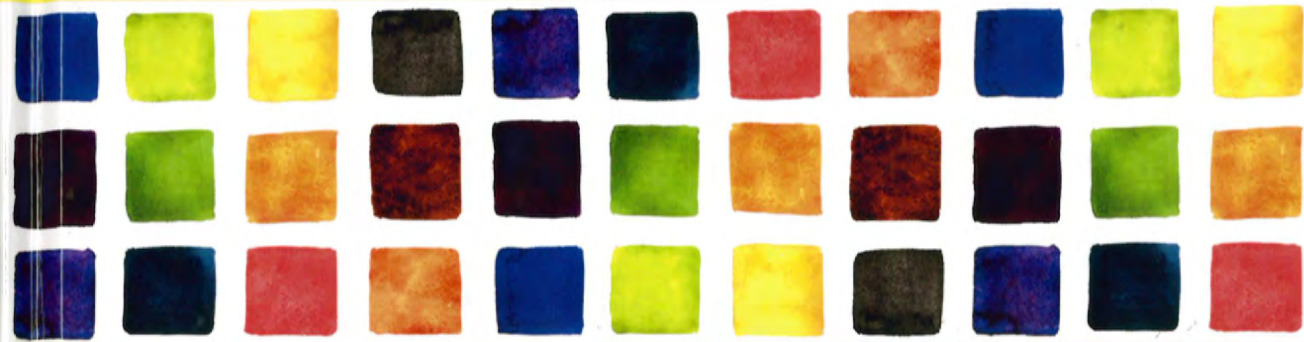


The SAGE Handbook of
Early Childhood
Research



Edited by
Ann Farrell,
Sharon Lynn Kagan
and E. Kay M. Tisdall



Early Childhood Research in Africa: The Need for a Chorus of Voices

Alan Pence and Emily Ashton

INTRODUCTION

Early childhood is a key focus of international research and international development. Such has not always been the case, as can be attested by those whose work predates approval of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (United Nations, 1990) and the Education for All (EFA) initiative, which included the key words 'learning begins at birth' (UNESCO, 1990). At that point, the literature regarding early childhood education, care and development (ECD)¹ and international development was scarce – for some parts of the world that remains the case.

In this chapter, the authors argue 'that research on the whole of humanity is necessary for creating a science that truly represents the whole of humanity' (Arnett, 2008: 602). The majority of early childhood research has focused 'on a small corner of the human population – mainly, persons living in the United States', which represents only '5% of the world's total population' (2008: 602). Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) is a key part of the

neglected 95% that Jeffrey Arnett argues warrants increased attention. Despite the fact that approximately 15% of humanity's children live in SSA, only a negligible percentage of the internationally accessible, published ECD literature focuses on the region. A point all the more critical, given the great diversity of cultures, traditions and languages found throughout Sub-Saharan Africa.

This chapter is integral to work that was initiated two decades ago with a focus on promoting capacity for local and country-led ECD initiatives in SSA, from policies to programs and, more recently, to research (Pence, 1999; Pence and Benner, 2015). From the beginning of that work, it has been clear that references and resource materials focusing on ECD in SSA, particularly materials with African lead authors, were very rare. And without such materials, Africa's ability to define its own way forward was restricted – a situation familiar in other parts of the Global South as well.

The invitation to submit a chapter to this volume occurred at the point when the

authors, with funding as part of a collaborative project with the Aga Khan University Institute for Educational Development in Tanzania, had compiled an annotated list of more than 800 SSA-focused, ECD-relevant publications.² Such a trove of data is new and unique. This chapter establishes historical and conceptual foundations for further analyses of Africa's evolving ECD literature going forward.

The chapter begins with an historical analysis of ECD in SSA before the watershed period of 1990 referred to above. Earlier child studies research, in fields such as anthropology, cross-cultural psychology and culture and personality studies, produced a body of work which reveals much about African children, families, communities and culture before, during and after independence. The processes undertaken by those studies also speak to efforts to promote African-led scholarly capacity, a key theme throughout this review.

The chapter goes on to note that, for the most part, ECD in SSA had almost no global visibility until the early 1990s. At that point, several ECD-focused handbooks were published, each including one or more African countries with African lead authors. It was during that same period that one key African author initiated what would become, over time, an important 'stream' (or theme) of scholarly work; it is a stream that calls for an Africentric focus in the literature (Nsamenang, 1992). While A. Bame Nsamenang has continued to be active through to the present day, his critically focused 'Africentric stream' was not joined by a substantive collection of other African-led, Africa-focused research until the mid-2000s.

In the 2000s, a stream of SSA African-led research which focused on country-level issues of policy development was followed by publications attentive to the gap between policy and implementation. These policy-level analyses were accompanied by a wider range of ECD education, training, programming and curriculum-related publications. Most recently, critical reflections regarding SSA's approach to ECD have increased,

contributing substantially to the earlier call for an Africentric approach, and recalling an earlier emphasis on context, community and culture integral to key historical works described in the following section.

AFRICAN-BASED CHILD, FAMILY AND COMMUNITY RESEARCH

While a primary intent of this chapter is to provide a foundation for ECD research going forward in SSA, it is important to first explore the earlier history of child- and family-focused studies and scholarly writing. Such work brings one into contact with, among others, anthropologists and psychologists, extending a view of African-based child and family studies back in time several decades. Our starting point is the culture and personality movement made famous by the investigations of Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict in the 1930s, but represented and reconceptualized in Africa most productively by John and Beatrice Whiting and their graduate student and research associate successors.³ What the Whitings' decades-long commitment to comparative studies of children, families and communities around the world demonstrated is that researchers must take account of local contexts and ecological conditions on their own terms.

The Whitings led Harvard University's Laboratory of Human Development, which stood as 'the premier training base in comparative child development from 1950 through the 1980s, and then beyond under the leadership of Robert LeVine, one of their former students' (Edwards and Bloch, 2010: 485). Under the Whitings' direction, three important international, longitudinal projects were undertaken: (1) the Six Culture Study in which research teams compiled data of childrearing practices and children's socialization behavior from six countries; (2) the Child Development Research Unit (CDRU) at the University of Nairobi where local communities and local research assistants played key roles; and (3) the Harvard Comparative

Adolescence Project (Weisner, 2010; Weisner and Edwards, 2002). The first two projects are particularly relevant for our analysis.

The Six Culture Study of Socialization (SCS) was launched in 1954. The project involved collecting rich ethnographic studies from different parts of the world that would provide comparable data and suggest novel insights about childhood in a social and cultural context. The intensive multi-site fieldwork conducted from 1954 to 1957 included, for example, descriptions of child behaviors, caretaking practices, and cultural beliefs and ceremonies (Whiting, 1963; Whiting and Whiting, 1975). In 1955 Robert LeVine received a two-year grant to replicate the ongoing SCS ethnographic work in East Africa (LeVine and LeVine, 1966). His team spent 20 months generating data with the Gusii people of southwestern Kenya, and, on returning to Harvard, the Whitings decided to include the data in the larger study (LeVine, 2010). Ten years later, the Whiting and LeVine presence would again be felt in Kenya through the Child Development Research Unit (CDRU). Funded initially by the Carnegie Corporation, the CDRU was established as an international partnership and institutional capacity-building collaboration between Harvard University, the University of Nairobi and, subsequently, Kenyatta University.

