Global Sociology and the Struggles for a Better World

Towards the Futures We Want

Edited by **Markus S. Schulz**

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Mɛ san aba[1]: The Africa We Want and an African-centered Approach to Knowledge Production

Akosua Adomako Ampofo

In his commentary on the life and work of Kobina Sekyi,[2] author of the play *The Blinkards* (1997), George Hagan provides his reflections on 'cultural affirmation and trans-valuation of values', the sub-title of the first Kobina Sekyi memorial lecture (2010: 9). The main title of Hagan's lecture is the Fante proverb *'Nyimdze nsae adze'*, which literally means 'knowledge of a thing of value doesn't destroy it', or an understanding of the value of something ensures its preservation. Sekyi's argument was that by accepting the false notion of the superiority of European cultures Africans would become partners in the destruction of their own cultures (Hagan 2010). To illustrate this concept of the transvaluation of ideas, Hagan describes an encounter at dinner between himself and an English colleague soon after his arrival at Oxford as a young student.[3] In the encounter, Hagan asked for a pitcher of water to be passed to him and proceeded to serve himself. His colleague whispered to him, 'Here in Oxford we do not do that! When you ask for water, as a matter of cour-tesy, you have to serve others before you serve yourself!' (Hagan 2010: 9). Hagan's response was, 'In my culture, before serving others, tradi-tion demands that whoever is serving must taste what they are serving first'; he went on to explain that this was so that 'if the water ... is by any chance poisoned, instead of all those you serve dying, only one person might die. This also was meant to ensure that no one serving food or drink or medicine to others would be tempted to poison them.' His English col-league concluded that Hagan's culture was superior for looking out for the welfare of a community rather than one individual's self-interest because it 'puts greater value on the lives of others as against one's own' (2010: 9).

Many interpretations can be drawn from Hagan's encounter with his English colleague. It is important to underscore that I am not seeking to

essentialize peoples, cultures and ways of knowing; our cosmologies and epistemologies are not bound to our DNA. Nor was Hagan's point to provide a hierarchical ordering of cultures, but to illustrate the need for a respectful recognition of the value of each other's ethical and moral principles. We might draw the following conclusions. Firstly, we might note the obvious, that how we see, approach and respond to the world is informed by our environment and histories – in other words, it is context-specific. Secondly, we might deduce that different epistemologies are generated based on whether one subscribes to a corporate or individualistic development paradigm. Thirdly, any such differences should not necessarily determine one way of knowing as superior to another. However, we could agree, as did Hagan's dinner colleague, that, the seemingly self-serving practice of serving oneself first 'puts greater value on the lives of others as against one's own' (2010: 9). This is not to say one way is better than the other since we could argue that deferring individual rights to corporate rights could deny us our individuality and hinders creativity, an ingredient of human rights discourse.

Introduction

I believe we all have visions of the futures we want to inhabit. While our energies may not be consumed daily with the *struggles* for a better world, practicing our craft as sociologists means that, inevitably, we *engage* with explanations for the challenges and problems confronting our current world and questions of the possibilities of an improved version of that world. For Africanists, such as myself, that improved world includes a continent, and her diaspora, re-imagined in very particular ways within global geopolitics that provides a space for our humanity to flourish by valorizing our knowledge. Admittedly, in a world where some may view advances for one group as necessary forfeitures for others, not everyone will share the same visions for Africa's futures.

As people who study societies and social behaviors, sociologists should be acutely aware that deepening global inequality means we are all at risk of finding ourselves living in Émile Durkheim's land of anomie, or what the Akans refer to as that state of loss of personhood (Abraham 1962; Gyekye 1978; Wiredu 1992). This awareness of the inter-connectedness and shared humanity that requires a concerted effort to maintain equilibrium through fairness and justice is reflected in the sayings and practices of many cultures. I refer to the almost universal notions among African communities of individual and corporate wellbeing, popularized today in the notion of *Ubuntu*, a Zulu word that means, 'I am because you are',

and that encapsulates the view that our inherent individual humanness can only be experienced and expressed through acknowledgment of our shared humanness. The Shona people of southern Africa are known to respond to the greeting 'How are you?' with the response, 'I am well if you are well'. These constructions set the parameters of wellbeing within contexts that are mutually binding (Muponde 2013).

