An investigation of the ongoing colonial legacies in Secondary High Schools in Ghana through the lens of Pan-Africanism[1]

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Abstract

This paper explores how Pan-African ideas are represented in Ghanaian secondary high schools, and how these ideas can be understood as part of the paradoxical attempt to move beyond colonial legacies within a school system that is highly marked by colonial legacies. Moreover, this paper discusses how schools navigate in a postcolonial[2] nation-state and addresses the identity politics in two secondary high schools in Cape Coast as these are expressed in curricula and teaching practices. Pan-Africanism understood as an anti-colonial movement provides a lens for my research through which educational institutions are examined.

Keywords Pan-Africanism, Ghana, education, decolonization, coloniality

About the author

Stephanie Huber holds two bachelor's degrees in African Studies and Cultural and Social Anthropology from University of Vienna and a master's degree in Cultural Anthropology and Development Sociology from Leiden University. In the course of her studies, she conducted an individual research project in Ghana focusing on education and Pan-Africanism. After completing her master's degree, she moved to Ghana, where she was working at a social start-up operating in the cocoa industry on the implementation of a sustainable cocoa value chain and strengthening small farmers. After expanding her education in the field of project management in Vienna 2020, she moved back to Ghana and currently lives in Accra.

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This paper is based on my master's thesis project (Huber 2019) exploring ongoing colonial legacies in secondary schools in Ghana through the lens of Pan-Africanism. In this paper, I present some of the critical findings of this research project.

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[1] This paper is a work in progress (Date: 29.04.2021).

[2] Following Hubert Quist (2001), I want to highlight that instead of using the word 'post-colonial', I chose to use the term 'postcolonial' in this paper. As Quist explains, writing the term in two separate words "suggests a cleavage between the present and the past, […] a transition stage, that is, movement from one stage to another in a country's political history" (Quist 2001: 299). To explore the "dynamism and continuing colonial discourse" it is necessary to understand 'postcolonialism' (in one word), as a "back-and-forth relationship; a constant contact between the past and present-day cultural and politico-social relations with implications for the future" (Quist 2001: 299).

The role of education for Pan-Africanism and decolonization

> "Education is truly a mirror unto a people's social being and it is also the means by which that being is reproduced and passed onto the next generation. For that reason, education has been the ideological battlefield between economic, political, and cultural forces of oppression and the forces of national liberation and unity. The education system was the first fortress to be stormed by the spiritual army of colonialism, clearing and guarding the way for a permanent siege by the entire occupation forces of British imperialism." (Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o 1997: 28)

For the Kenyan writer, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, education is strongly linked to colonialism in Africa. Moreover, educational systems have played an essential role in anti-colonial movements and postcolonial nation-building. Formal education systems were important players for the "formation of the modern nation state", because "they have often been the main means through which a common language has been disseminated and a national identity constructed in a population" (Goodman 2015: 147). Schools and universities are central localities where citizenship education takes place and are significant in the process of nation-building and decolonization in a postcolonial context.

Pan-African activists considered the education system as a key player in the struggle against colonialism and nation-building. Pan-Africanism was linked to the struggle against foreign rule and colonial and imperial domination (Sonderegger 2016: 22). Sonderegger summarizes the key aspects of Pan-Africanism as follows: anti-racism, anti-colonialism and unity (Sonderegger 2016: 19-20). Ghana, in particular, has a special connection to Pan-Africanism. Pan-Africanism in Ghana not only was a pillar for anti-colonial movements against colonial oppression but also formed a breeding ground for attempts to build African unity.

> "That Ghana is the root of Pan-Africanism is not an overstatement, but a deserving acknowledgement of the pioneering roles that Ghana's first president Kwame Nkrumah played in forging Pan-Africanist interests throughout the world." (Bolaji 2015: 78)

Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana, was a Pan-Africanist of the 19th century and strongly involved in the decolonization process in Africa. Nkrumah and his Pan-African ideals have shaped Ghana politically and socially until this day – for him, education was a valuable asset. Thus, he created formal and informal educational institutions to promote Pan-Africanism in Ghana and beyond. The Pan-African movement "[…] used education to spread knowledge to achieve its final objective, which was the liberation and unification of Africa and African people" (Frehiwot 2015: 297). Education was seen as an essential part of cultural transformation and the development of national identities.