Thomas Weisner (2010) described the research environment of the CDRU as exemplifying many of the Whitings' mentorship qualities. An explicit goal of the CDRU was to support, teach and collaborate with Kenyan university students 'so that they could become the next generation of social science researchers' (2010: 502). While such capacity-promoting work is laudable and was a key objective of the CDRU, the outcome based on published African-led studies alone was very limited. However, Caroline Pope Edwards and Beatrice Whiting (2004) clarify, noting the accomplishments of Kenyan women researchers affiliated with their CDRU work: 'All now have professional careers. They are successful lawyers, university professors, or

professionals in government. Some are senior executives at international organizations. One served as a high commissioner from Kenya to another African nation' (2004: 8).

Other key texts from this larger body of work include Robert LeVine and colleagues' *Child Care and Culture: Lessons from Africa* (1994) which bridges work undertaken for the SCS and the CDRU. The edited collection challenged the concept of a universal best child care, and further demonstrated how cultural priorities and social conditions complexly affect childrearing practices and priorities. The work of Charles Super and Sara Harkness, also working in SSA, provided researchers worldwide with the influential concept of 'developmental niche' (1986). Also important from this broader body of work were Weisner's studies of sibling caregiving as a widespread and valued practice. Although often dismissed in the Global North as too dangerous or as a form of child labor, Weisner and Ronald Gallimore (1977) importantly wrote 'My brother's keeper' to review the evidence, to situate care practices in context and to describe the advantages that this form of care can provide for both young children and their older sibling caretakers.

The impact of the Whitings' and their colleagues' work has touched many fields, including cross-cultural psychology, developmental psychology, anthropology, human and child development, comparative education and ECD (Edwards and Bloch, 2010). Over their long careers, the Whitings' persistent attention to cultural diversity and contextual variability marked a necessary challenge to the accelerating child development field that 'tended to regress to [a] monocultural perspective ... [that] naively saw American children as representatives of a universal humanity and took no account of the rest of the world' (LeVine, 2010: 519). And while not all of their conceptual theorizations may have stood the test of time (Edwards and Bloch, 2010), their methodological experimentation and ethical practice remain relevant today.

Coterminous with the SCS and CDRU projects were several other longitudinal,

multidisciplinary projects in other parts of Africa (Super et al., 2011). These include: the Piagetian-centered French-Swiss collaboration in the Ivory Coast (Dasen et al., 1978); observations of Ngecha infants in Kenya (Leiderman et al., 1973); the Kalahari studies directed by Irvén DeVore and others (Konner, 1976); the caregiving practices of Efe peoples in the Ituri Forest project (Tronick et al., 1987); and the cultural-cognitive development of the Kpelle of Liberia (Cole et al., 1971). Another noteworthy contributor to pioneering cultural development research in SSA is the work of Robert Serpell in Zambia (1976, 1993).

TRANSITION FROM AFRICAN-BASED TO AFRICAN-LED RESEARCH

For the purposes of this chapter, it is important to note not only the relative invisibility of the studies noted above in contemporary, global discussions of ECD, but also the limitations of the projects to establish a globally recognized base of researchers from Sub-Saharan countries. Interestingly, through a very different set of circumstances an African-led scholarly stream of work does appear in the early 1990s; that particular stream, plus others, will be discussed in some detail later. But before that, and to shift water metaphors, a new wave appeared in the late 1980s – one that included African lead authors and which explicitly focused on ECD: international handbooks.

Early Childhood Handbooks

Over a period of five years (1989–93), four international handbooks on ECD were published. At the time, these collections represented the largest number of widely accessible African-authored contributions to the international literature.⁴ The volumes by Patricia Olmsted and David Weikart (1989) and Michael Lamb, Kathleen Sternberg, Carl-Philip Hwang and Anders Broberg (1992)

were part of larger international projects. The volumes edited by Gary Woodill, Judith Bernhard and Larry Prochner (1992) and Moncrieff Cochran (1993) were intended primarily as student and library reference works.

Olmsted and Weikart's (1989) edited collection provided baseline profiles for an international pre-primary study by separately outlining 14 countries' care and education services, and situating pre-primary education within each country's larger historical context. Chapters authored by Olayemi M. Onibokun (Nigeria) and Pauline Riak, Ruth Rono, Florence Kragu and M. Nyukuri (Kenya) were the two African contributions to the volume. The handbook edited by Lamb, Sternberg, Hwang and Broberg (1992) was unique in that it did not focus primarily on country reports, but was instead organized by geographic region. Nsamenang, the sole African contributor, described the early years of Cameroonian childhoods. His chapter is followed by a larger-scale exposition of shared and sibling child care in East African countries by Harkness and Super, and a summative commentary by Serpell.

Woodill, Bernhard and Prochner's (1992) compilation includes the largest number of African contributors, but also the shortest submissions for each country, given that it includes the largest number of countries overall (45 in total). In the course of writing, all contributing authors were professors at African universities, and the countries included: Botswana (Ruth Monau), Kenya (George Godia), Liberia (J. Nyanquoi Gormuyor), Nigeria (Joseph Aghenta and J. Nesin Omatseye), Sudan (Gasim Badri) and Swaziland (Marissa Rollnick). The handbook edited by Cochran (1993) contains two chapters by African writers: Zimbabwe, Rosley Chada, and Kenya, Lea Kipkorir. Unlike the other handbooks, the Cochran volume included a workshop where the chapter authors met, shared draft copies, considered cross-country features and planned certain aspects of the final volume.

First and foremost, the importance of the handbooks stems from the fact that they

collectively represent the first focused inclusion of African voices in ECD that were widely available to an international audience. Together, they provide a sound introduction to 10 Sub-Saharan countries' history of education, political structures and organization, policy frameworks, indigenous childrearing traditions, societal and familial change over time, ECD curricula and teacher education, and post-independence challenges. They remain an important reference with which to gauge the progress and challenges of ECD in the region.

SSA's Broader Watershed Period

During the same period that the ECD handbooks were being developed, other key international events were contributing to the rising prominence of early childhood on the international development stage. Two of those events were briefly alluded to in the introduction: the CRC and EFA. A third notable event was more specific to ECD and international development – the 1992 publication of *The Twelve Who Survive: Strengthening Programmes of Early Childhood Development in the Third World* (Myers, 1992).

Much has been written about the CRC and EFA in regards to their myriad impacts on childhoods internationally; as such, this chapter will only note that the worlds of ECD pre- and post-CRC and EFA are profoundly different. The before and after of Robert Myers' (1992) volume are more nuanced. *The Twelve Who Survive* makes the case for moving beyond improving child survival rates, to enhancing child well-being for the 12 out of 13 children who were surviving by 1991. The international ECD programs it highlights as exemplars present a more multifaceted understanding of ECD than the more singularly economic arguments often put forward later in the decade which, with the addition of a key, re-energized element of brain development, continues to form the dominant international discourse today.

This difference hinges on an acronym that could be called 'the 3Cs' of culture, context and community. The programs highlighted

in *The Twelve Who Survive* are sensitive to these 3Cs, and in doing so they are reflective of what had come before in the child studies work discussed earlier. Additionally, evidenced by their long history of funding and publication support, the Bernard van Leer Foundation (BvLF) has been a forerunner at promoting a 3C- and African-led approach to work in the region. Any chronology of ECD in Africa would be remiss in not highlighting the work of this Foundation.

In 1971 the BvLF funded its first project in SSA, the Kenyan Pre-school Education Project, which aimed to transfer the post-independence spirit of Harambee (i.e., community self-help or 'all pull together') to ECD initiatives. Other BvLF contributions to ECD in SSA include support for Educare programs in apartheid South Africa, El-barta and Madrassa preschools in Kenya and community development programs for the San peoples of the Kalahari (Lanyasunya et al., 2001; Mwaura, 2003; LeRoux, 2002). In its key publication, *Building on People's Strengths: Early Childhood in Africa* (BvLF, 1994), the BvLF makes it clear that the 3Cs matter. The key message is that while there are many approaches to improving the status of young children in SSA, 'the basis must be building on what exists rather than imposing alien solutions' (1994: 1). BvLF does not advocate the rejection of all ECD models derived in the Global North, but clearly conveys the idea that local wisdom and traditional socialization practices must drive efforts to move forward. The report's introduction concludes with a prescient comment: 'Perhaps the continent's greatest weakness is that it does not recognize the much strength to be found with its own societies' (1994: 5). It is to the strengths of situated knowledge that this chapter now turns.