The marginalized place of 'African knowledge' calls for a returning, *Mε san aba*, applying principles of *Sankofa*, literally 'return and get it', signifying a reclaiming. *Sankofa* is epitomized by the Asante Adinkra[4] symbol of the bird with its beak reaching backwards to pick an egg off its back. It is often associated with the proverb which, translated, means something to the effect that 'nothing is lost if you go back and fetch what you have forgotten or left behind'. While often used for cultural revivalism, we can think of *Sankofa* as the important project of seeking, understanding, revitalizing and acknowledging knowledge that built us up.

Disclaimers, Explanations and Conclusions

Although in this chapter I make some generalizations I am not by any means seeking to essentialize or 'other' any cultural group. Neither am I romanticizing African cultures or suggesting there is a pure, 'authentic', unchanging African knowledge system to return to (more on that later). I am aware that as one paints with broad strokes the risks of reductionism increase and I use the terms African/Africana or Black lives interchangeably and deliberately to signify the shared belongingness in terms of culture, history and identity of people on the African continent and the African diaspora that retain salience given today's geopolitics.[5] In order to ensure that the reader does not get lost in the translation of my arguments, let me begin with my conclusions:

1. Knowledge hierarchies, and the exclusions and silences in the academy, including sociology, are not innocent when it comes to the marginalized status of African people.
2. The mainstreaming of so-called indigenous knowledge (for my purposes today, African knowledge) would lead to different questions, approaches, conclusions, and local and global policy directions.
3. Sociology occurs outside the hallowed halls of the academy and these sociological works – from film through music to photography – especially youth new media, need to find greater acceptance and value within 'mainstream' sociology, not just as illustrations or even methods, but also as sites of theorizing.

In the rest of this chapter I do the following: first I discuss the relationship between the knowledge industry, specifically sociology, and people's lives, namely the status of African/a lives today. I illustrate this severally; first by interrogating the social construction of development and democracy by looking at population discourse and the policy responses of family planning; and secondly via notions of democracy, good governance and the so-called 'failed African state'. I conclude by suggesting what an African-centered approach to knowledge production and dissemination today might mean for sociology and the wellbeing of not only Black lives but *all* lives.

The Knowledge Industry and Africana Lives

Despite the large body of work by African thinkers (too numerous to list here), 'philosophy' and 'theory' are still constructed largely in western terms within the academy. Further, the popular oral accounts of small communities, including the transformational counter-discourses, largely remain confined to the realm of 'indigenous' or 'folk' knowledge. Although global popular culture has long *appropriated* African knowledge from science through philosophy to art forms, including art and architecture, music and dance, food and fashion, knowledge production has insufficiently acknowledged or rewarded the contributions of African thinkers.[6] Olufunmilayo (2016) explains that the failure to acknowledge and compensate cultural flows reinforces and magnifies inequalities. Sometimes even compensation does not redress the injustice.[7] But it is not only Africans who lose; the failure to intentionally incorporate African knowledge has deprived the world of the benefits from the contributions of African knowledge. A young student of sociology in Europe or America might be forgiven, for example, for imagining Fanon was a unique individual given the prominent and almost singular place he enjoys in the Euro-American academy. Of course, Fanon was an exceptional thinker, but Africa has produced uncountable individuals to match Fanon.

The fact that 'knowledge', that body of information that is known, accepted and applied, is not equally accessible, is not disputable. Indeed, most countries claim to make efforts to level the playing field by making access to schooling more equitable. However, what is less commented upon or acknowledged is that 'knowledge production' is a major global industry, and, like most contemporary global industries, it is often profit-making and flourishes by keeping certain products in, and others out of

the market, or, through exploiting the labour of workers in the industry. Numerous examples abound. It has now been well documented that the pharmaceutical industry has deliberately withheld information on lifesaving herbal therapies to retain its market share of chemical drugs. Knowledge production can also be exploitative, whether it is the deliberate use of information to subjugate another group of people (example chemical warfare), the withholding or selective sharing of information (example medical information in clinical trials), or exploiting labour to create or disseminate knowledge (as in the unpaid work of reviewing publications that academics do). The exploitative nature becomes even more problematic when the indigenous knowledge of certain groups of people is devalued and efforts made to replace it with a so-called superior knowledge of another group pf people. The effects go well beyond the loss of income that is impossible to measure, to a devaluing of identities and cultures and the impacts on 'development'.

