the people. The

reasoning behind this is that France and Brittan (as well as the Germans) saw the hinterland as 'no man's land' and 'uninhabited land' because the people in the hinterland were not considered as people (Mahama, 2009). During the '*Scramble for Africa*' all countries used the following doctrine when it came to territorial rights of the local people: "*that International Law is confined in its application to European territories (Mahama, 2009)*", in essence this meant that the people who lived in Africa (or others part of the world than Europe) had no legal territorial rights.

The interest of Germany in the Northern Territories was met with less concern then the interest of France. At the start of the 'Scramble of Africa' Germany was Britain's colonial ally. Germany had occupied Toga next to the Gold Coast Colony. And like Britain they saw the Northern Territories as their hinterland. The claim of both countries on the same land did not lead to conflicts at first because Germany and Britain were allies, brought together by their shared enemy, France. Germany made its first appearance in the Northern Territories in 1888. Germany had shown interest in the territory, especially in the area surrounding Salaga. In order to avoid that Salaga (a city through which passed several important trading routes) was falling into either German or British territory who had also claimed it, an agreement was set up which was signed by both parties in 1888 (Mahama, 2009). The Berlin Agreement established the Neutral Zone. The Neutral Zone arrangements established that neither power could claim the exclusive (trading or territorial) rights to this important area. The area that was negotiated as the Neutral Zone can be seen on image 4.3 on the next page. The map shows that this area was established as a big square in the middle of present day Ghana. Maps of the Neutral Zone were the only guide, no marks were made in the territory itself and the people in the area were not informed of the agreement as the matter was purely between Germany and Britain (Mahama, 2009). However, Britain did not completely keep their promises from the agreement. Several treaties were established with tribes in the Neutral Zone. To the Germans this act of Britain was detestable and intolerable (Mahama, 2009). The Germans objected to the British government and requested that the British would not insist on its rights established in the treaties. In order to keep good relations with Germany (and keep them from making an alliance with France) the British agreed with the Germans demands. Thus, were France and Britain had military conflicts and no political negotiations all conflicts between Germany and Brittan were resolved through negotiations between their governments.

Again, the people in the Neutral Zone had nothing to say about the agreement, however there were some who disagreed and protested against it. The leader of the Dagomba, the Ya-Na, was a believer of free trade and did not want to trade solely with Germany and Britain (Mahama, 2009). The Ya-na also wanted to keep control over who passed through his territory. Furthermore, the Dagomba feared a division of the Dagbon region (Mahama, 2009). What they feared would eventually happen when Germany and Britain divided the area between them in 1899. The division let to several armed conflicts between the inhabitant of West-Dagbon that fell under British rule and their occupier (Mahama, 2009). While the Dagomba were resistant to the British and German occupiers, other tribes welcomed the British to their territory. These tribes (in Western Gonja and Wa) preferred to be occupied by the British rather than be ruled by the slave raiders (Mahama, 2009).

The negotiations between Germany and Britain about the Anglo-German border began in 1896, however time passed without the both countries reaching an agreement. The reason
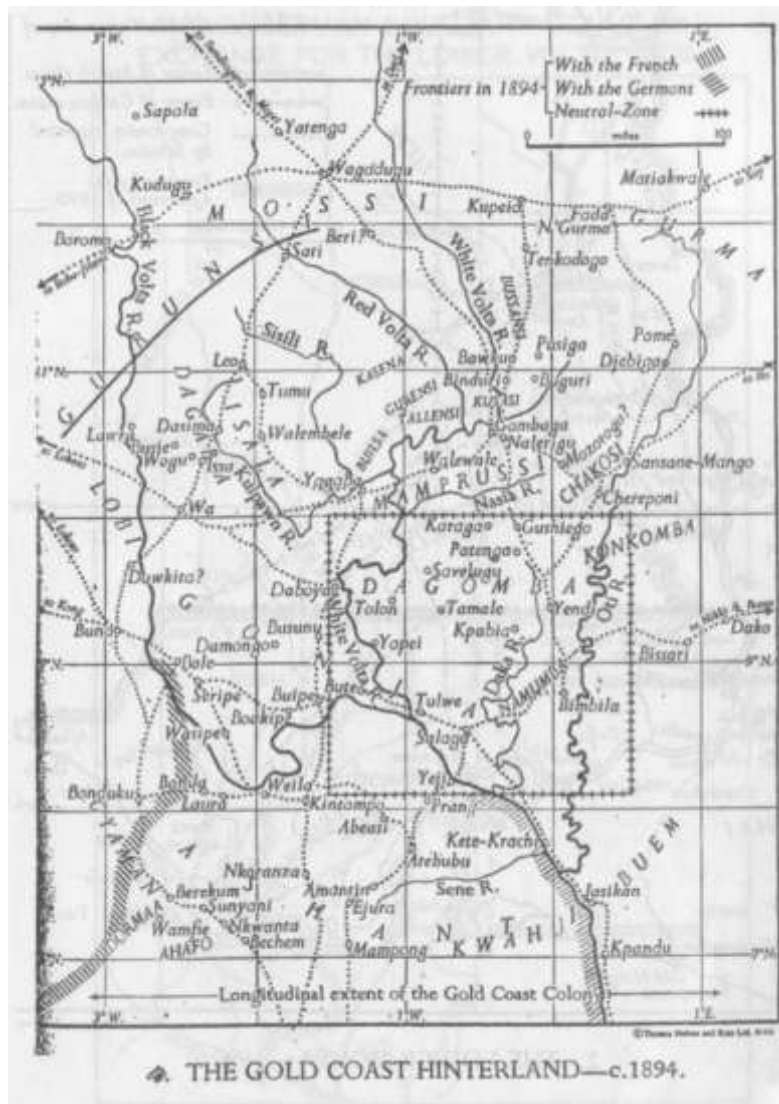
Image 4.3 Map of the Gold Coast hinterland including the Neutral Zone c. 1894
Source: Mahama, 2009, p 33

for this was that both countries demanded a lot and sometimes the same and neither wanted to lose control over either Salaga or Yendi because it would destroy their own important trading routes. No agreements were made until 1899 when the division was made that Yendi and the surrounding areas would fall to Germany and Gambaga and the surrounding areas would fall to Britain (Mahama, 2009). Salaga and the main part of the Neutral Zone ended up in Britain territory as well. The agreement on the border was made on the 14th of November 1899, however, the specifics were discussed in the following years. And like with the agreement about the Anglo-French border, the local people were not informed or incorporated in the process. No protest from the local people was tolerated as they were told to which country they belonged. In the end the territory of the Ya-na king of the Dagbani became divided because of the border (Mahama, 2009). The territory would be divided until 1919 when the former German territory when to Britain after the First World war in 1919.

Concluding, all the land of the Hinterland and thus the Northern Territories was divided between the three powers on the 'drawing board' and the border were imposes on the people who only found out about them when they were literally demarcated on the ground or told

about them. These borders did not only divide local tribal states but also villages and houses (Mahama, 2009). After the various border negations with Germany and France the British incorporated the gained territory in the Northern Territory as protectorate in 1902 (Moerkamp, 1997) (sources on the exact year of incorporation different slightly). Image 4.4 shows the discussed borders and which eventually became the borders of the Gold Coast Colony and the various protectorates. A protectorate means in theory that locals would voluntarily give their sovereignty to the European powers that would protect these uncivilized states in return (Anene, 1966, p.63). In theory this meant that the locals would keep their own local government but everything from outside would be handled by the European powers. However, Anene (1966) argues that the practical definition of what a protectorate is was different in each context and for every person (governor). For the Northern Territories the protectorate also meant something different in practice then in theory. The Northern Territories had no control or self-rule, making their state more similar to that of a colony than that of a protectorate. As of 1901 Britain became the formal colonizer of the whole of the Gold Coast Colony, the Ashanti region and the Northern Territories.
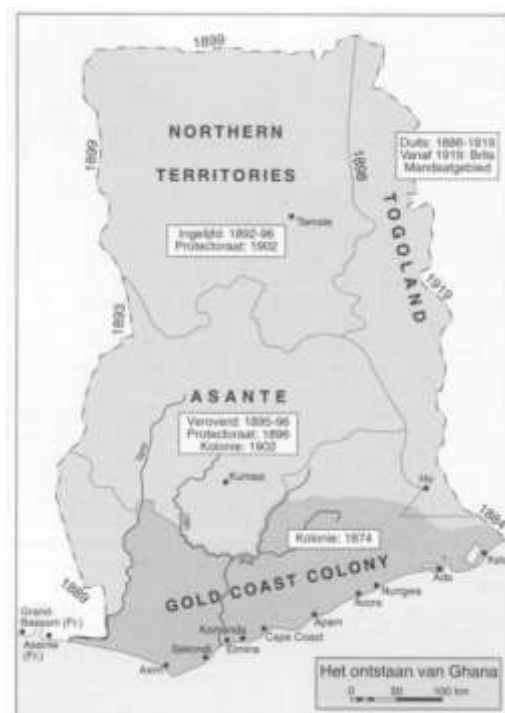
Image 4.4 Regions and borders of Ghana (1874 – 1919)
Source: Dijksterhuis, 2005, p. 12

4.2.3 Formal colonization of Ghana (1901 – 1957) for the Northern Territories
In the former paragraphs the focus of the history has been on both the Southern part and the Northern part of Ghana. In this paragraph the main focus will be on the Northern Territories of Ghana and their history during the formal colonization by the British because this history is of importance to the local Ghanaian people in Tamale. The colonial history and overall development of the Northern Territories has always been significantly different than the Southern part of Ghana and this plays a role to the present day differences between the North

and the South of Ghana. During the discussion of the Northern Territories comparisons to the situation in the South will be made but this situation will not be independently discussed.

After 1902 the Northern Territories became a protectorate of Gold Coast colony. However, the Northern Territories were only a protectorate in name, the reality of governing was very different. In a protectorate, as mentioned in the previous paragraph, the local people still have control over their local administration and the colonizing power would have a more protective role, especially towards the other countries and groups that may treat the protectorate. In the Northern Territories this was not the case. Both external relations and internal administrations were in control of the British, and the Governor of the Gold Coast Colony had control over the executive, legislative and judicial powers in the Northern Territories (Mahama, 2009). Thus, in essences it was administrated more like a conquered colony with direct rule than a protectorate. Mahama (2009) argues that the local system of government, which was already in place before the European powers became interested in the Northern Territories, the Chieftaincy would have been capable of taking control of the internal administration. However, the British viewed the Chieftaincy as a possible system of opposition and protest. In the years after the Northern Territories became a protectorate the British undermined the Chieftaincy and after several years of control the Chiefs were no more than puppets controlled by the British. Mahama (2009) argues that the first 30 years of the protectorate by the British was very harmful for the status of the Chiefs in the Northern Territories. The political field was not the only field that the Northern Territories were held back by their British rulers. There were very few economical developments (more information about that can be found in paragraph 5.1.1) and the region was also held back by the lack of developments in education (paragraph 5.2.1).

In the 1930s some changes were made in the way the British governed the Northern Territories. The British acknowledged that their way of governing the Northern Territories had done nothing for the development of the region. It had giving tranquillity but the British saw that if they would not act towards development the local people would eventually become restless and would start to rebel (Mahama, 2009). However, complete self-control in local administration was not allowed immediately as the British viewed that the people of the Northern Territories were not ready for that yet. Limited administrative powers were given to the Chiefs and the British praised the way the Chiefs would handle their new found administrative control (Mahama, 2009). However, no other changes were made. While the Northern Territories were paying taxes to the Executive Council and the Legislative Council of the Gold Coast Colony (in which Ghanaians of the other regions were represented and could be of influence on the colonial administrative rule) they had no representatives in these councils until 1951 while the other regions had representatives in the councils after 1900). When the Northern Territories became part of the Legislative Council in 1951 the members of the council for the Northern Territories were not elected but nominated and were not representing any political party because the colonial administration was doing everything to keep the rise of political parties from happening in the Northern Territories (Mahama, 2009). It was not until 1954 when the NPP (Northern People Party) was inaugurated in Tamale that the Northern Territories had its first political party. The CPP (Convention People's Party) had been active in the Gold Coast Colony since 1949 but it focus had been mostly on the coastal region and the Ashanti-region.

4.3 The move towards an independent Ghana

Before the Second World War the independence movement of Ghana consisted of an educated Ghanaian elite that had formed in the South. They had established close ties with diasporas who had studied in Britain and who had gotten to know the taste of freedom (Moerkamp, 1997; Davidson, 1992/1994). After the Second World War the independence movement also found support in the rest of Ghana. The Second World War had caused a high rise in the prize of consumer goods and the fact that Europe had its freedom back while Ghana was still dominated gave rise to a common feeling of nationalism (Moerkamp, 1997). Trade unions unified and became a strong force in the independence movement. In politics the increase of Ghanaian influence in the colonial administration grew as they gained more power to the Executive Council and the Legislative Council as a new constitution was implemented. In 1947 the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) was established, Ghana's first political party, of which dr. Kwame Nkrumah became its secretary (Dijksterhuis, 2005). On 28th of February 1948 happened something that place the overall population behind Nkrumah. A group of retired soldiers protested against the way they were treated after they had fought for the British against the Germans in Africa during the Second World War. The retired soldiers were unarmed but the British colonial army opened fire. This lead to riots in several of the big cities in Ghana. Nkrumah and the other five leaders of the UGCC were arrested by the British. Six weeks later Nkrumah and the five other leaders were set free and Nkrumah had the population of Ghana behind him. In 1949 Nkrumah left the UGCC and established his own party, the Convention People's Party (CCP). In the next several years the political power of Nkrumah and the Ghanaian population against the British colonial ruler became stronger. During the first election in the Gold Coast in 1951 (which became possible after the new constitution was implemented) Nkrumah's CCP won with an astounding majority (Dijksterhuis, 2005). With the governor of the colonial administration Nkrumah came to an agreement that independence would come in a short period of time but not directly as Nkrumah had promised and demanded in one of his famous campaign slogans (Dijksterhuis, 2005). In the subsequent years negotiations took place between the British colonial ruler and the new Ghanaian rulers about the terms of independence (Dijksterhuis, 2005). Independence was eventually reached on the 6th of March 1957 and the Gold Coast became Ghana, named after the empire of Ghana from the pre-colonial era.

4.3.1 The Northern Territories and independence

With the Northern Territories becoming part of the Legislative council in 1951 they also got the possibility to express their opinions about the independence of the Gold Coast Colony. While the people in the South longed for their independence, the people of the Northern Territories were sceptical. The British opinion was, stated on several occasions, that the Gold Coast would only become a prosperous and successful self-governing country if it stayed united (Mahama, 2009). This meant that the protectorates of the Ashanti-region and the Northern Territories would also become part of an independent Gold Coast. The British argued that all the regions were already interdependent on both the economical and political field and therefore should stay together. Mahama (2009) argues that it would have been disastrous if the Ashanti-region and the Northern Territories had become a landlocked country by themselves. Even though the British argued that the economy of the regions of the Gold

Coast are interdependent, in my opinion the Ashanti-region and the Northern Territories are actually more dependent on the economical coastal region than the other way around as most of the resources as still found in the southern part of Ghana.

After the Northern Territories Council was told that the North would either stand of fall with the South (Mahama, 2009), the council quickly acted and demanded "*not less than 8 million pounds*" in 1953 (Mahama, 2009) from the colonial government to develop the North economy, social life and education so that they would become less dependent on the coastal region. In 1954, when the Northern Territories got their first opportunity to participate in countrywide elections the NPP won in the Northern Territories (only the CPP and the Muslim Association Party were active political parties in the Northern Territories). Mahama (2009) argues that the victory of the NPP needs to be seen as a way of resistance from the North to the Southern towards the need for self-government and independence. He states: "*The North wanted to safeguard its local interest – economic and social development – before independence was granted to the whole country*" (Mahama, 2009, p. 123). Therefore it can be argued that the North was not against independence but that they wanted to make sure that after independence they would be developed enough not to be dominated (both political and economical) by the South. Even though several attempts were made before 1957 to prevent the Northern Territories becoming independent together with the whole Gold Coast none of these attempts were successful (Mahama, 2009). No money was send to the Northern Territories to help them develop further and when the Gold Coast became independent in 1957, and was renamed Ghana, the Northern Territories became part of the country as the most backward and less developed region of the country.

Image 4.5 The monument of independence, Accra

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4.4 Ghana after independence

Ghana was the first colony in Africa that was granted it independence. Ghana became an example for many countries to follow and Nkrumah became a leading leader on independence for African countries and a unified Africa (Moerkamp, 1997). However, over the years Nkrumah became more of a dictator and Ghana became a one party state as other parties were restricted or annulled. On the 24th of February 1966 an end came to Nkrumah's and the CCP's power as a coup was performed and the power went to a military general. From then to 1981 several coups took place in which the power was exchanged between military power and corrupt civil regime several times. In 1981 a young general name Rawlings took a change for power. Rawlings was in power for 20 years solid and in those 20 years he created the base for the recovery of the Ghanaian economy. In 1992 Rawling was democratically elected in the first democratic elections in Ghana. The democratic elections were a demand by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in order for Ghana to come into consideration for loans and money from Structural Adjustment Plans (SAP's) (Nugent, 2004). The IMF and the World Bank had been supporting Ghana for several years but political change was required for more development aid (Nugent, 2004). As mentioned in chapter two the implementation of the SAP's in Ghana is seen by many as one of the success stories of the SAP's (Johnston, Gregory, Pratt, & Watts, 2000, p. 794). From this period no coups have taken place and Rawling resigned after his period as chosen president (decided by the constitution on eight years) was over. With the IMF and the World Bank on the side of Ghana's rulers the economy has been developed according to ideas that correspond with ideas of the IMF and World Bank (also see paragraph 2.2 on neocolonialism). The current leader of Ghana is John Atta Mills who was elected in 2009. Ghana currently ranks the position of 81th of 226 in GDP (purchasing power parity) of all the county's in the world. Being the only country south of the Sahara beside South-Africa to rank that high. However, on GDP - PER CAPITA Ghana ranks 170th of 226 so the 'high' GDP position is relative (CIA − World Factbook, 2012) and development can be measured according to many other concepts then only GDP. Still, Ghana is seen as one of the better developing countries in Africa.

The specifics of the this period for Northern Ghana and more on the economy of Ghana as a whole will be discussed in chapter five in which the economical situation and educational system of the Northern Region in relation to the South are discussed. Furthermore, in the next chapter the influences of the colonial era on present day Ghana will be addressed. Subjects relevant to the cases researched during the field work and the three different contexts mentioned in chapter two will be discussed in this chapter.

5 Influences of the colonial era on Ghana - present-day overview

The colonial era has left a distinctive mark on several systems in Ghana. Systems like economics and development have been affected in a way that cannot be disregarded. Furthermore, the influences from the colonial era can also still be found in education. In the following paragraphs these influences will each be discussed, some of them are already mentioned in the previous chapters and some of these will be discussed more thoroughly in the paragraphs below to create a sufficient background for the information gathered during the observation of the several cases and (informal) interviews. In addition aspects of the Ghanaian social life and the Ghanaian culture will be discussed to also give a more sufficient background when mentioned and discussed during the analysis of the observations in the following three chapters.

5.1 The Ghanaian economy and development

It can be argued that Ghana's economy is still not completely capitalistic (Howard, 1978). This has nothing to do with the notion that they may need more time to develop according to the European model of capitalistic development. It is related to the fact that the structure of the world capitalist system prevents Ghana from developing the '*mode of production*', a mode essential for capitalist development (Howard, 1978). The fact that until this day Ghana has been unable to developed the mode of production can be related to economic and development implementations of the past during the colonial era, although Howard (1978) argues that not all the faults for Ghana's peripheral status can be related to the colonial era since the current international market system is at fault too.

During the colonial era Ghana provided gold and slaves and later years other raw materials that were processed in Great Britain and the rest of Europe. With these raw materials they helped the development of Western Europe towards capitalism (Howard, 1978) and the process of industrialization. During the colonial era Ghana was constrained by the interest of the British and local Ghanaian bourgeoisie in the world economy. Howard argues that the British deliberately halted the development of the Ghanaian economy for their own interests. Ghana produced cheap bulk materials which were exported, and in exchange more expensive manufactured goods from Europe were imported. In the years of informal colonization and after formal colonization of the Gold Coast colony (1874) the British encouraged the Ghanaian farmers to produce crops, like cocoa, for the export market (Howard, 1978). As the Ghanaian farmers diverted their attention to production cocoa and other crops for the European market they soon lost the ability to produce the products they had formerly produced themselves (like sugar, cloths, pots and salt). These products needed to be imported from Europe and were often more expensive then when the Ghanaian would have produced them themselves. Any mode of production that existed during the colonial era was replaced by production of products for exchange or export to benefit the British. Both Ghanaian and European farmers were discouraged from producing anything within the colony which might have competed with goods that could be imported from Europe (Howard, 1978).