Decolonizing education, an ongoing struggle

This paper could be considered as a contribution to the ongoing examinations of colonial legacies in educational systems. The demand to decolonize universities in the 21. Century increased since the *Rhodes Must Fall* movement in South Africa started in 2015. The

Cameroonian philosopher Joseph Achille Mbembe stated 2016: "Rhodes Must Fall was an important and necessary moment. The movement has won a tactical battle. But the struggle is only starting" (Mbembe 2016: 32). And indeed, since then, many protests followed and student movements at universities in Africa and around the globe asking the universities to look at their colonial legacies.

However, it is not an easy task to discuss colonial legacies in educational systems and ways and means to move away from these legacies. Because a "decolonised education and learning means different things for different people" (Icaza and Vázquez 2018: 111). In this paper, I want to introduce some perspectives on this topic. Some academics and writers place the aim of the decolonization of education in a broader context.

> "Like critical pedagogy, a decolonising education is one that exceeds the confines of the school, college or university to intervene in the reinvention of the world." (Dennis 2018: 199)

In his article, Gabrial concludes that "the argument was always that European colonialism was and continues to be a shaping force of modern history and pedagogy" (Gabrial 2018: 23). He states that decolonization

> "was about critically examining the power struggle that underpins hegemonic knowledge production, and the material structures that make this possible; about bringing them into the light, and exposing what knowledge is made invisible as well as what is made hype-visible, by being put forward as universal, or canonical" (Gabrial 2018: 23).

The ideas of Pan-Africanism are alive in the current movements asking for the decolonization of educational institutions within and outside of Africa. As Arno Sonderegger states "Pan-Africanist thought, emotion, and mood are well alive" (Sonderegger 2016: 37). The agenda is anti-colonialism and anti-neo-colonialism. It is not so much the call for strengthening the African Union idea in political spheres of influence but more a "global critique of the international world order" (Sonderegger 2016: 24). Consequently, such movements calling for the decolonization of knowledge productions are strongly supported by Pan-Africanists. Pan-Africanism, in that case, as an anti-colonial movement, provides the lens through which education can be examined.

However, the current debate of decolonizing education is mainly held in the field of higher education, while other educational institutions have been neglected. Following Daniel Gabrial, I "locate the university as just one node in a network of spaces where this kind of struggle must be engaged with" (Gabrial 2018: 33). Hence, to fill this gap and to extend the debate to other levels of educational institutions, I focused my research project on secondary schools. The intention was not to develop strategies to decolonize Ghanaian educational institutions but to investigate ongoing colonial legacies in secondary schools through the lens of Pan-Africanism. Nevertheless, this research is not only a contribution to the current debate, but its insights also

can help to develop methods to decolonize knowledge production in educational institutions and to expand the discussions to other levels of educations such as secondary high schools.

Research methods

This research is based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Ghana, mainly in Cape Coast, from April to July 2018. Cape Coast is the place where the forming of formal institutions in Ghana started. Therefore, "Ghanaian political nationalism […] started in the city of Cape Coast" (Quist 2001: 309). Moreover, Cape Coast was historically significant for the development of the colonial and postcolonial education system. When the Europeans first settled on the Gold Coast, Cape Coast Castle became the seat of the government until 1877, when the capital was then moved to Accra. Cape Coast became a centre for missionaries and educational activities (Schramm 210: 77). The city is still known for its excellent secondary schools. According to Quist, "Cape Coast in Ghana, most especially, is known to be the 'educational acropolis' of the country" (Quist 2001: 309).

The fieldwork mainly took place in two public secondary high schools in Cape Coast - University Practice Senior High School (UPSS or UPSHS) and Mfantsipim School. They are both boarding schools, where students sleep in dorms during the school period, although their intakes also include day-students, who live at home during the school year. The students in secondary schools are usually from 15 to 18 years old, but some students are of higher age. UPSS is a place where higher education and secondary education have a strong connection. UPSS was established in 1976 as a practice school for the young teachers of the University of Cape Coast. Mfantsipim School is an old school, established in 1876 by the Methodist Church as the first secondary school in the Gold Coast. Because the school existed before political independence, it had played an essential role in the process of Ghana's nation-building during and after the era of independence. Alumni of Mfantsipim School have shaped the political scene of Ghana and still build a strong network in Ghana and beyond.