Admittedly, 'indigenous knowledge' is not an unproblematic concept. In a wonderful RC32 session on indigenous feminist knowledge presented by Bandana Purkayastha during the 2016 ISA Forum held in Vienna,[8] she noted that scholarly work does not generally acknowledge the heterogeneities within indigeneity and presents them as binaries of 'traditional' and 'authentic' versus the 'modern' or 'scientific'. 'Indigenous' knowledge is generally understood to refer to knowledge that is local, unique to a particular culture or society, and comprises 'folk knowledge', and 'traditional' science or wisdom. According to Nakashima, Prott and Bridgewater, they 'encompass the sophisticated arrays of information, understandings and interpretations that guide human societies around the globe in their innumerable interactions with the natural milieu' (2000: 12). The problem is not that these definitions are incorrect. Rather, the problem is that the 'indigenous', 'traditional', 'local', or 'folk' ostensibly come from societies that are non-western, while the implied opposite of them – the modern, scientific and generalizable – come from western societies. Hence, 'indigenous' knowledge is supposedly particular, and applicable, perhaps, for a small Akan group in Ghana, while the theories constructed in the Euro-American world can supposedly be deployed globally.[9] It is true that western education has disrupted indigenous knowledge and it is important to retrieve them and integrate them into formal education. However, this should not just be about sustaining indigenous societies, or rural areas of the global or economic South as is typically the case, but also about applying the inherent wisdom for *all* societies as we consider

alternative ways of interacting with each other and our environments. The theoretical paradigms and concepts we rely on are not neutral or benign. They are related to our contexts and standpoints. It matters what we privilege and what we exclude; it matters what questions we ask, how we ask them, what language(s) we employ, how we interpret and present our findings, and the policies we design to apply our knowledge. The questions we don't ask also have implications. In sociology, what is considered as accepted methodology rarely includes the use of so-called 'undocumented' information (read: oral), except as anecdotal, thereby excluding much of the 'indigenous'.

The academy, both on the African continent and in the so-called Global or economic North, privileges non-African voices and Euro-centered knowledge and methods. Sometimes the Africana voice is non-existent or completely erased. Multiple examples abound but I use one here for illustrative purposes. In a heartfelt piece titled 'Sarah Baartman, Invisible!' Pius Adesanmi, a Nigerian scholar of Literature and French, produces a fictitious letter written by Sarah (also Saartjie and Sara) Baartman to Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, who produced the 2007 *Norton Anthology of Literature by Women* (2007). Sarah Baartman was the most famous of at least two Khoikhoi women who were forcibly taken to Europe and exhibited as curiosities in the 19th-century under the now discredited name 'Hottentot Venus'.[10] African feminists have used her story to draw attention to the double burdens of sexism and racism endured by Black women via the voyeuristic European gaze. In his piece, Adesanmi (via Baartman) laments the 'excision of African theories and theorists' (2011: 109) from this 2,452-page 2-volume collection. By using Baartman to discuss the 'excision' of Black women's literature, Adesanmi makes the argument that Black bodies are doubly abused, first physically, and then through the erasure of their stories. The survivors do not get to mourn and the abusers can avoid blame, guilt and restitution. Reflections on, and critiques of such 'excisions' have been described by some scholars from the Global North as mere 'protest literature'. Calls by Africana scholars for a decolonization of the academy, and knowledge production more broadly, have been viewed as the tantrums of an elite band of Black scholars who are resentful that their work doesn't garner the same reach as Euro-American colleagues. The reality is that the status of African lives, whether on the continent or in the diaspora, cannot be divorced from what is valorized as knowledge and influences policy and popular culture.

As pointed out during one of the common sessions during the 2016 ISA Forum delivered by Rhoda Reddock,[11] the ISA's own list of 'Books of the Century' is telling in the absence of African, and Black sociologists generally. For example, whereas Max Weber appears 14 times, W.E.B Du Bois appears twice. Patricia Hill Collins work on Black feminist thought is absent, although admittedly the list is very thin on works by feminist sociologists in general. I was unable to find a single African sociologist.[12] I am sure there was an 'objective' method that led to the result – but my question would be whose objectivity? The frequency of citations is a heavily-relied upon method to valorize academic work – but the vicious circle should be obvious: if 'indigenous' knowledge is not valorized, it will not be cited, if not cited it will not be used in successive research, if not used its universal applicability cannot be tested, and so forth.

