The Palgrave Handbook of African Education and Indigenous Knowledge

Edited by
Jamaine M. Abidogun · Toyin Falola

palgrave
macmillan

The Palgrave Handbook of African Education and Indigenous Knowledge

Jamaine M. Abidogun · Toyin Falola
Editors

The Palgrave Handbook of African Education and Indigenous Knowledge

palgrave
macmillan

Editors
Jamaine M. Abidogun
Department of History
Missouri State University
Springfield, MO, USA

Toyin Falola
Department of History
University of Texas at Austin
Austin, TX, USA

To Professor Koya Ogen
Former Provost, Adeyemi College of Education
He represents dedicated educators across Africa

FOREWORD

It is not always the case that book authors or editors deliver on what is promised in the synopsis. This work establishes an important learning: "African Education is a complex configuration of Indigenous, Islamic or Muslim, and Western education systems representing in many ways … a multi-tiered system with Indigenous education as its center and Islamic or Muslim and Western education acting as official nation-state systems" (Editors' Introduction). The book brings a much needed global Africana perspective to the study of African education and Indigenous knowledge, strengthened with contributions from varied academic disciplines and authors situated in different geographic locations and comprising of both African scholars and Africanists. The collection ushers in a very comprehensive overview of African education and cultural knowledge systems from antiquity to the present. The discussion aptly points to the routine ways that Indigenous African knowledges have not often been engaged with, and how African-centric thought can be repositioned in global knowledge production notwithstanding the hostility of the Western academy as a center of learning. Many times epistemic racism and discursive prejudice, disguised as respectable scholarship, are reproduced in our educational settings. This book offers hope to many of us that the present marginalization of African insights, particularly, in academia and beyond is not a fatality. An Indigenous African resurgence, indeed, is happening and is contributing to expand the boundaries of our knowing. This resurgence is proceeding with a substantive body of African research and theory building and is changing the nature of scholarship on African Indigeneity as a legitimate field of inquiry in global education. Arguably, our intellectual starting points must move outside of the narrow, Eurocentric canons and begin to embrace multiple bodies of scholarship. This is a sure way to foster critical institutional scholarly/pedagogical spaces that promote learning for all.

By bringing together key scholars in the field of African education and Indigenous knowledge, the editors have succeeded in the goal of

making visible the expanded reach of African research and the possibilities of decolonizing knowledge on and about the continent. These scholarly writings bring deep and refreshing insights into African education and, as noted by the editors, the collection fills an important gap in the literature as "there is currently no one inclusive volume that reviews the variety of African education systems in their structures, roles, and impact across the continent" (Abidogun, this volume).

I am firmly convinced that we cannot discuss African education without situating Indigenous knowledge at the center. Such approach to the study of education has relevance not only for Africa but Global Studies in Education. Discussions offer helpful pointers to educators, students, field practitioners, researchers, policy-makers, and community workers. The wide geographical coverage involving every aspect of the continent is a strength making the work unparalleled. The extensive coverage presented to readers not only adds to an understanding of the richness of the continent's diversity, but also illustrates vividly the points of convergence in African history—past, present, and future—and the possibilities for a new African education. The cross-sectional disciplinary focus in the arts, humanities, social sciences, including technical and vocational education and training, is particularly helpful in drawing attention to African contributions to global science knowledge. History and contexts are key entry points to the discussion of Africa. In fact, the historiography of African [re]positioning, "resistance, accommodation, and transformations of Indigenous education in relationship to the introduction of Islamic or Muslim and later Christian and Western education" (see Part I this volume) is significant in providing readers with an understanding of the nature of the politics and social context of African knowledge production. Indigenous African education has always worked to ensure the effective integration of the individual into the community, helping provide knowledge essential for collective survival and the African self/personhood. African education not only emphasized the nexus of culture, society, and nature, but also African educational teachings have always highlighted social values privileged in society for the collective welfare, dignity, and destiny of African peoples. Indigenous African education ensured an effective cultural resource knowledge base on which the ancient Empires of Ghana, Mali, and Songhai and the Kingdoms of the Fulani, the Fon, the Hausa, and Asante states were to develop to become the basis of sophisticated African civilizations.

There are important lessons on how early, precolonial African communities harnessed the continent's linguistic diversity for community development. In thinking through new futures for Africans, we must look to such lessons to understand the role of linguistic identities and Indigenous knowledges in creating peace, harmony, and solidarity within multilingual environments. The study of contemporary structures and content of African Indigenous education and Indigenous knowledge reveal the diversity, complexity, and richness of knowledge that can be tapped to advance contemporary African educational policy toward the development of decolonial curriculum, instruction,

and pedagogy. These educational insights laced and anchored in Indigenous philosophical ideas and thought processes act as core foundational knowledge for the pursuit of genuine African-centered development. Furthermore, there is something to be gained by exploring African folkloric productions (e.g., storytelling, music-and-dance performance, poetic recitation, and ritualistic and sacred performances—see, for example, Peter Ukpokodu's chapter in this collection) and uncovering the deep knowledge insights into African culture, science, and technology. Similarly, the noted gendered dimensions and socially differentiated spheres and arenas of African education and Indigenous knowledge point to some epistemological assumptions espousing the vitality of African knowledge and education for social and community development, and for addressing social justice and equity considerations. In the contemporary epoch when questions of social difference—gender, language, class, ethnicity, sexuality, and [dis]ability—are very much on the table, we have some lessons of how African education and Indigenous knowledge has broached or not broached these subjects and the lessons this offers for thinking through social justice, human rights, and considerations of educational inclusivity in African contexts. The pursuit of knowledge must always be grounded in order to make concrete and material difference in peoples' everyday lives. Consequently, our theoretical discussions on African Indigenous education and Indigenous knowledge must be fused with empirical research data. The reliance of extensive case studies from Anglophone, Francophone, and other linguistic divide in Africa help the book address the challenge of theory and practice with lessons for the search for new African educational futurities.

I now turn to a discussion of the broader philosophical and political project, as well as the pertinent challenges and possibilities that such a book presents us with. I hope to speak with all anti-colonial scholars but foremost African scholars and Africanists. My words here are heavily influenced from my location on the diaspora and the issues I/we confront daily in my/our work as a scholar[s] in the sociology of knowledge production. I am not alone and I know many others in similar situations raise similar voices. Clearly, as African scholars and Africanists, we must never broach African education and Indigenous knowledge as mere intellectual exercises in our own [un]learning and educational transformation. I come to the writing of this Preface from a position of contesting and radicalizing knowledge for liberation. I broach knowledge in the context of ongoing colonial and imperial domination in the processes of schooling and educational delivery. Following many others, I take education broadly to encompass the varied practices, strategies, and options of coming to know about our communities and worlds, and particularly, the radical things we do or need to act on and around lands, spaces, places, spaces, and names to improve upon ourselves, communities, and our physical and metaphysical worlds.

This book offers a caution for beginning a productive and healthy conversation in this intellectual and political spheres. We need to understand what African forms of knowledge are and what we really mean by claiming such

knowledge as "Indigenous." For sure we cannot conflate the "sociology of knowledge" with "critical epistemology" notwithstanding their synergies (see Gordon 2018, 8). A knowledge system that has been imposed or has suffered through a process of colonial imposition loses the sense of Indigenousness. As we engage in the process of recuperating our cultural knowledges and insist upon our Indigeneity, we may do well to remember that we seek to recover knowledge as counter-epistemes for their pragmatic not hegemonic usage. As many scholars will attest to "Indigenous" then becomes knowledge associated with a place based on "long term occupancy" or residence and accumulated through from the careful observations of the working of society, culture, and nature. It is knowledge that has served the survival and other needs of local communities and groups of people. While such knowledge has continually responded to the dynamics of social change, they have not lost their Indigenous integrity. The long historic failure to respect and validate such knowledge has only served to ensure the limitations of our own knowing.

Frankly, the question of epistemic and ontological erasures in the academy is so huge for any scholar to be silent on. Unless perhaps their academic interests are being served by the dominant narrative. Our co-constitutive entanglements, relations, and investments in knowledge and knowledge production require us to bring a critical gaze to what is repeatedly normalized in the everyday practices of schooling and education. We must continually recognize the complex structural forces that shape what is deemed and is conventionally established as "knowledge" worth pursuing and how such knowledge is disciplined and regulate in academic/intellectual spaces. There are the troubling everyday material discursive impacts and effects of learning in our particular locales and locations that a study of African education and Indigenous knowledge lay very bare for us to see and witness to ongoing histories.

I have never been convinced of the pursuit of knowledge simply to satisfy a supposedly scientific curiosity. I have also come to find theoretical arguments that are not grounded in peoples' lived realities as very unhealthy and indeed oppressive of my own learning. Clearly, contestations in our theoretical arguments can be fully accessed for their effectiveness and embedded contradictions that impact on learning through the power of counter and multiple knowledging. Through critiques of knowledge and contestations, we expand upon our own understandings. Theory is universal but theory is itself in need of interrogation. The interrogation of the theory of knowledge requires that we each bring to the fore intellectual agencies as "knowing subjects" and accept the full responsibility of ensuring that theory itself speaks to material and symbolic realities of all learners.

Colonization and colonial relations have impacted the recognition, acknowledgment, validity, and acceptance of Indigenous worldviews and the multiple ways of knowing in our educational institutions. Indigenous epistemes offer counter readings of our world challenging the current social and intellectual order. Colonialism was and has not just been an interrupter of the African experience. Colonialism also necessitated that African learners have

had to continually respond to illegitimate situations and encounters. In our search for new meaning making of our histories and lives, the idea of relationality of knowledge must be critical. Reclaiming African Indigeneity is a radical rethinking of knowledge and academic practice. Reclaiming our Indigeneity through a resurgence in our Indigenous knowledges has academic and political intents and purposes. This resurgence is about reclaiming and liberation of our marginalized, discounted, and delegitimized epistemes as African peoples. For a fact, our African Indigeneity is always in question. Our claims to land and soil are always suspect and even our histories of Euro-colonialism are repeatedly contested and discounted. We are continually confronted with epistemic humiliation. The questioning of, and skepticism toward, the "African Indigenous" has not been by non-Africans alone. There are many of us African learners schooled and steeped in Euro-centrism and colonial education who still doubt the value of our knowledge systems and ask if these knowledges are of any use in addressing contemporary new age [science and technology] change and advancements. Interestingly, we do not even see the contradictions and ironies when we use Eurocentric lens to evaluate the validity and veracity of our own cultural knowledges!

How do we come to act on the coloniality of knowledge and power and the ways these operate in our learning and within our educational spaces? We need to uncover and topple oppressive discourses and the mechanisms of colonial education that parades forcefully in our academies (schools, colleges, and universities) as the only sources and sites of "valid" scientific knowledge. We need multiple knowledge systems that allow us as learners to exert own intellectual agencies in constructing, interrogating, and validating complex histories, epistemologies, and sociology of knowledge. We need to reclaim our intellectual agency to offer multiple and counter-epistemes and subaltern and sub-intern readings of our worlds. We must challenge the assumed false scientific superiority and efficacy of Western knowledge systems. Decolonizing knowledge in the Western academy is an important starting point for everyone. Decolonizing African education can never be pursued with Western science knowledge at the center. African scholars and our Africanists have a responsibility to think through new/counter analytical systems for understanding our communities informed by historicizing the intellectual developments in our various disciplines and how African knowledge has been integral to global knowledge production. More importantly, we also have to understand African Indigenous knowledges in their holism and touching on the dialectics and relations of Islamic/Muslim, African, and Western education. "African Indigenism" is a knowledge perspective emanating from a body of thought rooted in African historical, material, economic, political, sociocultural, and spiritual ontologies and lived realities. It is for its wholeness that African Indigenous knowledge has served different and multiple purposes in society. It has become a powerful source and site of knowing to resist the colonial encounter and its aftermath.

But let us be emphatic. Our decolonial and anti-colonial politics is not to integrate Indigenous knowledge into the orbit of science knowledge in the academy to make the academy look "good and inclusive" on paper. Like Kuokkanen (2008), we call on the academy to take its responsibilities seriously and acknowledge its shortcomings and the parochial dangers of simply working with the established processes and norms of knowledge production, interrogation, validation, and dissemination. Indigenous knowledge must be seen as Indigenous peoples' "gift to the academy" (Kuokkanen 2008, 65). But this gift must not be received on the terms that focus on "possibilities of 'inclusion' of Indigenous ways of knowing into a predefined normalized order of schooling" (Ahenakew et al. 2014, 220). It must be seen as "a gift" [not to place such knowledge merely at the service of schooling and education] but to radically change conventional schooling and education into a new education order informed and guided Indigenous philosophies and multicentric worldviews. As these authors note the "integration and valorization of Indigenous knowledges within [current schooling and educational context has become] selective, tokenistic and utilitarian" (Ahenakew et al. 2014, 221). In effect, the engagement of Indigenous knowledges must lead to radical new possibilities and new educational futures for learners.

No knowledge that is worth pursuing critical educational change can be wrestled out of, abstracted from outside its source, abode or context. In order to [re]conceptualize African Indigenous knowledge system, we must locate these cultural knowings as epistemologies and ontologies grounded on the land, waters, and the sky and as constitutive of both placed-based knowledges and Earth-wide teachings. Our relations to a place offer a significant knowledge base to work with and to understand our complex histories, cultures, identities, as well as the challenges of contemporaneous lived realities and our journeys to new futures. For African and other Indigenous peoples, our ancestral heritage and memories constitute a powerful cultural resource knowledge base.

We need an enduring presence of Indigenous knowledge as critical philosophies that reveal "the persistent need of [all peoples] to find meaning in their lives" and to construct their sense of collective existence and well-being" (Kronenberg 2014, 29). We advocate African cultural knowledges to produce counter anti-colonial representations of our lives to the troubling colonized and imperial representations that masquerade as "knowledge" in the Western academy and its colonial satellites. Such knowledges often challenge the imperial representations of African lives and experience and become a relevant lens for interrogating colonial narratives. It is indeed this intellectual goal to subvert, destabilize, and offer counter-perspectives to the normalized discursive conversations that also present the hostility to Indigenous knowledges in academia. The anti-Indigenous hostility is revealed when we utilize Eurocentric lens to evaluate the worth of Indigenous knowledge or begin to question the "theory" behind such bodies of knowledge and Indigenism as if local peoples lack "theory."

Both the coloniality of science and the science of racism are filled with pitfalls not to mention the whole attempt to use a positivist science language

to understand our complex lived realities. There has historically been the coloniality of science in the sense of how science and "scientific knowledge" have served oppressive and colonizing ends. This has been effected through the delegitimation, invalidation, and negation of knowledge systems, experiences, and histories of subordinated and Indigenous groups. We must speak of Indigenous sciences and philosophies and what they bring to knowledge. In producing counter-discourses, we need a new knowledge base that challenges what we know of Western science and the dismissal of the subjective, emotional, and spiritual accounting. African Indigenous knowledges are embodied socially, physically, and metaphysically, residing in the spiritual, material, and concrete realms of African peoples' lives and social existence. Spirituality, specifically spiritual ontologies and spiritual epistemologies are legitimate ways of knowing and the project of counter-knowledging requires upholding the place of spirituality, emotions, dreams, and visions in the Western academy.

I will conclude by highlighting the five (5) inter-related contributions that a study of African education and Indigenous knowledge brings to global knowledge production. These are matters meriting the qualitative value of intellectual/educational justice: First is the question of what Indigenous African education offers in our understanding "*epistemic plurality*," and why and how it is important that the search for multi-epistemes is advanced when diverse knowledges from different geographies are taken into account. There are different worldviews and multiple centers of knowledge, as well as forms of education. The ways we come to know and make sense of our worlds are heavily embedded in our histories, cultures, and relations to physical and metaphysical realms of existence. Insisting upon "epistemic plurality" is an acknowledgment of the powerful force of multiple ways of knowing and the education of young learners as a critical component of decolonization. We cannot seek to subvert the colonial and imperial relations of schooling and education without taking seriously the place of Indigenous epistemologies and philosophies in offering counter readings of our world. There are also different philosophies of education. All learners must know about the philosophical foundations of African education and the connections with Indigenous knowledges and how this implicates the processes of educational delivery. The rich history of African education and how such education was approached is an important source of learning. Western education has much to learn from African education, least of which is the knowledge base that has historically driven such education. And, it must be noted that to speak of African education we should go back to precolonial education, and in fact, to education of local communities even before there was the colonial naming "Africa." Perhaps, much more importantly, we need such studies to help challenge binary models that treat Africa as the recipient of Western-styled education, without leaving room for the possibilities of Indigenous African education, which has roots in precolonial times. Such Indigenous education has implications for all learners and more specifically, Black learners in the diasporan contexts who trace ancestry to Africa.