Field research is an effective method to study education in "'bounded' institutions, with clearly defined boundaries in terms of time and space, such as schools, churches, and other environments where children are taught basic social categories formally and informally" (Goodman 2015: 148). Furthermore, an ethnographic study based on fieldwork can inspire policies created through a bottom-up approach (Feinberg 2004: 287). "Education, in an anthropological sense, includes the whole range of learning experiences of individuals from conception to death." (Goodman 2015: 114) Although education in Ghana is not limited to formal educational institutions, in this paper I focus on (high) schools and I consider them "as a specific learning and training site where education takes place" (Quist 2001: 300).

I focused mainly on the curricula of history and social studies and their implementation in the classrooms. As Gabrial points out, discussing the National History Curriculum in the UK, "there

is of course an intimate connection between national identity and collective historical remembering (and forgetting)" (Gabrial 2018: 25). Moreover, I had found out that Pan-Africanism as a topic is part of the history syllabus and questions of national identity and citizenship education are discussed in social studies classes. Furthermore, investigating not only the way how knowledge about Pan-Africanism and notions of national identity are transmitted and understood but also the way history, in general, is communicated and understood is important to understand the representation of Pan-Africanism in schools.

Goodman describes that the interests of anthropologists could either be in the way the behaviour of individuals are structured by education systems or in the way individuals construct education systems. "The dichotomy is often described as one between a focus on 'structure' or 'agency'." (Goodman 2015: 147) In my research, I followed Goodman using "a holistic approach, and an ethnographic method that allows for the simultaneous study of structure and agency in the educational process" (Goodman 2015: 148). In educational institutions, knowledge is produced and transferred, but this knowledge is also reinterpreted and transformed by the students and teachers. I used different research methods and sources to find out how Pan-African ideas are represented in the schools. Especially when dealing with coloniality and decolonization of and in educational institutions it is important to not only investigate the curriculum but also teaching and learning practices, settings and structures of the schools because "decolonizing education understands pedagogy from within the frame of socio-political struggle, viewing that struggle in pedagogical terms" (Dennis 2018: 198). Therefore, I paid attention to what is taught, who is teaching and how. Additionally, I raised questions about the value and relevance of what is taught and the ways how students and teachers experience the teaching practices and general school settings.

The Mfantsipim dream

Anti-colonial thinkers such as Kwame Nkrumah "strategically evoked the goal of nation building for decolonizing the mind, the spirit and the state" and "schooling in Ghana has proceeded to achieve the imperative of 'nation building'" (Dei 2005: 272).

> "Nation building in the post-colony, was meant to be a strategic temporal initiative to harness the strength and unity of the nation as part of an ongoing, critical process of decolonization, not as recolonization. However, in Ghana there continue to be underlying tensions between the imperative of nation building as a strategy for decolonization, and nation building as the production of discourses about difference on the ground (e.g., everyday schooling experiences of Ghanaian youth), which can be understood in colonial terms." (Dei 2005: 272)

Quist (2001: 312) points out that Nkrumah "advocated and championed 'African personality' as a national, West African and continental cultural project aimed at enhancing and increasing the pride of African and Ghanaian in themselves, their traditions and customs". Nkrumah wanted to decolonize the curriculum but surprisingly was not concerned with the decolonization

of the schools as institutions themselves and the practices within. During the colonial era, the schools established in Ghana were mostly missionary schools – the dominant position of the church in the field of education was clearly recognized by the British colonial government (Quist 2001: 301). Therefore, the schooling system in Ghana was established upon the missionary school model, "which was used to promote colonial domination and thereby effect local marginalisation" (Dunne and Adzahlie-Mensah 2015: 217).