In the formal colonial era (1901 – 1957) the British developed the infrastructure of the country in order to sustain the needs of the import-export economy (Howard, 1978). This meant that areas that were not important to the economy were not connected to the national infrastructure of Ghana (see the Northern Territories in paragraph 5.1.1). For example, train

tracks were only constructed as far as Kumasi, a situation that in present-day Ghana still has not been changed. In the last years of the colonial era, Howard (1978) argues, that the role of the British colonizers was mainly to ensure that the mode of production in Ghana remained peripheral and was not developed into the mode of industrial production. Since the independence of Ghana (in 1957) no real strong industrial mode of production has been developed and the present day economy of Ghana still relies on the export of Gold, cocoa and tropical hardwood (Dijksterhuis, 2005). Since there is only a small mode of production which makes products from raw material in Ghana, most of the products Ghana needs are imported. The attitude of the Ghanaians towards important goods does not benefit the development of a mode of production. Imported goods are often still viewed as superior to the goods produced in Ghana. One of the teachers during the Educational program of ICLI argued during a lecture about development that the mindset of African people is wrong for creating development since they perceive the products that are produced by themselves as 'not good enough' and the products from the West as 'much better'. An example of this is the batik cloths produced by Real Dutch Wax. The batik technique was brought to Ghana by Ghanaians who had served in the Dutch army in Indonesia and the cloths soon gained popularity under the Ghanaian people. After the Dutch left Ghana a Dutch company named Vlisco started to produce cloths with the batik technique and exported them to Ghana. Today, this company still exports cloths to Ghana even though they also have a factory in Ghana. The Ghanaians view the cloths imported from the Netherlands as superior to the cloths produced in Ghana and prefer to buy the cloths from the Netherlands even if they are more expensive (Dijksterhuis, 2005). This attitude, that goods that are produced outside Ghana are superior to those produced in Ghana by themselves, applies to a lot of products. Furthermore, products that are made by materials exported by Ghana cannot be found easily on the Ghanaian market. Ghana's main export product, cocoa, is only produced into chocolate in Ghana by on a smaller scale. Dijksterhuis (2005) argues that the chocolate produced by in Ghana can be found in many stores and on the side of the road, from experience I can tell that in the case of Tamale this is not true. For the Ghanaians in my direct environment the chocolate bars we brought were a delicacy.

Another mindset of the Ghanaians that does not help the development of the economy is their attitude towards money. Money is spending the moment you have it and you are seen as developed when you have money in your pocket to spend as argued by one of the teachers in the Educational program of ICLI. Not many Ghanaians have a savings account at the bank and the Ghanaians asked about it were all very surprised that I have had a savings account at the bank since I was born. This mentality towards spending money is related to the attitude that not many Ghanaians plan ahead as was argued by one of the teachers in the Educational program. When spending money it is not taken into account that school fees need to be paid a month later or to set some money aside for when future problems are encountered. This attitude towards spending money is often a problem for organizations that have (development) projects in Ghana. During the visit of the Tamale Teaching Hospital, where a new hospital was build with the support of the Dutch government, I spoke with the leader of the project. Almost all of the construction work was contracted out to Ghanaian enterprises and the leader of the project said that his organization had to made special arrangements with the loans of the local Ghanaian workers to make sure that they would come back the next day. They experienced that the workers would not come back the day after they had gotten their money

and would only show up again once they had spend the money. The special arrangements consisted of the organization holding back their salary until the end of the month, thus not paying out daily, and reserving a part of their salary, as a sort of pension, that they would get after the project was finished. These arrangements seemed to help to keep the same workers for a longer period of time (Hans Artz, pers. com., 13th of September 2010). Dambisa Moyo (2009), an economist from Zambia that has studies in the UK and the USA, argues that savings are also very important for a country's growth and its financial development. She argues that domestic savings are in important source for financing investment (Moyo, 2009). Because of the Ghanaian attitude towards savings account there is only a small amount of money that can be used for financing investment therefore haltering development because there is no money available to loan at the banks. Another example of the Ghanaian attitude towards money that was observed can be found in chapter 8.

5.1.1 The economy of Northern Ghana

If the economy of Ghana is a peripheral economy in the world system than the economy of the Northern Territories can be seen as the peripheral economy in Ghana. In relation to the economy in the North, the economy in the south is one of prosperity. If a division is made in Ghana between the rich and the poor, the rich life in the south whiles the poor life in the north. The peripheral conditions of the Northern Ghana economy can be related to a few different reasons.

As mentioned before, the interest of the British in the Northern Territories was late. This was related to the fact that the region had no economic values for the British. No minerals can be found in the region and the ending of Trans Sahara trade came soon after the abolishment of slave trade (Mahama, 2009). Since the region lies entirely in the Savannah-zone there is little to no possibility to grow cocoa, timber or rubber plants, all crops that were preferred by the British. The economic potential of the North lies in growing cotton and groundnuts and cattle (Mahama, 2009). However, Britain was not interested in the economic growth of the Northern Territories (same attitude can be found towards education of the people of the Northern Territories, see paragraph 5.2.1) and rather saw that the labour force of the north would travel south to work in the gold mines. The colonial administration of the Northern Territories tried to encourage farmers in the area to grow cotton, the breeding of cattle and to grow groundnuts. This shows the flexibility of the colonial rule of the British as discussed in paragraph 2.1 since the local colonial administration could implement its own programs even if they did not resemble the plans of the national colonial administration. All of these efforts caused a certain growth in the production, but all stayed at a non-commercial level. The cattle production wasn't big enough, the cotton that was sold to the international market brought less profit than selling it on the local market and the groundnut production never got to a large enough scale (Mahama, 2009).

Furthermore, the colonial ruler made no effort to develop the infrastructure in the Northern Region, stalling the opportunities for development even more. A northern railway was proposed but was never realized. It was the opinion that the railway system in the south needed to be completed before development to the Northern Territories would happen. And since a complete development in the south never happened before the independence of Ghana the railway to the north was never build (Mahama, 2009). It is argued by many that the

presence of a railway to the north would have definitely helped to develop the economy in the north (Mahama, 2009). The important roads in the area were still unpaved and untarred at the time of independence. Most roads except the main roads still are untarred to this day. The second necessities of life, like pipe-borne water (which is not water of drinking quality) and electricity are to this day only available in the larger cities in the region (for example Tamale).

The current economy of the Northern Territories is flooded by cheap products (like cotton and tomatoes) that are dumped onto the Ghanaian market by the EU and the USA. These cheap products make the production of those products unsustainable for the local Ghanaian (Dijksterhuis, 2005). What is left for the farmers are the ecological responsible crops like the *shea nut* which gives oil that can be processed in soap or chocolate (Dijksterhuis, 2009). A further possibility for the Northern Region is the development of tourism since the region has a lot of beautiful nature and historical places to offer. However, most tourists only visit the southern part of Ghana and normally do not go beyond Kumasi. The current regional government is trying to develop the ecotourism in the region (Dijksterhuis, 2009). Tamale, the biggest city in the North is also known as the development capital of Ghana. The city incorporates many volunteer organizations which brings a lot of volunteers to the region. These volunteers form a huge part of the tourist income in the region.

5.2 The educational system in Ghana

When thinking about education in the former colonies it is often perceived that education is a way to promote cultural imperialism and to indoctrinate the colonized people with the 'proper' ideas and world views of the colonizer and to reinforce a colonial hierarchy (a colonial elite) based on social class (Whitehead, 2007) These educated local people would become the elite group that would run the colony according to the ideas of the colonizer. Looking at British educational history in Ghana this is showed untrue in the case of Ghana. This paragraph will explain why this statement is untrue in the case of Ghana.

Before the British took formal control over the Gold Coast other countries where also present and each established schools in their forts to educate the *mulatto* children they had with the native women. In addition, missionaries had found their way to the Gold Coast and established school in order to spread the world of God, however most missionary schools were constricted to the Gold Coast area and the close proximity of the forts. In order to spread the world of God they needed well-educated local people, this is why education and the establishment of schools was so important to the missionaries. The missionaries played a pivotal part considering education as they established schools in the Gold Coast before any of the potential formal colonizers did. After the British took formal control of the Gold Coast in 1874 they began to play a much larger role in the education of the Ghanaian people. However, ideas about how to rule the colonies, in this case on the educational level, made in by officials in Whitehall, were not that easy to implement. As mentioned in chapter two the British colonial policy was one of flexibility and expedience. Initiatives would have to come from the colonial administration, not from the government officials in Whitehall as the colonial administration had better knowledge of what was best for their colony (Whitehead, 2007). This meant that the control for policy decisions, including for education, always lay with the current Governor of a colony. Especially considering education no Secretary wanted to define too much of a policy, only a statement of general principles was given.

Over the years, some of those general principles changed but this was never very radically. This all meant that the doctrine coming from the British was changeable and fitful towards the colonized (Whitehead, 2007). The general opinion is often that the doctrines brought by the colonizer destroyed the future for the colonized country and its population. The main reason for this opinion is that the implemented doctrines did not work for the colonized people. However, the British colonial rule shows little doctrine and a more flexible attitude towards adapting education principles (and politics) to local needs and conditions (Whitehead, 2007). This is in contrast to the doctrines of the French and Portuguese, who kept sending their culture and orthodox teaching methods to their colonies (Whitehead, 2007) without any consideration for local condition and needs. Because of this the British had less indoctrinating activities then their fellow European colonizers. According to the British view educational principles (and other principles too) should be capable to adapt to changing conditions of the locals. Local administrators were given a free hand so long as they did not depart from standard principles (Whitehead, 2007). For Ghana this meant that the opinions of the current Governor played an important role on how education was implemented (Mahama, 2009) as can be seen in the development of education in the Northern Territories in paragraph 5.2.1.

Until the 1920s the Governor was foremost in charge of the colonial administration. And for most of the Governors education was not one of the important priorities. After 1920s the colonial administration in Britain began to assume more responsibility for education. But still there was no uniform approach and 'elasticity' remained the working policy. In the late 1930s and the 1940s the colonial administration began to take a forward role in promoting social and economic development (especially after seeing the effect of the Wall Street Crash of 1929 on the economies of their colonies). However, after the Second World War local initiatives and not the colonial administration of Governor kept playing the most important role in shaping and administrating colonial policy, including education (Whitehead, 2007).

The above shows that the British had a very liberal attitude towards education since the local administration and the local people were at liberty to adapt it to their needs as long as it still included the standard principles. The comparison made above with the French and the Portuguese also shows that the British did not use education as a way to indoctrinate the people they had colonized, or at least not in the strict way the French and the Portuguese did. The liberal attitude towards education that is related to the 'elasticity' policy is not only observed in the colonies. In Great Britain itself, the attitude towards education was also liberal. Everyone could start a school as private initiative was supported by the government (Whitehead, 2007). Similar to the colonies some guided principles had to be followed but the rest could be adapted to the needs of the students. The consequence of that everyone could start a school let to a social class system. Children went to certain schools according to their social class (and the wealth of their family). The same educational system was introduced by the British in the colonies in which everyone could start a school. This also let to a social class system in the colonies (Whitehead, 2007). Even today, people with enough money send their children to private schools instead of the government funded schools because they believe that private schools provide better education for their children. In present-day Ghana there are both public (government funded) and private schools (often funded or supported by Western people or organizations) in all the different grades of education. The United Nations

Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization states in the report *World Data on Education 2010/2011* that 4.068 (23,5%) of the in total 17.315 primary schools in Ghana are private schools (data from 2007/2008). Concerning nurseries, 4.309 (30,2%) of the 14.246 schools in Ghana in 2007/2008 are in the private sectors. The rapport furthermore states that during a test in 1997 at 5% of the schools, the students at the private school scored better on English and Mathematics then the students at the public schools (UNESCO, 2010). A follow-up study seven years later shows that the public schools have improved on the same test regarding English and Mathematics. Therefore, parents may believe that private school are better for their children's education but this does not necessarily have to be true.

One of the standard principles in the British educational system mentioned above was the traditional teaching method. The traditional method consists of oral recitation, in which an individual student recites the information in front of the class, and rote memorization which is the idea behind oral recitation and means learning and/or memorization by repetition (Beck, 1956). In present-day Ghana the traditional teaching method is still the common teaching method in nurseries and primary schools. Therefore, the teaching methods used in the schools in present-day Ghana can be related back to the influence of the British colonizer. The main critique on the traditional teaching method is that it does not improve understanding of the memorized subject or learned process (Beck, 1956, p. 5). Today's teaching method in the Western world aims to teach the students to be critical, see connections and ask questions in order to develop a problem solving thinking. All these goals are not achieved in the traditional teaching methods. During the participant observation in a nursery class and a primary school observations were made that support the critique that oral recitation and rote memorization are not teaching methods that result in understanding of the subject. These observations will be discussed in paragraph 7.3.1 along with an argument to change the teaching method in Ghana to benefit development.

5.2.1 Education in Northern Ghana

The attitude towards education of the British colonial ruler as discussed above may apply to the Gold Coast colony coastal regions but certainly not for the Northern Territories (the Protectorate). As of today, the coastal region still posses the largest amount of the prestige's schools in the country that are still mainly only accessible for the elite (Moerkamp, 1997). For the Northern Territories the Educational development started years later than for the coastal region. While the British occupied the Northern Territories in 1896, they showed no intention to educate its population until 1907 when the British colonial government and the Gold Coast Government came up with a plan to educate the people of the Protectorate (Mahama, 2009). In 1909 the first elementary school was build in Tamale. However, this school was only for the sons of the current Chiefs. These children were seen as the future of the administration of the Protectorate and needed to be educated in the British way of thinking (Mahama, 2009). Taking Mahama's argument into account it can be said that education was used to indoctrinate the children. The difference between the North and South in this regard can be related to the fact that the British colonizer aspired to keep more control of the North then they did with the South as will be explained below.

In 1912 a second school was build in Gambaga and by 1922 a few more primary schools were build in several cities in the Northern Territories. However, the number of pupils

allowed on the various schools was very limited because the already limited intake of the only senior school in Tamale (Mahama, 2009). In 1945 there was still no secondary school in the Northern Territory and the people were not allowed to go to other districts of the colony (Ashanti-region and the coastal region) to acquire education. Mahama (2009) gives several arguments why the Gold Coast colonial government had a lack of interest in developing education in the Northern Territories and forbidding the people from that region to find education in the other regions. Firstly Mahama argues that:

> *"the colonial administrator of the Northern Territories preferred to isolate the Northern Territories from the Gold Coast colony instead of assimilating it with the Gold Coast colony"*. (Mahama, 2009, p. 113)

Governor Thorburn of the colonial administration argued that the Northern Territories had to be content to wait for development until the Colony (the coastal region) and the Ashanti-region had thoroughly opened up and developed (in Mahama, 2009). This same attitude can be found regarding the railway development towards the North discussed earlier. The fact that people from the Northern Territories were restricted to get education in the other districts of the colony had to do with the fact that the colonial administration wanted to prevent the development of a '*large and discontented body of educated natives*' as had developed in the coastal regions. The people in the Northern Territories were intentionally kept backward according to Mahama (2009) as the British saw them as a labour force for the mines in the South. Furthermore, educated people were not allowed to travel south as they could possibly pick up the mainstream lifestyle in the south. It was not until 1947 that the people of the Northern Territories were allowed to get education in the Colony and the Ashanti-region (Mahama, 2009). To this day the Northern Territories are still behind on the educational level in comparison to the rest of Ghana, for example it was not until 1993 that Tamale got its own university, the University of Development Studies.

Even before the independence, education was an important factor for the Ghanaian politicians. Free education was one of the main themes in the program of Nkrumah's party (the CPP) in the first elections in 1952 (Moerkamp, 1997). Ten years later Nkrumah started a program that had to lead to education for every Ghanaian child from the ages of six as it made attending school obligatory for children from the age of six. In present-day Ghana the school fees for every child is equal to make sure that every child has the same chances for a good education. However, money still plays an important role in acquiring (good) education. Many schools ask extra fees from parents for uniforms, excursions, sports or use of the computer lab if present. These extra fees restrict parents in sending their children to the schools they want because they cannot afford them. Therefore, in practice the system is not as equal as it is presented in theory. Families who have money often send their children to private schools as they perceive the public government school to be of less quality although this perspective has become less true taking the exam results of the students in regard (Dijksterhuis, 2009 & UNESCO, 2010). Money and a good network of contacts (as it also does for the rest of the Ghanaian society) still play a huge role in the decision if a student will get into a school or even pass the exam (Dijksterhuis, 2009). Thereby creating an educational system that is still not accessible for all people.

5.3 Religion

As mentioned before, the conversion of the Ghanaian people into Christianity/Methodism was not the main goal of colonization. Conversion was long halted by the moral problems related to slave trade and therefore ignored for the time being. Once slave trade was abolished in 1807 conversion to Christianity/Methodism was seen as a way to prevent illegal slave trade and slavery by the local people (Moerkamp, 1997).

The presence of three different religions does not lead to many conflicts as it sometimes does in other countries (for example Ivory Coast and Nigeria). The three main religions, Christianity, the Islam and the traditional religion live side by side. Christianity was brought by the European colonizers, with the Portuguese bringing Catholicism and the British bringing Methodism. Although the British have been the formal colonizer of Ghana, Christianity in Ghana is mostly represented by the Catholic Church brought by the Portuguese although the Anglican Church which is connected to the Church of England also has churches in the country. The Islamic religion was brought to Ghana by Arabic and North-African trades men. The traditional religion has always been a part of the people of Ghana. All three religions can be found throughout the whole country but in the Northern Territories the people are mostly Islamic while the Southern regions the people are mostly Christian. The traditional religion is often practices in combination with one of the other two religions.

During my stay in Ghana I saw people of the Catholic and Islamic religion interacting in the same group without any problems. Although this observation can be regarded as untrue as I later found out that the one person with the Catholic religion in the group had pretended to be Catholic in order to become more attractive towards me. In the end he was a Muslim who had skipped the Ramadan to look Catholic for me. However, there are other signs that show that the different religions live peacefully next to each other. Mosques and churches lay next to each other without any conflicts and there were no problems between the two groups similar to the attacks of churches in Nigeria (www.nos.nl, 2012)

5.4 Culture and social life

Ghana inhabits many different ethnical groups which each have their own traditions and languages. English is the official languages of the country and serves as a bridge for people to understand each other. Even though there are differences these do not lead to conflicts very often as traditions from other groups are respected and the same applies for respect of the different religions (Dijksterhuis, 2005). In most cases the commonalities in traditions and culture for all the ethnic groups in Ghana have created a hybrid culture that is overall accepted and respected by all Ghanaians. On the occasions that conflicts arise this happens most likely in the North, several reasons are given from which poverty and lack of development are at the most important once. However, Dijksterhuis also argues that the conflicts often date back to the pre-colonial time in which some ethnic groups were the superiors of other ethnic groups, nowadays these conflicts relate most to the subject of ownership of a piece of land (Dijksterhuis, 2005).

For Ghanaians their ancestors are very important and the loyalty to their family and ethnic group is very strong. Traditions are honoured but at the same time new technologies are embraced and incorporated in the daily life (Dijksterhuis, 2005). While they may walk in traditional clothes they are in the possession of a mobile phone or camera and often visit the

internet cafes as was observed during my field work period in Tamale. Food, music and clothes are an important part of tradition. Traditional cloths and fabrics are used to show an identity or make a statement. Festivals, dance and music are seen as a way in which a society or ethnic group can speak out en show their own culture. Music and festivals differ between each ethnic community and to be understood they need to be related to the place, time and ethnic group they happen at as stated by one of the teacher during the Educational program. Artefacts are also of great importance, for example dolls that have different meanings (fertility, memorization) but also masked although these are not worn while performing dances (in most cases), this was explained by one of the dancers of the group seen in the image below.

Image 5.1 A performance of a traditional dance with traditional clothing

Social life in Ghana differs for each ethnic community although there are some general aspects that are part of the culture of every ethnic community. For example, the ritual of greeting is very important. Each language has different words for *good morning*, *good afternoon*, *good evening* and *how are you*? On the street every person that will meet your eye will greet you. When involving people in a conversation it is considered very rude not to greet or only greet very shortly as was mentioned by the teachers during the Educational program. After showing interest and asking how the day, the family and work has been the conversation can be guided to subject for why it was initiated. Another aspect of the Ghanaians that was told to us during the Educational program was that Ghanaians are very indirect in their communication. They use a lot of anecdotes during their conversations to make clear what they need, feel or want to say. Symbolism is an important part of conversation. This is in contrast to the Western way of communicating which is overall very direct. For example,

when I was asked for my phone number and I did not want to give it I did not simple say 'no' to avoid offending them, but I gave examples of why I would not give my phone number to make clear that I did not want to give it to that person. Only if they kept persisting for my number I would state very directly that I did not want to give it.

One of the first things that Western people soon learn after their arrival in Ghana is the Ghanaian attitude towards time which differs considerably from the Western attitude towards time. In the Western culture it is considered rude to be late for an appointment, work or school. People still happen to be late of course but it is frowned upon, not appreciated and considerate as a bad attitude. In contrast, Ghanaians have their G.M.T. In general this abbreviation means Greenwich Mean Time, in Ghana it stands for Ghanaian Maybe (or Man) Time. In the daily life it is not strange when people do not show up on the prearranged time, are 15 or 30 minutes late or call to say that they are an hour late. No observations were made by me in office situations thus no judgement can be offered on that field. However, in her book *The Imported Ghanaian* (2006) Alba Kunadu Sumprim mentions that even the Ministers have to be publicly reminded to be on time for parliamentary sessions. She furthermore mentions that even concerts do not start on time because the audience does not show up on time.

All of these aspects are things that a volunteer needs to consider in order to communicate in the best possible way. For example, a volunteer should not get offended if a Ghanaian is late for an appointment because that is simply the way things go. Furthermore the volunteer should certainly take part in the extensive greeting ritual in order to become part of a group and not be left out. Some aspects of the social and cultural life will be further discussed in chapters six, seven and eight as these aspects were observed in the three different contexts during the field work.