Second, there is the question of how to arrest/stem our own *epistemicide* when diverse cultural knowledges are continually deemed not worthy of engagement in schooling and education. For African scholars, the problem of epistemicide is seen in the disturbing failure for us to continue to "pioneer new analytical systems for understanding our own communities steeped in our own home-grown cultural perspectives" (Yankah 2004, 25). African scholars have a particular responsibility not only to understand our communities and educational systems, but also to begin to appreciate the knowledge base underneath our social and communal practices for our own intellectual agencies. This does not mean African epistemes are all we need to learn, know, and act on. But this knowledge base must be an important grounding from which to engage global knowledge. This cultural resource knowledge base is embedded in the making key theories in most of our so-called academic disciplines. As has long been noted, Africa has historically been a source of data for generating much of the key philosophical ideas that undergird our academic disciplines (see Bates et al. 1993). When we are not rooted in our local cultural knowledges, our claim as "knowing agents" is false, and we are unable to justify any legitimate calling as "intellectual agents." As Nyamnjoh (2012) rightly notes, we merely become "intellectual imposters" in the Western academy. Resisting our ongoing epistemicide ensures that we demand our rightful place as knowledge producers, intellectual subjects, and not simply knowledge receivers or consumers. I raise this point not to dismiss some of the intellectual strides made in African philosophies and in other disciplines by African scholars. I am asking us to use our local cultural knowledge base to advance new analytical systems for studying and understanding our communities, and to advance "African solution to our African problems." To put it bluntly, we can no longer continue to rely on borrowed European [Eurocentric] intellectual lenses to read our communities!

Third is for us to see the connection between the *sociology of knowledge* and *epistemology* as a call for action. To understand local epistemes, we need to grasp the social relations of knowledge production as a fundamental question of power and power relations. So we must begin to ask some questions: How do certain knowledges become powerful epistemes deemed worthy of pursuit? What are the schooling and educational processes that ensure that particular knowledges get counted as valid, legitimate, and worthy of pursuit and why other knowledges are dismissed? This focus helps us to look at how colonial relations of knowledge, hierarchical relations of schooling, and political and discursive practices manifest themselves in everyday cultural politics of schooling and relations of ruling. It helps us to look critically at the way some learners get through the educational system without knowing much about their own histories, cultures, and community contributions to global knowledge. Beyond these questions, there is a call to action of knowledge. This means it is not enough for us simply "to know." As the saying goes "to know is to act." Knowledge must compel action. So, for African scholar, the necessity to couple our scholarly engagements with political action is paramount.

As already affirmed, our search for new knowledge must go beyond curiosity. In this regard, the pursuit of African education and Indigenous knowledge must make real, meaningful, and practical difference in the lives of our peoples and communities. We evoke Indigenous knowledge because it offers possibilities out of the current "miseducation" and intellectual malaise, assisting us to relate more to our communities as the only way to know about our own Indigeneity. Consequently, we must use Indigenous bodies of knowledge to question and to act to change schooling and education. This is the only way we can respond to and address the crisis over the legitimacy of knowledge in the Western academy.

Fourth, to reiterate, affirming African education and Indigenous knowledge has an important intellectual project of theorizing the understanding of "Indigenous" and "Indigeneity" as international categories. This is very significant given that as African bodies our Indigeneity located in different geographies is hardly spoken of and validated, especially when we are confronted with discussions of colonialism and settler colonialism (see Dei 2017). There is the Indigenous of/in different geographies—Africa, Caribbean, Canada/Turtle Island, USA, South America, Australia, New Zealand, Hawaii, etc. No one geographic space or location and its legitimate claim to the Indigeneity must be advanced to the exclusion or dismissal of the African Indigeneity. We may contest, complicate, and even problematize the "Indigenous" but, as African peoples, we can never allow anyone to take our Indigenous away from us. We allow this to happen at our own intellectual and decolonial peril. To reaffirm Indigenous is very much connected to the land. If for nothing at all, the Land/Earth teachings alone are enough for us to hang on to the claim of Indigenous in our own learning as counterpart of European colonialism. As argued in Dei (2018), land is something we all have claims to, and can relate to, at and from somewhere. Every living subject is entitled to develop an association to land, and/or to have social, cultural, physical, and emotional ties to land. It is a "claim to past, culture, history, and rootedness/heritage, as well as spiritual and psychic memories [and unfortunately] it is the colonial mindset and through an imperial process that enables the dominant self/group to dispossess the Other of their Lands" and to claim as such dispossessed and as their own (Dei 2018, 227).

Last is the question of *African educational futurity*. This is a huge concern that must be approached simply with a sustained critique of Eurocentricity and the urgency of us "writing back" to the imperial narrative. The colonial of Western science knowledge lies beyond the devaluation and delegitimation of our knowledge systems to a curtailing of our individual and collective abilities to think and dream new futures. Making this point is not placing Europe at the center nor positing reaction discourse to Europe and the West. It is a realization of the enduring impact of the colonial project in schooling and education that call for action to transcend the mind, to the body, soul, and spirit. Colonial knowledge has a way of subverting our thinking. Yet "something else is possible" and we must be able to dream and produce new

visions. As African scholars, we must be advancing new ideas grounded in our Indigenous systems of thought and cultural perspectives to be able to think through new educational possibilities for the future. In the politics of futurity, we must confront the question of advancing new speculative imaginaries informed by our Indigenous epistemes [including African-centered intellectual paradigms] in order to envision new educational and social futures for our communities. We have a very rich intellectual tradition to assist the project of new futurity. I have repeatedly insisted that given that colonialism was an irritating, materially and spiritually, consequential interrupter, the question of "what might have been had colonialism not disturbed the African way forward" should offer enough political impetus and intellectual guidance to continue to explore the new future.

<div align="right">

George J. Sefa Dei Ph.D.
Professor of Social Justice Education
and Fellow, Royal Society of Canada
University of Toronto
Toronto, Canada

</div>

References

Ahenakew, C., and V. de Oliveira Andreotti, G. Cooper, and H. Hireme. 2014. "Beyond Epistemic Provincialism: De-provincializing Indigenous Resistance." *Alternative* 10 (3): 216–231.

Bates, R. H., V. Y. Mudimbe, and J. O'Barr. 1993. *African and the Disciplines.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dei, G. J. S. 2017. *Reframing Blackness and Black Solidarities Through Anti-Colonial and Decolonial Prisms.* New York: Springer.

Dei, G. J. S. 2018. "Reframing Education Through Indigenous, Anti-Colonial and Decolonial Prisms." In *The Radical Imagine-Nation*, edited by Peter McLaren and Suzanne Soohoo, 213–235. New York: Peter Lang.

Gordon, L. 2018. *Black Issues in Philosophy: The African Decolonial Thought of Oyèrónké Oyěwùmí.* https://blog.apaonline.org/2018/03/23/black-issues-in-philosophy-the-african-decolonial-thought-of-oyeronke-oyewumi/.

Kronenberg, C. W. 2014. "Equality, Solidarity, and the Human Condition: Categories of Humanism in Jose Marti's Anticolonial Critique." *Latin American Perspectives* 41 (4): 28–47.

Kuokkanen, R. 2008. "What is Hospitality in the Academy? Epistemic Ignorance and the (Im)Possible Gift." *The Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies* 30 (1): 60–82.

Nyamnjoh, F. 2012. "'Potted Plants in Greenhouses': A Critical Reflection on the Resilience of Colonial Education in Africa." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 47 (2): 129–154. On line version: http://jas.sagepub.com/content/early/2012/02/14/0021909611417240.

Yankah, K. 2004. *Globalization and the African Scholar.* Legon: Faculty of Arts University of Ghana.

Introduction: African Education's Multiple Systems

African education is a complex configuration of Indigenous, Islamic or Muslim, and Western education systems. From African civilizations' Indigenous education systems to Islamic and Western education systems, they reflect an expansive and complex knowledge base. Each African ethno-nation or civilization's education system demonstrates African epistemologies and their ongoing negotiation of other education systems within their contemporary contexts. Indigenous education systems continue today and often reflect cross-cultural influences that began centuries ago with early Islamic and European contacts. These contacts evolved across colonial and postcolonial periods resulting in the establishment or imposition of their education systems on African soil. Today, every African nation-state or country has established these imported or imposed education systems as their formal national system of education. Yet, in most cases, African Indigenous education continues to be the societal foundation of every ethno-nation and continually negotiates knowledge production and ways of knowing parallel to and within the nation-states' Western or Islamic/Muslim education systems. This negotiation often serves as a check and balance to neocolonial frameworks that survived the colonial period and results in a syncretic educational experience. The threat to this syncretic process is that most Indigenous education systems are not fully recognized or supported within nation-states; as a result, more Africans are exposed to formal Western and/or Islamic or Muslim education; Indigenous education systems are losing ground in maintaining and advancing knowledge production and its distribution across generations.

Since its beginning of Western academic training in and about Africa, African studies was fraught with misconceptions about African education. It was often described as non-existent. In the early imposition of Western education in Africa, African education was often viewed as non-existent or as cultural elements with no institutional structure, as Ofori-Attah (2006) summarized:

> Therefore, African forms of spirituality, including music, dancing, art, and religious practices were all excluded from the colonial curriculum. The African learner thus had no hope of learning or acquiring skills of immediate relevance to the community, and curricula were aligned with the interests of missionaries and British colonial government as in all colonies in Africa, North and South America, Asia, or the Caribbean. … There was no need to align the curriculum with African social and cultural practices, as these were all diametrically opposed to the European way of life and Christian ethics…. curriculum were intended to transform the African, in his own environment, to serve the needs of a colonial government and a new African society. (Ofori-Attah 2006)

The above excerpt is reflective, not only of Western education perspectives, but also the common absence of any recognition of African education systems by scholars from the beginning of Western academic discourse on African studies until the late 1990s.

This absence of academic discourse held true with only minor exceptions. During the 1970s as Indigenous peoples' movements gained significant momentum on an international level, a wellspring of attention was focused on Indigenous civilizations' social institutions. Africa Indigenous civilizations or ethno-nations are older than and more cohesive in many ways than their modern counterparts, nation-states with their colonial constructed boundaries. As Indigenous education institutions came under study, complex epistemologies were exposed with knowledge production and learning methodologies so integrated into the society; that systems more often than not survived colonialism largely intact. Indigenous education became a valid discipline as one outcome of the deconstruction of imperialist assumptions. These Indigenous movements coalesced on an international level in the recognition and adoption of the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (2007). This global recognition and discussion of "Indigenous" as other than state civilizations brought with it the social and academic space to study these ethno-national education systems.

While most African civilizations are not legally identified as "Indigenous" by UN guidelines within the nation-state of their residence, they are identified in comparable terms as tribes, societies, civilizations or ethno-nations, and as such equate with any other civilization, as stated in this UN declaration of rights with, "inherent rights of indigenous peoples which derive from their political, economic and social structures and from their cultures, spiritual traditions, histories and philosophies, especially their rights to their lands, territories and resources" (United Nations 2007, 2). Such recognition of African civilizations may be viewed as a Second African Renaissance. As Nnamdi Azikiwe described African Renaissance in Western terms of a university based on African philosophy and knowledge (Azikiwe 1968), now African civilizations are again cognizant of their Indigenous educational structures and how these systems through their production and transfer of knowledge act as the keeper and vanguard of their societies. To better reflect societal parity across systems, this Handbook's editor uses "ethno-national"

or "ethno-nation" to identify each African civilization's unique societal attributes as documented through their cultural, economic, education, government/political, language, and religious institutions. Use of this terminology recognizes African civilizations as independent societies that historically and currently interact with European or Western civilizations. As such, these terms reflect the tenets of Pan-African and Liberation or Critical Pedagogy theories that seek to challenge the academic status quo that too often accepts African civilizations as subject to first the colonial state and later the neo-colonial nation-state rather than as equitable agents within both eras (see Abidogun 2013; Creary 2012; Dei 2011; Freire 1998; Giroux 2001; Kapoor 2009).

African education today is accurately described as a multi-tiered system with Indigenous education as its center and Islamic or Muslim and Western education acting as official nation-state systems. In this volume, Islamic or Muslim education systems are not referring to solely religious instruction or a strictly religious-based education system, rather they are education systems that identify as serving culturally based African Muslim societies. As such, this may refer to a segment of an ethno-national civilization, e.g. Muslim Yoruba; or it may refer to an ethno-nation self-identified as a Muslim society, e.g. Wolof or Jolof. Islam religion and Muslim culture were brought to and developed over centuries in Africa; its history is not based on colonial imposition but on political, religious, and cultural adaptions.

The Palgrave Handbook of African Education and Indigenous Knowledge is unique in that to date it is the first fully African-focused work to present Africa's Indigenous education systems on par with nation-state education systems. On a Western education basis, UNESCO tracks the nation-state education statistics faithfully for the continent, but there is little to no attention made to Indigenous education in these reports. Case in point, the goal is not how to understand and support Indigenous education, but how to further transplant Western education into the minds of nomadic or rural civilizations. For example, Nigeria's National Commission for Nomadic Education reported as its primary goal to provide literacy skills to Fulani people with the aim of bringing Western education to them (2002, 1). In the past two decades, education scholars increasingly focused on the role of Indigenous education systems as a foundation of African civilizations and how these systems engage Islamic and Western education systems to shape their curricula.

A review of the more prominent education scholars and their works provides an indication of the breadth of research sweeping the continent. While each of these scholars contributes invaluable work to understanding African education, there is currently no one inclusive volume that references the variety of African education systems in their structures, roles, and impact across the continent. This inclusive aspect is why *The Palgrave Handbook of African Education and Indigenous Knowledge* (HAEIK) is a distinct and valuable contribution to African and Education studies around the world. HAEIK offers several features to assist African studies and Education studies scholars, policy-makers, and students.

HAEIK offers a comprehensive survey of the field of African education, by providing historical and contextual overviews of education systems within the continent. These historical and contextual overviews are coupled with specific examples or case studies in each chapter to demonstrate the multiple historical and contemporary influences and the resulting range of educational models across the continent. In addition, it describes African education knowledge production to highlight their contributions and ongoing developments. In this way, Indigenous knowledge is held constant as the foundation of each African civilization, while other systems, such as Islamic and Western education, are discussed in their more regional or more recent development on the continent. The interaction of these education systems both contributes to and hinders knowledge production as there is a constant negotiation and synthesizing of both knowledge and learning methods as demonstrated through the examples and case studies. Consistent in HAEIK is the recognition that regardless of the education system's origin (i.e. Muslim or Western) the African civilizations, who adopted it or who it was imposed upon, created changes in the system through adaptation of knowledge (content) and methods (instruction) through their participation in each system.

The volume is divided into four parts based on four primary areas of research. These areas include histories of education; Indigenous education systems; Islamic or Muslim education; and contemporary African education's role in the wider society. Part I *Africa Histories of Education* consists of eight chapters dedicated to exploring the evolution of African education in historical perspectives as well as the development of its three primary systems—Indigenous, Islamic or Muslim, and Western education models—and how African societies have maintained and changed their approaches to education within and across these systems. Part II *Africa Indigenous Education and Knowledge* includes nine chapters that examine African Indigenous education and Indigenous knowledge to describe their contemporary structures, content, and methods and to discuss the nature and vitality of Indigenous education across the continent. Part III *Islamic or Muslim African Education in Contemporary Africa* contains nine chapters that cover African societies who adopted and adapted Islam by regional area with case studies to highlight Islamic and Muslim education's contemporary role and impact on Africa today. Part IV *African Education: National or Neocolonial Constructions?* presents twelve chapters on contemporary African education systems and contemplates the variation and extent of their roles within African societies. These chapters examine African nation-states' norm of Western-structured institutions infused with varying amounts of Afrocentric curriculum and methodology. Each asks questions that raise questions about African education's role in developing and maintaining Africa for Africans and whether its current national systems empower Africa or foster neocolonialism.

The Palgrave Handbook of African Education and Indigenous Knowledge provides an opportunity for new and established scholars of African education to re-engage their own and other education scholars' arguments and

thoughts about African education systems. These scholars highlight the education systems' multiple roles and impact on the wider society. They describe the global connections within these education systems through research and interrogation of historical and contemporary issues, including but not limited to, knowledge construction, education technologies, and ethno-national, neocolonial, gendered, and privileged education constructs. Finally, HAEIK serves as a foundational pedagogical text that brings together work currently scattered across regions and time periods produced from a range of disciplines. This volume is a necessary reference for African studies scholars and students, whether their interest is anthropology, education, gender studies, history, philosophy, religion or another discipline; these disciplines are all impacted by African knowledge and its production and distribution. It is designed to demonstrate the historical and contemporary intersections of African education across the continent as well as within the global context. Engaging scholars and general readers alike in the complexity of Africa's multifaceted education systems with an eye to highlight the depth and variety of Africa's rich pedagogical heritage.

It is essential that we thank Palgrave for their academic insight to support the production of this volume. Their technical assistance and patience in production cannot be overstated in moving the content from the laptop to the reader. Special thanks to Nathan McCormack, cartographer, who worked with the editors to accurately present African civilizations' multiple and ongoing transformations. These maps speak directly to the vastness of the continent and the necessarily layered interactions of education systems. Finally, gratitude and appreciation are offered to each contributor, whose scholarship and commitment to Africa made African education come to life on these pages in all its complexity. The editors applaud the work presented here as affirming African knowledge and education in all its forms.