Such as Pan-Africanism itself, Mfantsipim is strongly influenced by elites. Pan-Africanism was mainly the ideology of intellectuals, who studied abroad and came back to Africa, to support the struggle against colonial domination. Paradoxically, in the early stages of independence, the ideas of Pan-Africanism were used to fight classism. Nevertheless, Mfantsipim was an essential player in the struggle against colonialism. For A. Adu Boahen, historian and an „Old Boy" of Mfantsipim, the school is "the father of Ghanaian nationalism" (Boahen 1996: 489). 1876 the Wesleyan High School, Mfantsipim, was opened in Cape Coast by the Methodist Church as a secondary school and as a teacher training institution (Boahen 1996: 1-2). In his book *Mfantsipim and the Making of Ghana* (1996), Boahen describes the influence of the beginnings of the nationalist cultural movement in Ghana in the last two decades of the 19th century, and the aim of the movements to reform the colonial system and the demand to place "the educated elite within the system" in the first three decades of the 20th century (Boahen 1996: 489). This period was characterized by movements (e.g. *Gone Fantee* movement) which "advocated a revival of and respect for things African" and "a new system of education geared to the needs of African" (Boahen 1996: 489). "The school aimed to create a new kind of educated Ghanaian, an élite conversant with the traditions and customs of his ancestors and people but also very erudite and scholarly." (Quist 2001: 311) However, the elites also valued the education provided in England, where most of them had studied. Therefore, the curriculum at Mfantsipim School was an arena of conflict, "pointing to the struggle and tension between cultural nationalism and the contradictions surrounding 'educational transfer and adaption'" (Quist 2003: 415).

Magnus RexDanquah, a former student of Mfantsipim describes the historical formations and current vision of the school in his book *The Mfantsipim Dream* (2017). For him "there is something which could be described as the 'Mfantsipim Dream', that which is visionary of what every student of the School hopes, desires, aspires or wishes to become" (RexDanquah 2017: 3). Until now, Mfantsipim reproduces elites, which should be future leaders in Ghana, Africa and abroad. But by doing so, the schools separate the students as an educated elite class from the rest of the society. However, new educational policies in Ghana challenge the reproduction of elites and classism. 2017 the Government of Ghana, under the president Nana Akuffo-Addo (a member of NPP), introduced the policy *Free SHS* (Free Senior High School), which should address inequality and ensure equal opportunities for all students through free

secondary education. The policy revived discussions about education in Ghana and the legacy of Kwame Nkrumah. In 1961 Nkrumah introduced free education for primary schools to ensure that all children of school age have access to education. The Education Act of 1961 (Act 87) initiated by Nkrumah made basic education compulsory and free.

Regimes of power, discipline and authority

More than once, teachers spoke about the feeling of being obliged to conform. One teacher noticed that the "system is still structured in the colonial mindset." However, the teachers also recognized that it is difficult to change such intrinsic settings and bring in new ideas because as a young teacher graduated from the university "You are in the structure. You have to conform to the structure." The structure the teachers are talking about refers to the organization of the schools themselves, to rules, activities, and the syllabus. The rules and regulations assure that everyone stays in the structure. This is additionally visible through strict timetables, wearing uniforms and daily routines like the morning assembly. The case of Mfantsipim showed that education based on British models was valued by the Ghanaian elite in the colonial era. Although anti-colonial movements wanted to create a new system adapted to the needs of Africans, they left the schools structure based on English Wesleyan schools untouched (Quist 2001, Quist 2003). Until today, the hierarchical structures and social positions in both schools are based on the British concept.

Both schools where I conducted research are dominated by regimes of power, which ensure control and regulation through structure and social practices. The similarities between Ghanaian and British school structures are impossible to ignore. Just like boarding schools in Britain, Ghanaian secondary schools are shaped by strong hierarchical structures, with social roles and positions. There is a clear hierarchic structure in the school with the school director at the top and the students at the bottom. The directors of the schools are called "headmaster" or "headmistress". For Rabbi Kohain, executive secretary of Panafest Foundation since 1999, these terms are legacies of colonialism:

> "We still use the term headmaster. These are colonial terms. If the master doesn't say it, it doesn't happen. If the head of the department is not there, it can't happen. If there is no second in command or third in command. Everything is almost authoritative."

These power hierarchies are visible through teaching practices and classroom interactions and relations. Furthermore, discipline and authoritative power relations manifest themselves in classroom settings. These power regimes are mainly legacies of the colonial era, which can be traced to the British boarding school system and missionary schools. The legacy of missionary education is also strongly evident in the concepts of discipline in schools. Corporal

punishment[3] in the form of caning, as used by missionary teachers, are still performed in some schools in Ghana. Thereby, the teacher acts on behalf of an encompassing educational institution. Following Dei's (2005) discussion about unequal treatment in Ghanaian schools based on culture, language, religion and class, I argue that hierarchies, forms of authority and punishments support markers of difference. Dividing student bodies and communities into "good" and "bad" through difference, hampers "the growth of African centred anti-colonial consciousness" (Dei 2005: 283).