This chapter and the previous chapter have created efficient background knowledge to understand the actions, behaviour and attitudes in the communication between the volunteers and the local Ghanaians. This knowledge is used during the analysis of the observations made during the field work in Tamale which will be discussed in the next three chapters. In these chapters several references will be made to subjects discussed in the previous chapter and this chapter.

6 Preparation of both volunteers and local Ghanaians: first interaction between two different cultures

In the next three chapters the observations gathered during the field work will be discussed and analyzed through the lenses of the theories and concepts from the conceptual model (see figure 2.1) discussed in chapter two. Besides the concepts from the conceptual model a few additional concepts will be discussed that were encountered during the observations. An example of this is the equality of the Educational program. This is not a concept from the conceptual model but this is a concept coming from the objective of the program as formulated by the Inter Cultural Learning Institute (ICLI) itself. In order to judge the influence of the Educational program on the two actor groups the equality of the program also needs to be related as it represents either the post-development nature or the neocolonial nature of the project which will be discussed in this chapter.

The first context that will be discussed consists of the preparation that both volunteers and local Ghanaians have had prior to the beginning of the projects and during the first few days or weeks after the arrival of the volunteers. Preparation is a key aspect of volunteer work. A volunteer that starts on a volunteer project without a sufficient preparation about the cultural habits of the people of the country he or she is going to visit will face a lot of problems and possible conflict situations. Without knowing a volunteer could behave offensively. In order to lessen the chance of problems and conflicting situations preparation of a volunteer is of the utmost importance. Some volunteers have had a more intense preparation then others. The influence of these preparation programs on the communication and the perspectives between the volunteers and the local Ghanaians will be discussed in the following paragraphs of this chapter. First the Educational program of ICLI will be discussed extensively since I have been a participant of this program and therefore it was possible to make extensive observations. The program will be judged according to the objective formulated by ICLI and the actual benefits for both volunteers and local Ghanaians. Secondly the preparation of the other volunteers and local Ghanaians in the projects visited during the field work will be discussed.

6.1 The Educational program of ICLI

As explained in chapter two, the educational program set up by the Inter Cultural Learning Institute (ICLI) was chosen as a case to observe the influence of such a program on the behaviour of both volunteers and the Ghanaian people. The following question will be answered after observations of the volunteers and the Ghanaians during and after the Educational program:

> *What influence does the educational program have on the behaviour of the volunteers and the Ghanaian people who both followed the educational program?*

Furthermore, it will be discussed if the objective set by ICLI about the educational program is reached. The objective of the ICLI Educational program is the following:

"The objective of the educational program is to give people from different cultures the opportunity to learn from and with each other in an equal way. In addition, you will gain knowledge and skills which will be useful for your further stay." (ICLI, 2010)

The methods behind the observation and the acquiring of data have already been discussed in chapter three. The equal nature of the program will be related to the concept of hospitality mentioned in chapter two. In a program according to the hospitality concept the participants will recognize the differences between the different cultures and accept these differences while they not try to change the others in their own self-image. The whole program will be judged according to the hospitality concept. Furthermore, the equality in the program will also be related to the participation and involvement of the volunteers and the Ghanaians. Is the involvement and participation the same or is it different? And if this is the case why are there differences while the objective of the program is equality? Another aspect of the equality regards the discussion of the different cultures. Does this happen in the same amount or has one of the cultures the overtone. The possible dominance given to either of the cultures will not be discussed regarding equality of the program but will be discussed under the concept of perspectives on the Western and Ghanaian culture. Before giving the result of the observations and the questionnaires in the next paragraph, first a short summary of the outline of the educational program and the quantitative data gathered about the program will be given.

Summary of the outline of the Educational program of ICLI
The participants of the educational program differed from day to day. On the first day there were four Western students who were all in Ghana for research on volunteer work, none of them were in Tamale to do volunteer work. All the Western students were female, two came from Belgium and two came from the Netherlands. After the first week one student from the Netherlands left because she was going to travel through Ghana and already had completed her research. Her reason for following the educational program for one week, even after her long stay in Ghana, was that she was still interested in what she could learn more and she wanted to get in touch with Ghanaians students (Anne Heeren, pers. com, 4th of August, 2010). The other three Western students completed the educational program.

As for the Ghanaian students, on the first day there were three students. Two of them studied at the Polytechnic in Tamale and the other studied in Accra and was on holiday in Tamale. For the record it needs to be said that two of these students were involved in ICLI (one of them being the sister of the head of ICLI Ghana). The attendance of these three students varied to from being there a few days only to attending most of the total eight days. On other days and during the classes, other students would join the class but they would never come back the next day. The lectures were given by two teachers, Dr. Salifu and Mr. Abass. During the meetings two other teachers where present, they did not lecture but they added to the discussions during the lectures. Furthermore, the head of ICLI Ghana was present during most lectures.

Each student with a research background (and of Western origin) was given a *student guide* that contained the program, explanations about each lecture and exercises that would be of help during the lectures. Furthermore, a *literature guide* was given to the Western students.

This *literature guide* contained literature about the subjects of the lectures and articles that should have been read preceding the lecture. In contrast, no Ghanaian student was given the *student guide* or the *literature guide*. No reasons were given for this, even when asked about it by the Western students. The Ghanaian students did not mind that they did not have the two guides because it meant that they did not need to read the literature that the Western students needed to read. Some of the teachers were in the possession of both guides but did not bring these to the classes often. A copy of the timetable of ICLI's educational program can be found in appendix 3. This timetable also includes some remarks about the completion of the lectures that were programmed since not all classes scheduled were given.

The Educational Program was supposed to last three weeks (of four days), according to the student guide, however it only lasted for two weeks (of four days). Even though the program was given in a shorter period of time most subjects in the student guide (which was written according to the three week program) were completed or mentioned. The only lectures that were completely abandoned were: *Images of Holland*, *Experiential Learning* and the *Evaluation Tool*. No reasons were given to why these particular subjects had been abandoned. Subjects that were listed on the program but were not executed were: *Degrees of participation ICLI*, *Post-development* and some games to promote the contact between the participants (ICLI, 2010). The reason that these subjects were not executed is related to the time-constrains (either due to the Western students or the teachers) in the program.

6.1.1 Observations during the Educational program

In the next paragraphs the observations from the Educational Program will be discussed according to some of the relevant concepts for the Educational Program from the conceptual model showed in paragraph 2.6. The other concepts discussed were found during the analysis of the observations and judged as relevant to the analysis of the Educational Program. In the questionnaires that followed after the completion of the program (see appendix 1) more inquiries were done after these concepts that had come up in the observations. Some of these concepts are practical in nature, like attendance and attitude towards the program while others are related to the objective set by ICLI, like equality and the expectations.

Differences in attitude towards and during the lecture

It can be said without doubt that the attitude towards the classes and during the lectures differed considerably between the Western students and the Ghanaian students. The concept of the Ghanaian Maybe Time is already mentioned in chapter five and is reflected in the attendance time of the Ghanaian students during the classes. It was not often that they arrived on time for the lectures at 8.30AM. They often arrived between 9AM and 9.30AM or even on a later time in some cases. The Ghanaian students were not asked by the teachers why they were late and the Western students were given no explanation for this behaviour. When asked in the questionnaire afterwards one of them said he was late because he "*had to sleep*". In contrast, the Western students were always present at 8.30AM. The reasons they gave for being on time, even after they learned the attitude of the Ghanaians, was that being on time is required when attending classes and that being late would feel wrong for them. This can be related to their own cultural perspectives about being on time. An interesting situation occurred at the one time that the Western students were 15 minutes late (due to trouble with a

taxi driver). They were called immediately at 8.30AM where they were. It seemed that even though it was not expected from the Ghanaian to be on time (due to the Ghanaian Maybe Time principle) it was expected from the Western students as it is (perceived to be) part of their culture to always be on time. An observation that adds to this conclusion is that the lectures did not start until the Western students had arrived but they would start even if there were no Ghanaian students present at that time.

The variance in attendance of the Ghanaian students cannot be judged because it was not elaborated on by the teachers or the organization, nor was it possible to ask questions about it in the questionnaire since there was no contact after the completion of the program with the Ghanaian students that had attended which were not part of ICLI's organization. Only a few assumptions can be made to why the attendance of Ghanaian students was low. The Educational Program took place during the end of term and the beginning of the holidays. The Polytechnic (the location of the Educational program) was almost deserted. This could be a reason why no Ghanaian students were found to participate in the program. The students who did attend were part of ICLI's organization, it was asked if it was mandatory for them to take part in the program. They answered that it was not mandatory for them to take part in the Educational Program.

During the lectures the Western students all took notes and their attitude and body language can be labelled as interested and attentive. The Ghanaian students however did not interacted when questions were asked and had a general uninterested body language on most accounts. This attitude of disinterest, besides observed, was also mentioned by all the Western students during the questionnaires. Furthermore, the Ghanaian students observed this difference between them and the Western student too and labelled the attitude of the Western students as "*being more serious then themselves*".

Image 6.1 The first day of the Educational program

Regarding the subjects it needs to be mentioned that the Western students were familiar with most subjects as they discussed the theories during their classes at the university at home. Furthermore, the subjects were not treated elaborately and there was no time for this. Even through the Western students knew the subjects they kept an interested attitude, since, as one of them said: "*the program was for them.*" The fact that the Western students kept an interested attitude even though they were already familiar with the subjects can thus be related to the fact that they felt (and also mentioned in the questionnaires) that they had to because the Educational Program was provided for them as without their attendance there would be no Educational Program. Considering the educational background of the Ghanaian students most of the theories should have been unfamiliar to them as they had a background in ICT, accountancy or management and the subjects and theories were all development or geographical/anthropological related. One of the Ghanaians mentioned in the questionnaires that he found the subjects interesting and not too difficult.

Expectations
On the first day of the educational program the expectations of each of the present participants were asked. The expectations of all participants were equal to the goal of the program, understanding of cultures and an equal exchange between those cultures and gaining knowledge about each other. However, when asked after the completion of the program the expectations of the Western students were defined a bit more elaborately then during that first lecture. They had hoped to gain contacts for future projects regarding their research and hoped for interesting discussions between them and the Ghanaians. None of these more elaborate expectations became true since no contacts with volunteers or local Ghanaians from other volunteer projects was made during the program. Furthermore, the discussion between both cultures was a disappointment for most of the Western students and they did not feel these discussions were equal as the two cultures were not discussed in an equal amount. The expectation was that the Western students would be given a chance to explain their own culture to the Ghanaians and try to break with some of the stereotypes that are part of the Ghanaian perspective on the Western culture in an equal amount as the Ghanaian culture, perspectives and stereotypes were discussed. Furthermore, the Western students hoped to get an African / Ghanaian perspective on development and volunteer work. Instead they were taught theories about development and volunteer work that they were already taught at their home universities. Furthermore, these theories are written by Western people even if they negate the Western culture and Western influence their origin is Western. Indeed, one of the comments made by one of the Western students was that they were taught Western theories by African people. Not African theories by African people from who they had gladly known the perspectives. In contrast to the opinions of the Western students, the Ghanaian students stated in the questionnaires that their expectations became true as they had the opinion that they had learned a lot from the program.

Equality in the program
One of the objectives of the program was learning from and about each other's cultures in an equal way. The way this equality is observed is through two lenses. The first lens consists of the equality of how and if the cultures were addressed and discusses. The second lens consists

of the question if the students of both Ghanaian and Western background were really equal during the Educational program, for example was the expected involvement the same and were they given the same opportunities?

During the Educational program it was observed that when discussing the different cultures the emphasis was mostly on Ghanaian culture. For example, on one day the history of Ghana was discussed. This class lasted for two hours in which the student got a general overview o of Ghanaian history from the years 1000 AD until the present. After this class the Western students were asked to tell 'something' about their own history, in this case Belgium and Dutch history. The Western students felt they were caught off guard as they were not asked to prepare something about their histories. Furthermore, the question was very random, "*tell something*". The Western students told something about the relation between Belgium and the Netherlands and tried to explain that in the past the Western world did not differ that much from the world in Ghana. However, the discussion about Belgium and Dutch history only lasted for a few minutes. This was due to the fact that the Western students were unprepared and the uninterested attitude of the Ghanaian students. The Ghanaian students also did not ask many questions when the discussion was about Western culture while this was the opposite case for the Western students when the Ghanaian culture was discussed. It needs to be noted that both Western culture and Ghanaian culture are homogenizing concepts as they generalize a culture for a whole group that may inhabit many differences. Even though both Dutch and Belgium culture are labelled under the Western culture they have many differences. So does the Ghanaian culture in the North and the Ghanaian culture in the South. However, the Ghanaian students did not see the Western students as Dutch or from Belgium decent. The students were Western according to the Ghanaians and there were no differences between them in culture. That is why the Western students tried to show the Ghanaians the differences between their cultures, but being unprepared for this subject they found it a difficult task. In the rest of this research there will still be referred to either the Ghanaian culture or the Western culture to avoid extensive names to each time clarify the hegemony of the cultures.

The only time a real discussion arose was when the difference in the rights of woman between Ghana and the Western world was discussed. The Western students (all female) gave the example that if their husband would cheat on them they would throw him out of the house. The Ghanaians listened in a state of bewilderment since a woman in Ghana has little rights. They cannot throw their husbands out since the house is owned by the man and the woman is in essence the property of the man (as explained during the lecture although there are cases in which the woman has more rights). The fact that a woman in the Western world can own property of her own and that houses are most of the time bought and owned by both the husband and the wife was something the Ghanaians in the class were really surprised by. This discussion was very interesting according to the Western students and they had hoped to experience more of these discussions, however, during the Educational program this was not the case. The Western students felt (as was mentioned in the questionnaires) that if they had the proper chance to prepare and were given the opportunity to also give a class about Belgium and Dutch history they could have taught the Ghanaian students something about their history and culture that would have given them a more realistic perspectives on their

world and culture by breaking stereotypes and relate it to the Ghanaian culture through similarities and differences.

The second lens is about the equality of the Western students and the Ghanaian students in the participation of the program. During the program it was observed that there was no real equality between the two groups of students. There were practical reasons for this but also behavioural reasons. The practical reason for the inequality during the program was the fact that none of the Ghanaian students had received the *student guide* and *literature guide* while it was expected from the participants to have read the literature before the lecture. The Western students had all received both guides but stopped preparing the literature when they realised the Ghanaians did not have access to the literature too and even the teachers were not all in the possession of the *literature* and *student guide*. Another reason of inequality was the fact that the Western students had to pay for the Educational Program while the Ghanaians had not. This fact can also be related to the fact that the lectures did not start until the Western students were present and would start even though there were no Ghanaian students present. These two facts show that the Educational Program existed for the Western students and not for the Ghanaian students. A fact about the equality that also contributed towards the attitude of both student groups was the attitude of the teachers. The Western students were involved in the lectures by the teachers, asked questions and involved in discussion (on theories and both cultures). However, the Ghanaian students were not often asked questions and barely involved in the discussions.

Perspectives on the Western and Ghanaian world and culture
Before the Western students and the Ghanaian students met during the Educational program and even before the Western students travelled to Ghana they both already had perspectives about the other. Perspectives and knowledge that they gained through the sharing of experience with another parties, literature, studies, the internet and television.

When the Western students were asked in the questionnaires about their knowledge and perspectives on the Ghanaian culture they answered that these were equal to the ones they were taught during the program. It needs to be said that before the Western students came to Ghana they already had an introduction day in the Netherlands in which they were taught about some aspects of the Ghanaian culture, furthermore they had read a guide on Ghanaian culture (written with the help of ICLI). Furthermore, two of them had an anthropological background while the other two had a background in human geography. Both of these studies involve the studying of other culture and therefore these Western students had a more extensive background than a normal volunteer would have. Additionally, two of the Western students had already travelled the world and had been to Africa before, one of them had even already visited Ghana. This is in contrast to the two other students who had never been to Ghana before and had, besides Morocco, never visited any country in Africa.

The Ghanaian students had never been out of Ghana, and their perspectives on the Western world were based on knowledge they gathered from the interaction with other volunteers, stories they heard from people who had been to Europe or America and television, movies and the internet. When the Ghanaians were asked if their perspectives were equal to the once they were taught during the program they answered that their perspectives were equal and that they were not surprised by what they had learned. Their reactions in

discussions however revealed that they were surprised about a lot of subjects considering the Western culture and way of living as was described in previous paragraphs.

One of the objectives of the Educational program is that people from different cultures learn from and with each other. Besides knowledge about theories that are applicable to the field in which the volunteers works or does research, this also relates to the exchange in knowledge about the different cultures. For this the objective is that the Western students gain knowledge about the Ghanaian culture and the Ghanaian students gain knowledge about the Western culture. Western culture is a general term in this case as the Western students are from Belgium and the Netherlands and their culture will mostly be discussed as the Western culture even though there are differences between the Dutch and Belgium culture. An important question is how much you can learn about a culture from literature, television, the internet and interaction with others who have had contact with the other culture or are from the country with the other culture. Even though for the Westerns students the perspectives were mostly equal they also learned some new knowledge about which behaviour is expected and what is not to be done. These little things you can only truly learn from experiencing the culture and not from a book, television or the internet. The small things are for example the formalities of greeting, the language (in Ghana the dialect/languages various in each region according to ethnic group) and the values and principles of a culture. The Western students were taught how to greet people, how to behave when visiting a chief, how to behave towards the woman in a village and not to be too direct towards Ghanaians.

Image 6.2 Discussion during the Educational program

The perspective that the Ghanaians had on the Western culture let to some interesting discussions in which the Western students tried to give them a more realistic view on their culture. For example, the Ghanaian students had the opinion that there were no (armed) conflicts in the Western world like there were in Ghana or Africa in general. The Western students told them that there were conflicts (even armed once) and gave the examples of Northern Ireland and the conflict in Belgium between the French speaking and the Dutch speaking people. Another perspective on the Western culture by the Ghanaians was that the Western people were not as hospitable as the Ghanaians. This perception is true in a way that there are different boundaries of hospitality in the West than in Ghana.

Another interesting thing to observe during the lectures was that the perspective of the Ghanaian students was one of extremes, following largely out of what they have seen on television shows, movies and the internet. The Ghanaians encountered in daily life (who also took part in the Educational program) had the opinion that the representation in the movies and television (reality shows) was a realistic representation of real life. The Western students tried to clarify their perspectives on this subject but were not really successful. The Ghanaians were not really open to the critical reflection of the Western students on the representation of the Western culture in the media.

The observed perspectives of the teachers about the Western culture were, in contrast to those of the students, more realistic. The perspectives of the teachers consisted less of extremes than the Ghanaian students. Their difference in perspectives is probably related to the contact they have had with the Western cultures. For example, one of the teachers, Dr. Salifu, had lived in America for a year and therefore gained a more realistic view on the Western culture. However, it needs to be said again that the Western culture is a general term in this case. The perspectives of Dr. Salifu are based on his year in America, and are thus perspectives on the American culture. Even though there are many similarities, the cultures are not the same. One of the Western students argued in the questionnaire that the teachers probably do not understand the problems we have in the West all that well but that we also do not understand all the problems they have in Africa. This argument shows that even though the teachers might have a more realistic view on the Western culture and the Western students also have a more realistic view on the Ghanaian cultures, the fact that knowledge is gained or the culture is even experienced does not give complete understanding of the culture and its problems. The same applies to the Western students who had more knowledge about the Ghanaian culture but still did not completely understand it. There will always conflicts between two different cultures that cannot create a full understanding of the culture or a full assimilation into a culture. However, the other culture can still be respected, despite the differences.

As mentioned before the teachers involved the Western students more in the lectures than they did with the Ghanaian students. Their way of lecturing had many resemblances with the way the lectures are given in the universities of the Western students which is in contrast to the more normal hierarchical way of teaching in Ghana. During the lectures some interesting statements were made by the teachers, especially on development and specific development in Africa/Ghana. One of the opinions that the Western students were amazed and shocked by was the following statement:

> "Development has to happen according to the Western way. This has to happen through assimilation of the Western way of development and forgetting our own ways. Once we have learned from the West and have been enlightened we can do everything by ourselves." (Lecture, 21 July 2010)

He further stated that Ghana has the colonialist to thank for their development and that without the colonizers there would have been no development in Ghana. He further stated that:

> "Even after the colonial era has been over the white people still handle the important things because the black people do not know how it works or how to make it." (Lecture, 21 July 2010)

This statement can be illustrated with the example of the water pipes which are mostly constructed and maintained by Western enterprises. These opinions were in total contrast of the Western students who were all of opinion that development should come from inside (the Ghanaian people), maybe with the help of the West, but their view was that the Western way cannot be the dominating development discourse. However, in contrast to the opinion stated above, when the subject of *Immanent development* was discussed during one lecture it was mentioned by one of the teachers that development should come from both sides, from the Western world, and from within, the Ghanaians themselves. This statement connects with the statement of one of the teachers that a change in the mindset of the Ghanaians is needed in order for development to reach its full potential which was discussed in chapter five. This change in mindset mostly regards the perspective that the Ghanaians have on products that are produced by them and products that are produced by the Western world. As mentioned in chapter five the Western products are perceived as better even though the quality is not necessarily better than the same products produced in Ghana. Another thing that needs to change, according to the teachers, is the mindset of the Ghanaians is the way they handle money which has also been mentioned in chapter five. Concluding, during the lectures the teachers have made some other interesting statement about volunteer work and development both supporting of a Western way of development and critical of it as they discussed the top-down approach as well as the bottom-up approach. This made it difficult to judge their perspectives on the Western and Ghanaian world and culture as some statements were contradicting.