<div align="right">Jamaine M. Abidogun</div>

References

Abidogun, J. M. 2013. "Pan African Theory's Impact on the Development of Afrocentric Education in Jamaica." In *Pan-Africanism and the Politics of African Citizenship and Identity*, edited by K. Essien and T. Falola, 13–27. New York: Routledge Press.

Azikiwe, Nnamdi. 1968. *Renascent Africa (1937)*. 1st ed. UK: Routledge.

Creary, N., ed. 2012. *African Intellectuals and Decolonization*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.

Dei, G. J. S. 2011. *Indigenous Philosophies and Critical Education*. New York: Peter Lang.

Friere, Paul. 1998. *Teachers as Cultural Workers: Letters to Those Who Dare to Teach*. Translated by Donaldo Macedo, Dale Koike, and Alexandre Oliveira. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Giroux, Henry. 2001. *Theory and Resistance in Education: Towards a Pedagogy for the Opposition*. Rev. and Exp. ed. Westport: Bergin and Garvey.

Kapoor, D. 2009. *Education, Decolonialism and Development.* Rotterdam: Sense Publications.

Nigeria National Commission for Nomadic Education. 2002. *Situation Report on Nomadic Education.* Kaduna, Nigeria: Department of Programme Development and Extension.

Ofori-Attah, Kwabena Dei. 2006. "The British and Curriculum Development in West Africa: A Historical Discourse." *International Review of Education* 52 (5): 412–416.

United Nations. 2007. *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.* New York, NY: United Nations.

CONTENTS

Notes on Contributors

Ali A. Abdi, Ph.D. is Professor, Department of Educational Studies, Faculty of Education, The University of British Columbia, Canada. Prior to that, he was Professor of International Development Education at the University of Alberta where he was also the founding Co-Director of the Centre for Global Citizenship Education and Research (CGCER). His research interests include development education, citizenship, and human rights education, as well as decolonizing Africanist philosophies and epistemologies of education.

Abdul-Samad Abdullah, Ph.D. is Senior Lecturer, Arabic Program Convenor, Asia Institute, Arabic and Islamic Studies, The University of Melbourne, Australia. His research areas include modern and classical Arabic literature, Arabic stylistics; rhetoric and criticism; Qur'anic exegesis and Qur'anic stylistics; modern Islamic thought; Islamic education; Islam in West Africa; Arabic poetry in West Africa; and teaching Arabic for specific purposes. Abdullah has numerous publications, including two books: *Khitab al-Anbiya'/The Discourse of Prophets in the Koran* (Dar al-Zahra, 1998) and *Adwa' 'ala al-Shi'r al-'Arabi fi Gharb Afriqiya/West African Arabic Poetry: Origins and Development* (Maktabat Wahbah, 2001).

Jamaine M. Abidogun, Ph.D. is Professor Emeritus History, Department of History, Missouri State University, USA; Fulbright Senior Scholar (2013–2014); Fulbright Scholar (2004–2005); Past President, Mid-America Alliance for African Studies.

Hermia Morton Anthony, Ph.D. is Principal Consultant at Knowledge Innovations International. Her Ph.D. in Social Justice Education is from the University of Toronto, Canada. Her research interests include Indigenous knowledges, decolonization praxis, cultural studies, sociology, curriculum design, global feminisms/womanisms, critical theories, and social research methodologies. She has taught in institutions of higher learning in the

Caribbean and Canada. Publications which include her doctoral dissertation are *Decolonizing Narratives: Kittitian Women, Knowledge Production and Protest* which is nominated for the FIPA Award 2019; articles submitted for publication—*Oomanism: African Women in the Caribbean*; *Continuity and Futurity: Africa Survives*; *Liberation Narratives: African Women Reconstruct the 1935 Protest in St. Kitts*; *The Groundings with My Mothers: Learning to Decolonize from Oomanist Spaces*; *Challenging Dominant Knowledge Directions: Learning from Kenya* (with Njoki Wane); *Centering: Deconstructing and Reconstructing Ethnic Minority Education in the Age of Globalisation (with Njoki Wane)*; *Theorising Land: Reconciliation and Responsibility from Black Womens' Standpoint* (with Njoki Wane).

Zehlia Babaci-Wilhite, Ph.D. is Affiliated Scholar, University of California, Berkeley. She is also a Lecturer at San Jose State University and an Adjunct Professor at the University of San Francisco, Saint Mary's College of California, and Notre Dame de Namur University where she teaches language, culture, and human rights as well as critical thinking and French. She is author of *Promoting Human Rights in Education Through STEAM: Science, Technology, Engineering, Arts and Mathematics* (Springer, 2019).

Sidy Lamine Bagayoko, Ph.D. is Researcher, Social Anthropology, Institute of Humanities, University of Arts and Humanities of Bamako, Mali. He earned his Ph.D. in Social Anthropology at the University of Nice, France. His recent publication is on Dogon society, as co-author, "Ogobagna Festival: Space for Sharing and Reflection," *Journal of Anthropologists* 150–151, (2017): 241–253; "Disaffected and Loyal Youth in the Face of Democracy" Tiefing Sissoko (ed.), *Malian Youth: Between Autonomy, Mobilization and Exclusion* (L'Harmattan, 2015); and co-author, "Vallankayttoa linssin Edessa ja Takana: Visuaalinen etnografia ja kaksitutkimusta lansi-Afrikasta/Behind and in the Front of the Lens," Pilvi Hämeenaho ja Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto (eds.), *Moniulotteinen Etnografia* (Ethnos ry, 2014).

Andrew E. Barnes, Ph.D. is Professor, History, Arizona State University. He previously received tenure at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh. Barnes teaches courses on African and European history with a focus on the history of Christianity. Barnes is the author of three monographs, the most recent of which is *Global Christianity and the Black Atlantic: Tuskegee, Colonialism and the Shaping of African Industrial Education* (Baylor University Press, 2017). He is presently working on a study of the Phelps Stokes Education Commissions and their impact on Africa.

Mokhtar Bouba, Ph.D. is Visiting Professor, Middle Eastern Studies, Dartmouth College, USA.

Previously, he was Assistant Professor and Co-Chair of the Intercultural Service, Leadership and Management program at the SIT Graduate Institute where he served as an academic director with SIT Study Abroad in Jordan,

and as a coordinator and program development specialist at the Center for Cross-Cultural Learning in Rabat, Morocco, where he designed and led many exchange and study abroad and exchange programs where he taught and lectured about Indigenous issues in North Africa. Mokhtar is an artist, a writer, and an avid advocate for Amazigh people's rights. Presently, he is working on two book projects in Arabic and English about Sahara Desert tourism and issues of representation.

Mukhtar Umar Bunza, Ph.D. is Professor of Social History, Department of History, Usmanu Danfodiyo University (UDU), Sokoto, Nigeria. His numerous publications and books include: author, *Christian Missions Among Muslims: Sokoto Province, Nigeria, 1935–1990* (Africa World Press, 2007); co-editor, *The Sokoto Caliphate: A Legacy of Scholarship and Good Governance* (Centre for Islamic Studies, UDU 2006); co-editor, *A History of Yauri Kingdom from 1411 to Its Emirate Status* (Gaskiya Corp, 2015); and author, *Gwandu Emirate: The Domain of Mallam Abdullahi Fodiyo Since 1805* (GEDA, 2016).

Ailie Cleghorn, Ph.D. is Professor, Educational Studies, Concordia University, Canada. Her primary field is Sociology of Education. Her research has focused on language and cultural issues in education in Kenya, Zimbabwe, South Africa, and Namibia. Her publications include *Issues in African Education: Sociological Perspectives* (with Ali A. Abdi); *Missing the Meaning: The Development and Use of Print and Non-print Text Materials in Diverse School Settings* (with Alan Peacock); *Shades of Globalization in Three Early Childhood Settings: Views from India, South Africa and Canada* (with Larry Prochner); *Complex Classroom Encounters: A South African Perspective* (with Rinelle Evans); *Teacher Education in Diverse Settings: Making Space for Intersecting Worldviews* (with Larry Prochner, Anna Kirova and Christine Massing).

Cati Coe, Ph.D. is Professor, Anthropology, Rutgers University, USA. She is the author of *The Scattered Family: Parenting, African Migrants, and Global Inequality* (2013), which garnered several awards, and *The Dilemmas of Culture in African Schools: Nationalism, Youth, and the Transformation of Knowledge* (2005), as well as several edited volumes on migration and kinship. She is currently working on a book on the ways that care work affects the political belonging of African care-workers in the USA, and is researching changes in elder care in Ghana, including changes in kin care, new commercial services, and church-based initiatives for the elderly.

Kofi Kissi Dompere, Ph.D. is Distinguished Senior Research Professor, Department of Economics, and Research Institute of Information Decision and Economic Sciences (RIIDES), Howard University, USA. He has numerous publications; his most recent book is *The Theory of Categorial Conversion: Rational Foundations of Nkrumaism in Socio-natural Systemicity and Complexity* (Adonis & Abbey Publishers, 2017).

Gloria Emeagwali, Ph.D. is Professor, History and African Studies, Central Connecticut State University, USA. She has taught at numerous universities including Ahmadu Bello University and the University of Ilorin, Nigeria. She has been a Visiting Scholar at Oxford University, UK. Professor Emeagwali is the Chief Editor of *Africa Update*, a newsletter of African studies. She has edited and authored nine books and about seventy scholarly articles. These include: co-editor, *African Indigenous Knowledge and the Sciences* (2016); and co-editor, *Indigenous Knowledge and the Disciplines* (2014). Professor Emeagwali is also an amateur film-maker committed to the visual documentation of Africa's past and African knowledges. Some of her documentaries can be accessed at gloriaemeagwali.com.

Toyin Falola, Ph.D. is University Distinguished Teaching Professor; Jacob and Frances Sanger Mossiker Chair in the Humanities, University of Texas at Austin, USA; Past President, African Studies Association; and President, Consortium of Pan-African University Press.

Muhammed Haron, Ph.D. is Professor of Religious Studies, Theology & Religious Studies Department, University of Botswana. He is also an Associate Researcher at the University of Stellenbosch. During 2018 (April-May), he was a Visiting International Relations' Professor at Rhodes University. At present, Haron edits University of Cape Town's *Annual Review of Islam in Africa* (ARIA) and is the Editor-in-Chief of Duke University's online *Research Africa Reviews.* His publications include: author, *The Dynamics of Christian-Muslim Relations* (Uppsala, 2006); editor, *Going Forward: South African-Malaysia Relations* (Kuala Lumpur, 2008); compiler, *South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York, 2009); co-editor, *Islamic Civilization in Southern Africa* (Istanbul, 2009); and co-editor, *Muslim Higher Education in Postcolonial Africa* (London, 2016). During 2018, he edited N. Chand's *Bechuanaland's Muslim Pioneers: Their Journey and Legacies* (Gaborone) and authored *Connecting South-South Communities: Narrating the Tales of South Africa-Malaysia Relations* (Newcastle on Tyne).

Halimatou Hima, Ph.D. is candidate in Development Studies, University of Cambridge, England. She is a *Cambridge-Africa Trust Scholar*, full scholarship awardee. She previously worked as a Researcher at Laboratoire d'Etudes et de Recherche (LASDEL) at Niamey, Niger; a Consultant for the World Bank in Washington, D.C., USA, and Abuja, Nigeria; a Consultant for the Millennium Challenge Account in Niger; and a Consultant for UN Fund for Children (UNICEF) in Niamey, Niger. She has published several working papers, documentaries, and conference papers.

Wambui Karanja, Ph.D. is candidate at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto, Canada. Her research interests lie in anti-colonial and decolonizing theories, Indigenous knowledges and land rights, development and modernization theories, and Afrocentric frameworks.

Her current research explores Indigenous conceptions of land at the nexus of colonial/neocolonial encounters. Wambui has published on African Women's land rights, indigenous knowledge protection theories, Indigeneity and spirituality, and the coloniality of Eurocentric research practices in developing countries. She has a passion interrogating law and its application in equity and social justice theories. She is currently collaborating on publications with Njoki Wane and Hermia Morton Anthony.

Arlo Kempf is Assistant Professor and Associate Program Director, in the Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning, at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto. Arlo's research interests include teachers' work and professional lives, decolonizing and anti-racist education, and critical perspectives on educational standardization and neoliberalism in comparative perspective. Arlo's teaching currently focuses on equity education and research methods in education. He has taught at OISE/UT; the Department of Sociology (University of Toronto); University of California, Los Angeles; and Wilfrid Laurier University. Before teaching at the university level, Arlo was a high school teacher for seven years in Toronto. He is Series Editor with Sense-Bril, for the book series: *Equity and Educational Change in the 21st Century: Critical Perspectives on Assessment, Teachers' Work, and Global Competencies.* Arlo's work has been published in journals including: *Teachers College Record*, *Race and Ethnicity in Education*, *Critical Education*, *International Education*, *Directions, Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies*, *Journal of Workplace Learning*, and *The National Evaluation Gazette*. He was a Ted Ed Talk presenter; see Ted Ed Talk, *Should we get rid of Standardized Testing?* (Sept. 19, 2017). His books include: co-editor, *Troubling Trickster and the Politics of Decolonizing Reconciliation in Education*, University of Alberta Press (forthcoming); author, *The Pedagogy of Standardized Testing: The Radical Impacts of Educational Standardization in the US and Canada* (Palgrave, 2016); and co-author, *New Perspectives on African-Education in Canada* (Canadian Scholars Press, 2013).

Pamela Machakanja, Ph.D. is Dean, College of Business, Peace, Leadership and Governance, Africa University, Zimbabwe. She also served as Interim Deputy Vice Chancellor (2017–2018).

She holds a Ph.D. in Peace, Conflict and Security Studies, University of Bradford, Department of Peace, UK. Her areas of research include peace, conflict analysis and security; transformative conflict analysis; peacebuilding; leadership and governance in Africa; gender analysis and gender mainstreaming; women's rights and educational empowerment; memory work and memorialisation processes; transitional justice and gender justice; gender-based violence, inclusive education; human rights, mediation, negotiation, and diplomacy. Machakanja has numerous publications, including a recently co-authored book, *Mapping Transitional Justice in Zimbabwe* (HansMak, 2015). Her current book project (forthcoming) is *Introduction to Peace Education and Pedagogy for Positive Peace in Africa.*

Chupicai Shollah Manuel, M.S., M.A. is Lecturer in the Colleges of Business, Peace, Leadership and Governance and Social Sciences, Theology, Humanities and Education, Africa University, Zimbabwe. Manuel holds a Master in Intellectual Property and M.A. in Peace and Governance from Africa University, Zimbabwe. His research areas include international migration, political economy of citizenship in the global world, global governance in the developed economies, human security, and global policy for development and political economy of development of the emerging economies, refugee protection, youth development and conflict resolution in the Global South. He has several publications; his most recent publication is, co-author, "Peacebuilding in Micro-Level Inter-Community Conflicts," In Omeje, K. (ed.) *Peacebuilding in Contemporary Africa: In Search of Alternative Strategies* (Routledge, 2018).

Marika Matengu, Ph.D. is candidate and Lecturer, Early Childhood Development and Lower Primary Education, University of Namibia. Matengu is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Oulu, Finland. Prior to joining the University of Namibia faculty in February 2017, she worked for over a decade coordinating development aid from donor countries to Namibia and Southern Africa. Her doctoral research has focused on educational marginalization and the quality of education in severely marginalized contexts in Namibia. Her recent publication is, co-author, "Keeping the national standard? Contextual Dilemmas of Educational Marginalization in the View of Namibian Policy Actors," *International Journal of Educational Development* 62, (2018): 128–135.

Nathan McCormack, M.A. is cartographer. Holds an M.A. in History from University of Texas at Austin, USA. His previous position was US Army officer, Assistant Professor of History at the United States Military Academy (2012–2015). McCormarck has published maps in several texts from various publishers.

Gertrude Mianda, Ph.D. is Director, Harriet Tubman Institute on Research on Africa and its Diasporas at York University; and Associate Professor, Gender and Women's Studies Program, York University, at Glendon Campus. She served as Chair of York University's School of Gender, Sexuality and Women's Studies (2011–2015). Her research focuses on gender and post-colonialism, particularly on Congolese women, gender and development and globalization, as well as issues relating to the immigration to Canada of Francophone immigrants of African origin. Her current research examines issues relating to the integration of Francophone African youth into the Ontario Francophone minority community as well as on realities in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) relating to the rape of girls and women, children born of war, and the women in Kinshasa's informal sector. She is also carrying out research on women in the DRC, including women in politics, who have broken the glass ceiling by pioneering rejection of gender

expectations. Mianda has several book chapters in edited collections and articles on her gender and postcolonialism in the DRC research.