Emerging African Voices in the 1990s

As the reader will have noted, this chapter pays particular attention to the presence and absence of indigenous African voices in

SSA's ECD story. An important element of the broader watershed period was the emergence of a strong African voice in child development. A. Bame Nsamenang's first book appeared in 1992 and, with it, a challenge and a mission:

The lopsidedness of developmental knowledge in favor of the West clearly provides the primary rationale for the focus of this book on the Third World Ecology. The exclusion of Third World ecologies from the bio-behavioral science certainly limits the evolution of a truly international psychology. (1992: 3)

A key concern of this chapter is not only that African perspectives were, and continue to be, largely absent in the internationally accessible literature, but that local researchers, those who understand local development as insiders, are a small minority of that small compendium. Nsamenang's voice is an important voice, not only for its rarity, but for its persistent critique of an unacceptable condition, and for its expanding range over time from child development to ECD and on to education more broadly.

Nsamenang's earliest work focused on the Nso peoples of Cameroon, in addition to other West African cultural groups. Much of his early writing highlighted the important caregiving function that older siblings fulfil in traditional caretaking practices (Nsamenang, 1992, 2005, 2006; Nsamenang and Dasen, 1993). His more recent ECD work argued for research and programmatic practices that recognize and celebrate children's agency (2008a), build on indigenous ways of living and learning (2008b), respect culture as a necessary correlate to quality ECD programming (2009) and recognize the complexity of Africa's triple heritage – Western, traditional African and Islamic educational traditions – in any and all efforts to create and implement ECD policy (Nsamenang, 2005, 2010; Pence and Nsamenang, 2008). Throughout his career, Nsamenang has been consistent in his critique of the imposition of Western theories, discourses and so-called best-practice models. Thus, he forcefully advocates for an

African-led research agenda, generative of Africentric knowledge.⁵

The 1990s produced few other African single lead voices in ECD; however, a growing number of African co-author partnerships developed. Margaret Kabiru and Anne Njenga are two Kenyan authors with a substantial number of publications in the 'grey literature' extending back to the 1970s, and with an increasing number of internationally accessible publications from the 1990s forward (e.g., 2007 [1994]).⁶ In particular, their partnership with American Beth Blue Swadener has proven fruitful. For instance, their book, *Does the Village Still Raise the Child? A Collaborative Study of Changing Child-Rearing and Early Education in Kenya* (Swadener et al., 2000), emerged from a 'year-long collaborative study of the impacts of rapid social and economic change on child-rearing, early education and community mobilization in Kenya' (Swadener et al., 1997: 285). The study reflected a conception of ECD that extended from center-based institutional settings to include traditional family and non-parental care practices, in addition to a demonstrated respect for the holistic and multifaceted development of children.

Kabiru was also a key contributor to the Early Childhood Development Network for Africa (ECDNA), whose establishment was in large part the result of Mauritian Cyril Dalais' ECD advocacy work at UNICEF's education cluster in the early 1990s. Dalais was joined by individuals such as Barnabas Otaala and Kabiru in advancing a series of activities that included the 'ECD: More and Better' initiative co-sponsored by BvLF and led by Kate Torkington, and co-sponsorship of a series of UNICEF-supported ECD capacity-promoting workshops led by Alan Pence (Victoria, Canada: 1995; Windhoek, Namibia: 1997; Banjul, The Gambia, 1998). In the late 1990s, the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA), along with the Dutch government, came forward to assume responsibility for ECDNA-type activities under a new name, the Working Group on ECD (WGECD). The WGECD, under

ADEA and with support from UNESCO-BREDA in Dakar, continued in that form until February 2015, when it became the Inter-Country Quality Node on Early Childhood Development, based in Mauritius.

Swadener's collaborative work increased throughout the 2000s, often co-authoring with doctoral students from SSA. She and her co-authors have addressed the effects of neoliberal discursive policies in Kenyan ECD (Swadener and Wachira, 2003; Swadener et al., 2008); community-derived initiatives, young mothers and the Mwana Mwendu organization (Kabiru et al., 2003); critical, participative, decolonizing research methodologies for work in SSA and other majority (developing) world contexts (Mutua and Swadener, 2004); and critical disability studies, postcolonial legacies and inclusive education in Kenya (Mutua and Swadener, 2011).

Canadian academics Larry Prochner and Ailie Cleghorn have a history of collaboration with African colleagues that goes back to the handbook discussed earlier (see Woodill et al., 1992), but also includes Cleghorn's work on ECD teacher education and educational reform in Zimbabwe in 1992–97. Since that time they have co-authored with each other and with some other African colleagues (Cleghorn and Prochner, 1997, 2003; Cleghorn and Weber, 1995; Mtetwa and Cleghorn, 2004; Prochner and Kabiru, 2008). In working with African teachers, researchers and children, Cleghorn and Prochner advocate for the incorporation of traditional 'ways of knowing, doing, and believing' in African ECD (2003: 144).

In 1999 the World Bank received a proposal to develop an Early Childhood Development Virtual University (ECDVU) (Pence, 1999). Based on a series of SSA ECD seminars supported by UNICEF in the mid-1990s, and on the earlier development of a 'generative curriculum' approach with First Nations communities in Canada (Ball and Pence, 2006; Pence and McCallum, 1994), the ECDVU included ECD literature from the Global North but encouraged participants to consider that work in their own contexts and to generate approaches to ECD that reflected

local understandings, traditions and values as well. The ECDVU created a space on its website for locally produced major papers (see www.ecdvu.org) and also included SSA students' work in a volume edited by Pence and Kofi Marfo (2004).

Mentorship was also taking place within certain SSA institutions of higher learning, but only two universities had graduate-level programs in ECD in the 1990s. One of those, Kenyatta University, created at a later point a compendium of the grey literature for the period 1990–2006 under the leadership of Barbara Koech (2008). Similar to another literature search project (King et al., 2009), most of Koech's findings focus on child health, survival and protection factors, largely falling outside the narrower focus for ECD provided here.

A challenge for research leaders and mentors, even those with strong ties to places in Africa, has been to ensure the audibility and sustainability of indigenous African voices in the published, international literature. The issue of how to effectively promote and expand African contributions to the internationally visible literature remains a key concern today, not only for academics, but also for international organizations. A number of those most closely associated with ECD will be examined in the next section.

International Organizations

The BvLF has already been noted as an important international presence in SSA in the pre-watershed years, supporting not only programs but also locally produced publications. A second noteworthy organization is the Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN), particularly in its development of Madrasa Resource Centres for ECD commencing in 1986 in Mombasa, Kenya.⁷ And while international charities like Save the Children, PLAN International, Christian Children's Fund, World Vision and others have played important roles in a wide range of SSA countries in the twenty-first century, most had a limited presence in ECD before 2000.

To a certain degree, the same could be said of UNICEF and UNESCO, as both had broad engagements with children, addressing key issues of child survival, health and development before 2000, but with a restricted focus on ECD specifically. There were, however, exceptions, such as the East and Southern Africa Regional Office (ESARO) of UNICEF providing materials for ECD training as part of the 1979 'International Year of the Child' and a great deal of behind-the-scenes work between the leadership of UNICEF and the Consultative Group on Early Childhood Care and Development leading up to the CRC, EFA and the publication of *The Twelve Who Survive* (Dalais, personal communication, 21 November 2013).