6.2 Post-development nature or neocolonial nature
It can be argued that the Educational program has both a post-development nature as well as of neocolonial nature. Even though both natures are very different as argued in chapter two both can be found in the program depending to which part is evaluated.

If the program is evaluated on its objectives and its possibilities it can be argued that the program is of a post-development nature. The program intends to give the Ghanaian culture a chance to be equally heard next to the Western culture. From a postcolonial perspective, the Ghanaian culture is the voice and discourse that has not been heard before and that needs a chance to be equal instead of dominated. According to the objectives of the program both cultures are given a change to explain their own culture and both sides can learn from each

other. Furthermore, the concept of hospitality is applicable to the program. In an equal environment both side can learn from each other, to acknowledge each other's knowledge, respect each other and recognize and accept that there are differences in culture. The goal is to create a better understanding between both sides about their cultures which will, as Agostino (2004) argues, most necessarily change the participants in the program. However, this change needs to come for the person self not from the other who tries to chance the person to their own self-image. The objective of the Educational Program stands for all those points.

However, in the paragraph above it is discussed that the environment of the program was not really on of equality. It is from this point of view that the neocolonial nature of the program can be argued. While the objectives of the program may be of a post-development nature, the implementation has more of a neocolonial nature. The theories that are taught are of Western origin and from the attitude towards the Western students by the teachers it can be argued that the Western students are of more importance than the Ghanaian students. This neocolonial nature was also mentioned by one of the Western students. She also mentioned that when the evaluation forms came and the Western students had to fill them in, the Ghanaians were not given any of these forms and thus their voices were taken away from them. Therefore giving the program a more neocolonial nature.

6.3 Influence of the Educational Program on the behaviour of volunteers and Ghanaians

One of the main reasons for following the Educational program and including it in the conceptual model was that it was believed to have influence on the behaviour of the volunteers who would follow the program and would later work in volunteer projects. However, during the program it was revealed that no volunteers from ICLI would be following the program, only researchers. Volunteers from other organizations were not included in the program. This lead to the problem that no volunteers that had followed the Educational program could be observed during their volunteer work and that no conclusions could be made about the influence of the Educational program regarding the behaviour of actual volunteers.

However, the researchers that followed the program and the Ghanaian students could be observed in their behaviour and asked how they thought the program had influenced them. It was observed that after the program the researchers had a better understanding of some little things of the Ghanaian culture that were not mentioned in literature they had read or related to experiences they had had before or got from another source. For example even though the importance of the greeting rituals was emphasised in the literature it was during the Educational program that we were learned exactly how to greet and the exact importance. For example, it was told that a short greeting was experienced as offensive. Furthermore, we were taught that Ghanaian communication is one of indirectness and uses a lot of anecdotes. Being direct is seen as offensive. Also, the exact ways in how to greet a chief were addressed during the lectures. This information that was very useful because all the researchers came in contact with a chief during their research. Regarding the Ghanaian students, issues that were mentioned during the Educational program were acknowledged when discussed on later moments. However, explanation was still needed as many of the Western ways were still perceived as weird. In the questionnaire one of the Ghanaian students said that following the Educational program helped him '*a little bit*' because it gave him " *a mirror view of the*

attitude of that person and their characters" and helped him to understand their steady behaviours better (Faruk, pers. com., 19 Augustus 2010).

When the Western students were asked about how the Educational program influenced their behaviour the opinions differed. One of the researchers said that it would influence their behaviour a little bit (regarding greeting rituals) but that she mostly believes in learning in the hard way, though experience and trial and error. Another researcher said the program had not influenced her and that she already knew how to communicate with the Ghanaians (in here case woman which she would approach in a cautious manner). The two researchers were not observed during their own research so the real influence cannot be evaluated. For me, as a researcher, the Educational program certainly had an influence on my behaviour. In contrast to the other two researchers mentioned above my experience with Africa or Ghana was non-existent. During the lectures I learned new things that were helpful during the communication with the local Ghanaians. Especially the indirectness was an important subject to keep in mind during research.

Image 6.3 During the break at the Educational program

6.4 Reflections on the Educational program
In this paragraph a critical reflection will be given on the Educational program regarding its use for this research and regarding the actual implementation of the Educational program.

The Educational program regarding this research
The Educational program was considered as an important concept of observation during the field work in Tamale (as set out in chapters two and three) as the Educational program would provide a good starting point from which the attitude and behaviour between volunteers and

the local Ghanaians could be observed. The observations made during the Educational program and the observations of the volunteers and local Ghanaians after the program during the volunteer programs would be compared with volunteers and local Ghanaians who did not take part in this or another educational or preparation program.

Unfortunately, these objectives that were set before the participation in the Educational program were not feasible. There were several reasons why the Educational program could not be used as proposed. The first reason was the lack of volunteers during the Educational program. Only ICLI was involved in the Educational program and they had no volunteers in Ghana at the time of the participation in the Educational program. There we also no volunteers from other organizations with whom ICLI had contacts that could follow the Educational program. Because of the fact that there were no volunteers it was not possible to make a comparison between volunteers who had completed the educational program and those who did not have the benefit of the Educational program.

The second reason that the Educational program could not be used as proposed was the fact that the Ghanaians involved in the program were not involved in any volunteer work or volunteer projects. They were involved in ICLI but since ICLI has no volunteer projects their main function within ICLI was to help the researchers / possible volunteers in the daily life. The Western students saw the Ghanaians involved in ICLI every day and were soon friends with them.

Even though the program cannot be used in the manner as proposed in chapters two and three, it is still of importance to this research as the analysis of the program gave insight in the Ghanaian culture and the perspectives that Ghanaians have of the Western culture. Furthermore, a few useful contacts were established with the people met during the Educational program. And even though the behaviour of the volunteers cannot be observed the behaviour of the researchers and the involved Ghanaians can be observed and was already described in the paragraphs above. Furthermore, the Educational program can be reflected upon as a useful program for future volunteers that come to Tamale and local Ghanaians who come in contact with the volunteers. This program still has an influence on the colonial mentality of the actors as will be discussed in chapter nine. The reflection of the Educational program itself together with some critical notes and advice are discussed in the next part of this paragraph.

Reflection on the implementation of the Educational program
While the ideas behind the Educational program and the objective that are set are impressive and admirable, everything depends on the implementation of the program. The objective is of a post-development nature as was explained in paragraph 6.2. However, the implementation has a more neocolonial nature and in order for the program to reach its full potential and objective this needs to change. The objective of the Educational program was the following:

> "*The objective of the educational program is to give people from different cultures the opportunity to learn from and with each other in an equal way. In addition, you will gain knowledge and skills which will be useful for your further stay.*" (ICLI, 2010)

On the basis of the observations and responses to the questionnaires regarding the Educational program (which can be found in appendix 1) the main thing that needs to change is the implementation of the equal nature of the program. In order for the program to be equal both students groups should be given the same opportunities and materials and be involved and treated in the same way. These are practical improvements that should not be too hard to implement. The Educational program that was observed was the first time the program ever took place and like all programs like this it will become better over time because of experience, the solving of practical problems through trial and error and getting reflection and advice from the people who have followed to program. If the Educational program gets implemented in the right way according to the set objects and the hospitality principle it can certainly be an advantage for both volunteers and Ghanaian people who work with volunteers as it will create a better understand of each other cultures which will lead to respect from both sides.

However, the organization behind the Educational program, ICLI, was terminated before another group of volunteers could travel to Ghana and follow the Educational program. Therefore no future progress can be made on the Educational program as set up by ICLI. This fact also had the consequence for this research that it was not possible to interview future volunteers and Ghanaians who would participate in this program to get a better view on the influence on their behaviour as I had initially planned after the value of the Educational program for the research was lowered because there were no actual volunteers involved. The fact that ICLI was terminated only a few years after it was founded also shows the sustainability of most volunteer organizations which in the case of ICLI would be very low. Because there are so many volunteer organizations in Tamale only the strong survive. When ICLI was terminated no specific reasons were given except that the Dutch side of the organization (a couple of a Ghanaian man and a Dutch woman) had decided to move on to another project (Jolanda Goes, pers. com., 24th of March 2011). Their new project is cooperation with FC Utrecht with who they have started a football academy in Tamale.[2]

However, the Educational program and the advice given in this thesis to improve the program can still be used by other organization who would like to set up a similar Educational program for their volunteers. One additional point of advice would be that the Educational program should be a joined effort of multiple volunteer organizations so that more volunteers and local Ghanaians will be involved creating a bigger network of people who can communicate in an equal manner on a basis of understanding, acceptance and respect. A critical note about the Educational program is the following. It can be very useful for volunteers who are going to work in projects in Tamale. However, when regarding volunteers it is the question how much they are interested in the theories discussed during the lectures and what the advantage is of knowing these theories when working on volunteer projects. The theories were useful for the researchers but they will not very beneficial for actual volunteers.

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[2] More information about the Tamale Utrecht Football academy can be found on the following website: http://www.tufaghanafc.com

6.5 Preparation/introduction programs of other volunteers and local Ghanaians

The other volunteers observed during their volunteer work and the volunteers met during social events all had some form of preparation program before or shortly after their arrival in Ghana / Tamale. These preparation programs were not observed and the knowledge about these programs was gained from the volunteers themselves in either an interview or an informal conversation.

For example, Sarah, a volunteer from CID Ghana (Cooperation of integrated development-Ghana) had a preparation sightseeing sites in the city (a beach, the Independence Square, a marketplace). After arrival she was immediately brought to her host family. Once she was in Tamale, a short introduction at the office of CID Ghana took place in which the organization and the projects were explained to her, the Ghanaian culture was explained (what to do and what not to do) and a few words in Dagbani (the local language) were taught. One thing that Sarah was told she remembers vividly as they told her that it was expected of her to always be one time (in the Western way). After the introduction at CID Ghana she got a tour through Tamale (to get to know the market, shops and cafés). Afterwards she was introduced at the projects she was going to do her volunteer work. More about the volunteer work of Sarah can be found in chapter seven.

Most of the preparation and introduction programs of the volunteers interviewed and spoken are similar to Sarah's introduction program. In the few days they stay in Accra they get a tour, after their arrival they are brought to their host families and the organization gives them some information about the Ghanaian culture and a lesson in the Dagbani-language. Most of them also have had an introduction day at home to introduce them to the Ghanaian culture and the habits of the Ghanaians.

It is fair to say that these programs are not as elaborate as the Educational program of ICLI and that they may lack the chance of discussion between the people from two different cultures. However, this cannot be said with certainty as I, as researcher, was not present during these programs and the discussion could simply not have been mentioned by the volunteers. In contrast to the organizations of the volunteers spoken to, ICLI had not prepared an introduction program in Accra and a tour of Tamale was not included in the Educational program. The tour of Tamale that the three Western students got was given by two men who were involved in ICLI but the tour was not a formally planned event.

It can be concluded that de Educational program had some influences on the behaviour and actions of both volunteers and Ghanaians but that the largest impact was regarding the exchange of culture although this was mostly one-sided relating to the Ghanaian culture. The Educational program is a good example of a program that encourages the equal interaction between people from different cultures even though the actual implementations lacks on the actual level of equality. The design of the Educational program can be used by other organizations to create a program that will help to create an understanding of cultures and respect between Western and Ghanaian people. More about this possibility and the influence that the Educational program has and could have on the colonial mentality will be discussed in chapter nine.

7 Interactions during the work at the volunteer projects

The second context that will be discussed consists of the interactions, communication and behaviour of the actors during the work at the volunteer projects. As mentioned in chapter three there are three different projects that were visited during the field work period in Tamale at which it was possible to make observations. These cases include an *orphanage*, a *private school* and a *public school*. After the return from Tamale some questionnaires were send to the organization that runs the volunteer project at the *public school*. These questionnaire were addressed the teachers as they were asked their opinion on the volunteers that worked in their schools, some of their answer are included in the analysis. As previous mentioned in chapter three the role of observer was made clear in most cases as the teachers all knew I was not a normal volunteer. In some cases I had an active role in the volunteer projects (participating in teaching or caring for the children) while in others I had a more static role when observation was required instead of participating (during classes given by a Ghanaian teacher or volunteer). The observations made at the visited volunteer projects will be discussed below according to the concepts and theories established in chapter two. With the help of anecdotes gathered through participant observation arguments will be made in favour or against the behaviour predicted by the concepts from the conceptual model in chapter two (figure 2.1). Before the observations will be discussed the projects and volunteers will be discussed in more detail below.

7.1 The different cases visited for observations

The three cases observed were already mentioned in paragraph 3.2.1. Now follows a more elaborate description of all three cases including the involved volunteers to create a sufficient background for the discussion and analysis of the observations. Even more specifics will be given during the discussion of the observations at these three cases.

The first case, the *private school* (name unknown) is located in a neighbourhood (and urban area) in the northern part of Tamale and is visited with Sarah, a volunteer from the organization CID Ghana (Cooperation of integrated development-Ghana). I met Sarah due to the contact existing between CID Ghana and ICLI. Sarah, 19 years old and from the Netherlands, stayed in Ghana for 6 weeks. The project she and CID Ghana had chosen together was an orphanage, however, because there was no work for her in the orphanage in the morning she was also assigned to work at a private school in the mornings. She only did a few weeks of volunteer work because she got malaria and another illness from which she had to recover before she could return to both the school and the orphanage. The day I went to observe her work at the private school (at the 4th of August) was her next to last day. She had planned to go shopping for toys that afternoon to give to the children on her last day at the school. The school consisted of one small building that contained five classrooms and the headmasters' office/supply room. Only the headmasters' office had walls that were up to the roof. All the other rooms had lower walls and were divided by large curtains or wooden boards. The sound from each classroom was audible throughout the whole building. The school was a private one and was set up by a Dutch couple who are still sending money and resources (books, materials) to the school. Observations took place in the nursery class that included two groups of children of which one group was taught by a teacher while the other group was teaching themselves.

The second case was the Kpanvo Presby Primary school, the *public school*, which is located in the village of Kpanvo, in the rural area southern of Tamale. The school was visited with Gary, a 19 year old volunteer from Ireland, who I had come to know a few weeks before at the Internet cafe run by the head of ICLI. Gary lived in the same neighbourhood as I did and I had had contact before with Fred, the head of his volunteer organization. Gary had worked on a construction project to build a school in the previous weeks. But due to financial issues and the death of '*the master*' of the project, an older (wise) man who was in charge of the project, the project was halted for an as of then indeterminate period of time. Since Gary could not work at the construction project anymore he was assigned to another volunteer project. Gary was assigned to do volunteer work at the school in Kpanvo and I had the opportunity to go with him. There were three days of observation at the school from Wednesday 22th of September to Friday the 25th of September. However, there was only one day of effective observation of teaching possible (on Thursday) since there was no teaching on Wednesday because this was the first day of school and the school had not been cleaned yet and there was no teaching on Friday (for reasons unknown, but probably related to the fact that Friday is the free day for Muslims). The children and teachers were all present at those days but there were no lessons given. This school building is much larger then at the private school that was observed. All classrooms are big and have wooden school-desks and a large chalk board and have several large posters on the wall. The sounds from other classes are muffled since the walls are all up to the roof. This school consists of 6 large classrooms, the headmasters' office and a separate building for the nursery classes.

Image 7.1 The Kpanvo Presby Primary school at the start of the first day of classes (second observation day)

The third case observed was the *orphanage* called the Anfaani Children's Home in Vittin Estate, a neighbourhood south of the city centre of Tamale in the urban area where I also lived during my stay in Tamale. I had met Rosanne, a Dutch volunteer at the orphanage, in the Internet cafe and went with her and two other Dutch volunteers to the orphanage. They had worked there already for several weeks and would be leaving in two weeks. The orphanage sheltered about 15 babies and toddlers who were all sleeping in the same room in which they stayed all day. Sometimes the volunteers played with the toddlers in the hallway but the children were not left outside very often. Toys were present but only the volunteers played with the children. The observations took place at the 10th of August, I went back the next day but was not welcome anymore because I was not from the volunteer organization, did not do any work and the head of the orphanage did not trust me. I had not proclaimed myself as a researcher but as a fellow volunteer and friend of the other girls, this probably causes the distrust the head of the orphanage had of me. I had helped the day before and everything was fine but she had changed her mind. During the observations it was clear to me that an orphanage was not the right case for observation for this study since I needed more interaction between the volunteers and Ghanaians and observation was very difficult at the orphanage. Even though the orphanage was not the best case of observation for this thesis, the observations that were made are included in the next paragraphs because they still gave some interesting insights.

7.2 Expert role
The concept of the 'expert role', as discussed in paragraph 2.6.4, is about the role that western people often get assigned or assign themselves when it comes to knowledge. They are seen, or they see themselves, as the expert on the subject since they are from the Western world. In this paragraph the expert role given to or claimed by the volunteers will be discussed according to three different projects, *schools, orphanage* and a *construction site* visited with or discussed by the volunteers.

Expert role at schools
During the observations at both schools the volunteer were assigned an expert role by the teachers as it was expected of them to teach classes. In the case of Sarah at the private school:

> "Sarah tells me that when she first arrived at the school the teachers intended for her to teach English classes, alone with no other teacher present, after just a few days of observation of the teaching methods. Sarah tells me she felt she was not capable of teaching a class. She felt her English was not good enough to teach the language and she also had no teaching experience which she felt she needed to have in order to be able to teach. Sarah offered to assist in the nursery instead of teaching."

This example shows how a volunteer gets assigned the role of an expert involuntarily. None of the teachers had asked Sarah for her educational background. In fact, Sarah had just finished secondary school (high school) and had no teaching experience according to Western standards. According to Western standards, no one can teach without a degree and experience gained during internships. In Sarah's view, from a Western perspective, she could not be

allowed to teach. While, in contrast, the teachers had the feeling that she could teach English because she knew the language and was from the Western world. The headmaster of the school stated in the conversation I had with him that: *"the volunteers are qualified enough to teach classes"*.

A question could be if a Ghanaian at the same age of Sarah who had just finished secondary school would also be allowed to teach classes. Sarah mentioned that some of the teachers did not have a degree to teach but are still allowed to teach at the school. The fact that there are also teachers without a degree who are allowed to teach could be related to the fact that volunteers without a degree are allowed to teach to and thus diminishing the expert role concept in this case. It is interesting to note that the organization for which Sarah volunteered, CID Ghana, states on its website that teaching experiences is an advantage and would be recommended when volunteers work at a school project (www.cidghana.org, 2012). However, the school was not Sarah's own choice of project but assigned to her because there was no work for her in the morning at the orphanage which was her fist project. This could be the reason why even though she had no teaching experience she was assigned to work at the school.

In the case of the public school both Gary and I were assigned the role of expert and offered to teach:

> "The headmaster is eager to have both of us do some teaching even though both of us have no teaching experience which we tell the headmaster. Gary emphases that he only wants to assist and does not want to give lessons on his own."

As with the case of the private school, we are both allowed to teach even though we have no teaching experience. We both decline and emphases that we only want to assist during lessons. We both felt we did not have the experience needed to teach a class, like Sarah also did. It is interesting to see that even though the volunteers get assigned the expert role they do not want to be assigned as the expert because they do not see themselves as experts. From the perspectives of the discourses of the colonial era they should have accepted them because they would see themselves as superiors to the Ghanaians. However, the volunteers do not see themselves as superior and have the perspective that the teachers with a degree are superiors to them when it comes to teaching.

In the observations discussed above it shows that the teachers at the observed schools have the idea that the volunteers are capable of teaching classes after just a few days of observations or some instructions. However, in the questionnaires filled in by some teacher from a school at which volunteers worked another view from the teachers arose. When asked about the degree of the volunteers the teachers say the following:

> "Some of them do not have the degree to teach, they only assist the teacher. They are not allowed to teach but their presence in the class is helpful. Sometimes, they are not allowed to teach for lack of language wise."
> "Those who possess the proper degree are allowed to teach. Those without proper degree are guided to do their best as they are here to help."

However in another question about the knowledge of the volunteers being enough to teach they say:

> "Some of them have the knowledge to teach. An American volunteer who has knowledge in mathematics and in fact the students benefit from her teachings."
> "I can say yes and I can say no because some of them need to be guided to cultivate the habit of the children, [----]."

These answers can be seen as conflicting, since it is stated that volunteers are not allowed to teach but only to assist if they do not have the proper degree. What I meant in the questionnaires (see appendix 2) by proper degree was the degree the Ghanaian teacher posses, which both teacher in this case do. However, the American volunteer is mentioned as having enough knowledge about mathematics that the children can benefit from. It can only be assumed that this American volunteer is teaching the children in mathematics. Due to not being present when the questionnaires were filled in and not being able to ask more insight questions after the answers were given it can only be judged how the teachers interpret the term proper degree.

Concluding, these different observations and answers from a questionnaires lead to two different views. One view of teachers who allow volunteers to teach even though they have no degree or experience and the contrasting view of other teachers who do not allow volunteer to teach but only to assist when they do not have a degree or experience. The second view of the teachers who filled in the questionnaires resembles the view on the volunteers who declined to offer to teach but only wanted to assist in the class. Besides observed during the attendance at the two schools this view of the volunteers that they are not qualified or experienced enough to teach classes was also mentioned by several other volunteers during informal discussions with them at one of the cafés in the city.