Bernadette Montanari, Ph.D. is an ethnobiologist and ethnobotanist. Her work has mainly centered on aromatic and medicinal plants, essential oil distillation and traditional ecological knowledge with Berber communities in the High Atlas of Morocco. Her research areas include top-down governance guidelines; community development through social enterprise; and traditional ecological knowledge. Montanari was awarded a Marie-Curie Sklodowska Global Fellowship (2015–2018), funded by the EU. She has spent two years at the University of Illinois, Urbana Champaign, hosted by the Social Dimensions of Environmental Policy (SDEP) in the Department of Geography and is currently completing her fellowship at the International Institute of Social Sciences in The Netherlands. Her research project explores how women are able to gain social status and economic development through applying their traditional ecological knowledge in the context of the Green Morocco Plan. Her study is policy relevant and aims to establish the gender dimension more prominently in government and donor policies to improve the working conditions of rural women in Morocco.

Bakheit Mohammed Nur, Ph.D. is Assistant Professor, Institute of African and Asian Studies, University of Khartoum, Sudan. He holds a Ph.D. in Anthropology, magna cum laude, from Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies (BIGSAS), University of Bayreuth, Germany. Mohammed's most recent publications include: author, *The Religious Men in Jebel Marra: The Process of Learning and the Performance of Islamic Rituals and Practices* (Lit Verlag, 2017); author, "Chanting and Recitation of the Koran among the Fur in Jebel Marra, Sudan," Markus Verne; Paola Ivanov, and Marnus Treiber (eds.), *Körper Technik Wissen: Kreativität und Aneignungsprozesse in Afrika, in den Spuren Kurt Beck* (LIT VERLAG, 2017); and author, "The Spatial and the Social Organization of Koranic Schools in Jebel Marra, Sudan," *Bayreuth African Studies Working Papers* 15 (2015): 49–63.

Solomon Ochwo-Oburu, Ph.D. is candidate in History and Lecturer, African History, Department of Education, University of Kisubi, Entebbe, Uganda. He has many experiences in teaching, teacher education, research, and authorship. Prior to joining University of Kisubi, he lectured in National Teachers Colleges training Secondary School teachers. While there, he lectured in African and world religions, ancient world history, ethics, church history, theology, and teaching methods. He also lectured in Kumi and Islamic Universities in Uganda in African history, historiography, and historical methods and development studies. He served on the Board of Editors, *African Journal of Teacher Education (AJOTE)*, based at Guelph University, Canada. He has published six textbooks on curriculum and instructions in Uganda (Fountain Publishers Limited). His recent publications are in African

Poetry with over 1300 poems published (Poetry Soup, Georgia-USA). His current project is a book entitled: *Africa: The Lion that Hunts for Edible Rats (A Conversation of the Common Man About Africa as Impotent Power in the World)*.

Oludamini Ogunnaike, Ph.D. is Assistant Professor, Religious Studies, College of William and Mary, USA. He teaches courses on Islam, Islamic philosophy, spirituality, and art, as well as African and African diasporic religions. He holds a Ph.D. in African Studies and the Study of Religion from Harvard University, and spent a year as a postdoctoral fellow at Stanford University's Abbasi Program in Islamic Studies. Ogunnaike's research examines the philosophical dimensions of postcolonial, colonial, and precolonial Islamic and indigenous religious traditions of West and North Africa, especially Sufism and Ifa. He is currently working on a book entitled, *Sufism and Ifa: Ways of Knowing in Two West African Intellectual Traditions* and maintains a digital archive of *West African Sufi Poetry*.

Peter Otiato Ojiambo, Ph.D. is Associate Professor, Department of African and African-American Studies, University of Kansas, USA, with several years of teaching, research, and student supervision experience. Prior to joining the University of Kansas, he taught at Ohio University and the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. His areas of interest include African-centered educational biographies; comparative and international education; educational leadership; education, democracy, poverty and development; non-Western educational thought; educational administration, curriculum and relational theories; school and society relations; and African languages (Kiswahili) pedagogy. He holds Center for Teaching Excellence Award from the University of Kansas. His recent book is *Kenyan Youth Education in Colonial and Post-colonial Times: Joseph Kamiru Gikubu's Impact* (Palgrave, 2017).

Christian Chukwuma Opata, Ph.D. is Lecturer, Department of History and International Studies, University of Nigeria, Nsukka (UNN). In 2019, he was also serving as Head of Department, History and International Studies; and as Chairperson, Academic Staff Union of Universities of UNN. He has served as the Faculty of Arts Coordinator for the Joint Universities Preliminary Examination Board (JUPEB) program in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

   He is an economic historian and his research interest spans International political economy, heritage studies, gender relations, and traditional African economies. Opata attended many conferences and is widely published in journals, including *William and Mary Quarterly* and *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*. As a Fulbright Scholar (2009–2010), he was adjudged one of the top three among eighteen participants by Professor Philip Hosay who coordinated the program he attended in the University of New York. He has taught and supervised many students—both postgraduates and undergraduates.

Bukola Adeyemi Oyeniyi, Ph.D. is Associate Professor, History, Missouri State University. He is a historian of African history with specialization in Africa's social and cultural history in the early nineteenth to twentieth centuries. His current research focuses on the place of Africa's expressive culture, especially dress, in the construction of individual and group identity. His book, *Dress in the Making of African Identity: A Social and Cultural History of the Yoruba People* (Cambria Press, 2015), examines the history of Yorubaland as seen through dress and the history of Yorùbá dress, especially its place in the construction of Yorùbá ethno-national identity. His other books are: author, *The History of Libya* (Greenwood, 2019); and co-author, *Nigeria: Africa in Focus* (ABC-CLIO, 2015). He has published numerous articles and chapters.

Émilie Roy, Ph.D. is Education Specialist, UNICEF, Mali. Prior to her current position, Roy was Design, Monitoring & Evaluation Regional Specialist, West Africa, for the NGO Search for Common Ground. She holds a Ph.D. in Islamic Studies from McMaster University, Canada. Her studies focused on the role of *médersas* for citizenship-building in Mali. Roy then served as a Professor, Religious Studies and Anthropology at Al Akhawayn University, Morocco, for five years, and served as Chair of the Islamic Studies program from 2014 to 2017. She has since redirected her career toward more direct involvement in the field of education with local communities in West Africa.

Mamadou Youry Sall, Ph.D. is Professor, Mathematics, Computer Science and Applications in Human Sciences, Université Gaston Berger (UGB) de Saint-Louis du Sénégal. Sall also served as Consultant in Evaluation of Education and Training Systems, Director of Baajoordo Center for Research on African Intellectual Heritage, and Director of Education, Training and Sport Research Center at UGB. His research is primarily in mathematical modeling, computer applications, and West African Islamic history. He has several publications; most recent publications include: author, "Scientific Profiles and Potential of Al-Azhar's African Graduates: A Statistical Analysis," Mbaye Lo and Muhammed Haron (eds.), *Muslim Institutions of Higher Education in Postcolonial Africa* (Springer, 2016), and author, *Ceerno Sileymaani Baal: Founder of Almaamiyat (1776–1890)* (Dakar University Press, 2014).

Karla Giuliano Sarr, Ed.D. is an international education practitioner and scholar and currently works as an independent consultant. Sarr's research is multifaceted and often includes a focus on language in education and Indigenous knowledges; as reflected in her publication, "'We Lost our Culture with Civilization': Community Perceptions of Indigenous Knowledge and Education in Senegal," Benson, C. & Kosonen, K. (eds.), *Language Issues in Comparative Education: Inclusive Teaching and Learning in Non-dominant Languages and Cultures* (Springer, 2013). She has led research and evaluation activities for clients including Cambridge Education, EDC, Encompass, International Rescue Committee, Management Systems International, Save the Children USA, and School-to-School International, as well as juvenile justice education programs in her home state of

Massachusetts. While Sarr's geographical specialization is West Africa, specifically, Senegal, her portfolio includes work in Cameroon, the DRC, Ethiopia, El Salvador, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Honduras, Jordan, Lebanon, Mozambique, Niger, the Philippines, Somalia, and Togo. She taught at both the middle school and graduate school levels, first as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Gabon and full-time at the SIT Graduate Institute where she continues to work as an Adjunct Professor. Karla also worked as a Study Abroad Adviser at the University of Massachusetts. She coordinated cultural exchange programs at the NGO Africa Consultants International/Baobab Center in Senegal, focusing on education and health programming. She is an active member of the Comparative and International Education Society and the American Evaluation Association.

Nobuhide Sawamura, Ph.D. is Professor, Education and International Development, Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University, Japan. His academic career began at the Center for the Study of International Cooperation in Education (CICE) at Hiroshima University and he was a founding member of the Center. He holds an M.Phil. from the University of Edinburgh and a Ph.D. from Osaka University. His first exposure to Africa was 1982–1984, as a secondary school science teacher of the Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers in Malawi. He then worked for the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) for 11 years. He has carried out research on a wide range of educational issues in developing countries. His recent interest is the multiple realities and meanings in primary schooling in sub-Saharan Africa, particularly in Kenya.

George J. Sefa Dei, Ph.D. is Professor, Social Justice Education, University of Toronto, Canada, and Director of the Centre for Integrative Anti-Racism Studies at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto (OISE/UT). He is also the Director of the Centre for Integrative Anti-Racism Studies at the University of Toronto, Canada. Professor Dei is the 2015 and 2016 Carnegie African Diasporan Fellow. In August 2012, Professor Dei also received the honorary title of *Professor Extraordinarire* from the University of South Africa (UNISA). Professor Dei was voted by a Canadian newspaper organization as among the top influential Black scholars and community workers in Canada. In 2017, he was elected as Fellow of Royal Society of Canada, the most prestigious award for an academic scholar. He also received the *2016 Whitworth Award for Educational Research* from the Canadian Education Association awarded to the Canadian scholar whose research and scholarship helped shape Canadian national educational policy and practice. He has twenty-nine (29) books and over seventy (70) refereed journal articles to his credit. Finally, in June 2007, Professor Dei was installed as a traditional chief in Ghana, given the stool name of *Nana Adusei Sefa Tweneboah I*. Specifically, his title is the Gyaasehene of the town of Asokore, Koforidua in Ghana's New Juaben Traditional Area.

Daniel N. Sifuna, Ph.D. is Professor, History of Education, and International and Comparative Education, Department of Educational Foundations, Kenyatta University, Nairobi, Kenya. He is a Director and Senior Partner of OWN & Associates: Centre for Research and Development. Sifuna has worked with many organizations in different capacities; some of these organizations include Price Waterhouse Coopers, Inter-University Council of East Africa, ActionAid Kenya, UNESCO—Regional Office, Nairobi; UNESCO Paris, British Council, DAAD, USAID, Netherlands Development Agency (SNV), Plan International, DFID, Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, Ministries of Education, as well as other governmental ministries and universities. Professor Sifuna has supervised many postgraduate students at Master's and doctoral levels and served as an external examiner for many universities in Africa. He has numerous publications, including several recent chapters in edited volumes and his co-authored book, *Historical and Contemporary Trends in the Development of Education in Kenya: Government Policy, Gender and Regional* Dimensions (The Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 2014).

Amy Stambach, Ph.D. is Vilas Distinguished Achievement Professor, Anthropology, and Faculty Affiliate, Wisconsin Center for Education Research, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA. Her book publications include *Faith in Schools: Religion, Education, and American Evangelicals in East Africa* (Stanford University Press, 2009) and co-editor, *Anthropological Perspectives on Student Futures* (Palgrave, 2017).

Julia Troche, Ph.D. is Assistant Professor, Ancient History, Missouri State University. She holds a Ph.D. in Egyptology and Assyriology, Brown University, for her dissertation on apotheosis in ancient Egypt. Prior to joining the faculty at Missouri State University, Troche worked as an excavator, field surveyor, and epigrapher at Petra, Jordan, and at Abydos and Luxor in Egypt. She co-curated an exhibition, *Uncovering Ancient Egypt: Ancient Crafts, Modern Technologies*, in 2015, which was the basis for her co-authored article, "Visitor as Researcher: Making Archaeology more Accessible with Broken and Unprovenienced Objects," *Advances in Archaeological Practice* (2016). Her most recent chapter is "The Living Dead at Deir el-Medina," A. Dorn and S. Polis (eds.), *Selected Papers: Deir el Medina and the Theban Necropolis: Describing Interactions Within and Outside the Community of Workmen* (Liège University Press, 2018).

Omiunota Nelly Ukpokodu, Ph.D. is Professor, Division of Teacher Education and Curriculum Studies, School of Education, University of Missouri-Kansas City, USA. She is originally from Nigeria where she taught elementary, secondary, and teacher training college, before immigrating to the USA in 1982. She is a Fulbright-Hays Scholar (South Africa), and her research and teaching areas include multicultural education, urban education, equity and social justice education, social studies/citizenship education, global education, and African immigrant education. She is the author of the book, *You Can't Teach Us if You Don't Know Us and Care*

About Us: Becoming an Ubuntu, Responsive and Responsible Urban Teacher (Peter Lang Publishing, 2016); she is co-editor of two books, *Erasing Invisibility: Inequity, Social Injustice of Africans in the Diaspora and the Continent* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017) and *Contemporary Voices from the Margin: African Educators on African and American Education* (Information Age Publishing, 2012). Her publications have also appeared in nationally and internationally recognized journals such as *Multicultural Education*, *Multicultural Perspectives*, *The International Journal of Critical Pedagogy*, *Journal of Excellence in Teaching*, *Journal of Social Studies Research and Practice*, *Journal of Interactive Online Learning*, *Social Education*, *Social Studies and the Young Learner*, among others. Omiunota has received several awards including the 2011 National Association for Multicultural Education (NAME) Equity & Social Justice Advocacy Award.

Peter Ukpokodu, Ph.D. is Courtesy Professor, Theatre and Professor, African and African-American Studies, University of Kansas, USA. He previously served as Chair of the Department, African and African-American Studies; former President of the Mid-America Alliance of African Studies; and Co-convener of the African Literature Association Millennial Conference. He is the author of *Socio-Political Theatre in Nigeria*, *African Political Plays*, and *It Happened to the Blind Beggar* and co-editor of *African Literatures at the Millennium* and *Contemporary Voices from the Margins*. His publications have also appeared in the *Journal of Dramatic Theory and Criticism*, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *Harvard Journal of African-American Public Policy*, *The Literary Griot*, *L'Annuaire Theatral*, *South African Theatre Journal*, *TDR: A Journal of Performance Studies*, *The African American Encyclopedia*, *Survey of Social Science: Sociology*, *Erasing Invisibility, Inequity, and Social Injustice of Africans…*, and many essays in *NAAAS Monograph Series*, among others. He has directed such plays as *Esu and the Vagabond Minstrels*, *A day of Absence*, *Sizwe Bansi is Dead*, *The Island*, *The Trials of Brother Jero*, among others, and has acted in many plays and made some tv appearances. He has received awards for his published poems. He is currently working on *The Migrants—a Play* and on *AM & AD: Apartheid Monologues & Apartheid Dialogues* (South African plays).

Njoki Nathani Wane, Ph.D. is Professor and current Chair of Social Justice Education, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, Canada. She is a recognized scholar in the areas of Black feminisms in Canada and Africa, African Indigenous knowledges, African women, and spirituality. Her recent publications include *Historical and Contemporary Pan-Africanism and the Quest for African Renaissance* (with Francis Adyanga); *Decolonial Pedagogy: Examining Sites of Resistance, Resurgence and Renewal* (with K. Todd); *African Foundations in Education, Democracy and Institutional Development* (with K. Penney); *Indigenous African Knowledge Production: Food Processing Practices Among Kenyan Rural Women*; *Equity in Practice: Transformational Training Resource* (with Larissa Cairncross); and *A*

Handbook on African Traditional Healing Approaches and Research Practices (with Erica Neeganagwedin). She has also co-edited *Spirituality, Education and Society: An Integrated Approach* (with Energy Manyimo and Eric Ritskes) and *The Politics of Cultural Knowledge* (with Arlo Kempf and Marlon Simmons). She is the recipient of the Harry Jerome Professional Excellence Award in 2008 and the African Women Achievement Award in 2007.

Hauwa'u Evelyn Yusuf, Ph.D. is Associate Professor, Criminology and Gender Studies, Department of Sociology, Kaduna State University, Nigeria. She was the pioneer director of the consultancy services arm of the Kaduna State University (KASUCONSULT) and is the current Director of Academic Planning of the University. Hauwa'u has a number of both national and international journal publications as well as book chapters. Her areas of research are criminology, sociology, development, and gender issues; to this end, she is the CEO of the Center for Study and Resolution of Domestic Violence located in Kagoro, Kaduna State, Nigeria, which is a product of her internship at various shelters for victims of domestic violence in IOWA, USA. Hauwa'u is an IVLP Alumni who participated in the Women in Leadership exchange program in 2008 and has received two grants from the US Embassy (Mitchell Obama's Small grants 2011) and the Alumni Small Grants in 2013 for the empowerment of youths and indigent women in Kaduna State. Dr. Yusuf has served as lead consultant for several researches conducted in collaboration with UNICEF, UNWOMEN, WOMEN FOR HEALTH (W4H), and Malaria Consortium. She is currently working on establishment of her own shelter for victims of domestic violence.