However, many teachers I talked to at Mfantsipim and UPSS do not agree with these actions. One teacher criticized the verbal and physical abuse in the school and compared the students to his children, whom he wouldn't assault either. Dunne and Adzahlie-Mensah (2015) investigated the "hidden curriculum" in secondary schools in Ghana. They link corporal punishment to notions of Christian missionaries on education during colonialism. Caning was therefore part of the hierarchical structure created by the missionary teachers, who wanted to claim moral authority (Dunne and Adzahlie-Mensah 2015: 217). Nowadays, this legacy of the colonial missionary schools is an integral part of the public-school system.

Hierarchies of knowledge

It becomes clear that secondary schools promote a form of "cultural alienation". One of the students described his school life as follows: "As soon as I step into Mfantsipim, that's all, I am on an island. I don't know what is happening in Africa. I don't know what is happening in Ghana. So how can I discuss relevant issues?" The students' experiences in today's boarding schools are similar to those of students attending schools such as Mfantsipim in colonial times (Quist 2001: 310). Quist used the example of Kofi Abrefa Busia, a former student of Mfantsipim and later prime minister of the Second Republic of Ghana. Busia experienced this "cultural alienation" when he returned home after the first term at Mfantsipim. Quist describes Busia's experiences as follows: "[…] [W]hen he returned to his hometown […] he felt isolated and understood his community less than boys of his age." (Quist 2001: 310)

The syllabus occupies a central position in the life of the secondary school students and as a teacher stated, it "forms your whole knowledge during teenage life". Because of the boarding school system (where other sources of information like the internet, television, family members, elders, etc. are limited), the students attending secondary schools get their education mainly from school textbooks and classroom interactions. Such curricula and teaching methods were created during colonial times based on European (British) examples. However, Quist points out that they were also drawn upon the combination of "African elements with Western ideas

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[3] Corporal punishment of children in Ghanaian schools is currently legal (Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children 2018).

about indigenous needs and abilities" (Quist 2001: 306). Nevertheless, it is essential to note that these ideas were based on colonial notions:

> "However, both colonial and indigenous ideas were filtered through the prism of Western colonial administrators and missionaries who were the teachers and educators and trainers in [Ghana][…]; trained after metropolitan examples, with results that were neither effective in European nor indigenous terms." (Quist 2001: 306)

For my research it was necessary to have in mind that the curricula are a product of ideologies:

> "If curricula are value-based then why is it that some values hold more sway than others? The link between values and power is strong. This theme asks not only *what* knowledge is important but also *whose* knowledge is important in curricula, *what and whose interests* such knowledge serves, and *how* the curriculum and pedagogy serve (or do not serve) differing interests. Knowledge is not neutral (as was the tacit view in modernist curricula). The curriculum is ideologically contestable terrain." (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2007: 31, emphasis in original)

The content of the syllabus is the primary information source for students. And since the syllabi/curricula are formed by the government, the students become a product of the government. The learning is exam-oriented and based on fixed and abstract concepts pre-determined in the curriculum. The exam is the goal of education and persuades chances and possibilities for the students because it enables them to get a job provided by the government. Hubert Quist examined secondary schools "patterned on typical Western models that are British, French and in recent years American" and came to the conclusion that they "have been more biased towards academic-literary than technical or vocational education" (Quist 2001: 306). Reading and writing are the key skills for passing the final exam and for getting a job in a governmental institution. Therefore, the curricula are focused on skills like reading and writing, which are considered valuable for these positions. The students are educated to be civil servants. Additionally, the English language is still used a medium of instruction, and the schools put little emphasis on strengthening local languages and literature. For Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, a Kenyan writer who chose his mother tongue Gikuyu as his main language for publications, the literature of the African peoples must be at the centre of the schools (Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o 1997: 32). By doing so students can create a "critical mentality", which enable them to know their "base" so that they can "connect to other worlds past and present, far and wide, and assess and evaluate" (Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o 1997: 32). But although Mfantsipim doesn't offer local language classes, the students quickly learn local languages because they are allowed to speak their local language in school. Students talked with me about their experiences:

> "First I didn't know how to speak Fante[4]. But now staying here for about a year, I speak."