It is my opinion that in the cases in which a volunteer is allowed to teach an equal situation arises between the volunteer and the teachers. However, this equality is not the aim in these projects if they are viewed from a post-development and post-colonial perspective. From a post-development and post-colonial point of view the relationship between the volunteers and the teachers should be one of inequality since the teacher is more experienced in his profession and stands above the volunteer from that perspective as a teacher would also stand above a trainee or student in the Western culture. Therefore, in the situation in which the volunteers who do not have the proper degree or experience are not allowed to teach but only to assist the project is of a post-development and post-colonial nature. The relationship can only be equal if the volunteer is indeed a teacher with a degree in which both teachers can really talk about their teaching methods.

Expert role at orphanage
The observation that volunteers are not eager to get assigned or assign themselves an expert role was also observed during the observations in the orphanage. While the volunteers at the schools got assigned an expert role because they were allowed to teach, the volunteers at the orphanage did not get assigned an expert role. They got instructions about how the methods were at the orphanage and followed them. All volunteers spoken at this project felt that it was

not their place to be an expert and tell the women who worked at the orphanage how things were done in the Western culture. They did disagree with some of the methods, for example how often the diapers were changed or how the children were lifted from their cots, but they did not comment on it since it was the way of the Ghanaians. They did however do some things in the ways according to their own Western perspectives / manners, for example when they lifted of the children from the cots. Regarding their experience or degree to work at the orphanage all the volunteers had an educational background of working with children or pedagogy. They were all still learning but already had some experience.

Image 7.2 The baby/toddler room in the Anfaani Children's Home (photo made by Maryse)

In this case, because of their experience with children it could be seen that these volunteers had sufficient background knowledge to comment and critique the Ghanaian ways seen at the orphanage. But as mentioned before, they all felt like it was not their place to judge the Ghanaian ways even though they disagreed on some occasions. Back in the Netherlands I attended meeting of a Dutch couple who lived in Ghana and worked at an orphanage and a primary school. They were back in the Netherlands to raise money for their projects. The woman told the story of a fire at the orphanage and the Dutch couple had accepted all the children in their home when they had no place to stay. When the woman still worked at the orphanage she also felt like it was not her place to comment on the Ghanaian ways even though she had the opinion that her, Western, ways were much better for the children. However, once in her home she felt like she could change them because they were in her house now and she had the chance to introduce some of the Western ways of working with and caring for children. After the return to the new building of the orphanage the Western ways stayed implemented because they worked better (which was the opinion of the Dutch woman).

The last example shows that a change in environment gave the Dutch woman the feeling she could change some of the Ghanaian ways because they were not in a true Ghanaian environment anymore. It is very plausible that the volunteers would have spoken out if they had seen the same behaviour in a caring facility for children in the Netherlands. However, in Ghana they did not comment on the Ghanaian ways in order to prevent offending the woman in charge of the orphanage but they kept with their own Western ways when possible but did not impose it on the woman who worked at the orphanage.

Expert role at construction site
An expert role was also observed at the construction project of Gary. He had no experience in construction, he worked at a butcher's shop after he left school, but he was considered as one of the experts during construction according to what Gary told me. When the 'master' of the construction died he was even assigned the role as master of the project until they would find someone else. This role was mainly ceremonial for Gary as he had no influence at the progress of the construction process. Gary told me he was even offered the role as chief in the village the school was build, the reason that was given to him was because he was white and from the Western world. It is not uncommon that a stranger from the Western world gets offered the role of chief of a village as it gives the village a 'status' and is seen as a possibility of development for the village.

The fact that Gary was given an expert role in construction even though he did not have any experience can influence the project greatly. In this case there were a few other persons who had knowledge about construction. However, if such a person would not be involved in the project and they would solely rely on the 'experience' of Gary the construction of the school could be a disaster.

7.3 Western way of knowledge versus Ghanaian way of knowledge
During the participation in the volunteer projects several observations were made that related to either the Western way of knowledge or the Ghanaian way of knowledge as previous discussed in paragraph 2.6.3. In this paragraph the presence of both ways of knowledge will be discussed with the help of anecdotes gathered during the observations. Furthermore, a more profound analysis of the Ghanaian teaching methods related to the Western teaching methods is given to show the effect of the colonial era on the educational system of Ghana as previous discussed in paragraph 5.2**.**

Even though the teaching methods applied in the classes observed are from a Western origin the knowledge that is taught is Ghanaian. Children are allowed to speak Dagbani (the local languages) in the lower classes (P-1 to P-3) and can learn the English language with the help of Dagbani. In the classes P-4 and higher English is the mandatory language and Dagbani is not allowed to be used anymore, however, during the observations this was not always the case. Environmental studies is about the environment in Ghana and at the private school ,supported by a Dutch couple, the vegetables, fruits and animals that are taught to the children with the help of posters are all from Ghana and can be bought at the local market. Thus, there are no fruits and vegetables from the Western world taught to the children that cannot be bought at the local market. In this case, the materials are made at the school and not by the Dutch couple and contain Ghanaian knowledge.

However, there were some teaching materials present at the private school that the Dutch couple brought with them. The headmaster of the school showed them to me during our conversation during the break in which I asked him about the teaching methods and materials.

> "He told me about the Dutch couple who have built the school and still support it and he showed me the Dutch teaching methods they had send him. The teaching methods all concerned games like Scrabble or Yathzee that involve letters or digits. Furthermore he had Dutch illustrated books in his office, only the cover title was Dutch so they could be used by the children. However, they did not look like they were used. He also had many toys in his office, given by the volunteers at their goodbye or send by the Dutch couple, however, they look hardly used and during the break no toys were brought outside for the children to play with."

The fact that the headmaster thinks that the games are Dutch teaching methods shows how little he knows about the Dutch (or Western) way of teaching. The games may be used in Western classes, but only as an aid not as the general teaching method. A post-development theory argument can be given against the Dutch illustrated books. These books are send from the Netherlands towards Ghana while it is also possible to buy illustrated books in Ghana as seen in one of the many bookshops. If the books were bought in Ghana this would be beneficial for the Ghanaian economy instead of the Dutch economy as argued by Moyo (2009) explained in paragraph 2.4. The use of these 'Dutch teaching methods' illustrates the importance given to the Western way of knowing as the Dutch methods are seen as good teaching methods even though according to Western standards they are not.

During the observations no possibility arose to observe volunteers telling the children about their live at home. It would have been an interesting conversation to have observed and participated in. In these conversations it would have become clear through which perspectives the volunteers see the Western culture and the Ghanaian culture. It could be observed how the volunteers speak about the Western world and culture, if this would be in a superior way it could be argued that they think that the Western world is better and they are showing this opinion towards the children. Unfortunately these observations could not be made. However, in the questionnaires filled in by a few teachers they were asked if the volunteers told the children about their homes and cultures (the Western way of knowing). The answers they gave gives an insight in their perspectives on the information the volunteers share with the children and them. The teachers both say the volunteers tell about the Western culture on some occasions when they tell the children about their own (family) life and education. Both teachers that filled in the questionnaires also give a value to the information the volunteers tell the children.

> "They encourage the children and advice them to be good since the Western life and the Ghanaian life are entirely different. They do tell about their education and sometimes family life. With the kind of good attitude."
> "They tell them the right attitude, positive values that can make their life meaningful in the future."

The second teacher is more pronounced about his opinion as he says that the volunteers tell the children about "*the right attitude and positive values*" that will give their life meaning in the future. From his argument it can be judged that he associates the Western culture with the right attitude and positive values and that these values are better than the Ghanaian ones since the Western ones can make the life of the children meaningful. It is unknown what the first teacher means with "*the kind of good attitude.*" since it could mean either the good attitude of being Western or a good way of telling without too much superiority displayed. The first teacher seems to understand that Ghanaian and Western life and way of knowing are different but does not clearly judge which one would be better according to him. However, the second teacher does judge that the Western culture, values and way of knowing are better than the Ghanaians. He thus gives more importance to the Western way of knowing which is similar towards the attitude by both colonized and colonizers towards the Western way of knowledge during the colonial era.

As discussed in paragraph 7.2 about the expert role of the volunteers in the orphanage, the volunteers did not force their Western way of knowing on the woman who worked in the orphanage even though they had the opinion that in some cases the Western way of knowing would be better. The Dutch woman (met in the Netherlands) who worked in the orphanage had the more obvious opinion that the Western way of knowing was better than the Ghanaian way of knowing when it came to working with the children in the orphanage. She did impose her Western way of knowing when the children got to her home, and she felt that she had the right to impose her knowledge and values there. The changes she made stayed implemented after the children were transferred to the new building of the orphanage.

7.3.1 Teaching methods in primary schools

During the observations at the public and private school several observations of the teaching methods were made and the question arose how the teaching methods in Ghana today were related to the teaching methods introduced by the British colonizers during the colonial era. The teaching method that the British introduced to Ghanaian education was the traditional teaching methods as discussed in paragraph 5.2. To this day this method is still used in the schools in Ghana and the method was observed during the observation at both schools. The critique given to the traditional method is that oral recitation and rote memorization are not teaching methods that result in understanding of the subject. This was observed during the observation at both schools and will be discussed below.

At the private school several lessons were observed in which the traditional teaching method was the teaching method used. All lessons that were observed took place in the nursery classroom and were observed during the drawing 'lesson' Sarah and I gave to two of the children. There were two classes present in the nursery classroom, one of who was taught by a teacher while the other had no teacher and the children were teaching themselves until the headmaster intervened. One of the most obvious examples of the critique given to the traditional teaching methods was observed during the class the headmaster gave the children after my conversation with him during the break about the teaching methods.

> "In the period before the break the children without a teacher had been teaching themselves
> the alphabet with the help of a poster that was stuck to the blackboard. Each time a child

would go to the blackboard and read the letters out loud in the standard sequence (Aa,Bb,Cc etc). If a child would not know the letter the rest of the class would help. After the break the headmaster intervened in this class, probably to show me some of the 'Dutch' teaching methods he had told me about. The headmaster took one of the games from his office, a game that had all the letters of the alphabet on individual cards. He sat himself down in front of the children and picked some of the cards and showed them to the children. Then he chose one of them who had to tell him which letters were on the cards. The girl could give him the answer to several of the letters but the further the letter would be in the alphabetic sequence the more difficult it would get. Even though the girl had named the whole sequence completely just 30 minutes ago. Letters that had a resemblance to each other (like the N and M, B and P) and the W were found difficult. The girl was asked over and over again until she (guessed) answered with the right letter. The headmaster repeated this with several children, each with the same result observed as the girl."

This example is a good example of the effectiveness of the traditional teaching method and the critique as mentioned above. While the children had been able to recite the perfect sequence before with the poster in front of them they were not able to differentiate the letter individually. They had the exact sequence memorized but this was not equal to understanding and knowing the individual letters. Another example to prove the critique on the traditional methods shows that words are learned but that the meaning of that word is not always understood.

"Sarah and I asked the boy and the girl (Raha) who we had with us for the drawing lesson (how to draw straight lines) which colours they liked the most and wanted to use for their drawing. Raha said she liked green but when I asked her to pick the green pencil she chose the pink pencil but still thought it was green. The boy did the same, he said he wanted the blue pencil but he chose the yellow pencil when Sarah asked him to pick the blue pencil from the set of pencils."

This observation shows that both children did know the words but not the meaning behind them. This of course can also be related to the fact that these children are only between the age of 4 to 6 and do not know all the colours yet perfectly. And the same applies for the children learning the alphabet. However, another and possible stronger example in which the children knew the sequence but not the meaning behind the word was observed in the other class in the nursery class.

"The other group, who had a teacher present, was taught a lesson about different parts of the body with the visualization of a poster and their own bodies. They were taught some different part of the body in a specific sequence (head, ears, eyes, nose, mouth, neck, shoulders, hands, belly, legs) recited by the whole class for about 5 minutes. After the whole class had recited the sequence several times the teacher asked each child in front of the class and asked them to point their finger at the body part he would name. At first he kept the same sequence in which he taught the body parts to the children and the children would know most of them. After a few children had come in front of the class he changed the sequence of the part and would start with a different part. He would ask for the nose first and the child would

automatically raise his hand to his head which was the first body part taught in the sequence. This happened with several of the children. The teacher would, the same as the headmaster, keep asking the question until the child had the answer right."

This example shows that the children remember the sequence very well but they do not remember which body part belonged to which word. The recite the words and sequence for an amount of time until they know the exact sequence of the words, this however does not mean that they can connect the right body part to the right word.

Image 7.3 The two classes in the nursery class with it the background the class who had a teacher present at all times.

Another observation of the traditional teaching methods was made at the public school during the observation of an English lesson. The children recited a short English text during the whole lesson for about 30 minutes in which Gary and the teacher assisted with the pronunciation of the words. When it comes to pronunciation of the recitation of words may be a good teaching method but during the class I wondered if the children knew the meaning behind the words because the teacher had never explained them to the children.

All these examples show that the traditional teaching methods do no automatically mean the understanding of the meaning of a word. The fact that the children just recite the sequences they have been taught without really knowing what it means also shows this. As mentioned before, the fact that the children could not remember which word belonged to which body part can also be related to the fact that this are young children in the nursery class. However, the fact that the children know the sequence better than the meaning of the words

cannot be ignored. Nor can the fact that the same observation was made in four different lessons in three classes at the private school as well as during classes observed at the public school.

It could be argued, from a western point of view, that the current teaching method in the West, which encourages problem solving thinking, is a better teaching method and should be introduced into the Ghanaian education system. This argument was also given by a teacher in Information Technology, from Western origin, I met at a restaurant. Paul said that the main problem with the students and the Ghanaian teacher was that they were very adequate in doing what they were exactly taught but the moment something diverged they would have a problem (Paul, pers. com., 6th of September, 2010). A problem which they could not solve because they had not been taught how to fix that exact problem. Unfortunately I did not have the opportunity to discuss the Ghanaian teaching methods with the Ghanaian teacher to get an understanding of their view on the traditional teaching method. I tried to talk about the subject with some teachers during the breaks between the classes but these conversations unfortunately all ended up being about marriage. If I had had more time with the teachers I would have gotten the possibility to discuss these subjects after the initial interesting (and personal) subjects for the teachers had been discussed.

Even though it is an argument from a Western point of view and can therefore been seen as giving dominance to the Western way of knowing, I would argue that introducing a different teaching methods in Ghana in which problem solved thinking is encouraged could be better for the development of Ghana. In order to integrate in the world system (even though it is dominated by the Western culture) Ghanaians should learn to think for themselves and not only follow prepared instructions, similar to the way it was done during the colonial era and in projects with a neocolonial nature. The introduction of problem solved thinking would create an educated population that would be capable of fixing its own problems instead of always having to go to the Western people for help. This would also help creating a mode of production that Ghana is still missing as discussed in paragraph 5.1 as Ghanaians would become able to produce products themselves and handle utilities like water pipes and electrical power lines. This would create a country that is less dependent of the Western countries. Thinking for themselves would create an equal relation between the Ghanaians and the Western people in. With problem solved thinking the Ghanaians can adapt the modes of production and structures according to their own needs instead of following a strict plan given to them by the western people. It should make them capable to not follow the same line of development as the Western world but create their own with the help of examples from the West. Post-development theory asks the question what exactly is development. Who decides what developed is? If the Ghanaians adopt problem solved thinking they will be more capable then before to judge which developing processes are good for them and how they need to be implemented to function in the specific Ghanaian culture, economy or social life.

7.4 Influence of the volunteers/researches presence

The influence that I as a researcher could have on the normal behaviour of the actors was discussed in paragraph 3.2**.** The possibility of my presence influencing the behaviour was taken into account during the observations and has led to some very interesting observations for this research. In both primary school cases I made my background as researcher known to

the headmaster of the schools in order to be able to ask more insight questions during the research. While both headmasters knew my role as a researcher I was treated like another new volunteer that had come to the school and had to be introduced to the schools and the classes. The introducing to the school was in one case (the private school) done by the volunteer Sarah who had worked there in the weeks before the observation. In the other case of the public school the introduction was done by the headmaster and a few teachers since both Gary and I had never been to the school before and it was intended that Gary would be starting volunteering at the school for a longer period. During the observations there have been several occasions in which the presence of me as the researcher or a new volunteer has influenced the behaviour of the teachers or headmasters of the schools. First I will discuss the influences that a new volunteer has on the behaviour of the teachers and how this behaviour changes after the volunteer works at the projects longer. After that I will discuss the influence of the presence of myself as a researcher.

Influences of the volunteers

When introduced to the headmaster of the Kpanvo public school he was very eager to meet the new volunteers. The fact that I could only come for a few days did not bother him and after hearing about my research he was glad to help me. He wanted to bring me in contact with some of the families of the children in the school and said he would help with handing out the questionnaires that I had for the teachers. He introduced me and Gary to several of the teachers that had come to the office to be introduced to us. On the first day Gary and I visit the Kpanvo School there were no classes since the school had not been cleaned yet. The children were ordered to do the cleaning while the teachers sat with Gary and me beneath one the trees to talk. Since all the attention of the teacher was on Gary and me they paid no attention to the children who should be doing the cleaning but in fact were not cleaning but playing in and around the classrooms. Because of unfamiliarity with the situation I could only guess if the teachers would have been more involved in the cleaning if Gary and I had not been there. When Gary and I return the next day there were lessons in which Gary and I could help and observe. During this day several observations were made that could be related to our presence of new volunteers. For example:

> "The school looks both organized and chaotic at that same time. The classrooms we visit on the small tour of the school (P-4 and P-3) are very organized and the teacher in the classroom is teaching a lesson. However, in the classrooms we did not visit and just walked past no teacher was present and the children just sat in their school desks or ran around the school building."

This observation made me as a researcher wonder how things would normally go at this school when there would be no volunteers present. Furthermore, during the day the headmaster tried to impress our view about the school even more by for example letting us read the list of names of children that should be present in the class and showing us only into classes in which a teacher was present and walking by the classes in which no teacher was present. This behaviour of trying to impresses the volunteers was also noticed during a conversation with the headmaster of the private school in which he proudly showed me all the

materials the school had gotten from the Dutch founders of the school and previous volunteers. Materials included toys for the children, books, notebooks, pencils and 'Dutch teaching methods' / games.

A second example that the presence of new volunteers changes the behaviour of the teachers was observed during the second day at the Kpanvo public school. Although the teachers had met Gary and me the day before some of them came to say hello when we were helping in the P-6 class. This was disturbing for the children who were learning their English text. Furthermore, a large group of children gathered in the doorway and the windows. Even though Victor, the teacher of the P-6 class, tod them to go they stayed and no teacher came to gather them for their own classes. They finally left when the headmaster told them to when he eventually entered the classroom to come check upon Gary and me. The fact that these children can gather in front of our classroom is probably related to the fact that there are no teachers present in their classrooms as mentioned in the observations above. During the observation at the public school no children gathered in front of the classroom in which Sarah and I were present, during our presence teachers were present in all the classrooms or the children were teaching themselves.

Another example of how the presence of new volunteers can influence the behaviour of the teachers involves the corporal punishment of children with a wooded stick. It has been told to me by several teachers and other Ghanaians I met in daily life that corporal punishment is forbidden in schools by law. However, the next two examples show that the implementation of this law may occur on the days the volunteers are present at the school or just beginning their work at the school but that this changes over time.

> *Observed at the public school: "*The children are fighting over the books they got from the teacher. Gary picks up the stick next to the teachers seat and the children immediately run back to their places. Victor, the teacher, says that they do not use the stick. But to me it seems that the children seem to know very well what the stick stands for. And if it is not used why is it still present in the classroom?"
>
> *Observed at the private school:* "Sarah said that normally the children would be punished with a hard strike from a wooden stick. Except for the little tap by a wooded stick by one of the teachers nothing happened today. Sarah said it did not happen either when she first started at the school but that it changed after a few days and teacher would punish the children again with a strike of the wooden stick."

There are also examples in which the presence of either Sarah and me or Gary and me as volunteers did not influence the behaviour of the actors. In case of the children the following observations were made at the private school:

> *"*On the playground the children are very interested in us, they are not shy and like to play with us and are craving for our attention. However, in the classes shown to me by Sarah the children acknowledge our presence by greeting us in a very formal way in which all the children stood up from their benches and said "Good morning, how are you?" together. After that the class continued and the children paid me or Sarah no more attention. They were all focused on the class. The formal way of greeting did not only apply to us but to every teacher

that would enter the classroom. The children in the nursery did not pay attention to us when Sarah and I sat down in the class. They kept continuing their self-studying of the alphabet."

The fact that the children in the higher classes and the nursery did not acknowledge the presence of Sarah or me when we were in the class, but not working with them, can be related to the fact that these children are familiar with volunteers and do not see them as special anymore. Volunteers are part of their environment, they are not shy towards them during playtime but during classes they are not distracted by them. During the observations at the Kpanvo public school the children behaved the exact opposite, they were shy towards us and distracted by our presence during the classes even if the teacher did not give us any attention as one of the teachers did when we were present in his class. When I asked if there had been volunteers to this school before, the headmaster said that there had not been many volunteers before. Thus, the different behaviour of the children in contrast to the children at the private school can be related to the fact that they are not familiar with volunteers and volunteers are not part of their normal school environment yet.

Image 7.4 Sarah and some of the children before the classes started at the private school

Concerning the teachers, the teachers at the school of Sarah were not as interested in me or Sarah as the teachers at the Kpanvo public school but this can be related to the fact that they already knew Sarah for a longer time while Gary and I were both new. Only one teacher at the Kpanvo public school did not involve us in his lesson while we were present during in his classroom, this can however be related to the subject as it was Environmental studies and was about drinking water in Ghana. Something that all the teachers at the Kpanvo public

school had in common was that they immediately wanted Gary and mine's judgement about their teaching qualities. Both Gary and I were cautious in giving our opinion because we both did not want to offend them and I did not want to influence their behaviour too much.