List of Figures

List of Tables

Africa Histories of Education

Explores the evolution of African education in historical perspectives as well as the development within its three major systems: African Indigenous, Islamic and Muslim education models, and Western education models, with the emphasis on how African civilizations maintained the core of African educational practices to varying degrees via syncretic transformation and simultaneous implementation of African education alongside Islamic, Muslim, and Western education systems. These chapters present insights into the process of resistance, accommodation, and transformation of Indigenous education in relationship to the introduction of Islamic/Muslim and later Christian and Western education.

500 mi
1250 km

Copyright © 2019 Nathan E. McCormack & Toyin Falola

CHAPTER 1

Introduction to Africa's Educational Wealth

Toyin Falola

This chapter discusses the relevance of formal education, the "ins and outs" of higher tertiary education—focusing on their various categories and the necessity of creating and maintaining excellent higher institutions—the empowerment that good education offers, formal education's connection with nation-building and citizenship, and society's overall benefit from education. It also highlights two crucial issues: technology's impact and our need to expand opportunities for women. It closes with an overall reflection on the future of higher education.

Investment in Education in Africa: Citizenship, Development, and Nation-Building

Higher education is essential in many ways. Secondary education, on its own, plays a crucial role in developing a nation and its citizens. It comes at a key point in a young person's life: the transition between early education and either the labor market or advanced studies. In fact, the importance of secondary education is growing rapidly as the demand for skilled workers increases. The challenge of secondary education is to provide skills and knowledge to those students who are hoping to enter the workforce immediately, while also preparing other students to further their education at the tertiary level. Education can bring many positive changes, driving economic growth and development while delivering financial returns to individuals (Faruqui et al. 2017). Unfortunately, secondary education in much of Africa

T. Falola (✉)
Department of History, University of Texas, Austin, TX, USA
e-mail: toyinfalola@austin.utexas.edu

fails at this objective, lacking quality and accessibility for students (Fredriksen and Fossberg 2014). The thorny educational issues facing African countries include a shortage of excellent secondary schools, ill-trained teachers, poor equipment, outdated curriculum, and the high cost of school fees. Poorly prepared students are ending up in universities that have difficulty correcting all of the major gaps in their development.

Much of Africa is under pressure to expand and improve its higher education systems, and that pressure will increase substantially over the coming decades. Higher education development is challenged by rapid population growth, increasing demand for skilled workers, and growing numbers of people enrolling in and completing their primary education. These challenges mean that most African countries must work to expand enrollment in secondary schools, strengthen institutions and the role of educators, and revamp educational programs to benefit all citizens and align with national development goals. In the coming years, higher education in Africa must be transformed to meet the demands of an ever-increasing population and work toward building stronger national economies.

Labor markets in Sub Saharan Africa are evolving and diversifying, but higher education systems in Africa must accommodate these economic changes. Africa's labor force is transitioning from informal farming jobs to manufacturing and service-sector jobs; they require knowledge and skills provided by accessible, high-quality education. Investing in secondary and tertiary education can improve human capital, or the economic value of a worker's skill set, laying the foundation for the economic growth that many African countries so desperately need. According to the World Bank, Sub Saharan Africa's sustained economic growth and its participation in the global economy are unlikely without improving its human capital (ibid.).

Enrollment steadily increases in Africa's private schools: the current estimate, at 20% of the student population, is expected to increase to one in four by 2021. Increased use of technology, rapid urbanization, and the emergence of an African middle class have advanced the role of private education. The vast majority of African students are still enrolled in public schools, and private education favors students from urban areas with families who can afford school fees. Certain populations face a disadvantage, which will be discussed later. Private schools are also a subject of controversy in countries like Kenya, where private schools are often accused of deepening the country's inequality (Dahir 2017). However, low-cost private schools have grown dramatically across the continent. They could be ideal for middle-class families seeking more innovative, developed programs.

There is an important need to make education relevant, but it is a complex issue. African countries must ensure that the skills and knowledge acquired in secondary education match the demands of their national labor markets. The challenge of educational relevance has increased since the turn of the century; the workforce demands specialized skills along with behaviors and attitudes that are valued in interdisciplinary environments. Demand for these skills will

increase in response to a transforming globalized economy, which includes international trade and integration, technological advances, and demographic change (Fredriksen and Fossberg 2014). Technology is globalizing economic development by making more services tradable, enabling international businesses, call centers, and online companies.

It is estimated that the African continent will be ahead of all other continents by 2025, seeing an increased number of new entrants to the labor force between the ages 15 and 64. However, the continent's education systems are grossly inadequate to meet the demands of that labor force (Faruqui et al. 2017). African countries must improve their institutional capacity to make sweeping changes in programs, policies, and political investment. The problem in many of these countries is not a lack of technical expertise, but a "low *institutional capacity* to mobilise, utilize, and retain existing expertise" (Fredriksen and Fossberg 2014, 244).

This capacity problem has led many countries to implement reforms to improve the quality and effectiveness of educators, making sure that secondary education successfully prepares students for their careers or further education. These reforms must adapt institutional abilities to meet labor demands and student needs. They must develop the capacity to address the needs of people both inside and outside of the education system, aligning schools with governance, financing, and management in the labor market. Investment in Africa's higher education, to expand and diversify a skilled workforce, begins by providing the majority of that workforce with a solid set of basic skills. The low percentages of intake and completion for early education mean that African countries must invest in "second chance programs," giving students, especially the students who belong to marginalized groups, the basic skills they need to further their education or find a career in a competitive economy (ibid.). These skills include literacy, numeracy, communication, management, and basic technological skills.

Currently, up to 40% of children in Sub Saharan Africa fail to meet basic numeracy and literacy targets (Faruqui et al. 2017). Existing educational models will allow half of all primary school children to reach adolescence without the basic skills they need to lead productive lives (Dahir 2017). This contributes to continued cycles of poverty, marginalization, and poor health that many African countries still struggle to overcome.

The accessibility of higher education is a greater challenge for students disadvantaged by geographical location, gender, and family income. Family income is the most powerful factor driving inequity in education, followed by location, due to the high cost of school fees and the relative shortage of secondary schools in rural areas. These two factors contribute the most to inequity, but it is notable that women are disadvantaged compared to men on all levels, whether the comparison is made by geographic area, income, or level of education. Second chance programs play an important role in improving access to proper education and career preparation for these marginalized groups. It is especially important for girls to have greater access to higher

education, in order to combat cycles of poverty and prevent early marriage and pregnancy (Fredriksen and Fossberg 2014).

It should be noted that Sub Saharan African countries have changed the curricula and school testing within their education systems very little since they gained independence from colonial rule in the 1960s. Many of them still retain their colonial legacies. African countries need to adapt and diversify the school curriculum to transform and improve outdated systems of education. They must meet the needs of students who come from different social classes have different career aspirations and different levels of physical ability, and who have a variety of unique skills and interests. Diversifying the primary and secondary education curriculum will allow students with different needs and career paths to apply a variety of relevant skills to their respective careers (ibid.). It is critical to radically improve programs for mathematics, science, and other skills that are practical for the majority of the workforce.

In 2008, the Commission on Growth and Development concluded that "Every country that sustained growth for long periods put substantial effort into schooling its citizens and deepening its human capital" (Fredriksen and Fossberg 2014, 248). Therefore, it is crucial for countries to invest in higher education to develop their economies and improve the lives of their citizens. These investments will address the demands of a global labor market, facilitating economic growth and increasing productivity. Education enhances the ability to promote entrepreneurship and innovation, and it can be adapted to meet the needs of all different kinds of students. African countries face high levels of unemployment and a shortage of workers with critical skills, but higher education can be transformed to address these issues, allowing more and more people to earn skills and find careers that set a strong foundation for economic development.

Tertiary Education

Tertiary education is crucial to overall development, in Africa and in all countries. For many years, the preeminent recommendation for Africa's transformation was the development of education at all levels. Western education in Africa acts as a source of mobility for those trying to leave farms and rural areas behind since the colonial era. The Western education system, along with the rise of formal occupations, enabled the creation of a new elite in Africa.

Education now offers to fulfill the ultimate dreams of many. As global economies move away from the exploitation of land to emphasize productive applications of intelligence and brainpower, the knowledge economy is the driving force for all modern economies. Without outstanding schools, outstanding scholars, and outstanding students, there can be no outstanding country.

My primary region of focus is Nigeria, but it is no longer possible to limit discussion of education to just one country as Nigeria is part of a global education network. Thousands of Nigerians travel annually to receive education

in other parts of the world. Technology's impact on education is universal; we have opportunities to learn from success and borrow ideas from far and wide. Indeed, our educational planners must examine other places to develop the skills, contacts, and experience necessary to improve the Nigerian situation. There are many educators with rich experiences, but the political system does not always allow them to be taken seriously. There are also many ideas for educational reform, but they can be hampered by limited resources.

Education, a good education, for that matter, is often considered to be the backbone of any society and the driving force behind every innovation, invention, or idea. Access to education and schooling is one of the biggest determinants of economic and social development. Many autonomous countries hold this view, which is why so many of them invest heavily in education programs and initiatives. If you imagine a world that does not emphasize education, you find a world without people exchanging, challenging, and refining the ideas and methods that allow humanity to move forward.

Education is characterized by the levels at which students are taught. Primary education is typically considered the first step in the process, where students learn basic reading, writing, and mathematical skills. It also provides a space for children to understand basic socialization. Secondary education typically consists of compulsory formal education's later years, known as "high school" in many parts of the world. There is a shift away from basic reading, writing, and math skills, replaced by an emphasis on specific subjects. Many schools offer biology, chemistry, and physics courses, as well as regional and world history courses to deepen students' understanding of these subjects. Tertiary education institutions, otherwise known as universities, colleges, and other higher learning institutions, are the next step after compulsory levels of education. If secondary schools focus on specialization, tertiary schools do that and more. They allow students to take courses in a plethora of subjects specific to their skill sets, fields, and areas of study. These schools also provide career-oriented resources and programs.

Education is built on values such as progress, innovation, critical thinking skills, and development. These principles are instilled in students, individually or collectively, and reinforced throughout primary, secondary, and tertiary schooling. Education is the cornerstone of a society's structure, and different forms of tertiary education are examined here for their importance domestically and internationally, the values these institutions embody, and the ways that these institutions, and education as a whole, heavily impact our world and its people.

Forms of Tertiary Education

Tertiary education can take various forms. The World Bank describes it as any post-secondary education, such as private and public universities, colleges, technical training institutes, and vocational schools (World Bank 2017). Four-year universities, whether private or public, are the most traditional

form of tertiary education. As of 2017, the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) reported around 20.4 million students were expected to enroll in American universities and colleges, an increase of 5.1 million students since the fall of 2000 (2018). Some of the highest levels of post-secondary education enrollment are found in North America, Europe, and Central Asia (Roser and Ortiz-Ospina 2019). These regions also experienced the largest increases in tertiary education enrollment over time.

In the United States, two-year colleges or junior colleges are another aspect of tertiary education: these institutions are characterized by their affordability and accessibility. They allow people to take a non-traditional approach to education, offering an associate degree or a certificate of completion, or the pathway to earning a bachelor's degree at a 4-year university. The low cost of community college enrollment allows people from lower socioeconomic backgrounds to pay for college without sinking further into financial uncertainty or instability.

Technical training institutes and vocational schools go a long way to provide similar resources and instruction for their students. However, they have some minor differences. Both types of institutions are highly focused and specific to one particular field of study, but technical schools teach the science behind an occupation, rather than the job itself. Vocational schools take a more hands-on approach, instructing students in the practical application skills needed for specific jobs (US Department of Education 2017). These schools offer courses that are directly related to future employment in occupations that require qualifications other than a first degree or even master's and doctorate (Levesque et al. 1995). An example of a technical school in the United States is St. Paul's School of Nursing, where students study the technicalities and functions of medical equipment related to nursing or dental assistance care in depth. Vocational schools, such as art institutes, aid students in strengthening and eventually mastering various skills needed for specific career paths.

Technical and vocational schools are affordable and accessible for students that may not have the option of a 4-year university education. Specialized courses offer direct applications for their future occupations, which the broad and general prerequisites of colleges and universities can sometimes omit; students are not required to enroll in or pay for classes that are unrelated to their future jobs.

Tertiary Education Globally

In the United States, undergraduate college enrollment has fallen for the sixth year in a row. According to Jason DeWitt, a manager at the Clearinghouse Research Center for education, this was attributed to a steadily growing job market (Nadworny 2018). But this diverges from the global trend, which is characterized by different factors.

One interesting country to look at is Nigeria. It has a complex history of international and domestic actors imposing their agendas; since the days of British colonial forces and domestic military rule, Nigeria and its people have experienced massive policy changes. Despite this, the country's higher education system is the largest in Sub Saharan Africa (Saint and Hartnett 2004), with about 48 state universities, 42 federal universities, 75 private universities, and eight Distance Learning Centers, enrolling close to a million students combined.[1] However, this statistic can be misleading.

University enrollment in Nigeria is at a dismal 4% of those aged 18–24, while countries such as Brazil and Indonesia have much higher enrollment rates (World Bank 2000). Technical and vocational education in Nigeria can be overlooked in favor of university education, but this path does not fit every individual's needs. Poverty in the country based on national poverty guidelines at 46% and international guidelines at 53.5% means that a high percentage of the population live below the poverty line (World Bank Group 2018).[2] Inadequate funding for non-university education means that citizens are denied the ability to hone or make use of skills outside the realm of academia.

An underfunded, corrupt, or inadequate tertiary education sector can lead to the issue of "brain drain." The term refers to trained professionals, such as professors, engineers, doctors, and scientists, leaving a country to pursue better opportunities in other places, which can create a domino effect. The government fails to invest in university enrollment initiatives or technical and vocational training, which creates conditions that drive higher numbers of trained professionals to leave the country. When these productive workers cannot find opportunities in their homeland, they cannot contribute to their society. The country ends up missing out on critical economic and infrastructural development.

South Africa is another country whose tertiary education sector is deeply affected by its history. The country has 26 public universities, some of which are the best on the continent. However, deep racial and socioeconomic disparities within the education system date back to apartheid-era policies that ultimately affect who can access tertiary education. South Africa has some of the highest rates of education inequality in the world. For example, *The Economist* reported that only 1 out of 200 Black students on average attain the marks needed to study engineering in university. In contrast, ten out of 200 white students receive the same outcome (2017). This illustrates the long-standing, highly racialized roots of education in South Africa. Black students are intentionally placed in underfunded, under-resourced schools that only allow them to fill low-level, manual labor occupations. Primary and secondary schooling inequality deeply affects students as they progress to tertiary schooling; it follows them throughout.

In December 2017, South Africa's former President, Jacob Zuma, proposed a free education bill that would waive higher education tuition and fees for students whose families earned less than R350,000 or $26,605 USD, annually (Muller 2018). This bill became controversial, mainly because it

increased taxes for the general population, at an estimated R12.4 billion in 2018, R20.3 billion in 2019, and R24.3 billion in 2020 (Tshwane 2018).

Free higher education and technical training for any portion of the population comes with a cost; many have raised concerns about how it would affect other government departments. Critics argue that the initiative does not get at the root of the issue and that increased education expenditure does not reduce social and economic inequality. They assert that South Africa's most marginalized do not make it to tertiary education, falling victim to generational inequality, discrimination, and poverty. Ghana's current government provides free education at the secondary school level, which the opposition claims are politically motivated.

In Ethiopia, higher education initiatives arose in a context of dire social and economic needs. About 80% of its workforce is engaged in the primary sector (Saint 2004). When the majority of the population works at subsistence farming, it is difficult to diversify the economy and jump-start an economic transformation. Improved access to higher education does not necessarily mean reducing the agricultural sector, but it does mean strengthening business, health, and environmental practices to bolster development.

The Ethiopian government introduced an Education Sector Development Programme that increased education funding from 3.2 to 4.5% of its GDP, higher than that of Sub Saharan Africa's 3.9% (ibid.). The country has a growing potential to become an information and communications technology hub in the region. For Ethiopia's technology and communications sector to flourish, it needs educated, skilled workers. Its government is taking active steps to address this through its education initiatives. This influx of government funding for tertiary education is helping to diversify and strengthen the curriculum, along with international financing for tech infrastructure, allowing graduates to attain jobs in a vast range of occupations in a booming market. This could combat brain drain, retaining trained professionals, professors, computer scientists, and others.

When education is accessible to the masses, it is transformative for personal development and for society's development as a whole. Schooling, whether it is primary, secondary, tertiary, or beyond, opens the door to many possibilities. This holds true for all people, but it is especially true for society's most marginalized. For example, accessible education for women and young girls will dramatically affect benchmarks for women's rights. Access to primary and secondary schooling increases literacy rates among women, lowers fertility rates, and affords the opportunity for women to become politically and economically engaged.

Educated women emphasize the importance of education in their own households, creating a cycle perpetuated by their children. Educated women also enter the workforce. Women, especially in developing countries, are an untapped resource for economic development. When they are not properly educated, they cannot perform at their highest potential. It is well documented that even the smallest investment in women's education can

increase per capita growth by 0.3% (World Bank 2016). Education's benefits will manifest differently in different groups, but it almost always aids in the advancement of individuals.