To make my case for the relationship between knowledge production, its (de)valorization, and the status of African lives I will interrogate notions of development, via population dynamics and the policy response of family planning; and notions of democracy, via the so-called 'failed African state'. There have been and continue to be numerous critiques of development, globalization and neoliberalism arguing, severally, that the implicit idea that the fruits of development look a certain way, and are achieved through a particular trajectory persist even though the reality is at odds with this. Theories of population dynamics popular in the 1970s through the 1990s, with attendant World Fertility and Demographic and Health surveys are back on the agenda – not only as an accessory to sexual and reproductive health and rights, but as an explicit field of action in development cooperation (Bendix and Schultz 2015). The theories that inform the policy makers, who in turn design the policies, that are then adopted by politicians, are constructed by sociologists and demographers. A brief re-cap of the trajectory of thinking and policy is in order here (see Adomako Ampofo 2004):

- During the 1960s and 1970s large families among the poor and so-called Third World countries were seen as imposing severe burdens on society, including being viewed as a security challenge. The discourse centered on the 'costs' and 'benefits' of children. Population policies that overtly promoted 'family planning' were the response.[13]
- The programmatic priorities focused on technical solutions, especially the provision of contraceptives to women, who, in surveys often showed a discrepancy between the number of children they 'wanted' and the number of children they gave birth to.

- 'Population dynamics' constructed countries as 'good' and 'bad' in terms of population growth and birth rates. So, for example, Ethiopia has been viewed as a 'good' country for the large-scale adoption of long-term contraception and Ghana as a 'bad' country for failing to successfully do same.[14]
- Perhaps not surprisingly, since it is women who give birth to children, they became easy targets for fertility reduction efforts, particularly because surveys showed that they indicated they were having more children than they wanted to have ('unwanted births'), or they were having children before they were ready ('mistimed births'). Since modern contraceptives can solve the problem of 'unwanted' or 'mistimed' births (both of which are considered as unplanned), women who do not want children *but* are not using contraceptives are deemed to have an 'unmet need' (for contraception).[15] This led to the initial exclusion of men and infantalizing of African women for failing to do what was 'rational', i.e use contraceptives.
- African sociologists and demographers pointed to the absurdity of focusing on women and several studies addressed a 'male role' (see work by Adomako Ampofo, Dodoo, Ezeh to name a few).
- By the end of the century family planning was on the back burner and did not reappear as a major policy and programmatic issue until the mid 2000s, with active 'support' from the UNFPA and the Bill and Melinda Gates foundation.

There are simply too many aspects of the social lives of African women and men that were, and continue to be, ignored to discuss in detail here. Needless to say, however, women don't have children alone, and both husbands and the extended families have a say, or at least an interest, in childbearing decisions. Further, the value of children is not only about 'costs' and 'benefits', but also about the continuation of the lineage, and no child is really 'unwanted' even if her or his arrival comes with some 'inconvenience'.[16] Another caveat that cannot be ignored is the huge profits that accrue to European and American pharmaceutical companies for the production and sale of contraceptives. Writing on the German context, Bendix and Schultz state, 'Population dynamics' have become the new 'cross-cutting issue' and the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) considers itself to be the 'European vanguard' in this realm' (2015: no page). They note that German development cooperation resulted in €169 million being spent on population programmes in 2012, far more than it spent on basic health care (€147 million), and with almost half (€83 million) going to African countries. More interesting is how the 'need' in Africa opened the door for new markets in Europe and the United States. According to Bendix and Schultz, the market for contraceptives was US$11.2 billion in 2008 and was estimated to rise to US$14.5 billion in 2016. Market leaders are Bayer (with

annual revenues of US$3 billion), Tevat (US$1.2 billion) and Merck & Co (US$1 billion). The UNFPA and USAID are said to be the biggest buyers for international aid programs, with a strong emphasis on long-term contraceptives such as implants. Thus, poor African women with an 'unmet need' are big business for pharmaceuticals and international NGOs, without any scrutiny of the theory underlying these conclusions, let alone the physiological effects of long-term contraceptives.