All these examples show that there certainly is an influence that the volunteers have on the behaviour of the teachers. This influence will last for a few days after which they will go back to their normal behaviour as observed by Sarah during her volunteer work at the private school. The fact that Sarah gave me insights in the normal behaviour versus the behaviour I observed made it possible for me to see a relation between the behaviour of the teachers and the presence of volunteers. There are similarities in the observations at both schools, the observations about corporal punishment for example and the fact that the headmasters and teachers try to impress the volunteers. There is also a contrast in the observations regarding the timing in the project. For Sarah this was her last week and the teachers were already accustomed to her presence. I had not the role of a new volunteer but was a friend of Sarah who came to observe / help for a day. For Gary these were his first two days and both he and I got assigned the role of a new volunteer that needed to be introduced to the school and impressed. This contrast gave an interesting point of view in which Sarah's and my own presence did not influence the normal behaviour (except in the case of the headmaster) while the presence of Gary and me probably influenced the normal behaviour of the teachers although this cannot be said with all certainty. The observations at Sarah's school show that the influence the presence of a volunteer has will decrease over time as teachers go back to their normal behaviour and actions (for example the corporal punishment). The observations at the Kpanvo public school cannot be used in this way since there are no observations of other behaviour. Therefore it cannot be judged if the observed behaviour was normal or deviating from normal. When the days of observation were over for me I hoped that Gary would offer a view on the normal behaviour of the teachers when his volunteer work at the school would continue. However, Gary never went back to the school after the days of observation with me because he could work again on the construction side where they had gained resources for new building materials and had found a new 'master' for the project.

Influence of the researcher
An example of how my presence as a researcher influenced the behaviour of the involved actors was observed during the day at the public school. During one of the breaks I had a conversation with the headmaster about the role of volunteers in this school and the Ghanaian teaching methods. Since I was not coming back the next day the conversation needed to happen that day and could not be postponed until a later moment. He proudly showed me some of the Dutch teaching methods like Scrabble and Yathzee he had received from the Dutch founders of the school. The headmaster said they used them to teach the children. After the interview Sarah said to me that she had never seen the games outside of the headmasters' office, neither had she ever seen the toys nor the illustration books outside the office. What happened after the interview when the break was over showed the influence of my presence as a researcher and the headmasters' reaction to my questions:

"Before the break one of the groups (children between the age of 4 and 6) in the nursery had been without a teacher and had been teaching themselves the alphabet with the help of a

poster with the alphabet on it stuck to the chalkboard. After the break, and my conversation with the headmaster, the headmaster took over the class. He had taken one of the games from his office and used it to question the children about their knowledge about the letters of the alphabet. Sarah said to me that she had never seen the headmaster teach a class before or even seen him in the nursery class. After questioning a few children the headmaster gave the children notebooks they could draw in, something that the children did not get to do often according to Sarah."

Because of the questions I had asked the headmaster during our conversation he changed his behaviour to show that what he had told me was the truth. The fact that Sarah had been working at the school for a few weeks made it possible for me to establish the normal situation according to her observations during the previous weeks. Sarah told me which actions were different during my presence.

7.5 Dependent / independent nature of the project
The dependence or independence of a project is judge by the sustainability of the project if there are no volunteers present. Both volunteer projects at the public and private school are of an independent nature. These projects continue to function even if there are no volunteers present. Teachers are available for each class and volunteer often have a more assisting role than a role of teacher as they do not want the possible expert role they could get assigned. Even if the volunteer is given the role of a teacher they only give courses like English and Mathematics, for the other courses Ghanaian teachers are still required and present at the school.

Image 7.5 Me at the Kpanvo Presby Primary school with some children and the headmaster in the background

The orphanage is also a project of an independent nature. The volunteers are there to assist in caring for the children but neither of them has the main duty of running the orphanage so the work continues after the volunteers have left. A question that remains that when the volunteers leave and no other volunteer replace them would local Ghanaians be hired to take over their duties or would there just be more work for the woman who already work at the orphanage. However, in the case of the orphanage it can also be argued that it has a dependent nature. Money from the volunteers who work in the orphanage is given to the orphanage through the volunteer organization, although it is not the only source of income for the orphanage. The decrease in money flow would certainly influence the orphanage in some way. The orphanage has thus both an independent and dependent nature since it depends in some way on the money gain through the volunteers.

While the other projects, the schools and the orphanages, can be described as mainly independent as they will continue to work even though there are no volunteers present, this cannot be said about the construction project of Gary. The construction of the school started a few days after Gary had arrived in Tamale and the construction materials were paid with money that Gary had paid for his stay to the organization he was volunteering for. A few weeks after construction started there was no money anymore to pay for the blocks that are used to build the walls. They needed to wait for another income of money from other volunteers that were soon arriving. Until those volunteers had arrived no work could be done at the school since there were no building materials. This shows that the nature of this project is very dependent. Without the volunteers it would not be possible to build the school, not because there is no one to help construction but because there is no income of money if there are no volunteers. This project, therefore, could not exist without volunteers working for the organization that builds the school and thus is of a dependent nature.

7.6 Post-development nature or neocolonial nature of the projects

In the case of the private and public school it can be argued that the volunteers behave in a more post-development nature while the teachers behave more in a neocolonial or colonial nature. The attitude of the volunteers shows that they do not find their own knowledge and qualities superior over the Ghanaian teachers thus ruling out a neocolonial nature for them. They might have comments but these are not expressed because they feel it is not their place. I have argued before in paragraph 6.2 that the relationship between the volunteer and the Ghanaian teachers should not be one of equality when in the classroom. If the volunteer only assist the role in hierarchy should be lower than the role of the teacher. Only a volunteer with the actual teaching experience and a degree would be equal to the teachers and might be in the right place to discuss teaching methods in an equal hospital environment envisioned by post-development theory. The teachers however, as observed through their behaviour, have a more neocolonial or even colonial point of view in which the people coming from the West are seen as superior or equally qualified and capable to teach even though this is not the case regarding the observed volunteers.

The volunteer project at the orphanage is of a more post-development nature. The volunteers were not treated as experts nor were they asked for their opinions thus ruling out the neocolonial nature. However, because the volunteers were not asked for their opinions a post-development nature can also be ruled out. Similar to the case with the teachers, the

woman who work at the orphanage are higher in the hierarchy then the volunteers although in this case most volunteers actually have experience and could therefore be in the position to give their opinion or try to discuss the ways the children are treated. But because the woman of the orphanage never asked for the opinion of the volunteers or even took over the behaviour and ways of the volunteers this environment is not of a post-development nature either since there is no possibility for a discussion in a hospitable way. From a volunteer's perspective it can be argued that this project is of a post-development nature, however, the attitude of the woman is counteracting a hospitable environment to really create a post-development nature. In the case of the Dutch woman taking the children from the orphanage in her home it can be argued that her behaviour is of a neocolonial nature since she had the strong opinion that her ways of treating the children was much better than the way of the Ghanaian woman who worked at the orphanage. She imposed her ways of knowing once she got the right opportunity.

The construction project at which Gary worked is also of a neocolonial nature since Gary was explicitly given an expert role even though he had no experience in construction. In this case Gary did not protest as much as in contrast to the expert role given to him at the school. Gary felt like he could be able to do all the work at the construction side. To give this project a more post-development nature a volunteer with more experience should be brought to work on the project, or the volunteer without experience should not be given the expert role on the project but just be seen as one of the other builders, which was not the case at the construction project of Gary.

In this chapter the observations made in the second context were discussed. It can be concluded that some cases and actors had a post-development nature while other cases and actors had a neocolonial nature. The analysis of the observations in this chapter and the conclusions about either the post-development nature or the neocolonial nature will be used to analyze the colonial mentality of the actors involved in these projects which can be found in chapter nine. Before the analysis of the colonial mentality can be made in chapter nine, the third context, in which the behaviour, actions and communications of both volunteers and local Ghanaians was observed, will be discussed in the next chapter.

8 Interactions between volunteers and local Ghanaians in daily life

"That's Africa." A quote heard many times in the daily life in the interaction between the volunteers and the local Ghanaians. This quote was always used when I would go ask if the water pipe would be opened soon, if gas would be available again in Tamale soon or when the electricity would return after a 'lights off' (no electricity) of several days. At one point I did not have either of these three and still the argument would be: "That's Africa." During my stay in Ghana I interacted with a lot of Ghanaians in my daily life of being at the internet café, going to the market and eating at one of the local restaurants many volunteers visited. In this context discussions took place about the difference in culture, morals and values. Some of these discussions will be mentioned in this chapter in which the daily life of the volunteers during their stay in Tamale and the contact with the local Ghanaians during this time is discussed as the third context in this research.

It can be argued that this context differs greatly from the other two contexts as the volunteer has less the role as volunteer but more of a tourist and a person from a Western origin. Since the context if different to the other two contexts not all concepts from the conceptual model can be discussed since they cannot be applied to this context, like the dependent or independent nature of a project. The ones that do relate to the daily life will be discussed below together with anecdotes from observations and experiences of the daily life of a volunteer in Tamale. Furthermore, observations made that related to the perspectives, attitude and behaviour between volunteers and the local Ghanaians will also be discussed. These are not randomly chosen but related to subjects mentioned previous chapters.

Image 8.1 The Imani internet café on the right with the ICLI office in the same building on the left side.

Place were these observations took place were the local market, the local internet café, on the street, a café that is visited by many volunteers and local Ghanaians at the local market, social events and the house I lived in during my stay in Tamale. In this context I was even more of a participant then I was during the Educational program. In this context I was a volunteer just like the many other volunteers in Tamale. Therefore, the observations are strongly based in my own experiences. It was not often that I made my role as a researcher obvious to the other volunteers and local Ghanaians in this context. This was not necessary to obtain information as conversations with other volunteers and local Ghanaians was relatively easy to establish. Information about their daily life could be asked without given a specific reason other than being interested in their lives. Anecdotes rely strongly on my own experiences during my stay in Tamale as those were the experiences I could experience for real and observe instead of only ask about them. Information gathered from other volunteers was all done in informal conversations which were later documented in a field diary. In most situations I was not alone, I was either with the two girls I stayed with in the same house or with other volunteers I met during my stay in Tamale.

8.1 Expert role
The expert role in the third context is very different from the expert role in the second context. In the second context, in which the volunteer worked at a primary school, there was a clear expert role because they were allowed to teach and expected to have sufficient knowledge about what they were doing. This is different in the third context. I will argue that in the third context in which the volunteer has the role of a tourist there is less or no expert role to observe at the side of the volunteer, either appointed to them or by themselves.

For example, in many cases in which in the volunteer interacts with the people on the street or in the villages it is presumed that the volunteer does not know anything about the things they see in a village. For instance, on the several occasions I visited a village with a few other volunteers we got a tour through the village in which we were introduced to the products that were made in the village. The process of making *sheabutter*, branding peanuts, making oil and other food were explained to us in a sometimes very childlike manner. The information was repeated many times and we were shown examples of the different phases in the production process. It can be argued that this childlike manner and the repeating of information is because the local Ghanaians think that the volunteers do not know anything about the production processes and need to be taught. I will say that in the case of most production processes they were right and we did not know how these products were produced. In this case the local Ghanaian showing how he or she makes the product is the expert. The local Ghanaian is not assigned that role but actually is the expert in comparison to the volunteers. The way the local Ghanaians tell about their products is somewhat equal to the way tours are given on farms, factories or museums in the Western world. We felt like they perceived us as idiots who did not know anything about it, which we did not, but I would say that we would have felt the same way if we would have visited a farm in the West which had a tour about their production process. Therefore the behaviour of the local Ghanaians cannot be completely related to their colonial mentality as tours about production processes are conducted in fairly the same way in the west.

The next example is not really an example of an expert role but an example of behaviour and actions that the local Ghanaians perceived that the volunteers would not be capable of. During the first days in Tamale we got several staggered reactions when we said we would go cooking or cleaning. During these first few days the local Ghanaians involved in our daily life perceived that we would not be able to clean, cook or wash the dishes or our clothes. Even though these Ghanaians had been in contact with other volunteers before, who even lived in the same house as we did, their perspective on our ability to cook and clean was wrong. In the house we stayed we even had a girl who lived in with us for the first few weeks to cook. We never asked her to cook but she wanted offered it herself. The perception that we could not clean or cook changed after a few days.

It can be concluded that an expert role of the volunteers, either appointed to or by them, cannot be found in this context. However, an expert role of the local Ghanaians can be found. This expert role is appointed by themselves because they have the opinion that they know more about the subject than the volunteers do, which is the case in most situations.

8.2 Western way of knowing versus Ghanaian way of knowing
How does the Western way of knowledge influence the behaviour of the volunteers towards the Ghanaians? During the observations it was noticed that most of the volunteers were very careful with their opinions shared with the Ghanaians in the daily life. They would discuss the way something was 'normal' in the west but would try not to make any suggestions that that was the only right way to do so. In my case I would, with the help of examples like stories or pictures, try to show the Ghanaians a different perspective without imposing it on them as the right way to see Europe. My own views are, of course, also dependent to my own subjectivity. As are all the views of the volunteers and also the Ghanaians.

On subjects that could bring up difficult issues the volunteers tried to keep to the facts instead of giving their opinion on what was right. This applied especially for the subject of marriage. Other subjects that could have led to complicated and difficult discussions were avoided, like homosexuality or organ donations, or only discussed shortly after being dismissed by the Ghanaians. As mentioned before, many conversations with local Ghanaians men automatically went to the subject of marriage just a few minutes after meeting with the (female) volunteers. It was not uncommon for female volunteers to be asked if they wanted to be the second wife of a Ghanaian man only a few minutes after they had met said Ghanaian man. "*Do you want to be my second-wife?*" was an often heard question. Even though the Ghanaian culture is one of indirectness this question along with the question for our telephone number was very direct. Personally I never said yes but gave several variations of 'no' depending on the time I had already spent in Ghana. In the beginning I would not answer immediately and eventually say "*no thank you*". A few experiences with the question later I would say I had a boyfriend at home and if a boyfriend would not be enough for the Ghanaian men I would have a fiancée. After a few weeks and more experiences later I would answer the question with: "*I want to be the first and only wife."* I would only give this answer if I had already said no before but the man would keep asking the question. This answer may seem as too direct but it always led to an interesting discussion in which both parties explained their views on marriage. I explained mine on marriage and woman's rights while the Ghanaian men would explain to me why a man should have multiple wives and why I should marry them. In

the end, the fact that these discussions did not get heated was related to the fact that in this case both parties (unconsciously) agreed to disagree on the subject, each maintaining their view but trying to understand and accept the other. However, personally I felt I had to be more open to their views then they were for mine as they kept asking me if I wanted to marry them even if I had already explained to them why I would not. This was one of the only subjects in which I felt that the Ghanaian values and morals were imposed on me.

In some cases I personally found it very difficult to not tell them to try something another way, according to the Western way I knew. This especially applied to the Ghanaian view on spending money. Their way of handling money was the subject of one conversation in which I had brought up I have had a savings account since I was born and that I was taught not to spend money that I did not have and always save for the future. A savings account is not a common thing to have for Ghanaians. It became clear to me from this conversation and some other conversation I had about the subject that Ghanaians have a whole other view on money than me. When Ghanaians have money they spend it while in the West the most common and perceived as sensible thing to do is save the money to prepare for expenses in the future. For example:

> "One of the Ghanaians I spoke with told me he was not sure if he could pay his school fee of 100 Cedis for the semester at his school that would start next month. If he would not be able to pay it he could not go to school since he already was behind in paying for the last semester. However, he also told me he had just bought a motorbike and he was trying to improve it by adding new parts and he had one of the latest Blackberry models as his phone and an IPod."

This attitude towards money was also previously mentioned by one of the teachers in the Educational Program and the head of the construction side of the new hospital of Tamale as can be read in paragraph 5.1.

During these conversations I did not want to come off as the Western person who knew what is the 'right' thing to handle money. But from my point of view (a Western one) I could not help to think that if Ghana wants to develop, the attitude towards spending money needs to change, as was also mentioned by one of the teachers in the Educational program and Moyo (2009). In my point of view having a savings account would help the Ghanaians to create a more sustainable future as they would be more prepared if something broke or needed to be paid (like school fees). I did say in a direct way that creating a savings account would be a good idea for them and tried to explain to them the benefits. The reason why not many Ghanaians have a savings account was explain to me by the teachers from the Educational program and some comments of the local Ghanaians I spoke with. They did not trust the banks with their money and would rather save it themselves. They told me that there were indeed Ghanaians who saved their money but kept the money 'safely' in their own homes. Moyo (2009) has the opinion that money set in a savings account is investment money for banks that would be able to lend it to people to make investments. This would greatly improve the chances of development of a country according to Moyo. From this opinion it can be argued that it would be a smart move of the Ghanaians to put their money in a savings account. Not only for themselves to be prepared for the future but also for the development of the economy of Ghana.

There were also some occasions in which the Ghanaian tried to convince me of the Ghanaian way of knowing in favour of the Western way of knowing. This related from the issue of eating too much candy, which according to the Ghanaians would give me a sexually transmitted disease, to the issues of marriage, sex and being a woman and their relationship with men. Furthermore, the Ghanaians tried to convince me and my two housemates that the Ghanaian food was much better than our Western food. The last case, the food, I would judge as a case of '*what you know best is better and what you do not know you do not eat*'. We introduced them to some Western cuisine, some they liked (the pancakes) other they did not even want to try (our milk based pasta sauce). They also introduced us to Ghanaian food of which some we liked and other we did not want to taste ever again.

In other and most occasions the Ghanaians, like us, told us their opinion but did not impose it on us. Most Ghanaians met by volunteers were very open and were gladly to introduce the volunteers to local traditions and aspects of their culture. Some volunteers I have met were invited to *Eid Al-Fitr*, the feast at the end of the Ramadan. Others were invited to the naming ceremony of a baby. I myself was not introduced to Ghanaian family life as we did not live with a Ghanaian family but on our own. I was introduced to a part of the local culture when my and my fellow researchers followed drumming classes in a local compound and were also taught some local dances that differ from ethnic to ethnic group.

Image 8.2 Me during one of the drumming classes

8.3 Perspectives on the Western world of the Ghanaians

From the previous two contexts the perception that the Ghanaians have of the Western world is already established through several examples. In the context of the daily life other perspectives were discovered and these will be mentioned in this paragraph with the help of anecdotes.

Conversations about the differences between the Western culture and the Ghanaian culture were common. Different subjects were discussed in many settings. In some cases the perspectives that the Ghanaian had of the Western world were correct and similar to reality. However, in more cases the perspectives varied from a little unrealistic to plain wrong. In most cases we tried to give them the more realistic facts and our views on the subject instead of telling them straight forward that they were wrong, in a similar way as we had done with their perspectives on conflicts in the West mentioned in paragraph 6.1.1. Only on minor subjects we would tell them straight out that they were wrong. For example:

> "Yesterday Farouk made a strange comment. He said that every trees, plants, flowers and grass was fake were we lived. This was in reaction to a comment of mine in which I said we did not have as much sand as they had here (sand roads etc.). We only had buildings Farouk said. I thought this was strange since Farouk had seen many photo's on my computer involving European nature. I showed him a picture of some Austrian mountains with a lot of trees and asked him what he thought those were. He answered me they were fake, they were added to the photo with Photoshop. This was told to him by a friend and Farouk believed it to be true. His opinion was that trees and plants growing between stones (like on streets and squares) were fake because there was no sand. Even though I showed him more pictures of trees in the city and I told them they were real, he did not believe me."

This was one of the few occasions that I and my fellow researchers told the Ghanaians directly that there perspective was wrong. This subject was easier because it was about facts and not about cultural and moral values, like marriage or religion. However, there was one subject that included the perspectives on cultural and moral values, in which we also told them straight out they were wrong. During our time with them we watched several movies and TV-shows that were from Western origin. When we asked them how they got their information about the West they told us it was from the TV-shows and movies. They had the opinion that the representation in the movies and TV-shows was a correct representation of the life in the Western world. Although this is the case for some TV-shows and movies we commented that most TV-shows are exaggerated cases, especially in the case of reality shows. And that even though the TV-shows and movies show a happy end after struggle this is not always the case. We tried to tell them about the real life in Europe (sometimes in contrast to life in the United States) but I still do not know if they believe our story of that which was shown in the movies or TV-shows.

Another perspective the Ghanaians had of people from the Western world was that they are all rich. It was never assumed that we could have money problems. Even when we said that we were just students, who are not rich most of the time, and that we had to save a long time for the money to make the journey to Ghana they did not really believe us. It was assumed that we would be able to buy another ticket to Ghana in just a few weeks after we

had gone back to the Netherlands or Belgium. Or that we had the money to pay for a plane ticket to Europe for some random Ghanaian. This perspective is of course strengthen by the fact that they see us as Western volunteers being able to buy everything we want or need and that they know we have paid for a plane ticket to Ghana. We tried to explain the difference in worth of the money in Ghana and in the Western world by telling them that with the same amount of money in Ghana you could not buy the same things (regarding groceries) in the West because life is more expensive. We said that we may earn more money but the products we buy are also more expensive. Another perspective closely related to this subject and to the subject of the Ghanaian attitude towards money was found in a discussion related to being able to buy something and wanting to buy something:

> "We had found some cheese in one of the stores at the main street today. Real Dutch cheese. We have been looking forward to this for weeks because we really miss the cheese but in the end we all found it too expensive. About 5 euro for 100 grams of cheese. And we decided we did not want it that much anyway. One of the guys [a Ghanaian at the internet café] did not understand our actions because his opinion was that if we could afford it and we wanted it we should buy it."