In a number of respects, however, the greatest impact on ECD in SSA in the pre-2000 period came from a less likely, but very large player: the World Bank. Signaling the growing interest in ECD was a slim volume from the World Bank headquarters: *Early Childhood Development: Investing in the Future* (Young, 1996), and two Africa-focused reports (Colletta et al., 1996; Colletta and Reinhold, 1997). These publications aimed to provide up-to-date information on the condition of young children in SSA and review the ECD policies and programs currently in place. The release of the two reports concurred with the World Bank's emergence as a major funder/lender for ECD on a scale previously unimaginable. World Bank ECD funding projects in the 1990s included: the Kenyan Early Child Development Project (1997–2002) at US\$35.1 million; the Ugandan Nutrition and Early Childhood Development Project (1998–2001) at US\$40 million; and the partially ECD-related Nigerian Development Communication Pilot Project (1993–97) at US\$10.2 million (World Bank, 2003).

As the World Bank became increasingly active in ECD during the mid- to late 1990s, the dominant discourse of ECD internationally and in SSA began to shift from the 3Cs narrative of culture, context and community to a more technically focused, neoliberal and socioeconomic set of arguments based

in large part on a few cost-benefit analyses undertaken in the USA. Indeed, by the turn of the millennium it was doubtful that any Ministry of Education or Finance in SSA had not heard the ECD refrain 'for every X dollar spent, Y dollars will be saved'. While various authors have pointed out a disconnect between findings from American-based studies and the realities of Africa, the arguments continue to appear regularly in both international and SSA publications, though not without a growing number of critics. Helen Penn, herself a frequent contributor to the ECD in SSA literature, is one of the strongest of those critics (2002, 2011, 2012).

By 2000, the dynamics surrounding the early years and ECD in Africa bore little resemblance to those from just over a decade earlier. With various ECD initiatives underway in SSA in the late 1990s, including the large-scale World Bank loan agreements, it became clear that building capacity for ECD planning and implementation was a key issue in efforts to move forward. One such initiative was the World Bank's decision to sponsor the first African International ECD Conference to be held in Kampala, Uganda in 1999. By 2000, not only were numerous international agreements in place, but Africa had responded with its own documents: *African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child* (African Union, 1990) and *Education for All: A Framework for Action in Sub-Saharan Africa – Education for African Renaissance in the Twenty-first Century* (Johannesburg, 1999).

AFRICAN-LED ECD LITERATURE IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

The millennium dawned hopefully for ECD in SSA. As noted earlier in this chapter, actors and activities unknown barely a decade before had transformed possibilities. The ECD in SSA story becomes much more complex with considerable strength appearing in certain parts of the literature from approximately 2006 to the present, but with capacity

differentials sharpening across countries and language groups. On the upside: by 2008, 19 countries had tabled ECD policies (up from just a few at the end of the 1990s), with another 20 countries engaged in preparations (UNESCO BREDA, 2012); the International ECD Conference series launched in 1999 continued with three more through 2009; and the ECD in SSA literature continued to grow. On the downside, the gap between policy and provision of services was apparent in many countries; the overall fabric of ECD in SSA, measured, for example, by the oscillating strength of the WGECD, remained uncertain; and the number of internationally published studies led by Africans remained dramatically low compared to Africa's percentage of the world's child population. In regards to the published literature: certain partnerships continued to be productive; some new ones were formed; key volumes were published; and identifiable streams of African-led literature appeared and grew, with one stream in particular opening up new possibilities, not only for Africa but for the international literature more broadly.

Reference was made earlier to the ECDNA, which was transformed in the late 1990s and renamed the Working Group on ECD (WGECD). With funding support provided by the Dutch government and the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA), the WGECD took on two key initiatives. The first was a major policy development project under the direction of Torkington (2001), with teams in Ghana, Mauritius and Namibia. Second, a follow-up project was implemented in three countries – Mauritania, Senegal and Burkina Faso – which resulted in the publication of *Planning Policies for Early Childhood Development: Guidelines for Action* (Vargas-Baron, 2005). Additionally, Karin Hyde (Hyde, 2008; Hyde and Kabiru, 2003) undertook multiple studies for the ADEA-WGECD which examined the early learning possibilities of increased national investment in ECD programs.

ADEA-WGECD also played a key role in providing support to the International ECD

Conference series, typically with strong on-the-ground support by ECDVU participants and their local colleagues. The first of the ADEA-supported conferences was the Eritrean government's hosting of the Second African International ECD Conference in 2002 in Asmara. Under the theme 'Health, Nutrition, ECD, and Children in Need of Special Protection', the Eritrean government was successful not only in hosting the conference, but in developing a *Declaration for ECD: Framework for Action*. The third conference in the series, 'Moving ECD Forward in Africa', was held in Accra, Ghana in 2005 and experienced a dramatic increase in the attendance of senior officials from SSA governments (from three in Kampala to over 30 in Accra). The fourth conference was held in Dakar, Senegal in 2009, with over 600 participants from 42 SSA countries. That conference also had a strong political and policy agenda, resulting in the development of a *Call to Action Communique* that was subsequently presented by the President of Senegal to the Africa Union.

A key output from the Accra 2005 conference, ready in time for the Dakar 2009 Conference, was a broadly inclusive edited volume, *Africa's Future, Africa's Challenge: Early Childhood Care and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Garcia et al., 2008). The volume incorporates not only diversity in the geographic and disciplinary backgrounds of its authors, but also diversity in development philosophies and in topics that range from policies to programs and economic analyses to educational initiatives across SSA.

Policy development – as can be seen in the WGECD-supported projects, the frequency of sessions devoted to policy-related topics at the International ECD Conferences and the number of chapters in the *Africa's Future* volume – was a priority for work in SSA in the late 1990s into the 2000s. It is therefore not surprising that the first substantial wave of African-led and Africa-focused scholarly work appears soon after these seeding processes and focuses on policy-related issues. Further, given the ongoing challenges of

building in-country capacity, it is also not surprising that a key theme that emerges early on is the gap between policy development and implementation. While such themes are presented as concerns, from the perspective of this chapter these publications are also grounds for celebration as, for the first time, there was a dramatic increase in the overall number of African authors and the number of SSA countries appearing in the internationally accessible ECD literature.

Policy-Related Literature

The majority of articles identified as this new stream of African-led scholarly work take the form of country-specific historical reviews of ECD with a focus on contemporary policy frameworks. The countries include: Ghana (Agbenyega, 2008), Nigeria (Akindele, 2012; Amali et al., 2012; Ejie, 2006; Ifakachukwu, 2011; Nakpodia, 2011; Nakpodia and Achugbe, 2012; Oduolowu, 2009), Botswana (Bose, 2008), Ethiopia (Tigistu, 2013), Kenya (Nganga, 2009), Malawi (Kholowa and Maluwa-Bandam, 2008; Kholowa and Rose, 2007), Tanzania (Mtahabwa, 2009, 2010) and Zimbabwe (Moyo et al., 2012). While this listing is not exhaustive, it conveys the popularity of the topic. The focus of these articles is captured by Obielumani Ifakachukwu as a 'yawning gap between policy formulation and implementation' (2011: 30). What becomes clear is that despite the growing presence of progressive early years policies, ECD sectors in most SSA countries remain largely underdeveloped. Through multiple methodological strategies of surveys and questionnaires, focus group interviews and documentary reviews, two themes consistently appear in the articles: challenges and recommendations. A brief review of each follows.