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[4] Fante is the local language spoken in Cape Coast, capital of the Central Region.

> "We don't actually study any local language in this school. [...] Students are allowed to speak their local languages, so you end up adapting different kind of languages from people. [...] I am sure by the time I am done with this school, I can learn about three different languages just by communication with others."

Teachers and students are not only victims of the structure of the educational system, which is shaped by colonial structures and dominated by oppression, but they also form the system, strive to change it and try to move away from its colonial legacies. Teachers try to move within and beyond the schools' structure to teach beyond the syllabus and to break the fixed structures. It is important to note, that the teacher's individual approach to education and their actions and communications with the students make a difference in the transmission of knowledge. Field trips and extraordinary teaching methods enable the students to think beyond the "chew, pour, pass and forget"[5] mindset. This mindset is in contrast to what Icaza and Vázquez describe as "the notion of transitionality", discussing methods to decolonize practices at the university (Icaza and Vázquez 2018: 120).

> "The notion of transitionality highlights the importance of enabling the students to address the question of the meaning of the knowledge they are learning. What is this knowledge for? The focus in closed expertise has also meant that the university is reproducing forms of knowledge without addressing, or without enabling the student, to address the question of meaning." (Icaza and Vázquez 2018: 120)

For them, a university should enable "students to bridge the epistemic border between the classroom and society, the classroom and the Earth" (Icaza and Vázquez 2018: 120). However, the content of the syllabi of secondary high schools is very abstract and far from the student's life. Students feel disengaged from the knowledge that is being produced; hence, they have difficulties connecting acquired knowledge to their own lives. In history classes, they memorize names, numbers and events like facts. This makes it difficult to connect the past to the present. Therefore, Pan-African ideas of unity based on collective remembering are challenging to apply to the students' everyday lives.

For my research, it was important to have in mind that "notion of nation, community, and citizenship are not simply imagined constructs but are real in their meanings and evocations with profound consequences for colonized and marginalized groups" (Dei and Ashgarzadeh 2001: 302). In history and social studies classes, there is an emphasis on the nation-state which goes against notions of Pan-African identity. The knowledge about Ghanaian and African history empowers the students, and for them, it is a way to learn from the past, to create a better future. History is focused on Ghana and Africa, which is seen as an attempt to move away from European-centred knowledge production. Most of the students also reflect this

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5 "Chew, pour, pass and forget" is a popular phrase among Ghanaians to describe the system of learning in which the students learn by rote a lot of information and reproduce it for the purpose of exams before they forget the information very quickly.

focus through their understanding and experiences. For the students, Ghana is the main reference point regarding their feeling of belonging. Although the students also share concepts of a united Africa, for them this is only necessary to fight the ongoing corruption on the continent. In contrast to other subjects, like English and English literature where the British curriculum is still dominating, the history curriculum was "Africanized". However, since most of the content is focused on the nation-state Ghana and not Africa, one could ask, is it African history that is promoted in the history curriculum, or rather history focused on the Ghanaian nation-state.

Conclusion

Within this context, Pan-Africanism, as well as the schools, suffer from a paradox. Pan-Africanism, as an ideology, advocated for a move away from colonialism beyond the borders of the nation-state, which have been created under colonialism, towards a united Africa. However, these structures created by colonialism couldn't be left behind after independence. Educational institutions and Pan-Africanism were both used as a tool for decolonizing Ghana, but both were formed within colonial structures. Paradoxically, schools that were founded and formed by colonialists were used to move away from colonialism. Through this research, it became clear that secondary high schools in Ghana today also reflect this paradox. The schools are modern educational institutions, which are strongly shaped by the colonial trajectory. The rules and regulations of the schools make sure that everyone stays in the structure, characterized by colonial legacies. However, teachers and students are not only influenced by the structure of the educational institutions, they also form the education system, change it and try to move away from its colonial legacies.

The intention of this paper was not to present strategies to decolonize Ghanaian educational institutions but to investigate ongoing colonial legacies in secondary schools through the lens of Pan-Africanism. Nevertheless, the reflections stimulated by this paper can be useful to continue questioning the colonial legacies in educational institutions and to develop strategies for decolonizing knowledge production in secondary schools.

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