The second issue I turn to are notions of 'democracy' and good 'governance', and their association with development. Democracy purportedly 'for the people by the people', includes elections (preferably multi-party) and universal suffrage. Max Weber argues that a state that can maintain a monopoly on the use of force, through the armed forces, police and other state institutions, is 'successful' while one that is unable to maintain control over other internal groups (in today's parlance, paramilitary groups such as terrorist organizations and warlords) is 'unsuccessful' or has failed. Stable democracies do not 'fail'. Yet while there is no consensus on the term 'failed state' this does not keep media houses from using it liberally to construct Africa. A 2013 edition of *Business Insider*, for example, has a list of 25 failed states, of which 18 are in Africa, including Liberia, Uganda, Ethiopia, Kenya and Côte d'Ivoire. Some scholars argue that democracy, as constructed, is alien to 'African cultures', that it is an instrument of continuous exploitation by the west (Morrow 1998; Owolabi 1999), and that we should have an 'indigenous' African democracy (Ademola 2009; Oyekan 2009), which might, for example, be built on the consensus-building model. Asumah makes a case for what he refers to as multicultural and relational democracy – transcending the procedural, where the people's 'engagement and connection with their representatives are primordial, constant and continuing' (Asumah and Nagel 2014: 407). And yet, in discussions, examples and policy interventions regarding democracy, good governance and failed states the voices and perspectives of African people and their academics are all too frequently absent.

Today, the Black Lives Matter (BLM) and Rhodes Must Fall movements (RMF) have focused attention on the status of Africana or Black (and Brown) lives: both are anti-colonial movements, the former focusing more on civil rights, the latter on decolonizing knowledge and the academy (Adomako Ampofo 2016). What is interesting for me as a sociologist are the number of studies emerging that claim either no evidence of differences in police shootings by race in the US, or showing how many white deaths result from police shootings. Small qualitative studies are

ignored and so-called anecdotal evidence is dismissed. The sociological imperative to contextualize and measure controlling for region, population size, poverty and unemployment is largely ignored. Asking for an historical contextualization that references the US's brutal slave past, and an acknowledgment that not too long ago law enforcement officers even belonged to the Ku Klux Klan, may not be 'objective' enough.

The BLM and RMF campaigns did not start with the incensed responses to the killings of black people in the US or the frustrations of South African youth with their educational system. 'Black lives matter' movements under different names have been a feature of anti-slavery, anti-colonialism, civil rights and anti-neo-colonialism movements. The response, 'All lives matter' to the cry, 'Black lives matter!' – which of course they do, and which true human could disagree? – reflects many things, among them a failure to understand and contextualize the status of Black lives today, both in the US, on the continent and elsewhere. Further, there is a failure to recognize that by repeating 'all lives matter' one asserts that some lives do matter less. This failure is not only the fault of inaccurate media portrayals, but also inadequate social science research: the questions asked and not asked; the methods employed and conclusions reached; and of course, whose research reaches the media.

An African-Centered Approach to Knowledge Production and the Africa We Want

From Kwame Nkrumah, Leopold Senghor, Du Bois, Maya Angelou and their peers, to numerous scholars today such as feminist sociologists Patricia Hill Collins, African thinkers have insisted that there is, indeed, an 'African/a-centered' approach to knowledge production, and an African-centered sociology that provides a realistic framework for the analysis of African social lives (Caroll 2014). This belief is perhaps reflected best in the exhortation given to the Fellows of the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana at its formal opening in 1962 by our first president, Kwame Nkrumah:

> One essential function of this Institute must surely be to study the history, culture and institutions, languages and arts of Ghana and of Africa in new African-centred ways – in entire freedom from the propositions and presuppositions of the colonial epoch, and from the distortions of those Professors and Lecturers who continue to make European studies of Africa the basis of this new assessment. By the work of this Institute, we must

re-assess and assert the glories and achievements of our African past and inspire our generation, and succeeding generations, with a vision of a better future. But you should not stop here. Your work must also include a study of the origins and culture of peoples of African descent in the Americas and the Caribbean, and you should seek to maintain close relations with their scholars so that there may be cross fertilisation between Africa and those who have their roots in the African past. (Nkrumah 1963)