The noted challenges to successful policy implementation include: a lack of governmental coordination, including policy monitoring; financial management and general political will; a lack of infrastructure, such as adequate facilities and expansion planning;

a lack of pedagogical supports, e.g., learning materials, small class sizes; and access to educational programs for children with special needs (Agbenyega, 2008; Akindele, 2012; Amali et al., 2012; Ifakachukwu, 2011; Nakpodia, 2011; Nganga, 2009; Moyo et al., 2012). Other challenges include: differences between rural and urban provision of services (Mtahabwa, 2010); the legacy of colonial influence (Nganga, 2009); and high educator shortage and turnover due to infrequent and/or low salaries (Nakpodia and Achugbe, 2012). While differences between and within the countries themselves should not be glossed over, when considered thematically these problematic conditions cross national boundaries. Furthermore, while the recommendations arise in response to the collective challenges, the proposed solutions are diverse.

When proposing solutions, many authors shift attention from issues of state and bureaucratic oversight to a focus on potential programming and training advancements. These proposed changes include: standardizing the curriculum to guide educator training (Bose, 2008); defining the roles and responsibilities of private ECD operators (Ejeh, 2006; Ifakachukwu, 2011; Tigistu, 2013); focusing resources on the most disadvantaged children and communities (Agbenyega, 2008); increasing enrolment on ECD post-secondary programs to address rural teacher shortages (Akindele, 2012); initiating public media campaigns to impart the importance of ECD (Akindele, 2012); implementing flexible training models that value the experience of educators currently in the field (Tigistu, 2013); and offering fair wages for ECD educators (Moyo et al., 2012).

Another set of recommendations begin to touch on issues that have been a long-standing subtext within SSA child-related literature: the importance of families, communities and culture (akin to the 3Cs discussed earlier). Examples from these publications include: greater consultation of families and communities in policy development and implementation activities (Agbenyega, 2008; Mtahabwa, 2009); state promotion and/or enforcement of

the mother tongue as the medium of instruction policy (Ifakachukwu, 2011; Nakpodia, 2011); empowering of indigenous childrearing and educational practices (Tigistu, 2013); closer cooperation between ECD staff and families (Nakpodia and Achugbe, 2012); parental contributions in the form of locally sourced learning materials (Nakpodia and Achugbe, 2012); and the inclusion of parental desires and understandings of local realities in program development (Kholowa and Rose, 2007; Matafwali, 2011).

SSA is at a point where considerable value can be added to ECD research through the development of networks both within and across SSA countries. In 2013, scholars from 18 SSA countries met first online and then face to face for three days to share and discuss key ECD research issues in their countries and how a community of scholars could provide mutual support. The 18-country meeting was followed by a smaller meeting of seven countries from southern Africa focused on developing a multi-country, multi-institutional, multi-disciplinary regional proposal that could then be taken to international donor organizations. Work to build a supportive community of SSA-focused donors to support both regional and SSA-wide work is currently underway.

Another multi-country, combination online/face-to-face ECD initiative is the *Indigenous Early Childhood Care and Education (IECCE) Curriculum for Africa: A Focus on Context and Contents*. An initiative of UNESCO's International Institute for Capacity Building in Africa (IICBA) based in Addis Ababa, the curriculum has brought together approximately a dozen early childhood educational leaders from 11 SSA countries to plan and draft a training curriculum that is based on African understandings of care and development (UNESCO, 2013). The IECCE curriculum framework is designed to take account of the cultural context of the African child. As such, its seven modules are conceived as 'living documents' with a goal to capacitate parents, siblings, relatives, elders, community members, various stakeholders and ECD professionals to engage

with children's learning (2013: 3). The program is designed for 'home based, community based or institutional based' settings (2013: 4). Importantly, the child's mother tongue will be used in instruction, and pedagogical materials will be locally, and creatively, resourced.

The IICBA project reinforces a key stream within the ECD literature of Africa – a stream that began with Nsamenang's work in the 1990s. Nsamenang's strong, critical positioning, vis-à-vis the eclipse of African perspectives and understandings through the force (intended or otherwise) of the Global North, continues to resonate across the continent. Indeed, that critical positioning frames what, at present, could be considered SSA's most unique and powerful contribution to the international early childhood literature. The influence of diverse critical perspectives is apparent in the work of two very prolific African ECD scholars: Godfrey Ejju of Uganda and Hasina Ebrahim of South Africa. With no direct connections between them, their different locations and influences suggest a broadly based interest in critical perspectives.

A New Generation of Critical Scholars

Godfrey Ejju's work largely centers on ECD curricular-related activities, including the design of instructional materials, early learning and development standards (ELDS), teacher training and ECD program support. A thread weaving throughout Ejju's publications is a critique of the silencing of indigenous care and learning practices in the adoption of best-practice models from the Global North. Ejju, like Nsamenang, situates ECD interventions in SSA within 'broader historic geo-political activities that have contributed to the impoverishment of the continent' (2013: 7). To explore the postcolonial condition of ECD in Uganda, Ejju employs multiple methodologies: statistical analyses (2011), qualitative interviews (2012a, 2012c), philosophical reflection (2013) and policy analysis (2012b). His findings reveal a

devaluing of indigenous knowledge that has had detrimental effects for center-based programs (2012b), parental care practices (2012a), teacher education programs (2012c) and national policy frameworks (2012b).

With impressive volume and breadth in publication, Hasina Ebrahim had approximately 15 publications in the 2010–2013 period. Her recent work includes topics such as agentic children as research collaborators (2011a, 2011c), center-based programming and teacher practices (2010, 2011b), national policy and curricular frameworks (2012a, 2012b), philosophical, postcolonial, reconceptualist and critical insights (2012c, 2012d, 2013a, 2013b), and these are just her solo authored contributions. While much of her work is specific to the South African context, Ebrahim also contributes to the worldwide discussion on the politics of the globalization of childhood. She names the concept of global childhood as ‘an essentialist, homogenizing and standardized view of childhood which privileges western ideals’ (2012d: 80). That said, Ebrahim recognizes that research undertaken in the Global North may contain productive lessons for ECD in SSA so long as it is open to contestation and a ‘critical exchange of ideas, reflection and debate by practitioners, academics and students in the field’ (2012d: 81). It is in this call for an exchange, a fair and balanced interaction amongst diverse perspectives, that it is believed much can be achieved for the future of ECD and ECD research – not only in Africa, but globally.

CONCLUSION

While the text above ends on a hopeful note – the development of a critical, Africentric stream that represents not only a vibrant promise for the future of ECD scholarly work in SSA, but for international ECD as well – that optimism is not without very substantial challenges. One such challenge facing ECD research development in SSA is the paucity of funding support for African-led, African-identified and African-conceptualized research. The bulk of

African-based research continues to be identified and led externally, typically addressing an agenda conceptualized in the Global North. If Africans are involved, their role is too often primarily as data gatherers – a role whose relationship to colonial activities is clear – a condition that extends to many other parts of the Global South as well. Voices are lost where a diversity of voices is needed.

As long as ECD research is led by the 5% (Arnett, 2008), and with African capacity concerns addressed through a combination of knowledge transfer approaches and the removal of some of Africa’s most capable researchers to institutions outside its borders, African ECD will remain in the image of the Global North. Such restrictions serve neither Africa nor the rest of the world well. Sub-Saharan Africa is a place of tremendous diversity in history, language and culture, with traditions that have served Africa in the past and could do so again. It is through promoting multiple ways of understanding and researching ECD, and ensuring that respectful spaces are created for knowledge exchange and generation, that innovative and productive ways to better address both the needs of and the possibilities for Africa’s children will emerge. These spaces so envisioned are filled not with an echo of one voice, but a chorus of voices.