The discussion ended up going about the worth of money relating to a product. And that even though we would want something, and we could afford it, we would not necessarily buy it because in our opinion something would be too expensive. This was something that was difficult to understand for the Ghanaian present during this conversation.

Image 8.3 One of the larger supermarkets in Tamale, the shop that had the cheese can be seen in the background

One discussion that took place at the local internet café was particularly interesting for this research as it gave an explicit insight on the views of a few Ghanaians on the colonial era. This discussion had the subject of colonization:

> "One of the guys made the statement that it would have been better for the development of Ghana if Ghana had been colonized longer. For about 20 years longer than the colonization had been now. His argument was that the colonizers (the British) would have brought more development towards the country and that Ghana would have been better off. He said that the water supply and the garbage disposal would be better handled and that there would have been more factories in Ghana. He argued that the British would have made sure Ghana would be well developed if independence had not come in 1957."

This argument resembles the argument made by one of the teacher during the Educational program when he said that colonialism was the best thing that had ever happened to Ghana. Both arguments have a neocolonial nature, perceiving the Western way as the best way to develop and perceiving the West as the only help to reach development. This opinion that the British would have made sure that Ghana would become well developed is contradictory to the British attitude towards developing Ghana mentioned in paragraph 5.1 and specifically contradictory to the British attitude towards developing the North of Ghana as mentioned in paragraph 5.1.1.

Many more discussions have taken place in the interaction between volunteers and local Ghanaians in daily life concerning their perspectives on the West which were either experienced or observed. To elaborate on all would be to extensive, therefore only the discussions related to subjects discussed in either the conceptual model or the historical and present-day context were discussed in this paragraph.

8.4 Perspectives on the Ghanaian world of the volunteers
Conversations with the local Ghanaians were related to their personal life, their culture and their views on our personal life, culture and habits. Although they told us much about their culture, habits and values there were not many discussions that involved the direct subject of our perspectives on the Ghanaian culture from a Western point of view. There were not many occasions in which our opinion about the Ghanaian culture was asked. Between the volunteers however there were some conversations about our perspectives on the Ghanaian world and culture.

We were surprised how many Ghanaians we met that were not of the opinion that the Western world was better even though this is a common expectation after reading literature and watching the media. The idea that is common among the Western people is that all Africans want to come to the Western world because they perceive that life is better there. However, we only met a few Ghanaians who explicitly wanted to go to Europe or America. We met more who did not want to live in Europe, they wanted to travel there or get an educational degree but they all preferred Ghana over Europe or America, particularly because their family was in Ghana. This is contradictory towards the perspectives many Western people and the volunteers have.

From books and movies people from the Western world all know the picture of a compound somewhere in Africa with clay house that have no windows and are very dark inside. These houses certainly exist in the rural areas of Ghana but in the more urban areas the houses are made of concrete blocks and the traditional houses that are made of clay or have an outer layer of clay have windows and if electricity is available, lights and a TV-set. This knowledge was gained during the visits of some villages surrounding the city centre of Tamale, the houses may look traditional and like the pictures in the book but inside they are full of (Western) comforts.

A perspective that most volunteers have of the local Ghanaians that was in agreement with their experiences in Ghana was that the Ghanaians do not hesitate to take advantage of the volunteer or tourist when it comes to money. It was very common for the shop owners to take advantage of the volunteers, simply by letting them pay more for their products then a local Ghanaian would. This was very clear at the cultural market where the main customers were the tourist. Products sold there were not often bought by local Ghanaians. Prices would

Image 8.4 Some shops at the Cultural market of Tamale which sell paintings and cloths.

always be high for tourist, in relation to how much a product would cost if a local Ghanaian would buy it. But in relation to a price for a product like that in the West it would still be low. For example, I asked one of my Ghanaian friends for the normal price of a Djembee of a certain size. None of the shop owners wanted to sell it to me for that prize, even after bargaining, which is very common in the Ghanaian culture. In most of the shops the products did not have a price tag making it impossible for the volunteer to know what the right price was. The prices of the products would become lower over time if the shop owners got to know the volunteer or if the volunteer had bought things from them before. Some of the

volunteers I got to know or observed at the tourist and local market were very set on getting the local price and bargaining. It was told to me that if a tourist would get the local prize for a product the shop owner would say "Welcome to Ghana/Tamale" to clarify that the local prize would be paid. In contrast to some other volunteer I did not mind paying a little bit more for my products from the cultural market or local food market just because I was from the West and a tourist. It is my opinion that I could afford to pay a little bit more. This especially applied to the people selling the vegetables and fruits on the street. I would not mind paying more to them because I knew it would go straight to their households which could probably use the money. Only if the prices asked were too high (especially regarding souvenirs) I would not pay it.

Taxi drivers would also take advantage from tourist/volunteers by letting them pay more, sometimes four times as much (5 cedi for a ride instead of 40 pesowa per person) just because they thought they were dealing with new ignorant tourist. But after a while we learned from other volunteers with experience how to get the local price and deal with taxi drivers who wanted more money. These experiences and information about the local price is something that is easily spread between the volunteers and tourist. They help each other out by telling the new tourist or volunteer the local price and how to act when there is a problem. I also observed that good experience with local shops or restaurants also travels fast between volunteers, creating knowledge about shops and restaurants who are seen as volunteer and tourist 'friendly'.

An example that further can be used as an affirmation that the local Ghanaians take advantage of the 'richer' tourists are the prices of local attractions. In some cases it was obvious that a tourist had to pay more. For example in Kakum National Park near Cape Coast in the south of Ghana they had 4 different prices. The price for a Ghanaian (12GHC[3]), a Ghanaian student (2GHC), a Non-Ghanaian adult (30GHC) and a non-Ghanaian student (15GHC) all differ as could be seen on one of the boards near the checkout counter. In other cases the prices differs per visiting group but a person from Western origin still has to pay more than a Ghanaian. In the occasion that I visit the Crocodile Pond in Paga each visitor had to pay 7 cedi entrée. From a friend who had visited the Crocodile Pond before I had heard a different lower price. Additionally, the three Western tourists had to pay 3 cedis per chicken, while the Ghanaians who were with us (three others) paid nothing for the chickens.

The Western volunteers or tourist thus have several perspectives on the Ghanaian culture of which some come true and other are proven wrong. The Ghanaians in the discussions did not focus often on their own culture alone as the Western culture in relation to the Ghanaian culture was more interesting to discuss.

8.5 Relationship between volunteers and local Ghanaians
How do the experiences and observations described above influence the relationship between the volunteers/tourist and the local Ghanaians? At the beginning of their stay most volunteers are a little cautious in their relationships with the local Ghanaians as they have yet to learn the common ways of interactions. Their perspectives are still defined by stories that they have

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[3] GHC stands for Ghana Cedi the national currency of Ghana

heard or information they have gained through others, not by experience. Furthermore, most of them know they are taking advantage of because they are of Western origin. This may not concern the Ghanaians in their direct surroundings, like the Ghanaians from their organization or the host family they are going to live with, but it most certainly concerns the other Ghanaians in the street who like to get money from them.

The interrelation that commences in the first few days or weeks after arrival shapes the way the volunteers perceive the local Ghanaians. For the local Ghanaians it is the same, perspectives and opinions gained in the first few days after the arrival of the volunteer will shape their view of the volunteer and will shape their relationship with them. Perspectives and impressions are difficult to change so both parties need to make sure they do not start out on the wrong foot. The hospitality concept from the post-development theory plays an important role in the creation of a good interrelation between volunteers and Ghanaians. If the interaction and experiences are good and open a volunteer will become more open towards the Ghanaian culture, but if the interaction and experiences are not good they will be closed for the Ghanaian culture and rely more on their own culture. The same applies to the Ghanaians, if they perceive the volunteer in a bad way because of their 'bad attitude' towards them they will not be open towards them and their culture. The difference between the volunteers and the local Ghanaians is that the local Ghanaians have previous experiences and thus already have existing perspectives of volunteers. If a previous volunteer acted in a certain way (for example, always bring drinks and cookies with her to the café) it will give them expectations of the new volunteer. If the new volunteer does not do this, this may be perceived as selfish behaviour by the Ghanaians even if the new volunteer had no knowledge of how previous volunteers acted towards the Ghanaians. This opens the possibility for problems that cannot be solved easily as the new volunteers do not know what he or she is doing wrong. Contact between the old volunteer and the new volunteer would change this as it would prepare the volunteer better for the existing situation and tell them which people can be trusted. This also happened between me and my fellow researchers after we arrived in Accra and met a Dutch girl that had just come back from Tamale and had been there with ICLI too.

> "She tells us all kind of stories and her experiences. She tells us that the people from ICLI are really nice and can be trusted but that we have to be aware of the other Ghanaians since their motives are not always good."

This would, however, also already shape the volunteers perspectives accordingly to the perspectives of the old volunteer and could create a bias that also already exists in the perspectives of the local Ghanaians. This bias can work both positively and negatively as it can make the new volunteers less or more open towards the other actor and its culture according to the old volunteer's experience.

As mentioned before, volunteer share information about the local prizes and volunteer friendly shops and restaurants. These shop owners and restaurants build up a good reputation amongst volunteers and volunteers who have had good experience keep returning because they know it is a place they can trust. Interrelations shaped with other volunteers are, in this case, passed over to new volunteers who in their turn tell it again to volunteers they meet.

This creates an environment for volunteers that they perceive as trustworthy. The advantage of this trustworthy environment is that it can lead to a good environment for open discussions about culture and morals which are so important to create an understanding between cultures and perspectives with fewer prejudices.

Most of the above described experiences are from me or my travel companions. I have not observed many discussions in which a volunteer was very exertive to convince the Ghanaians of the Western way of knowing expect in the cases the discussion was about facts (like the trees that were photoshoped) and not morals or values. If a person is open towards other cultures or either is convinced that their own culture is the best also depends on the character of that person. This relates to both the volunteers and the local Ghanaians. Besides their characters their behaviour is also related to their colonial mentality. Both character and colonial mentality are closely linked. How the character and colonial mentality are linked and what the colonial mentality of the volunteers and the local Ghanaians is will be discussed in the next chapter in which all the information from the observations is gathered to analyse the colonial mentality. The central question of this thesis will also be answered in the next concluding chapter.

Image 8.5 View of the major road of Tamale in the afternoon

9 Conclusions

In the previous chapters we analyzed the observations from the field according to the theories and concepts from the conceptual model that were discussed in chapter two. In this chapter we will bring together all the information gathered from the analyses in order to answer the sub-question about the colonial mentality of both volunteers and local Ghanaians. Subsequently, the central question of this thesis about the interrelation between the colonial mentality of both actors and the effectives of the volunteer projects will be answered. In this chapter we will use the conclusions about the colonial mentality to answer. After answering the central question of this thesis recommendations will be given related to the conclusions. Furthermore, a critical reflection of this research will be given and some recommendations for future possible research related to this critical reflection are offered.

9.1 Colonial mentality of the volunteers and the local Ghanaians

In this paragraph the colonial mentality of both volunteers and local Ghanaians regarding all three contexts will be discussed. The colonial mentality is a collection of perspectives of a person that has their origin in the historical and colonial context and is apparent in the attitude and interaction towards each other. The colonial mentality of a person can range from high, adapting a mainly neocolonial nature, or low when a person has a more post-development nature. In the previous paragraph it was argued that the character of a person also is of influence on his or hers colonial mentality. First this argument will be explained more profoundly after which the colonial mentality of both actor groups will be discussed with the help of the information gathered in the analysis of the observations.

The character of a person decides how open they are towards people that are different. A person who is close-minded is intolerant towards the beliefs and opinions of others and in essence unreceptive to new ideas. A person with this characteristic will probably have more of a colonial mentality and be more impressionable towards prejudices from the colonial era and Orientalism. In contrast, a person who is open-minded will be more inclined to respect the views, opinions, moral and values of others that are different from one's own. A person with this characteristic will probably have less of a colonial mentality and will be less impressionable by prejudices as this person is open towards difference and does not see their own view as the one and only and the best way. To judge the character of a person is even more difficult than analyzing perspectives from observations and it is not the goal of this research. However, it does influence, as argued above, the possible colonial mentality of a person. Therefore it is included in this research and will be mentioned when analyzing the colonial mentality of both actors.

9.1.1 Volunteers

A volunteer that has a low colonial mentality has a strong post-development related nature. He or she is open-minded towards the other culture and they will create a hospitable environment around them in which persons from different cultures and who have different believes are equal and differences are respected. A volunteer that has a high colonial mentality will have a strong neo-colonial related nature. He or she will have the opinion that the Western way of knowing is the right way of behaving and acting and he or she will not be

open towards other ways of knowing. These two descriptions of colonial mentality are the extremes in which between the actually colonial mentality of the volunteers will fall.

From the behaviour of the volunteers that was observed in the three different contexts it can be argued that their colonial mentality is fairly low. In the discussions during the Educational program and in daily life they did not impose their Western way of knowing on the Ghanaians. They may try to change the perspectives that the Ghanaians have of the Western world towards a perspective that is more realistic and includes less stereotypes but they do this in a manner that cannot be seen as imposing their way of knowing upon the Ghanaians. When disagreement arose when discussing subjects about morals and values they often respect the morals and values of the Ghanaians and agreed to disagree. Furthermore, they avoided discussions about sensitive subjects in Ghana, like homosexuality or organ donations. Therefore, in discussions they create an environment of hospitality that respects and acknowledge differences. From my own experience I can argue that not often did the opinion of the Ghanaians overthrow my own believes in a way that my own opinion changed according to the Ghanaian one but I learned to respect the Ghanaian culture, morals and values during these discussions. On the occasions that the Ghanaians assigned themselves an expert role on a subject the volunteers did not know anything about the volunteers did not mind. This is also evidence towards a low colonial mentality as the volunteers did not view the Ghanaians as backwards and not capable of knowing more than they would know as was the most common view during the colonial era (see paragraph 2.6.2).

In their work environment the volunteers also did not impose their way of knowledge and they avoided being put in an expert role since they viewed this expert role as unjustifiably assigned to them. They felt they were not qualified to do the job assigned to them a teacher since they did not have experience in teaching. When telling about their own experiences of the Western culture, moral and values they did this in way that did not state their opinion as the right one. And when judging the teacher they were cautious towards them to be not too judgmental.

The difference between the first and third context in relation to the second context is the following. The first and third context consists of an informal environment. The Educational program of course consisted of formal classes but the discussion took place in an informal way in which the volunteers felt free enough to give their own opinions and views. However, the second context is more formal as it involves the working place. The hierarchy at the work place, which is required as argued previously, does not create an equal environment. And in this case, the volunteer often did not want to be equal to the teachers or the woman at the orphanage in the expert role they might get assigned. There can only be an equal environment if the volunteer has teaching experience or experience with caring for children. The volunteers at the orphanage had this experience but they felt it was not their place to change things in the orphanage. This can be viewed as respecting the Ghanaian way of knowing even though they kept their own opinion that caring for the children should happen in a slight different way. The Dutch woman mentioned in the observations that also worked at the orphanage also respected the Ghanaian way of knowing during her work at the orphanage but tried to change a few habits of caring for the children as soon as she got her chance. Her colonial mentality is therefore higher than the other volunteers observed in the other orphanage. She felt like she could change a few things, this is probably related to the fact that the woman was also older

and had even more experience in caring for children than the volunteers. It can also be related to her character which was probably less open-minded then the volunteers, however this cannot be really judged since the woman was only seen once during a presentation in the Netherlands.

It can thus be concluded that the volunteers that were observed during the field work have a low colonial mentality. They are open-minded towards the Ghanaian culture, morals and values and through the discussions respect is created for the other culture, morals and values. During their actual work as volunteer they are more aware of the colonial mentality of the Ghanaians (as will be discussed in the next paragraph) and they try to avoid being put in an expert role and do not try to convince their way is the better way. The nature of most volunteers is therefore in resemblance with the post-development nature.

A question that arises from this conclusion is the question why the volunteers have a low colonial mentality even though they are from the Western world and it was initially expected that their colonial mentality would be high and their perspectives were expected to be that the Western world would be better. This last argument is certainly true, not many volunteers were convinced that the Ghanaian way of knowing and its moral and values are better even though many of them learned to be more patient and relaxed although this quickly changed back after a few days back in the hectic Western world. What was different from expected was that the volunteers did not impose their way of knowing onto the Ghanaians but only tried to show them a different perspective without adding if this was the right perspective. The reason why the volunteers have a low colonial mentality is related to their character and sometimes their educational background. The characters of the volunteers observed can all be judged as open-minded towards the Ghanaian culture and its morals and values. For most of the volunteers getting to know another culture is one of the reasons to do volunteer work and thus they are already open-minded towards other cultures. A close-minded person would not want to get to know other cultures and therefore would not often do volunteer work. This can be the explanation why for most volunteers their colonial mentality can be judged as low. Concerning their educational background, many volunteers have an educational background that is related to development, Africa and cultures. Their educational background and interest also create a lower colonial mentality because their perspectives are more realistic and they know that there are different ways of knowing in the world and that differences are not necessarily a bad thing.

9.1.2 Local Ghanaians

Local Ghanaians that have a low colonial mentality will be open towards the Western culture and will have respect for the differences that exist between their own culture and the Western one. However, they will not see the Western way of knowing it as the right way of living and behaving. They see the importance of their own culture and the possibilities in development of their own people without or with less help of the West. Their mind is one that in the process of that is called the decolonization of the mind mentioned in paragraph 2.6.1. Their minds are in the process of fusing both the Western culture and the Ghanaian culture together to create an alternative modernity in which both cultures and ways of knowing are equal and respected. This relates to a post-development nature. In contrast, local Ghanaians with a high colonial mentality still have many of the perspectives that originated in the colonial era due to

discourses that still lives on in the present-day work as mentioned in paragraph 2.6.2. They perceive the Western world to be ideal as their opinion is that Ghana would be better off with the help of the Western world and the Western ways of knowing and development. Their way of thinking is more of a neocolonial nature in which the Western way of knowing is superior to the Ghanaian way of knowing. These two descriptions of colonial mentality are the extremes in which between the actually colonial mentality of the local Ghanaians will fall. Expectations towards the colonial mentality of the local Ghanaians were that it would be fairly high due to their colonized history and the implementation of the Western way of knowing for centuries.

What can be concluded from the observations made in all tree contexts is that the local Ghanaians have a higher colonial mentality than the volunteers in all contexts although none of them are at the extreme level of high colonial mentality as described above. In the second context the teachers had a particularly high colonial mentality as it was their opinion that the volunteers could teach even though they had no experiences in teaching. This reflects their perspective that Western people are more qualified than Ghanaians, a perspective that can be related to the perspectives from the colonial era. The 'Dutch' teaching methods of the headmaster, the fact that Gary got assigned the expert role at the construction site and the given importance to the Western way of knowing by the teachers in the questionnaires also reflect this perspective.

In the discussions with local Ghanaians some had a high colonial mentality while others had a lower colonial mentality. Many Ghanaians were met during these discussions, all with different background and it is therefore not easy to generalize the colonial mentality of the local Ghanaians. Even though, it can be concluded that the colonial mentality of the local Ghanaians was not as high as expected before the research. However, they do not have a colonial mentality as low as the volunteers as most of them still have an ideological view of the Western world. Some Ghanaians that I have spoken had an outspoken neocolonial mentality, for example the Ghanaian who said that Ghana should have been colonized longer and the teacher who said that the colonial era was the best thing that ever happened to Ghana. A post-development nature is hard to perceive from the observations of the discussions. While most of the Ghanaians also give a high value to their own culture and do not dismiss it for the Western culture, they still have ideological views of the Western world and how things, either products or values, from the Western world are better. The fact that foreign products are received as better and that the teachers judge the Western values that the volunteers speak about as better all relate to a higher colonial mentality.

In contrast to the volunteers the Ghanaians were more outspoken of their opinions about morals and values, this probably relates to the environment. They were home while the volunteers were visitors, thus being careful with their opinion. Also in contrast to the volunteers, they were not as open towards the culture of the volunteers which is strange since most of them have this ideological view of the West. The fact that they were not as open as the volunteers were towards Ghanaian culture is probably related to the fact that their ideological perspectives did not resemble the perspectives and facts told to them by the volunteers. For the volunteers it was difficult to break through the stereotypes and ideological perspectives, for example during the discussions about conflicts in the West (paragraph 6.1.1) and everyone being rich (paragraph 8.3). Concluding, the main reason for the higher colonial

mentality of the local Ghanaians is the fact that their minds are not yet far in the process decolonization. Their minds are still full of ideological views of the Western world that shape their perspectives on the volunteers and their way of interacting with them. In order for them to complete the process of the decolonization of the mind the stereotypical and ideological view of the Western world needs to be changed by creating a more realistic understanding of the Western world and its culture and its relation towards the Ghanaian culture. A better understanding will permeate the prejudices and stereotypes about the other culture. This process can be difficult as it was already concluded that the local Ghanaians were not that open toward the stories of the volunteers that contradicted the prejudices and stereotypes.