Primary and secondary schooling equips students with basic reading, writing, and mathematical skills; but it is the tertiary schools, including technical and vocational schools, where students hone their critical thinking and apply skills to real-life issues. Tertiary education expands horizons in ways that previous schooling cannot, which is why it is so important. It allows individuals to pursue any area of study in expansive depth, enabling them to specialize in that field. Above all, it lets individuals distinguish themselves.

Anyone who goes through compulsory education will be educated in basic history, mathematics, science, reading, and writing. By itself, that is not enough to progress as a society. Tertiary education is a vital component, if not the key component, to advance society on all fronts. Not only is traditional tertiary education important, but a push must be made to recognize the importance of non-traditional institutions, such as trade, technical, and vocational schools. These schools offer alternatives to academia, allowing students to develop in a particular field without unnecessary studies and at a much lower cost.

Education shapes, reshapes, and reforms society in ways that are unparalleled by anything else. It creates, innovates, and keeps us moving as a society toward a better tomorrow. Education is substantial wealth for its recipients. As education is put to good use, it generates wealth for communities and for nations. And nations can reap the rewards of their investments.

Degrees: Uses and Relevance

Education at any level is regarded as a pathway to a better future, or a better life, which entails different things for different people. When it is well-planned and offered effectively, education can end cycles of poverty, abuse, and desolation. As the narrative goes, education holds a certain transformative property, literally altering the course of individual lives. And higher education is the most common pathway to professional careers or occupations in specific fields or areas of study. This higher education, in colleges, universities, and vocational and training schools, functions in a very orchestrated way. The institutions are built as a way for individuals to gain an in-depth understanding or practice within their field.

However, there are many issues regarding education across the globe. Salaries for teachers and educators are low, forcing many teachers to take second jobs while paying for their own classroom teaching supplies. Despite the low pay for this profession, there is no shortage of individuals willing and ready to become teachers for a new generation. People find it rewarding, which is an aspect worthy of examination. To figure out what people can do after obtaining degrees, we must examine how institutions of higher education typically operate, as well as the role they play in a student's life.

The Performance of University Degrees

Universities and colleges offer many different degrees. Some of the most commonly sought are associate and bachelor's degrees for undergraduate students and master's and doctorate (PhD) degrees for postgraduate students. In the US system, associate degrees require "completion of an organized program of study of at least 2 years" (US Department of Education 2008). They are essentially the first part of a bachelor's degree. African countries need to borrow this model; it produces skilled employees within two years of high school.

Bachelor's degrees are probably the most common form of university degree. Bloomberg News reported in 2012 that 6.7% of the world's population possessed bachelor's degrees as of 2010. Of course, this is slightly misleading because it includes children in the world's population, who are outside of the target demographic, and those in the process of attaining a bachelor's degree (Flinn 2012). While 6.7% is low, that may be an explanation as to why. These degrees can aid individuals, but only to an extent. The two years required for an associate degree develops an individual's skills in advanced reading, writing, and mathematics. The first year is dedicated to general education requirements, and the second year focuses on a specific discipline. Most individuals enroll in higher education institutions to create or find well-paying careers for themselves; some college education is usually required to apply for higher-paying jobs. These degrees are more affordable, less time-consuming, and they at least get an applicant's foot in the door. It is an economically sound decision for many.

A bachelor's degree differs slightly from an associate degree. It takes about four years to attain, offers a larger selection of possible concentrations, allows individuals to study topics more comprehensively, and it is more expensive. The first two years of obtaining a bachelor's degree are spent sharpening the student's general skills. After that, a student chooses a major or concentration for their sole focus.

This is a very American model. Universities such as Oxford and Cambridge offer undergraduate degrees or "courses" that take only three years to complete, especially for social sciences. Some science courses offer an additional, research-heavy fourth year, which allows students to earn their master's degree in that field (University of Oxford 2016). This is unheard of in the American model of higher education, but the American model is self-contained. Globally, the British model is more common.

Postgraduate degrees, like master's and doctorate degrees, require a lot of time and extensive research. A master's degree takes about two years to complete, and doctorate degrees take anywhere from five to seven years to complete (Education Dynamics, LLC 2018). Master's degrees are commonly pursued by people who want to research or further specialize in specific fields. For example, a student with a bachelor's degree in international relations can obtain a master's degree in international policy or international business. A bachelor's degree in biology can lead to a master's degree in stem cell

biology and regenerative medicine. Master's degrees allow people to delve into fields of study, developing skills in specific areas. Doctorate degrees take a bit more time to obtain, requiring a substantial amount of original research that is incredibly challenging, which contributes to the field as a whole. The work that is required of a PhD candidate sets the individual apart from the crowd; it establishes that one has mastered a subject as a producer of knowledge in that field.

Regardless of an individual's path, whether it be a two-year associate degree or a seven-year PhD program, they have many different ways to make their degrees work for them. Although the subject that you studied in college would previously lead to a full-blown occupation or career, recent years have seen a shift in that trajectory. Many graduates go on to work in fields that have little or nothing to do with their degrees; this happens for many different reasons.

Underemployment and career change are two contributing factors. Workers that are placed in positions well below their qualifications are left underutilized and under-stimulated, also called underemployment. It would be like a person holding a bachelor's degree in electrical engineering while working as a sales associate at a small electronics store (Garcia-Navarro 2018). Competitive job markets make it increasingly difficult for recent graduates to find employment. Alternatively, some people pursue occupations outside of their studies due to a change in interests, or financial concerns, or other reasons. There is no real way to find out where a graduate will be five or ten years into their career; interests and priorities change over time.

Self-employment is another option after obtaining a degree. Individuals have the freedom to choose exactly how much they want to work, and in what fashion. Essentially, they become their own managers. This is quite common in the field of journalism, where freelance writers can exercise a vast amount of autonomy over their own work. They do not receive a fixed salary, but they can write about many different subjects without being confined to a single newspaper, firm, or magazine. Becoming a webmaster, essentially a Web site creator and curator, is another field where self-employment is common, along with design and illustration (Casserly 2013). These jobs offer scheduling flexibility and direct cash flows without intermediaries taking a portion of their pay.

However, self-employment can manifest in different ways. In developing countries, or countries with a robust agricultural sector, it can mean "agricultural self-employment" or farmers working for themselves (McCarthy 2018). Most developing nations have large agricultural sectors, so their rates of self-employment are quite high. In Sub Saharan Africa alone, four out of five recent college graduates choose, or were forced into, self-employment. When asked why, autonomy was a recurring answer (Manishimwe 2017). This is also the case in Uganda, which was recently named one of the most entrepreneurial countries, especially among countries of the Global South, with 28.1% of its population owning or co-owning some sort of business (Brinded 2015).

Graduate degrees help individuals build stable careers. It has become increasingly difficult to attain a job with a bachelor's degree alone. When an individual obtains a master's or doctorate degree, it differentiates them from the herd, and it prompts employers to examine their skills more thoroughly.

While underemployment and career changes are common occurrences; still many people do find work within their respective fields. Mechanical and civil engineers work at infrastructure or construction firms, business and marketing majors attain jobs at prestigious companies, journalists can write for newspapers and magazines, and political science and public policy majors can enter government or work at law firms.

Although obtaining a degree is seen as the standard method of building a career, many entrepreneurs and innovators did not begin or complete university education. According to Wealth-X, a research firm, 30% of billionaires do not have a bachelor's degree, and only 22% of them have a master's degree (Elkins 2016). Bill Gates and Mark Zuckerberg both withdrew from Harvard University to build their own business empires. The path to success can be paved with post-secondary education and degrees, but not always. What individuals can do after earning their associate, bachelor's, master's, or doctorate degrees depends on their preferences, where they see themselves in 10 years, and what opportunities are available to them in the current job market. However, the possibilities for postgraduate lives and careers are essentially limitless.

The Implications of Sharing Knowledge Within a Community

One of education's most transformative aspects is how it flows easily between individuals. This shares wealth. Knowledge is a gift that continues to give; this drives educators and instructors at all levels. Passing on your knowledge to eager, bright students special and noble. Teachers, especially in primary and secondary schools, are responsible for educating youth and equipping them with a love of knowledge, engaging their curiosity about the world, and preparing them for the next level of education. University professors face a similar challenge. They instruct passionate, determined young adults, deepening their knowledge of a specific field and preparing them to actively participate in it.

In the case of Nigeria, there are many teacher education colleges. Among them is Adeyemi College of Education that regularly matriculates some of the best teachers ever produced in every field, especially in the decades of the sixties, seventies, and eighties. It continues to play an essential role today in educating educators whose skill benefits present and future generations. Adeyemi is one example of the nation's many excellent teacher education colleges who invest in the development of master's teachers of mathematics, sciences, art subjects, languages arts, and social sciences. How sad it was, and still is, that these teachers never receive the commendations and compensation that they deserve!

The incomes of teachers depend on the wealth of their countries and the value they place on teaching as a career. In Luxembourg, a teacher in high school can expect to be paid $79,000 with no prior experience. An experienced veteran could expect something more like $137,000 (Garfield and Gal 2018). In South Africa, teachers with about three years of experience make about R155,298 equal to approximately $11,600 USD (Mtshali 2017). When paired with high costs of living, underpaid educators have a difficult time meeting their basic needs. Being a teacher can be physically, mentally, and emotionally taxing; it requires a lot of time and effort while offering very little money. This is especially true for primary and secondary educators. So, what keeps teachers in their profession? What motivates them?

In addition to the intrinsic rewards of sharing knowledge, teachers see themselves in their students. They struggle in the same areas that their students stumble over, encouraging them to be the influence that *they* needed as students. The desire to go into the field of education is something that many future educators recognize early on. They recognize a problem in their own schooling and wish to rectify it; whether they experienced a lack of resources, inadequate teachers, or some other form of inequality as students. They want to address it for future generations.

This goes into the next point: people have the capacity to give back to their communities in the form of education. Not everyone should go into education, especially if they have no interest or training in that field. But it could be incredibly beneficial if recent bachelor's, master's, or doctorate candidates were able to teach in their own communities. It could be a short seminar, workshop, or crash course. It does not have to be a formal classroom setting. This is especially beneficial for marginalized, lower-income communities and in keeping with much of Africa's indigenous education in giving back to the community and providing embedded community learning opportunities outside of the school walls.

Teaching would allow individuals to broaden their horizons, applying what they have learned to their own lives, businesses, or studies. One example in this vein could be recent graduates of an international business programs in Africa and the Diaspora who return to their rural communities in Brazil, Namibia, or Kenya, for instance where they could host workshops discussing business practices to help local farmers break into the global market and earn greater profits. This is in keeping with African apprentice education systems, where those with special training then mentor the next generation in their knowledge or skills. The spread and sharing of knowledge can only bring positive development for individuals and communities that might not otherwise have opportunities to attain a higher-level education.

Higher education does not promise anyone anything; it is how a person applies their education and their degree(s) that determines their trajectory in life. However, educating is a noble, important job, and there is a case to be made for using what you have learned in university and dispersing that knowledge to your home community through teaching. It is difficult to put

into words the significance of instilling values in young people that will stick with them for the rest of their lives. Education in Africa, regardless of the level, has been and will continue to be one of the most important driving forces behind society's innovation and modernization. There is no stopping that. So why should we put a barricade around knowledge? It should be shared and made accessible to all regardless of ethnicity, religion, race, gender, or creed.

The New Frontier: The Growing Impact of Technology

In Africa today, the acquisition and expansion of educational wealth now depend on technology. All aspects of twenty-first-century life appear to be designed and facilitated by pressing buttons and tapping screens. Many phenomenal acts, such as international video chats and online shopping, have become mundane through today's technology. However, engineers and developers are continually integrating new technology into different environments and in different capacities. It is the standard to incorporate technology in settings such as school and the office, but this evolution and adaptation of technology have consequences for many students. Education systems must prepare to address them.

Technology's consistent expansion and growth are extremely visible within society. Innovations meet changing needs and expectations as systems continue to build on previous inventions, from the electric car to data-driven home security systems. New forms of technology have altered the roles of individuals and changed their quality of life. They have also highlighted the widening gap between those who possess these creations and those unable to access them. Technology, especially the Internet, has created many complexities for the global economy (Sheng et al. 2018). It has generated alternate means of commerce and access to mass markets that were unthinkable before the globalization of the Web. Government regulation of these economic pursuits and technological industries has generated many policy debates regarding the government's role in maintaining public access to resources.

Culturally, the introduction of new technology, particularly social media and other sources of information, has added to individual awareness while creating trends and aspects across a global culture. Comprehensively, this is best seen in the way students use technology, both inside and outside of the classroom. Students are trained in schools to use computers and tablets or laptops for skills that are useful in the workplace as participants in a global economy. Meanwhile, students also use phones and personal devices for political discussions and cultural exchanges outside the classroom. These interactions assist students by exposing them to new ways and types of thinking, but they also help students identify themselves within society and within their country as citizens. By introducing devices and programs at an earlier age, students see optimistic outcomes for technologies used in possible career fields, such as public health, medicine, or law. However, the continued proliferation of these tools is also bringing unintended consequences.

School systems and curricula have incorporated the use of devices, by students and teachers, into their education goals. Classrooms have updated their methods to include projectors, interactive display boards, computers, and other devices to assist in communicating information. Technology is omnipresent within learning at higher education levels: students are expected to be accountable for their own learning, and instructors are tasked with communicating to massive numbers of students. Information is presented to students via computer software and programs. Digital presentations in lectures assist professors managing larger classes, and they avoid incongruencies between presentations inside and outside of the classroom (Del et al. 2009).

On the one hand, studies have found that digital formats can impact an individual's processing of images and texts, making media presentations more difficult to follow for many students. On the other hand, students have also displayed increased attention to subjects such as physics when demonstrations are carried out through media platforms, such as videos and personalized recordings of lectures (Del et al. 2009). From this research, kinesthetic principles and actions appear to be relayed more easily through active presentation formats, and many students may have difficulty exploring text and discussion-based topics with simpler presentation formats.

Students are receiving information in lectures, and they are also interacting with technology when they record, process, and encode the information they will use later. Most students in higher education use some form of technological device; a study has shown that 99% of college freshmen in the United States own or have brought a laptop to use at their institution. For many students, laptops make a concrete transition from passively listening in lectures to actively engaging with material outside of the classroom. Note-taking on laptops can help some students, and the increased use of online answering programs and guides has been successful at helping students understand the material presented (Sana et al. 2013).

However, laptops and other devices also offer distractions. For example, students taking digital notes often transcribe lectures verbatim, but encoding the information in their own words usually allows for deeper processing and memory retention (Mueller and Oppenheimer 2014). Students using their devices to take notes may also be tempted to access other Web pages, view videos, or focus on other tasks besides the lecture. Instructors face challenges retaining the interest of their students when Web sites like YouTube and Amazon are readily available.

Popular opinion has concluded that laptop use hinders student comprehension; this is supported by experiments conducted by a Canadian institution (Sana et al. 2013). Researchers found that students using laptops for multitasking behaviors, such as, listening to lectures, typing notes, and completing online tasks; took notes of inferior quality. The experiments also showed that the technology distracted nearby individuals who were not using devices themselves. Concern over dwindling attention spans and increased multitasking have led many professors to ban all forms of technology from their classes, from smartwatches to full laptops.

These changes, usually made at the discretion of professors, often generated unpopular opinions among students (Korn 2018). Many complained about the extensiveness of handwritten notes, their inability to keep up with their professors' presentations, and the memory loss that accompanies shorthand note-taking. Students and instructors continue to face the challenge of creating experiences that engage students with the material while removing external distractions. Personal devices are not just restricted to notes and essay typing at institutions of higher learning. Many students and staff use social media to connect with people and events outside of campus. Social media's expansion, across platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Snapchat, and Instagram, has allowed students not only to remain connected with each other but also to interact with assignments, research, and staff. More than 40% of US instructors have successfully adapted to social media trends by incorporating new platforms into their curriculum through class chats, class profiles, and calendars (Rowan-Kenyon et al. 2016).

New practices develop discussions among students about the course and the material. Students learn from each other's conclusions and collaborate with their own resources. Many professors use features of these applications to assign social media-based assignments directly; students may upload images or create messages appropriate for the class. Students can also access multiple news sources and other sites, engaging in relevant research that can be shared with instructors and other students through social media. Social media offers personal interaction for students and instructors, without the need for face-to-face communication or the obligatory delay of email responses.

Although applications enhance student communication with peers, engaging with social media can become a distraction during lectures and discussions. Instructors are seeing attention diverted to online platforms rather than classroom purposes, and students suffer from increased attention deficits. Instructors are also seeing students participate in academically dishonest practices by copying and pasting information through social media applications. Social media applications have raised privacy concerns and intellectual property issues over the ownership of student work and instructor content. These actions and practices have left institutions with many unanswered questions about the appropriate role for social media.