FURTHER READING

- Okwany, A., Ngutuku, E. and Muhangi, A. (2011) *The Role of Local Knowledge and Culture in Child Care in Africa: A Sociological Study of Several Ethnic Groups in Kenya and Uganda*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press.
- Pence, A. and Hix-Small, H. (2009) ‘Global children in the shadow of the global child’, *International Critical Childhood Policy Studies*, 2(1): 75–91.
- Serpell, R. and Nasamenang, A. B. (2014) ‘Locally relevant and quality ECCE programmes: Implications of research in indigenous African child development and socialization’, *Early Childhood Care and Education Working Paper Series*. Paris: UNESCO.

QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION

- 1 How can we insist on research that is based in lived realities and that recognizes, respects and honors indigenous African knowledges?
- 2 What counts as research in international settings? What knowledge is available in unpublished research reports, student dissertations and conference proceedings that we might not find in published journals and books? What efforts can be made to better include this grey literature going forward?
- 3 What are the priority research areas? Who decides? How might networks of African scholars be created, supported and sustained in the future?

NOTES

- 1 Early Childhood Education, Care and Development (ECD) is known by many names, including 'early childhood care and education', 'early childhood development', 'early childhood education', 'early learning and child care' and 'early childhood care and development'. What these terms share is concern for the care, education and development of young children. In this chapter, we use ECD to convey an inclusive concept that takes into account the connections between caretaking, learning, health, nutrition and community practices in relation to a child's overall well-being. It is also the acronym in common use in Sub-Saharan Africa.
- 2 The compendium referred to is an ongoing collection of journal articles, books, chapters, papers, conference proceedings and reports, accessible in a searchable database at ecdafricaresources.org. The collection focuses on ECD in SSA where the guiding conception of ECD is one that emphasizes the educational and care components of childhoods prior to school age. As such, areas such as child rights or health and nutrition are not the current focus. A limitation of this chapter's review of the SSA literature is the absence of historical studies from South Africa. As South Africa has a rich, published history of ECD in its own right, a separate review is necessary. With the exception of Hasina Ebrahim's work, this review does not reference ECD work undertaken in South Africa.
- 3 Graduate students of the Whittings who have made substantial contributions to interdisciplinary areas of child, family, community and culture studies include Robert LeVine, Thomas Weisner, Carolyn Pope Edwards, Sarah LeVine and Mimi Bloch, to name but a few.
- 4 For full references of individually authored chapters, please refer to the general citation for the edited volume.
- 5 According to Nsamenang and the HDRC, 'Africentric scholarship is borne out of a legitimate desire to document hitherto disregarded African visions and experiences; it is neither a rejection of nor a revolt against inescapable western knowledges and technologies. To be authentic Africans must transcend colonial knowledge systems and legacies deposited on the continent as natural and unquestionable ... African scholarship should not be undertaken in isolation, however. Our Africentric products make sense only within the exchange frameworks of trends in global knowledge waves and state-of-the-science scholarship and are designed to contribute to the corpus of universal human knowledge, where Africa deserves its own knowledge-niche' (HDRC, 'Vision', 2010).
- 6 Grey literature includes 'unpublished theses (master's and doctoral), working papers, technical research reports, conference proceedings, as well as scholarship appearing in periodicals/monographs with limited circulation beyond the issuing institution' (Marfo et al., 2011: 102). Most of the research, conducted by African scholars on ECD in SSA, is to be found here and as such should be a focus of future research.
- 7 The first Madrasa School, Khairat Nursery School, opened in Mombasa, Kenya in 1986 (Mwaura, 2003). The school was a community-based response to concerns of poverty, school readiness and the perceived loss of traditional cultural and religious teachings. The pre-school curriculum combines traditional stories and songs, Koranic teachings and values, and literary and numeracy activities. To date, there are over 200 pre-schools, educating nearly 50,000 children in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania (Aga Khan, 'Education', 2007).

REFERENCES

- African Union [Organization of African Unity] (1990) *African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child*. Addis Ababa: Organization of African Unity.
- Agbenyega, J. (2008) 'Development of early years policy and practice in Ghana: Can outcomes be improved for marginalized children?', *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, 9(4): 400–5.
- Akindele, I. (2012) 'Poverty in early childhood care, development, and education: The Nigeria case', *International Journal of Early Childhood Education Research*, 1(3): 20–36.

- Amali, I., Muhinat, B. and Okafor, I. P. (2012) 'An assessment of pre-primary school programme activities in Kwara State, Nigeria', *European Scientific Journal*, 8(8): 73–82.
- Arnett, J. (2008) 'The neglected 95%: Why American psychology needs to become less American', *The American Psychologist*, 63(7): 602–14.
- Ball, J. and Pence, A. (2006) *Supporting Indigenous Children's Development*. Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.
- Bernard van Leer Foundation (BvLF) (1994) *Building on People's Strengths: Early Childhood in Africa*. The Hague: BvLF.
- Bose, K. (2008) 'Gaps and remedies of early childhood care and education (ECCE) programs of Botswana', *Educational Research and Reviews*, 3(3): 77–82.
- Cleghorn, A. and Prochner, L. (1997) 'Early childhood education in Zimbabwe: Recent trends and prospects', *Early Education and Development*, 8(3): 337–50.
- Cleghorn, A. and Prochner, L. (2003) 'Contrasting visions of childhood: Examples from early childhood settings in Zimbabwe and India', *Journal of Early Childhood Research*, 1(2): 131–53.
- Cleghorn, A. and Weber, S. (1995) 'Early childhood teacher education in Zimbabwe: From grass roots to university-based training', *Canadian Journal of Research in Early Childhood Education*, 4(2): 56–60.
- Cochran, M. (ed.) (1993) *International Handbook of Child Care Policies and Programs*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Cole, M., Gay, J., Glick, J. S. and Sharp, D. W. (1971) *The Cultural Context of Learning and Thinking*. New York: Basic Books.
- Colletta, N. and Reinhold, A. (1997) 'Review of early childhood development policy and programs in Sub-Saharan Africa', *Working Paper Series*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Colletta, N., Balachander, J. and Liang, X. (1996) 'The condition of young children in Sub-Saharan Africa: The convergence of health, nutrition, and early education', *Working Paper Series*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Dasen, P., Inhelder, B., Lavallée, M. and Retschitzki, J. (1978) *Naissance de l'intelligence chez l'enfant baoulé de Côte d'Ivoire*. Berne: Hans Huber.
- Ebrahim, H. (2010) 'Conflicting discourses of private nursery entrepreneurs in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa', *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, 11(1): 39–48.
- Ebrahim, H. (2011a) 'Children as agents in early childhood education', *Education as Change*, 15(1): 121–31.
- Ebrahim, H. (2011b) 'Levels of well-being and involvement in centre-based provision for birth to four years in the Free State in South Africa', *South African Journal of Childhood Education*, 1(2): 1–15.
- Ebrahim, H. (2011c) 'Situated ethics: Possibilities for young children as research participants in the South Africa context', *Early Child Development and Care*, 18(3): 289–98.
- Ebrahim, H. (2012a) 'Emerging models for early childhood development from birth to four in South Africa', in T. Papatheodorou (ed.), *Debates on Early Childhood Policies and Practices: Global Snapshots of Pedagogical Thinking and Encounter*. London: Routledge. pp. 62–71.
- Ebrahim, H. (2012b) 'Foregrounding silences in the birth to four curriculum', *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal* (<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1350293X.2012.738869>).
- Ebrahim, H. (2012c) 'Interrogating the current imagination of early childhood teacher education through dialogical processes', *Communitas*, 17: 101–15.
- Ebrahim, H. (2012d) 'Tensions in incorporating global childhood with early childhood programs: The case of South Africa', *Australasian Journal of Early Childhood*, 37(3): 80–6.
- Ebrahim, H. (2013a) 'Editorial', *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal*, 21(4): 455–8.
- Ebrahim, H. (2013b) 'The role of play in fostering a creative culture: A South African perspective', in D. Guantlett and B. St. Jerne (eds), *Cultures of Creativities*. The Lego Foundation. pp. 20–3 (www.legofoundation.com/en-us/research/research-articles/).
- Edwards, C. P. and Bloch, M. (2010) 'The Whittings' concepts of culture and how they have fared in contemporary psychology and anthropology', *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 41: 485–98.
- Edwards, C. P. and Whiting, B. (eds) (2004) *Ngecha: A Kenyan Village in a Time of Rapid Social Change*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Ejeh, M. (2006) 'Pre-primary education in Nigeria: Policy implication and problems',