'*Wo nyim adze won sae ade*' – 'if you know a thing of value you do not destroy it'. Indeed, if that valuable item is lost the one who understands its values goes back to find it, almost engaging in a revival of sorts and a practice of principles of *Sankofa*. *Mɛ san aba*, literally, 'I will return' or, 'I will be back', is the title of a hiplife[17] song by a duo *Akyeame*, plural of *Ɔkyeame*, the Akan title for the advisor and spokesperson of the king.[18] By calling themselves *Akyeame* the duo speak to the notion that young people can be (wise) advisors. Further, the title and lyrics of the song articulate the idea that Ghanaians (Africans) can revive a cultural project that speaks to their identities and needs, including a shared humanity. The song, and the hiplife style that uses traditional overtures, and mixtures of Ghanaian languages and English, speaks to this eclectic mix that forms the identities of today's youth. '*Mɛ san aba*' can also be read as the threat, 'just you wait, I'll be back to deal with you!' that informs much of civil society's language, especially in social media, as it engages with the state's failure to deliver on the promises of 'development'.

Ingredients of an African-centered approach, not to be confused by an African approach, puts the impact on Africana lives at the center, irrespective of whether the sociologist is African, African-based, African diaspora-based, or not African at all. However, it must be culturally grounded in a sociological imagination that understands African lives and relates the field of sociology to an 'understanding of the Black condition which will ultimately be applied in some effective way to the resolution of the oppressed condition of the masses of Black folk' (Caroll 2014: 261–2). It must be developed out of an African cosmology, ontology, axiology and epistemology. An African-centered sociology needs to tackle the knowledge hegemony intentionally. It must:

- Be transformative and lead students to look at structures that undermine African societies.
- Recognize the diversity of African/a and Black experiences within shared histories and contemporary realities.

- Conceptualize and explain African experiences.
- Recognize the relationships among our realities (i.e. use an intersectional lens).
- Actively pursue reciprocity and decry voyeurisms.
- Engage youth voices.
- Develop tools and methodologies relevant to African contexts.

This last point is critical if we are to avoid merely doing an African sociology and not an African-centered one. Mixed methods and sources should be valued and accepted. Utilizing 'undocumented' knowledge such as oral traditions should be valued and accepted. Citing Curry, Caroll adds that an African-centered knowledge production within African-centered sociology has no disinterested participants. There is an agenda and we should demand active engagement with the phenomena under investigation from sociologists. This would preclude the voyeur or mere theory-builder. 'No longer can the sociologically-minded researcher be detached from that which s/he is investigating; we must be active participants who knowingly and willingly divulge our role as interested scholars, committed to the development of liberatory knowledge (Caroll 2014: 265).

The imperatives and possibilities for that common agenda among African-centered sociologists must include emerging sites of knowledge production. It must also of necessity prioritize engagement with the youth for the sake of knowledge building and sustenance. More than any other global community, I think, our relevance as academics can only be sustained as we re-birth our intellectual DNA and humanity in the next generation of thinkers. And many of these thinkers, as of old, ply their trade and share their knowledge outside the walls of the academy and often in the spaces of popular culture.

Ultimately, all lives will only matter when we recognize our shared humanity. The renowned Ghanaian philosophers Gyekye and Wiredu – both Akans – have engaged in interesting debates about Akan notions of personhood. While there are important differences, there are sufficient convergences between them for us to draw conclusions about the implications of Akan conceptions of personhood and the relationship between individuals and the community, and the understanding of responsibilities and freedoms. Ajume Wingo (2008) points out that the debate between Wiredu and Gyekye provides insights regarding not just the substance of the conception of personhood (humanness), but also the way empirical evidence can be used to inform philosophical analysis. In this case, the Akan view of personhood has, like many other metaphysical and moral conceptions, far-reaching effects on

social practices and institutions. For example, the saying '*Boa me na men boa wo*', literally 'help me and I will help you', signifies co-dependence and the saying that '*Mre dane*', literally 'situations change', underscores the role of giving and receiving in everyone's life. Thus, as Azibo argues (1999), our social theory must refer to 'those principles that determine the relationship of a people to one another, to other humans, and to nature'. In this way, our social theory can establish 'guidelines of life including their values, rituals and ways of dealing with 'the other' (1999: 1).