Outside of the classroom, students and staff are now engaging with their schools online through social media responses and images. The ease of contact through social media applications has smoothed the transition of students entering institutes of higher learning. Social media interaction between students and their institutions was also linked to increased student engagement, participation, and a sense of belonging at places of higher learning (ibid.). These programs offer information about events and services at the school, and they can connect individuals who share interests and attitudes.

Rowan-Kenyon et al. (2016) reported in summary of interpersonal impacts on students, social media applications have become sources of social capital

for students, and they also become part of the way that students form their identity. Social media allowed students to branch out beyond close friends and family, learning about new events and opportunities to engage in activist initiatives; so they are forming increasingly diverse social networks that offer insights into new trends, behaviors, attitudes, and in some cases, employment. Individuals can gain a new understanding of various ideologies, as well as political and social attitudes, that can transfer to their offline personality.

Online trends and Internet culture can also create frictions. Alternate online personalities may be beneficial for some students, encouraging personal thought and expression, but other students may use them for negative purposes. Social media apps can enable bullying and discrimination that cause harm offline. Other issues include violations of privacy and harassment; current policies struggle to deal with unexpected applications of existing laws or new activity that is not addressed in the present guidelines. Online anonymity has made these challenges more complex; forcing institutions that use these platforms to develop methods to deal with the negative side effects that accompany the global culture of social media.

Social media's increased integration within the college framework of the West provides many benefits and challenges. Social media is a global endeavor, but it has impacted various regions' traditions and attitudes in different capacities. In the West, it has exposed individuals to various cultures and ideas, and this is mirrored in other societies exchanging traditions and practices via the Internet. However, regions like the African continent face trials that are not common in Western societies. South Africa is one example that represents problems common to most African nations, where the incorporation of social media and other programs into education has faced problems. Schools must address the practical issues found within any institution utilizing technology, such as knowledge, exposure, connectivity, and power failures (Kriek 2011). However, funding and maintaining resources pose additional challenges to populations in these areas.

Another example similar to South Africa's is Southern Nigeria, where they encountered the West's struggles with over-indulgence, privacy issues, and censorship of expression. Students in these areas understand the need for teaching practices that involve broader technological instruments and interpersonal devices and programs like social media. Institutions in these areas are continually challenged to provide complete education, in all aspects, to adhere to standards set by the West. Researchers have suggested possible restructuring tactics for institutions looking to center their lessons around the influence and importance of technical knowledge (Fasae and Adegbilero-Iwari 2016), showing respect for the subject material while emphasizing the importance of major investments in connectivity and Internet access throughout the country (Kriek 2011).

Many corporations, institutions, and committees have spent decades focused on investment to provide technological resources for Africa. Artists, authors, philanthropists, and other esteemed individuals from African

countries have reaped many benefits from Africa's relatively recent techno-logical acquisitions. These efforts have drawn a new interest in the cultures of African countries, inviting others to understand them, yet many on the African continent struggle to identify themselves within the global preoccu-pation with personal technological devices. Implementing this knowledge and developing national abilities for self-sustainability have become visions for current and future generations of individuals.

The increase in mobile phone availability and usage, that is projected to increase the most on the African continent, has made social media and news sites an important reality for many citizens. They can ascertain the true sta-tus and practices of local and national governments. Democratic procedures have increased across the continent, but government monopolization and control of media outlets have become a reality. Many bouts of activism and civic change were and are inspired by growing acceptance of social media in the twenty-first century. Governments in Zimbabwe and Mozambique were exposed and overthrown, and the events of the "Arab Spring" were enabled and inspired by social media platforms (Gumede 2016).

Election processes and candidate information in locations such as Uganda and Sierra Leone have allowed individuals to become aware of voting oppor-tunities, policy projections, and national changes (ibid.). Government efforts to delay and disrupt this type of activism have driven efforts to shut down many platforms and Web sites critical of administrative regimes. How has this changed the dynamics of internal strife and the challenges of resource dispersion? Despite its benefits and successes, social media seems arbitrary and inconstant in the face of mass political, economic, and social inequality. Internal investment in Internet quality and connectivity, along with external developments and assistance with resource allocation, will be the most profit-able for the African people.

Developing and using technology within an educational context allows for increased communication and easier access for all users. Technology, including social media, plays a vital role in the formation of many personal-ity aspects and identities for students outside of their existing cultural con-texts. Despite its obvious commitment to improving the quality of life for all individuals, technology also brings negative consequences and highlights the incongruencies that many people face within modern society.

Trending Initiatives: Women in Higher Education and STEAM Fields

The new area of strong focus should be the promotion of women's edu-cation in Science, Technology, Engineering, the Arts, and Mathematics (STEAM) fields. Originally designated as Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics; the recognition of design innovation, esthetic and func-tional, led to the inclusion of the Arts or STEAM (Harris and de Bruin 2018;

Jeong and Kim 2015).[3] Restricted access to higher education plagues the socioeconomic status and harms the livelihoods of women around the world. Education affords greater opportunities for women in their professional and personal lives; it can transform their families and communities as well.

Educating women is a form of investment. In a dense country like Nigeria, 62% of the population is under 24 years old, and about 50% of the population are women. More countries, especially African countries, should see these numbers as reasons to mobilize the talent and intellectual creativity of women. Investment in human capital, or the knowledge, experience, and skill set of a person, is one of the few ways that countries can excel in social, political, and economic matters (Ross 2015). Women are overlooked as a form of human capital globally, leaving a large portion of the population uneducated and untrained. This prevents nations from reaching their full potential.

It is not enough for more women to enroll in higher education institutions. All underrepresented minorities in the education system should be encouraged to enter the STEAM fields. They should be supported throughout their journey. Beyond that, women need to be actively recruited for faculty positions in universities, diversifying the perspectives and methodologies offered in the classroom and on campus. Women should be able to take an active role as educators in these institutions, not only because their input is priceless and valuable, but also because it allows women and young girls to see female professors represented as a viable, inspiring future for themselves.

It is necessary to address what Africa's relationship with women and education, especially STEAM education, and female faculty recruitment could mean for universities across the continent. It is important for women to be visible and represented in tertiary education institutions, as faculty members and as students. It is important for Africa, a continent on the brink.

Broader, more general issues affecting female enrollment in higher education institutions must be examined; solutions are necessary to answer more specific questions, such as how to increase the number of women as students and teachers in STEAM fields. These issues include inadequate primary and secondary schooling for young girls, cultural and social values barring women and young girls from formal education, and inadequate professional and academic role models that these young women can look to for guidance (Bunyi 2003).

Women find themselves at a disadvantage before they officially begin their schooling. Socio-cultural values influence women's roles and status in society in ways that shape their lives. Women are expected to be homemakers, and they are raised as such; they are expected to rear children, cook, clean, and take care of anything in the "private sphere."[4] Because the role of women is primarily within the home, these domestic chains prevent them from finding a home within academia, at any level. Traditional societies do not prioritize the formal education of women and young girls. Instead, they are encouraged to stay within the local community and fill roles as housewives.

Of course, other factors are at play here as well. Public schooling in many African countries is not necessarily free, or even affordable, with fees accumulating for uniforms and textbook costs (Dugger 2004). According to mathematics instructor Nkechi Agwu Borough from Manhattan Community College, many parents must choose which child they can afford to send to school; it will almost always be the son (Wong 2015).

When primary and secondary education is not a distinct objective for young women, enrollment is low among female students, dropout rates are high, and overall academic performance is poor. This marks them as "unqualified" university candidates (Bunyi 2003). In fact, the Clinton Foundation (2019) reports that the percentage of girls who graduate from primary school is lower across the board in African countries than in any other region in the world.[5] This is of interest because primary school is the fundamental building block of an individual's life. Without its successful completion, many girls have no chance of pursuing a career outside of the home. That option is not even available to them.

Women must overcome a variety of barriers before even thinking about entering a tertiary education institution. These issues persist for women who aspire to be university professors. After overcoming unfavorable academic situations, aspiring female professors face more targeted forms of discrimination, harassment, and sexism ranging from being belittled and discredited in their area of expertise to being intimidated and even sexually harassed. Despite this, women go on to attain doctorate degrees and become professors in prestigious universities. There is not nearly enough gender diversity in these spaces, nor is there a substantial support system for these professors.

Women should be equal leaders in STEAM. We can effectively promote that as an idea for our time, if we address and understand why STEAM education is a critical investment. Almost every aspect of our society is affected by our ability to create effective, innovative solutions to problems through technology. This innovation creates new products and services that can stimulate a nation's economy in different ways (Eberle 2010). It can foster economic growth domestically and attract foreign investment, creating mutually beneficial partnerships between nations. STEAM education is not just coding or scientists in labs examining vials of substances. These fields are the basis for many present-day processes and systems that we need to be high-functioning societies. These activities range from food production, manufacturing, waste management to healthcare services (Barone 2018). These mechanisms keep our societies from collapsing and they sustain our everyday lives.

Investing in STEAM education would allow Sub Saharan Africa, a region riddled with poor infrastructure and public services, to improve and stabilize existing systems. This could mean better technology and healthcare services, more efficient transportation systems, increased human capital in the region, and a booming IT sector. Investing in STEAM education could usher in a new era of African innovation, ingenuity, and development. Women represent a little over half the population of Africa, but only about 30% of professionals

in STEAM fields in Sub Saharan Africa (Sichangi 2017; Ngumbi 2018). They are an underutilized resource, which puts many countries at a global disadvantage.

How Can We Increase Their Numbers in STEAM?

How should African countries invest in women as an under-developed resource? And more importantly, why? Enrollment and graduation rates for women in STEAM fields are very low in many African countries. In Swaziland, only about 7% of engineering and technology graduates are women (Okeke et al. 2017). The first step to encourage more women to pursue STEAM careers is eliminating gender stereotypes that create barriers for them. This requires a shift in socio-cultural values within communities, allowing women to pursue endeavors beyond the private sphere. It is something that African nations should strive toward. Instructors should dismantle these detrimental gender stereotypes and harmful traditional gender roles in their classrooms, empowering young female students to pursue STEAM careers. Instead of dissuading girls from joining fields where they are underrepresented, educators should foster interest and offer support and resources in the classroom.

Conducting effective research on gender parity in STEAM education is essential, that is exemplified by Abidogun's four-step process to meet this goal that identifies the cultural and accessibility factors that impact female access and retention in STEAM education. It looks at ways to incorporate female produced Indigenous Knowledge into STEAM curriculum to increase student interest and at the same time synthesizing African and Western knowledge bases. From this process, education experts may review the research and make curriculum and methods recommendations to improve gender parity (2018, 193–194). Approaching STEAM education from different perspectives may encourage girls to engage with it. Applying technology to real-life, relatable situations could enhance students' understanding and interest in the subjects. This method was implemented in Kenya in 2016; many female students responded positively to this new teaching pedagogy (Sichangi 2017). If a student is interested in architecture or art, then mathematics and physics can be taught in a way that incorporates those interests. If a student is interested in social media or Web design, then coding could be implemented in a way that pulls from their interests as well. Tailoring STEAM education to a student's passion or hobbies is a great way to increase the number of women in STEAM, because they discover solutions to issues and questions they care about.

African women scientists are often overlooked along with their contributions to their fields; they do not receive global recognition and support for their research. Underrepresentation of African women in STEAM subjects erases their accomplishments. It makes them invisible to the younger generations that need to see these women as role models. Through review

and incorporation of more female role models within STEAM textbooks and instructional media coupled with active recruitment of African Women in STEAM, female students will increase their participation in STEAM (Abidogun 2018). Other high-profile initiatives like *Levers in Heels* (2019) work to remedy the erasure of women scientists. Its Web site acts as a digital platform highlighting African women in STEAM. It offers a database of women from all over the continent, discussing their groundbreaking research and how it has alleviated issues such as food insecurity, gendered wealth inequality, and underrepresentation in technology fields. The visibility that African women attain through Web sites like these allows them to showcase their work; they can educate, and ultimately inspire young women who hope to go into STEAM fields.[6]

Such highly placed women can offer mentorship or research opportunities for women interested in their line of work, ultimately helping them to break the "glass ceiling" in their professional careers (Otieno 2018). Overlooking women in STEAM fields robs us of their perspectives, knowledge, and skills in ways that inhibit societal growth. An environment that encourages young girls and women to pursue STEAM careers can be one method of increasing the involvement and the number of women in these fields. It means coding and computer science courses for secondary school girls, along with biology classrooms where female university students feel confident and comfortable enough to speak up. It is about increased representation by broadcasting the African women scientists' accomplishments and contributions which serves to increase the number of women in STEAM fields through allowing those interested in STEAM subjects to see someone who looks like them excelling in their area of interest.

How Can We Recruit More Women Faculty?

Considering the obstacles women must face and overcome in the workplace, what is the best method of retaining female faculty members? How can universities ensure that women faculty feel safe, heard, and empowered in their classrooms? There are a few ways to recruit and retain women in STEAM fields at universities: their employment should be aligned with their skills and expertise; they should be compensated fairly and equally with their male counterparts; and they should be financially and morally supported by the institutions that employ them.

Female STEAM lecturers should be able to choose their own field of specialization, allowing them to be at the forefront of cutting-edge research and innovation. Denying these opportunities for women results in underemployment and ultimately a departure from the university system to search for better opportunities. Female professors should not be paid less than their male counterparts. This kind of discrimination which is often unofficially but commonly practiced across many universities in Africa and the West, discourages women from becoming educators as they know that their work is being undervalued.

Finally, a culture of inclusion that recognizes and treats female faculty members as beneficial, valued members of the team by supporting and highlighting their research. This can take the many forms of institutional support, such as financial research stipends, institutions showcasing the work of outstanding female faculty members, support of publishing process in scientific articles and journals, and hosting conferences in STEAM with a focus on gender equity.

Why Is It Important for Women to Be Part of Higher Education in Africa?

Women are such a significant aspect of society, especially in Sub Saharan Africa, that it does not make sense to deny them the opportunity to engage with science, technology, engineering, the arts and mathematics in whatever capacity they wish. African women comprise a significant percentage of the total population, and it is a waste not to harness the intellectual prowess of future inventors, scientists, and mathematicians. These women could hold the solution to regional, continental, or global matters.

Women in academia, especially in STEAM areas, need to be more visible to the public. Their presence can invite and encourage young women and girls to follow in their footsteps, creating new ladders into STEAM. The insight, knowledge, and expertise that women in STEAM can offer in their respective fields are invaluable and undeniable. The future of Africa is also their future. These women and young girls have the potential to change a continent's trajectory and make their mark on the world; it would be an enormous injustice if we did not allow them to develop to their fullest as empowered women, decorated academics, and accomplished scientists, engineers, and doctors.

The Future of Higher Education

The right to education has long been presented as a privilege, from restrictions on private tutors and scholarly work to the global challenges of integration and inclusion for all types of students in the modern education system. And there is the ancient dilemma of the equal distribution of resources to all individuals. Education has retained its status as a foundation for improving individuals and societies. However, the vast array of approaches developed and implemented by nations and governments have highlighted these problems as a central focus in debates about pluralism and quality of life. Implementing equal opportunity for all students remains central to the future of education at all levels.

In many respects, primary education serves as a gateway to secondary education and economic productivity. It also forms a common foundation of communication, behaviors, and attitudes for all individuals. Education systems fill this role with different methods, but systems in the West face similar issues as systems in the East on several accounts. In places like India and Nepal, students face segregation and discrimination based on their religion

and/or caste. Children in Bangladesh and Pakistan also face barriers erected by economic and geographic factors. These countries face challenges enrolling students, based on conflicting attitudes about social behaviors, including gender roles, and they struggle with student retention and political action that contests budgets and resources allocation, along with economic restraints hampering teacher quality, preservation, and training (Ahmed and Govinda 2010). Other nations of the East, such as China, face issues of segregation based on provincial boundaries and politics. However, a study conducted by Li Li and Haoming Liu (2014) found significant improvement for some students through the increased access of public education in rural China. These results suggest an important consideration in the challenge to raise primary education levels, linking availability and access to resources with a positive education outcome for students.

The comparatively recent liberation of African nations, combined with the lasting burden of colonial policies, created a focus on education within African nations as a way to combat external influences and guide future development (Oketch and Rolleston 2007). In this context, primary education became a critical juncture where students obtained the skills for their future and demonstrated the ability to benefit from secondary education. In the region of East Africa, post-independence national leaders crafted government policies to create a more inclusive education system, offering greater educational opportunities for Africans than they had within the colonial system.

Initiatives such as one-time or decreased school fees, the removal of core exams to be replaced by other advancement opportunities, and an emphasis on inclusion for both girls and boys in the primary education sphere lead to tremendous increases in enrollment in Tanzania, Uganda, and Kenya (ibid.). Sub Saharan regions in Africa have also experienced spikes in enrollment within their post-independence societies; increased funding has allowed more individuals to gain access to education (Lesoli et al. 2014). However, despite these efforts, students continue to struggle with the issues of discrimination and resource availability. Universal education, while at the forefront of many African countries, consistently encounters issues with social attitudes and faces the injustice of resources distributed by political entities that have been steered by ambition.