- Ikögretim Online/Elementary Education Online*, 5(1): 58–64.
- Ejuu, G. (2011) 'Determinants of public investment in early childhood development at local and national levels in Uganda', *Social Science Research Network* (<http://ssrn.com/abstract=1761977>).
- Ejuu, G. (2012a) 'Cultural and parental standards as the benchmark for early learning and development standards in Africa', *International Journal of Current Research*, 4(4): 282–8.
- Ejuu, G. (2012b) 'Early childhood development policy advances in Uganda', *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, 13(2): 248–55.
- Ejuu, G. (2012c) 'Implementing the early childhood development teacher training framework in Uganda: Gains and challenges', *Journal of Early Childhood Research*, 10(3): 282–93.
- Ejuu, G. (2013) 'Rethinking early learning and development standards in the Ugandan context', *Childhood Education*, 89(1): 3–8.
- Garcia, M., Pence, A. and Evans, J. (eds) (2008) *Africa's Future, Africa's Challenge: Early Childhood Care and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Human Development Resource Centre (HDRC) (2010) 'Vision' (thehdr.org/openaccess.html).
- Hyde, K. (2008) *Investing in Early Childhood Development: Benefits, Savings, and Financing Options*. Dakar: WGECD.
- Hyde, K. and Kabiru, M. (2003) *Early Childhood Development as an Important Strategy to Improve Learning Outcomes*. Dakar: WGECD.
- Ifakachukwu, O. (2011) 'Early childhood education: An overview', *International NGO Journal*, 6(1): 30–4.
- Johannesburg (1999) 'Education for All: A framework for action in Sub-Saharan Africa – Education for African renaissance in the twenty-first century', report on the *All Sub-Saharan Conference on Education for All*, 6–10 December, Johannesburg, ARTG and UNICEF.
- Kabiru, M. and Njenga, A. (eds) (2007 [1994]) *How Children Grow and Develop*. Nairobi: Nairobi KLB.
- Kabiru, M., Njenga, A. and Swadener, B. B. (2003) 'Early childhood development in Kenya: Empowering young mothers, mobilizing a community', *Childhood Education*, 79(6): 358–63.
- Kholowa, F. and Maluwa-Bandam, D. (2008) 'Early childhood education and development in Malawi: Major challenges and prospects', *Zimbabwe Journal of Educational Research*, 20(1): 11–21.
- Kholowa, F. and Rose, P. (2007) 'Parental or policy maker misunderstandings? Contextual dilemmas of pre-schooling for poverty reduction in Malawi', *International Journal of Educational Development*, 27(4): 458–72.
- King, M., September, R., Okarhe, F. and Cardoso, C. (eds) (2009) *Child Research in Africa*. Dakar: Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA).
- Koeh, B. (2008) National Council for Children's Services: Research Abstracts for the Consultancy Services on Research and Studies in Children Matters. Nairobi, Kenya (http://ecdvo.org/Africa_Pubs.php).
- Konner, M. (1976) 'Maternal care, infant behavior and development among the !Kung', in R. Lee and I. DeVore (eds), *Kalahari Hunter-Gatherers*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. pp. 218–45.
- Lamb, M., Sternberg, K., Hwang, C. and Broberg, A. (1992) *Child Care in Context: Cross-cultural Perspectives*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Lanyasunya, A. R., Lesolayia, M. S., with Neeto, T., Kamau, P., Senbeyo, M. and Lucy, L. (2001) *El-Barta Child and Family Project: Early Childhood Development*. Working Papers in Early Childhood Development No. 28. The Hague: BvLF.
- Leiderman, P., Babu, B., Kagia, J., Kraemer, H. and Leiderman, G. (1973) 'African infant precocity and some social influences during the first year', *Nature*, 242: 247–9.
- LeRoux, W. (2002) *The Challenges of Change: A Tracer Study of San Preschool Children in Botswana*. The Hague: BvLF.
- LeVine, R. (2010) 'The Six Cultures Study: Prologue to a history of a landmark project', *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 41: 513–21.
- LeVine, R. and LeVine (Lloyd), B. (1966) *Nyansongo: A Gusii Community in Kenya*. New York: Krieger.
- LeVine, R., Dixon, S., LeVine, S., Richman, A., Leiderman, P. and Keefer, C. (1994) *Child Care and Culture: Lessons from Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Marfo, K., Pence, A., LeVine, R. and LeVine, S. (2011) 'Strengthening Africa's contributions to child development research: Overview and ways forward', *Child Development Perspectives*, 5(2): 104–11.