Notes

1   Literal meaning in Akan: 'I shall return'.

2   William Essuman Gwira-Sekyi popularly known as Kobina Sekyi (1892–1956), was a Cape Coast lawyer, writer, last president of the Aborigines Rights Protection Society, executive member of the National Congress of British West Africa and member of the Coussey Committee for constitutional change that finally paved the way for the independence of Ghana. He was keenly aware of the dissonance that a European education can create for an African. In the satire *The Blinkards* he creates Mrs Brɔfosɛm (literally Mrs 'behaves like a white person') and her counterpoint Mr Onyimdze, a British-trained lawyer who privileges African ways and serves as Sekyi's voice.

3   Hagan does not provide a date but based on his CV it must have been sometime in the late 1960s to early 1970s.

4   Andrika symbols can also be found among the Baouie of Côte d'Ivoire.

5   In their report on a 2013 survey of Black Studies, Abdul Alkalimat et al. pointed out that 'Black was capitalized as it was the assumed name of a nationality', and added that 'this practice continues to make sense given the reality of racism in the USA' (2013).

6   The lawsuit about the song 'The Lion Sleeps Tonight' is a good example. In this case the Zulu musician Solomon Linda received little compensation for his song 'Mbube', recorded in 1939 under the South African Gallo Record Company. Linda's song became 'The Lion Sleeps Tonight', a global pop classic that has generated millions of dollars for others (see Olufunmilayo 2016 for a recent discussion). An earlier popular example could be the work of the artist Pablo Picasso.

7   When Linda died in 1962 he had been unable to leave enough behind for his widow to be able to purchase a gravestone. His daughter apparently died of AIDS-related illness in 2001 because she was unable to afford antiretroviral medication (Olufunmilayo 2016).

8   Research Committee on Women and Society Session 374 'Knowledge Production: Feminist Perspectives in the 21st Century'.

9   In 1993 the United Nations proposed a working definition that 'Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and

their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems' (for details of the Martinez Cobo study which formulated the definition, see www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/about-us.html). This definition has since been vigorously debated and refined in relation to the many different people groups around the world who wish to be recognized as such.

10 See Maseko (1998), Qureshi (2004), Strother (1999), Willis (2010).

11 Her paper at Common Session 2A of the 2012 ISA Forum on 'The Futures We Want: Global Sociology and the Struggles for a Better World' was titled 'Sociology, Feminisms and the Global South: Back to the Future'.

12 I scanned for familiar sociologists and unfamiliar ones with 'African sounding' names. Thus I concede the list might include some European-descended Africans I am unfamiliar with. While I would not attempt a who-is-who in 'African sociology' here, a useful source is the *African Sociological Review* published by CODESRIA.

13 During Henry Kissinger's tenure as Secretary of State in the US (1972–77), there existed a panic around the security of the US if African and other so-called developing country populations were allowed to grow in an uncontrolled manner. The concerns were so strong that the US had a distinct policy to strongly export population programmes to African governments, and also to offer scholarships to African students to study demography at prestigious US institutions. The US, Kissinger counseled, could minimize charges of an imperialist motive behind its support of population activities in developing nations by 'repeatedly asserting that such support derives from a concern with (a) the rights of the individual couple to determine freely and responsibly their number and spacing of children ... and (b) the fundamental social and economic development of poor countries' (cited in Mumford 1994: 146).

14 Personal communication, Dr Kwame Ampofo, Technical Adviser, Engender Health Ghana.

15 See Adomako Ampofo (2004) for a critical discussion of the concept of 'unmet need' including some of the conceptual and methodological challenges involved in its measurement.

16 I don't imply that a pregnancy is always heralded with joy or acceptance. Indeed, women do seek abortions for pregnancies that arrive at the 'wrong time' or with the 'wrong partner'. What I argue is that the notion of 'unwantedenss' of a child is not to be taken for granted for many since God gives children and the lineage will surely want them.

17 Hiplife is a combination of hiphop, rap and traditional Ghanaian highlife music.

18 ƆƘyeame has often been inappropriately translated into English as 'linguist'.

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