9.2 Answering the central question
The central question, as stated in the introduction of this thesis, was:

How does the 'colonial mentality' of both volunteers and local people in Tamale (that are involved in the volunteer projects) influence the effectiveness of the projects?

A sense of the colonial mentality of both actors was established through data during the fieldwork in Tamale. Data about the colonial mentality of the volunteers was gathered among volunteers encountered in the projects and volunteers encountered in the daily life. To create an understanding of the colonial mentality of the local Ghanaians, people who were not directly involved in the volunteer projects were also included to create a larger group from which conclusions could be drawn.

We concluded in the previous paragraph that the colonial mentality of the volunteers is low as most of them are open-minded and respectful towards the Ghanaian culture, values and morals and do not impose their Western way of knowing onto the Ghanaians. The colonial mentality of the local Ghanaians is harder to qualify as some had a more explicit colonial mentality than others but it can be concluded that the colonial mentality of the local Ghanaians is fairly high due to their ideological view of the West and the fact that the process of decolonization of the mind has not yet reached its full outcome. The effectiveness discussed in the central question is seen as they way in which the attitude and interaction between the volunteers and the local Ghanaians in the project affect the actual work during the projects. Thus the internal effectiveness is meant, not the external effectiveness towards the local people who should benefit from the volunteer projects.

How exactly does this colonial mentality of both volunteers and local Ghanaians affect the effectiveness of the projects the volunteers work in? The colonial mentality of both actors is contradictory. The volunteers have a fairly low colonial mentality while the local Ghanaians have a fairly high colonial mentality, especially the encountered teachers at the public and private school. This contrast leads to problems that can affect the effectiveness of the projects. The higher colonial mentality of the local Ghanaians in the projects leads them to have certain expectations of the work the volunteers are capable of doing. These expectations like teaching or be head of construction are unrealistic compared to the ideas that the volunteers have of the work they are going to do. Volunteers, because of their low colonial mentality, do not perceive themselves as capable of doing the tasks the local Ghanaians expect of them and do not feel comfortable in doing these tasks. This creates a situation in

which the expectations of the local Ghanaians involved in the project do not come true which has an effect on the effectiveness of the project. Tasks that were planned for the volunteers are not performed, possibly leaving a gap in the teaching staff or construction staff because there is no person to replace the volunteer and do the work. For the volunteer this means they get to do a task that is invented on the spot or is invented by themselves. Sara for instance gave drawing lessons to children who were taking out of lessons they actually had to follow in order for Sarah to have something to do. These jobs are probably not what the volunteers expected to do even though they did not want to do actual teaching. This might de-motivate them in their work on the project as they will start to question the benefits of their work for the project, which will lead to affect the effectiveness of the projects.

In the case of the orphanage, the woman of the orphanage did not have unrealistic expectations of the volunteers and the expectations of the volunteers were in agreement with what was expected of them. In this case the colonial mentality of both actors did not influence the effectiveness in a negative way since work planed for the volunteers was conducted by the volunteers. However, since there was no exchange of opinions about the way of caring for the children between volunteers and woman of the orphanage the colonial mentality did also not influence the effectiveness of this project in a positive way.

How can the colonial mentality of both actors influence the projects in a positive way? If both actor groups have the same colonial mentality, either high or low, this would have a significant effect on the effectiveness of the project. This would be because the expectations of both actor groups would be the same making it possible for work to get done and none of the involved volunteers will be de-motivated because their job is not what they expected. Furthermore, the attitude of both actors towards each other would be in agreement.

In case of a high colonial mentality of both actor groups the local Ghanaian would assign the volunteer an expert role which the volunteers would not hesitate to take on because of their own high colonial mentality. The question in case of a high colonial mentality is if the local people who should benefit from the project and the work of the volunteer actually benefit from it. Because, the volunteers are still not exactly qualified to do the job but they are still performing them anyway because they agree with the idea that their way of knowledge is superior to the Ghanaian way of knowledge. Will children benefit from a teacher who does not know how to teach and will a building constructed by volunteer who does not have construction experience be of a good (sustainable) quality? The effectiveness inside the project may be positively influenced by the equal colonial mentality but the actual benefits for the local people is probably not that positive or sustainable.

In case of a low colonial mentality of both actor groups both groups will have a respect for each other and acknowledge the knowledge that the other group has and not make one of them superior to the other. A lower colonial mentality does not automatically mean that the volunteers who will work on the projects are qualified to do, for example, actual teaching work, but at least the local Ghanaians will know what the volunteers are qualified to do and capable of doing. This will create a better effectiveness inside the projects. And by creating jobs that the volunteers are capable of doing with a good quality it will also benefit the local people more than it would be the case with an equal higher colonial mentality or a contradictory colonial mentality. Even though the jobs may not be as high profile (teaching, head of construction) they will probably benefit the local people more than being taught by

someone not qualified to teach or to get drawing lessons from a volunteer while the child misses important classes. A lower colonial mentality of both actor groups will also create a hospitality environment as both groups are open towards each other's culture, morals, values and ways of knowledge. In an equal discussion new ways of working can be found which will benefit the local people even more as the project will start to reflect what they need instead of just creating work for volunteers.

9.3 Recommendations

From above reached conclusion it can be gathered that a lower colonial mentality of both actor groups would benefit both the effectiveness of the project internally and it would also benefit the local people more. The volunteers already have a low colonial mentality, in order to create an equal situation in colonial mentality the colonial mentality of the local Ghanaian people should be lowered. How can the colonial mentality of the local Ghanaians be changed towards a lower colonial mentality that is equal to that of the volunteers now, and how can, if possible, the colonial mentality of the volunteers become even lower. In order to lower the colonial mentality of the local Ghanaians their minds need to be decolonized as Nguni (1986, in Barnett, 2006) has argued. How can this process of decolonization of the mind be created?

This is where programs like the Educational program from ICLI play a large role. Even though some critique has been given on the Educational program of ICLI regarding the actual implementation (on equality and the actual post-development nature), the program could be improved to create a better understanding of each other's cultures which will lead to respect from both sides and thus a lower colonial mentality. In order for the Educational program to become beneficial to lower the colonial mentality of both volunteers and local Ghanaians some changes need to be made. The design of the Educational program as participated in was mostly beneficial for researchers and possible volunteer but had no real benefits for the local Ghanaians who participated in it aside from getting in contact with volunteers from Western origin and some minor insights in the Western culture. In order to create a program that is beneficial for lowering the colonial mentality of both actor groups and to create a program that is more applicable for volunteers and local Ghanaians instead of researchers with a high educational background, the following changes need to be made.

First of all, the program should be most of all about cultures, morals and values. The theories can be omitted except the explanation of the hospitality concept from the post-development theory which is the core concept behind a successful program.

Secondly, the Western culture and the Ghanaian culture should be discussed in an equal amount in which the people from both cultures get the chance to discuss their cultural perspectives according to several pre-assigned subjects. The subjects should be related to the work in the volunteer project but also to the daily life in Ghana. There should be enough room for discussions in which both cultures can be compared and connected. In these discussions the main goal is to break through stereotypes and to create a more realistic view of both actors on each other's cultures. Teachers should not have an actual teaching position but should have the position of discussion leader and should make sure that everything is discussed in an open and equal way according to the hospitality principal. Preparation of both parties is of the greatest essence so that when a person is asked about his or her culture he or she can actually tell about it.

Thirdly, it is of the utmost importance that local Ghanaians are involved in the program. Not only local Ghanaians that are involved in or connected to volunteer organizations or are students at the school the program is thought at, but also local Ghanaians that are involved in the volunteer projects the volunteers are going to work in. This last group is of the greatest importance since the interaction between them and the volunteers will affect the effectiveness of the volunteer projects. This group should be involved in the program at least once with a group of volunteers. They do not have to be present during each program when a new group of volunteers arrives. But a moment in which the volunteers could meet the local Ghanaians from the volunteer projects they are going to work on, in an informal environment, would be beneficial to create a good relationship. When a new group of volunteers arrives, a new group of local Ghanaians should be involved who have not yet followed to program to create both a larger group of Ghanaians that will benefit from the program thus creating a larger group of local Ghanaians that will possibly have a lower colonial mentality after following the program. Furthermore, adding a new group of Ghanaians instead of always using the same group will create an equal start between local Ghanaians and volunteers.

Another fourth recommendation that can be made that is not directly related to the Educational program is the preparation of both actor groups to the actual volunteer work at the projects. For volunteers pertains that they should be better qualified to do the jobs at the volunteer projects. It should be encouraged that people with an educational background volunteer at schools or volunteers with a pedagogical background volunteer at orphanages in the same way as medical students already work at hospitals. However, this would exclude a large group of possible volunteers that do not have the 'proper' qualifications. These groups should be better prepared for their work. For example they should follow lessons in the way of teaching before arriving at the school so that they at least know what to do. An example could be that volunteers who are going to work at a school, but who do not have an educational background, are given lessons in how to be an assistant during classes.

For the local Ghanaians this pertains that they should be made aware, pre-arrival, of the qualifications of the volunteers so that no unrealistic expectations are created that could have a negative influence on the effectiveness of the project. For example, when a volunteer is not qualified to do teaching they should come up with alternative jobs they could do and for which the volunteer can also prepare. Concluding, the most important thing about this fourth recommendation is that expectations should be realistic because when both actor groups get in the project what they expected, a higher effectiveness of the project is created.

9.4 Scope for future research
This research has given an insight in the perspectives that the local Ghanaian people and the volunteers have on each other. Through the analyses of these perspectives the colonial mentality of these actor groups has been established. The data and conclusions reached in this researched can be used in several different ways to conduct future research.

First of all, this research could be used as a reference of future research into the colonial mentality of volunteers and the local people who work with the volunteers. This research is, as mentioned in paragraph 1.2, of an explorative nature which means that future research is needed to give this research a more generalizing nature. To create a reliable generalization more data about more cases is required in which new cases are researched according to the

same concepts and aspects as this research, after which the results can be compared and possibly generalized.

Secondly, in chapter six and this chapter some recommendations were made about the Educational program on how to create an Educational program according to the set objectives by ICLI and how to create an Educational program that would actually help to lower the colonial mentality of both actor groups. The recommendations can be used to start a new research on how to create an actual practical Educational program that can be implemented by various volunteer and development organizations. This program should truly reflect a post-development nature and would have to be created with the principal of hospitality in mind.

Thirdly, this research can also be used as a reference to research the colonial mentality of companies or governments that are involved in the development of African countries. Several (methodological) adjustments will have to be made in order to research the colonial mentality of companies or governments. This new research can give an interesting perspective on the present-day attitude and colonial mentality of companies and governments regarding development work and African countries.

Fourthly, another interesting point of view could be created by also letting this research be executed by a Ghanaian researcher who could probably give some interesting perspectives on the volunteers and local Ghanaians from a Ghanaian perspective. After all, one of the restrictions of this research is that I am of a Western origin which will always create a bias. Even though this was kept in mind during the whole research and was tried to be avoided, I will never be able to shut off my own (Western) way of knowing. I can only try to understand the others way of knowing.

In addition at the end of this conclusion I want to place a critical note regarding ICLI, the organization who without this research would not have been possible. In paragraph 6.4 it was mentioned that ICLI has been terminated as a volunteer organization because the founders of the organization had moved on to another development related project. Is the termination of the organization related to the nature of the organization? I would argue that this is not the case. Looked at the objectives set by ICLI on their website (www.icli.nl), which is no longer available, they aimed to start a sustainable organization with a post-development nature. Even though some of the implementations of ICLI programs are of a more neocolonial nature this is not the reason why the organization was terminated. The reasons are probably more practical. There are many volunteer organizations in Tamale of which most do not survive their initial years due to the competition to larger (world-wide) volunteer organizations. ICLI was the initiative of a small group of local people that worked together with a Dutch woman who had the task of informing possible volunteers about their organization. In the end this small initiative could not compete against the larger, and better organized, volunteer organization.

Furthermore, the interest of the Dutch couple (a Dutch woman married to a Ghanaian man) shifted towards the development of a football academy through which development of young adults could be supported. This new organization was set up in cooperation with FC Utrecht and is probably better organized than ICLI was due to previous gained experience though ICLI and the cooperation with a large company (FC Utrecht).

Appendix 1 Questionnaire Educational program

Name:	Age:	Country:	Date:

Reason for following the educational program:	Education:

Interview / Evaluation Educational Program

Expectations / subjects

1 For how long have you followed the educational program?

2 Where you on time for the program of every day of the program? And if not, what was the reason for the delay or the absence?

3 What were your expectations of the educational program? Did those expectations come true?

4 What did you think of the subjects that were on the program?

5 What did you think of the treatment of the subjects during the classes?

Attitude

6 What did you think of the attitude of the teachers towards you?

7 What did you think of the attitude of the other students (both Ghanaian and Dutch/Belgium) towards you?

8 What did you think of the attitude of the Western students (Dutch / Belgium) towards the educational program?

9 What did you think of the attitude of the Ghanaian students towards the educational program?

Own culture (Ghana) vs. Other culture (Western)

10 Did you think that there was a good exchange between information about the Ghanaian culture and the Western culture?

11 How much have you learned about the Western culture? Does this help you in future contact with Western people?

12 Did you also learn new things about your own culture?

13 Did you find the educational program helpful for you future contact with volunteers or western people?

Teachers / Lectures

14 What is your opinion about the teachers?

15 Do you think that the teachers were critical about the subjects they taught? Did they like to give their own opinion or did they only give the general story / opinion?

16 Did you feel as if the opinion of the teachers was forced upon you? And what about the opinion of the Western students?

Perception

17 What do you think of the perception of the Ghanaian participants about the Western World (or Netherlands and Belgium specific)

18 What do you think of the perception of the Western students about the Ghanaian world / culture?
Do you think that they already knew a lot? Or that they didn't know anything about the Ghanaian culture?

19 What did you think of the perception of the teachers about the Western World?

20 What do you think of your own perception about the Western World? Did it compare with the things that you learned during the program or was it different?

Influence

21 How much, do you think, did the educational program affect you in your behaviour/ attitude towards volunteers / western people in the future?

Conclusion

22 Do you believe that the educational program is a good opportunity to get to know people from different cultures? And to give them an opportunity to meet and learn from each other in an equal way?

Appendix 2 Questionnaires Teachers

Questionnaire about the role of volunteers and the perception on volunteers in schools.

Name:	M / F	Age:	Date:

Profession and educational degree:

1. How long have you taught at the school you are currently working in?

2. Which role do the volunteers have in your school?

3. First I would like to ask you a general question about your opinion about the volunteers before other specific questions about it. Please write down everything that comes to your mind about your opinion about the volunteers in general or the volunteers at your school.

4. Do you think or know if the volunteers who are helping or teaching at your school possess the proper degree for this kind of work? And if they don't possess the proper degree, are they still allowed to teach?

5. Do you think that the knowledge that the volunteers posses is enough to teach the children? Could you please give examples?

6. Do you know if the volunteers get any introduction program on the work they are going to do in you schools before they start with the actual work?

7. Do you give the volunteers advice about teaching? And do the volunteers follow your advice about teaching?

8. Which subjects / courses do the volunteers teach?

9. And the subjects / courses that they teach, were you as the teacher already working on those or are they totally new subjects?

10. The way of teaching of the volunteers, is it the western way of teaching (how is taught at their homes), or is it the Ghanaian way of teaching that they were thought here (by you or their introduction program)?

11. Do the volunteers tell a lot about their own life in the western world to the children?

12. If they tell a lot about their life, how do they tell about it? With what kind of perception, angle or attitude?

13. Do you have any other comments about volunteers or other things that you thought of during this questionnaire?

Appendix 3 Timetable ICLI Educational program

Program of the ICLI educational program with comments (after the Time Table for ICLI's Education Program week One and Two, 2010)

TIME TABLE FOR ICLI'S EDUCATION PROGAMME WEEK ONE (1). FROM 19TH TO 29TH JULY 2010

DAY	DATE	SUBJECT	TIME	LECTURER	VENUE	COMPLETED SUBJECT?
Monday	**19 – 07 – 2010**	Opening ceremony: Introduction of Participants	8:30 AM – 9:00 AM	All Lecturers	Tamale Polytechnic	Yes
		Expectations	9:00 AM – 9:30 AM			Yes
		Identify Self	9:30 AM – 11:00 AM			Yes
		BREAK / SNACK	11:00 AM – 1:00 PM			
		Missionaries and Colonialism	1:00 PM – 2:00 PM			Yes
		Modernization & Dependency Theory	2.00 PM – 2.30 PM			Yes
Remark: Program was finished around 12:00 PM, the reason for this was that some subject did not need the time that was planned for it. Also the break was only 30 minutes instead of 2 hours.						
Tuesday	**20 – 07 – 2010**	What is Intercultural Learning?	8:30 AM – 9:30 AM	Dr. Salifu	Tamale Polytechnic	Yes
		Intercultural Learning and Contact Hypothesis	9:30 AM – 11:30 AM			Yes
		BREAK / SNACK	11:30 AM – 12:00 PM			
		Third World	12:00 PM – 1:00 PM			Yes
		Excursion to the TICCS Library	1:00 PM		TICCS LIBRARY	Yes
Remark: Program was finished around 12:00 PM, some subjects were shorter discussed than planned, other subjects took longer. The break was earlier. About the excursion: students were brought to the TICCS Library for a short visit and told that they could lend books here.						
Wednesday	**21 – 07 – 2010**	What is Development?	8:30 AM – 10:00 AM	Mr. Abass A. Basit	Tamale Polytechnic	Yes
		Volunteering, Development and Sustainability	10:05 AM – 11:00 AM			Yes
		Social Justice vs. Charity	11:00 AM – 12.00 PM			No
Remark: Program was finished around 11.30 AM. Social Justice vs. Charity was not treated as a separate subject but mentioned briefly during the other two subjects.						

Thursday	22 – 07 – 2010	What is Conflict?	8:30 AM – 9:30 AM		Tamale Polytechnic	Yes
		Understanding Conflict	9:30 AM – 11:00 AM			Yes
		Dealing with Conflict	11:00 AM – 12.00 PM			Yes
		How to Prevent Conflict	12:00 PM – 1:00 PM			Yes
		BREAK / SNACK	1:00 PM – 2:00 PM			
		Workshop Guess Feeling and Needs	2:00 PM – 2:30 PM			No
		Chair Game	2:30 PM – 3:30 PM			No
		Get into the Circle	3:30 PM – 4.30 PM			No
Remark: Program was finished around 11:00 AM because of 3 of the western students were leaving for Mole National Park (the bus left at 14:00). The workshops were supposed to be discussed the next week, however this did not happen. The subjects about conflict were not treated as separate subjects but mentioned during the whole lecture about conflict.						

TIME TABLE FOR ICLI'S EDUCATION PROGAMME WEEK TWO (2).

DAY	DATE	SUBJECT	TIME	LECTURER	VENUE	COMPLETED SUBJECT?
Monday	**26 – 07 – 2010**	Optical Illusions	8:30 AM – 9:30 AM	Dr. Salifu	Tamale Polytechnic	No
		Ghanaian Culture	9:30 AM – 12:00 PM			Yes
		SNACKS	12:00 PM			
Remark: The program was finished around 12:00 PM. Optical Illusions was not treated at all, even though there were several exercises in the student guide about it. The whole morning was about the definition of culture and the Ghanaian culture.						
Tuesday	**27 – 07 – 2010**	Code on Images	8:30 AM – 11:30 AM	Mr. Abass	Tamale Polytechnic	Yes
		BREAK / SNACK	11:30 AM – 12:00 PM			
		Excursion to Newspaper Agency	12:00 PM			Yes
Remark: The program was finished around 12:00 PM. The discussion was about how images of things are different between Ghana and the Netherlands / Belgium. Most of the discussion was about the position and the power of woman and how they differ. The excursion was a short visit to the newspaper agency where they told us how they made the news (only publish something that will benefit the community and conflicts only when they know and talk to both sides of the discussion).						

Wednesday	28 – 07 – 2010	Ghanaian History	8:30 AM – 10:00 AM	Dr. Salifu	Tamale Polytechnic	Yes
		Participatory Approaches	10:00 AM – 10:30 AM			Yes
		Degrees of Participation ICLI	10:30 AM – 12:00 PM			No
		Post Development	12:00 PM – 1:00 PM			No

Remark: The program was finished around 12:00 PM. The whole lecture was about the Ghanaian History and a little about Dutch and Belgium history. Participatory was mentioned briefly. The other two subjects were not mentioned, the participants thought that it was a pity that the subject of Degree of Participation ICLI wasn't mentioned.

Thursday	29 – 07 – 2010		8:30 AM – 9:00 AM	Mr. Abass	Tamale Polytechnic	
		Immanent Development	9:00 AM – 9:30 AM			Yes
		Elections: Processing and Conducting	9:30 AM – 10:30 AM			Yes
		BREAK / SNACK				
		Evaluation of Educational Program	11:00 AM – 12:00 PM			No
		Manifesto				No
		Party (to be arranged)				No

Remark: The program was finished around 12:00 PM. Immanent Development was discussed for a long time. After the break the Elections were mentioned briefly and elections in Ghana were compared with those in the Netherlands / Belgium. Evaluation of the program never took place in any discussion, (only on an evaluation form given the day after the program ended and again later with a form given to the participants 2 months later a few days before leaving Tamale). The manifesto was never mentioned and the party (the volunteers/researchers had the idea to take everyone out for a drink and something to eat) didn't happen because of the lack of participants at the last day of the program.

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