- Matafwali, B. (2011) 'Programmes in Zambia: A case of four selected districts', *Journal of Early Childhood Development*, 5: 109–31.
- Moyo, J., Wadesango, N. and Kurebwa, M. (2012) 'Factors that affect the implementation of early childhood development programmes in Zimbabwe', *Studies of Tribes and Tribals*, 10(2): 141–9.
- Mtahabwa, L. (2009) 'Early childhood cultural development in Tanzania: Reflections from key government documents', *Journal of Humanities*, 1(1): 43–54.
- Mtahabwa, L. (2010) 'Pre-primary educational policy and practice in Tanzania: Observations from urban and rural pre-primary schools', *International Journal of Educational Development*, 30(3): 227–35.
- Mtetwa, D. K. and Cleghorn, A. (2004) 'Structural aspects of primary mathematics lessons in Zimbabwe: Prospects for change?', *Education as Change*, 8(2): 92–104.
- Mutua, K. and Swadener, B. B. (2004) 'Physical disability and the cultural construction of manhood: Dialectics of capitalism and post-coloniality', *Linking Research and Education in Special Education: An International Perspective*, 1(1): 16–29.
- Mutua, K. and Swadener, B. B. (2011) 'Challenges to inclusive education in Kenya: Postcolonial perspectives and family narratives', in A. Artiles, E. Kozleski and F. Waitoller (eds), *Inclusive Education: Examining Equity on Five Continents*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press. pp. 201–22.
- Mwaura, P. (2003) *Creating an Effective Early Childhood Education Programme: A Case of the Madrasa Resource Centre Programme*. The Hague: Madrasa Regional Research Programme and BvLF.
- Myers, R. (1992) *The Twelve Who Survive: Strengthening Programmes of Early Childhood Development in the Third World*. London: Routledge.
- Nakpodia, E. (2011) 'Early childhood education: Its policy formulation and implementation in Nigerian educational system', *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 5(3): 159–63.
- Nakpodia, E. and Achugbe, M. (2012) 'Problems encountered in the management of nursery and primary schools in Delta State, Nigeria', *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 4(6): 140–8.
- Nganga, L. (2009) 'Early childhood education programs in Kenya: Challenges and solutions', *Early Years: An International Research Journal*, 29(3): 227–36.
- Nsamenang, A. B. (1992) *Human Development in Cultural Context: A Third World Perspective*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE.
- Nsamenang, A. B. (2005) *Developmental Psychology: Search for a Diversity Paradigm*. Bamenda, Cameroon: HDRC.
- Nsamenang, A. B. (2006) 'Human ontogenesis: An Indigenous African view on development and intelligence', *International Journal of Psychology*, 41(4): 293–7.
- Nsamenang, A. B. (2008a) '(Mis)Understanding ECD in Africa: The force of local and imposed motives', in M. Garcia, A. Pence and J. Evans (eds), *Africa's Future, Africa's Challenge: Early Childhood Care and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington, DC: World Bank. pp. 135–49.
- Nsamenang, A. B. (2008b) 'Agency in early childhood learning and development in Cameroon', *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood Development*, 9(3): 211–23.
- Nsamenang, A. B. (2009) 'Cultures of early childhood care and education', in M. Flear, M. Hedegaard and J. Tudge (eds), *World Yearbook of Education 2009: Childhood Studies and the Impact of Globalization – Policies and Practices at Global and Local Levels*. New York: Routledge. pp. 23–45.
- Nsamenang, A. B. (2010) 'Childhood within Africa's triple heritage', in G. Cannella and L. Soto (eds), *Childhoods: A Handbook*. New York: Peter Lang. pp. 39–54.
- Nsamenang, A. B. and Dasen, P. (1993) 'Child development and national development in Cameroon', *Journal of Psychology in Africa*, 1(5): i–xvii.
- Olmsted, P. and Weikart, D. (eds) (1989) *How Nations Serve Young Children: Profiles of Child Care and Education in 14 Countries*. Ypsilanti, MI: High/Scope Press.
- Oduolowu, E. (2009) 'Early childhood care and Education for All in 2015: Is this a mirage in Nigeria?', *Journal of Global Initiatives: Policy, Pedagogy, Perspective*, 4 (<http://digitalcommons.kennesaw.edu/jgi/vol4/iss1/2>).
- Pence, A. (1999) 'Developing an ECD virtual university', a proposal submitted to the World Bank, Washington, DC.

- Pence, A. and Benner, A. (2015) *Complexities, Capacities, Communities: Challenging and Changing Development Narratives*. Victoria BC: University of Victoria. Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Pence, A. and Marfo, K. (eds) (2004) 'Capacity building for early childhood education in Africa', *International Journal of Educational Policy, Research, and Practice*, 5(3): 5–12.
- Pence, A. and McCallum, M. (1994) 'Developing cross-cultural partnerships: Implications for child care quality research and practice', in P. Moss and A. Pence (eds), *Valuing Quality in Early Childhood Services: New Approaches to Defining Quality*. New York: Teachers College Press. pp. 108–22.
- Pence, A. and Nsamenang, A. B. (2008) *A Case for Early Childhood Development in Sub-Saharan Africa*. The Hague: BvLF.
- Penn, H. (2002) 'The World Bank's view of early childhood', *Childhood*, 9: 118–32.
- Penn, H. (2011) 'Travelling policies and global buzzwords: How international non-governmental organizations and charities spread the word about early childhood in the global South', *Childhood*, 18(1): 94–113.
- Penn, H. (2012) 'The rhetoric and realities of early childhood programmes promoted by the World Bank', in A. Twum-Danso and R. Ame (eds), *Childhoods at the Intersection of the Local and the Global*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 42–59.
- Prochner, L. and Kabiru, M. (2008) 'Early childhood development in Africa: A historical perspective', in M. Garcia, A. Pence and J. Evans (eds), *Africa's Future, Africa's Challenge: Early Childhood Care and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington: World Bank. pp. 117–33.
- Serpell, R. (1976) *Culture's Influence on Behaviour*. London: Methuen.
- Serpell, R. (1993) *The Significance of Schooling: Life-Journeys in an African Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Super, C. and Harkness, S. (1986) 'The developmental niche: A conceptualization at the interface of child and culture', *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 9: 545–69.
- Super, C., Harkness, S., Barry, O. and Zeitlin, M. (2011) 'Think locally, act globally: Contributions of African research to child development', *Child Development Perspectives*, 5(2): 119–25.
- Swadener, B. B. and Wachira, P. (2003) 'Governing children and families in Kenya: Losing ground in neoliberal times', in M. N. Bloch, K. Hulqvist and T. Popkewitz (eds), *Restructuring the Governing Patterns of the Child, Education and the Welfare State*. New York/London: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 231–57.
- Swadener, B. B., Kabiru, M. and Njenga, A. (1997) 'Does the village still raise the child? A collaborative study in changing child-rearing in Kenya', *Early Education and Development*, 8(3): 285–306.
- Swadener, B. B., Kabiru, M. and Njenga, A. (2000) *Does the Village Still Raise the Child? A Collaborative Study of Changing Childrearing and Early Education in Kenya*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Swadener, B. B., Wachira, P., Kabiru, M. and Njenga, A. (2008) 'Linking policy discourse to everyday life in Kenya: Impacts of neoliberal policies on early education and childrearing', in M. Garcia, A. Pence and J. Evans (eds), *Africa's Future, Africa's Challenge: Early Childhood Care and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington, DC: World Bank. pp. 407–26.
- Tigistu, K. (2013) 'Professionalism in early childhood education and care in Ethiopia: What are we talking about?', *Childhood Education*, 89(3): 152–8.
- Torkington, K. (2001) *Working Group on Early Childhood Development Policy Project: A Synthesis Report*. Dakar: ADEA-WGECED.
- Tronick, E. Z., Morelli, G. and Winn, S. (1987) 'Multiple caretaking of Efe (Pygmy) infants', *American Anthropologist*, 89: 96–106.
- United Nations (1990) *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. New York: United Nations.
- UNESCO (1990) *World Declaration on Education for All* (www.unesco.org/education/wef/en-conf/Jomtien%20Declaration%20eng.shtm).
- UNESCO (2013) 'Draft concept note: Indigenous early childhood care and education (IECCE) for Africa pilot workshop on the delivery modules', *UNESCO Big Push Initiative* (www.unesco.org/new/en/dakar/about-this-office/single-view/news/big_push_workshop_to_accelerate_early_childhood_care_and_education_in_africa/).
- UNESCO BREDIA (2012) *Early Childhood Care and Education Regional Report: Africa*. Dakar: UNESCO.
- Vargas-Baron, E. (2005) *Planning Policies for Early Childhood Development: Guidelines for*

- Action. Paris: ADEA-WGECD, UNICEF and UNESCO.
- Weisner, T. (2010) 'John and Beatrice Whiting's contributions to the cross-cultural study of human development: Their values, goals, norms, and practices', *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 41(4): 499–509.
- Weisner, T. and Edwards, C. P. (2002) 'Beatrice Whiting: Introduction', *Ethos*, 29(3): 239–46.
- Weisner, T. and Gallimore, R. (1977) 'My brother's keeper: Child and sibling caretaking', *Current Anthropology*, 18: 169–90.
- Whiting, B. (ed.) (1963) *Six Cultures: Studies of Child Rearing*. New York: Wiley.
- Whiting, B. and Whiting, J. (eds) (1975) *Children in Six Cultures: A Psycho-Cultural Analysis*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- World Bank (2003) *Global Directory of Early Childhood Development Projects*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Woodill, G., Bernhard, J. and Prochner, L. (eds) (1992) *International Handbook of Early Childhood Education*. New York: Garland.
- Young, M. (1996) *Early Child Development: Investing in the Future*. Washington, DC: World Bank.