Within the East and the West, education is essential to the growth of communication and commerce for communities and developments. Many students at this level can also use their education to pursue opportunities in higher education, which assists the development of private and public endeavors. The pursuit of secondary education within societies may depend on many factors, including cultural perception, financial stability, and personal interest in higher education. To encourage the option of higher education, students at primary levels are often groomed for the environment and expectations of higher levels. Institutions of higher learning in any country also require students to obtain some sort of foundational learning through primary school. Many also require testing to understand and select students with a higher

standard of learning. However, a student's transition from primary to secondary levels of education includes many sources of stress. Problems create challenges for students who must make critical choices.

James Cole's work, "Concluding Comments About Student Transition to Higher Education" (2017) uses nine studies of global context to draw key patterns in student shifts to higher education. Cole explains the primary gap that students experience between their expectation of higher education and their integration within the social, instructional, and institutional capacities of the institutions they attend. The students' previous mindsets were recorded to inspect their attitudes toward formal education; these factors are often linked to the preparedness that students received from their primary education. Cole surmises that this adjustment buffer highlights a central issue faced at the global level: teacher training and the restructuring of primary education tailored to the standards of higher-level institutions, which can prepare students to coexist within society's larger infrastructures. Secondary education must act as a gateway for students to interact with increasing numbers of individuals, learning individualistic problem solving and the negotiation of bureaucratic structures. Narrowing in on the dynamic of higher education, the contexts of institutions and education also deserve to be examined as academic agendas. Social atmosphere and cultural perspectives impact not only the construction of colleges and universities, but they also impact student development, retention, and success.

Western culture appeals to the diversity of individuals found within national borders. These increasingly specific demographics have varying levels of motivation behind their approach to societal, political, and economic institutions. Higher education is no exception, as seen within the appeals to pluralism encouraged and promoted by colleges and universities through initiatives to include students of all races, genders, income levels, and sexualities on campuses as social attitudes progress (Harper and Quaye 2015).

Forces like women's rights movements, civil rights movements, LGBTQ rights movements, and continuing religious promotion are compelling institutions to constantly change their policies and allow students to express themselves and adapt to their surroundings. Specifically, studies in the United States concluded that student participation and interest in factors inside and outside of the classroom play an essential role in the development and retention of students in higher education (ibid.). While US schools are ushering more students into higher education, the need for greater diversity of students is not completely resolved. As tuition rates and standards have risen in the educational arena while budgets were cut, students of all backgrounds and identifiers have not equally attained success within higher education (Mujic 2015).

US emphasis on higher education is beneficial for innovation and its workforce, but it has also created large amounts of student debt, causing further hardship for students already trying to emerge from low-income status. And it has negative effects on the broader American economy. Youth engagement

in higher education has reduced young adults' participation in common adult rituals such as household formation and family planning, and it has decreased opportunities to purchase vehicles and enter the housing market (ibid.). Although the infrastructure generated in the United States is more inclusive of individuals today than in eras before, it has not allowed for the equal dispersion of resources and opportunities. There is a skewed demographic distribution of students successfully attending and completing higher education degrees and reaping the benefits of these endeavors.

In Asia, education is reinforced as a primary value throughout school-age children who continue onward, entering into higher education. However, many aspects of higher education within this region are different than those in the United States and Europe. The Confucian model of education within Asian countries, such as China, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and Vietnam, features merit-based single examinations to determine placement, and these values steer public investment in education, research, and a nation-state system for funding and execution. Models and systems in these conditions maintain and differentiate their nations' traditional perspective regarding education. The reliance on the nation-state to establish and mediate many of these endeavors allows for the centralization of authority and state governance, and it establishes the government as a focal point for change in the structure and agendas of the education system. Under their current approaches, Singapore, Hong Kong, China, and Japan have attained the level of research and infrastructure maintained by Western Europe, with other nations attempting to complete the same task (Marginson 2011).

However, many universities in Asia continue to face challenges integrating creative endeavors with developing initiatives to forward the humanities and social sciences, contributing to the advancement of civil society (ibid.). One of the ultimate issues of these systems in Asia, including the countries of India and Pakistan, is the dispersion of urban and rural settlements. Many schools have a limited capacity to reach students in rural settings, and families struggle to make necessary financial adjustments, meaning that these states see an unequal distribution of advancements and resources. Asian countries with higher population densities see additional challenges with extremely competitive schools, higher standards for universities, and strains on their ability to provide all students with a comprehensive education.

Higher education's development within the African nation's framework is marked by shifting models of governance and debates over the infrastructure that nations must solidify to bolster self-governing structures. In African countries, education was administered by the state at the primary level and beyond, controlled by external powers until liberation. Many cycles of debate concerning the state's position in maintaining infrastructure, the public's well-being, and the mediation necessary between private and public entities have established that education is prized as the essential resource in developing and sustaining a nation's population.

Previously, many public universities were connected to the state and those holding political office, but many boards, entities, and models have created reforms to allow for more autonomous governance in public endeavors, such as education. All universities within the continent of Africa operate through non-uniform models and means that continue to be re-organized and restructured to suit the students and culture of each location. These practices are adaptive to standards and expectations, but they often face issues of efficacy rather than efficiency. Massive numbers of students take to opportunities while the quality of their education fails to introduce new changes or focus on core learning outcomes (Sall and Oanda 2014).

Student engagement, through both private and public structures, appears to be impaired by a lack of resources for students and university staff, or large-scale means for representing students in their true diversity (ibid.). This interaction is key between students, and dialogue within the classrooms behaves as a tool of inclusion and diversity by promoting education in traditional African languages, rather than European ones. In this sense, language helps students remain engaged with their education while forming interpersonal connections with those around them. Researchers have also found increased collaboration among African students, between institutions within the continent as well as with institutions abroad (Goujon et al. 2017).

These initiatives allow students to guide others through their cultural understanding and thought processes, which can differ due to environment and resource ability. Efforts focused on social science connected to African infrastructure, headed by African students, can guide foreigners through their dissimilar circumstances as part of the African experience. The cultural complexity of the African continent raises many unique issues, which are being addressed by the current generation, considering the future of the continent and applying education as a tool for the African people. African education must be implemented in this fashion, as an instrument to decrease social and economic inequality, rather than to perpetually segregate classes (ibid.).

Higher education that focuses on the relationship between students and innovation can develop skills to improve technology and increase the quality of life for individuals. Higher education also promotes and exposes students to the behaviors, morals, and conduct that allow them to integrate within industries and society; involvement with higher education encourages students to examine interactions between themselves and others while being mindful of those who did not receive equal opportunities. Higher education allows students to take charge of their learning through humanistic actions, encouraging them to understand the conflicts of contemporary global society while inspiring them to find resolutions that better the human condition.

These uses for higher education, along with others, lead nations to invest not only in their institutions but in the youth themselves, to address and correct the challenges of the future. By observing the current attitudes and issues found within the education system of global civilization, individuals may observe a world where each person improves their overall quality of life while contributing to the larger civil society.

Issues and Recommendations for Africa's Higher Education Institutions

In discussions dealing with the African continent's future, higher education is viewed as one of the most vital ways in which countries can improve, on micro- and macroeconomic levels. Education at all levels presents individuals with opportunities to create careers for themselves, enabling them to escape generational poverty and pushing society to continuously move forward. Higher education, which allows individuals to specialize in specific fields, encourages them to excel in the process of building a career in that field. As more people are given the opportunity to engage with institutions of higher education, it becomes more likely that their countries will improve economically, politically, and socially. But if education is to transform lives, we must examine the issues that undermine these institutions: insufficient funds, ill-equipped instructors, flawed teaching pedagogies, gender disparities, and many others.

Education plays an important role in our society; it is imperative that we invest the monetary and human capital necessary to optimize it. So, what can enable universities to provide students with the best possible education? How must colleges and universities change to provide a quality education for their students? And what are the expectations and implications of graduating from a top-tier university? These are complex, multifaceted questions and issues that require equally complex solutions; as the issues and recommendations spelled out below in detail confirms.

Corruption plagues African states, wasting funds and diminishing the resources available for universities and colleges. Sub Saharan African countries are consistently ranked as some of the most corrupt in the world. According to Transparency International, an anti-corruption coalition, six of the ten most corrupt countries in the world are in Sub Saharan Africa (2019). The nature of corruption is not self-contained, and it affects every aspect of a country—from government and elections to education and infrastructure (Hanson 2009). It touches everything.

But what does institutional corruption look like? In South Africa, it took the form of universities and colleges offering non-accredited programs and degrees in unrealistically short periods of time for expensive prices (Mohamedbhai 2015). In Nigeria, which has the region's largest higher education system, rampant corruption takes the form of nepotism and bribery, with teachers extorting money from other faculty members and students in exchange for grades (Nwaokugha and Ezeugwu 2017). Some attain their positions in schools through connections to the inner circles of powerful political leaders and organizations. These are examples of low-level corruption, but financial mismanagement occurs at higher levels as well. "Nigeria's Universal Basic Education Commission, or UBEC, … has reported close to 3.3 billion (21 million USD) naira had been lost in 2005 and 2006 to 'illegal and unauthorized utilization of funds.'"[7] This money had gone unaccounted

for through corrupt practices. It could have gone toward training instructors, creating supplemental resources and programs for students, and allowing universities to diversify their range of subjects offered.

Education is often used as an indicator of societal progress and innovation; the cost of corruption in that sector is high. Not only does educational corruption rob students of opportunities in the classroom, it also deprives students of a love for education, instilling a mistrust of these institutions early on; that is arguably the biggest corruption of all. Students are short-changed when corruption affects the quality of their education and their academic performance. When generations of students are not properly educated, it affects entire communities and nations. It dims the light of creativity and innovation and it cripples economic development. To remedy this corruption, we need structures and policies to monitor the management of university funds. District education budgets should be published in detail so that allocations can be monitored accurately, and teachers should not be appointed without official documentation of adequate qualifications.

There should also be laws holding school officials accountable for transgressions. Transparency is required within these institutions. In universities, political interference is just as destructive as monetary corruption. Every aspect of African society is politicized, and African universities are no exception. Politicians are closely involved with the inner workings of many universities, and they absolutely have a stake in how faculty positions are filled. They view universities as a base to gain traction for their campaigns and strengthen their clientele. And because universities offer goods and services, politicians encourage universities to hire preferred service providers from their own circles or agencies, slowly converting institutions into monopolized businesses rather than places of learning and creativity (Oanda 2016).

Universities must examine their priorities. The ultimate question should be, "What can be done to improve the quality of education that students are receiving?" Increased funding is a common recommendation, which many thinkers and advocates advance as a way to improve university curriculum and instruction. Yes, more funding has the *ability* to strengthen and diversify the curricula and areas of study, and it can create programs for underrepresented groups in the university system. However, the fundamental issue lies in the ability of institutions to manage their funds efficiently. By increasing funds while also managing them productively, universities can introduce a broader range of disciplines and faculty, enabling students to engage in more specialized fields with more challenging, distinguished professors.

This could create a domino effect. More acclaimed professors could mean more funding from private donors who are impressed with the new changes. More funding would allow universities to invest in resources for students, such as research opportunities and career services. And the amenities that showcase a university's commitment to providing a quality education can cultivate a positive reputation, attracting more students.

Informal sectors, the diverse sets of unregulated jobs and economic transactions, play a large part in African economies (WIEGO 2019). Africa's informal sector makes up about 72% of total employment in Sub Saharan Africa, with over 90% of new jobs in the 1990s created in the informal sector (Jackson 2016). This sector is a significant part of daily life on the African continent, and universities should modify their curriculum and resources to accommodate the massive numbers of university graduates entering that sector.

Universities could offer resources or programs training students in entrepreneurial business and sustainable agricultural practices. A bridge between higher education and the informal sector would allow individuals to transition with suitable skills for making a living after tertiary education, allowing students to explore the kinds of occupations that are possible for them after graduation, learning how to attain stable employment in the workforce.

University policy reform is another solution to these issues. Educational policy reform should be implemented in the classroom. For example, different teaching pedagogies affect learning patterns differently, and many African universities commonly use a method of lecturing known as "straight lectures" that force many students to rely on memorization. Essentially, the instructors lecture and leave little room for discussion or questions. This method feeds students with information, rather than allowing them to contextualize the material within the scope of their own societies (Fredua-Kwarteng and Ofosu 2018). Decontextualized, theoretical knowledge does little to help students learn; it is more effective to allow them to draw connections from their surroundings through stimulating discussions and debate, which encourages them to think critically.

What happens to the graduates of these universities with an abundance of resources, qualified and distinguished faculty, and a diverse curriculum? The outcome of postgraduate life is extremely varied, and it depends on a lot of different factors. However, when a university's greatest concern is providing a quality education for their students, it does wonders for them. Instilling a love for education in students and preparing them for a career is a priceless responsibility for tertiary education. With so much at stake, university resources like career fairs and career counseling could provide students with the necessary tools and connections for a stable, fulfilling job after graduation. Universities could also partner with local businesses or firms to provide internships or work-study opportunities, preparing students for post-graduation expectations.

When students feel as though their needs or ambitions cannot be met by their current environment, they leave in search of better opportunities. This is a huge problem for Africa. Brain drain is normally used to discuss the forced or voluntary immigration of skilled professionals (Firsing 2016). The definition does not apply to university students, but the loss of bright, young minds traveling abroad for better opportunities is the precursor to "brain drain" in its more formal definition. According to a United Nations report,

about one in nine people with a tertiary education, or 2.9 million Africans, lived in North America or various European countries, typically within the OECD (UN-DESA 2013). This is significant when looking at the magnitude of brain drain's effect on these nations. In Kenya, about 35% of an estimated 600 doctors leave the country after completing their residency to seek better opportunities abroad, leaving the domestic health sector ailing (Firsing 2016).

Former South African President Thabo Mbeki as reported in the *African News Agency*, stated, "the continent has lost about 20,000 academic professionals and 10% of highly skilled information technology and finance specialists" since 1990 (2015). A possible solution starts with higher education: if countries provide quality education that competes with prominent universities abroad, students will want to be educated domestically. This stops the brain drain at its source, incentivizing professionals to stay, practice their skills domestically, and benefit their countries without selling themselves short.

Higher education is an essential stepping-stone to create a society that strives toward innovation, progress, and development. Higher education administrators should do everything in their power to cultivate an environment set on providing quality education for all students, allowing them to thrive academically and preparing them for the workforce. By reducing corruption within tertiary education systems, applying checks and balances along with higher levels of transparency, and applying more efficient, targeted funding for valuable resources and student programs, the quality of education offered by these institutions can be improved. Policy reforms can rectify many of the issues within existing institutions, also allowing individuals to complete tertiary schooling and sustain meaningful, fulfilling, and stable jobs that impact and enhance both them and their communities.

Notes

1. Information on Nigerian higher education can be found on the site of the National Universities Commission, http://nuc.edu.ng.
2. Latest figures available were for 2009 published by World Bank Group, 2018. Additional poverty data and computation guidelines are available at http://povertydata.worldbank.org/poverty/country/NGA.
3. STEM is regularly expanded in educational practice to include Arts (STEAM) and also Research (STREAM), defined "Research is a reciprocal aspect of the integration, investigation, and creation in the arts" (p. 109); logically Research is also foundational to STEM. See this discussion in Integration + Collaboration + Connoisseurship.
4. See Oxford Reference, "Public and Private Spheres," *Social Class and Sport—Oxford Reference*, Oxford University Press, 16 June 2017, www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100353296.
5. For more information see Clinton Foundation, "Girls from Low-Income Families Receive the Least Schooling," *No Ceilings: The Full Participation Project*, www.noceilings.org/education-income/#GIN.

6. Learn more about this initiative at Levers in Heels, "About Us—Levers in Heels," http://leversinheels.com/about-us/#.XGj0mehKg2y.

7. A. Mumuni and G. Sweeney, 2013, "Public Interest Litigation for the Right to Education: The SERAP V. Nigeria Case," in G. Sweeney, K. Despota and Lindner (eds.), *Global Corruption Report: Education*, New York, Routledge, 308 as cited in Nwaokugha and Ezeugwu (2017, 7).

References

Abidogun, Jamaine. 2018. *African Science Education: Gendering Indigenous Knowledge in Nigeria*. Oxfordshire, UK: Routledge.

Africa News Agency. 2015. "Brain Drain Costly for Africa: Mbeki." *IOL Business Report.* https://www.iol.co.za/dailynews/news/brain-drain-costly-for-africa-mbeki-1900947.

Ahmed, Manzoor, and R. Prospects Govinda. 2010. "Introduction." *Prospects: Comparative Journal of Curriculum, Learning, and Assessment* 40: 321–335. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11125-010-9165-3.

Barone, Ryan. 2018. "Why Is STEM Important? Why Do We Keep Talking About It?" *ID Tech.* www.idtech.com/blog/why-is-stem-important.

Brinded, Lianna. 2015. "The 9 Countries with the Most Entrepreneurship." *Business Insider.* www.businessinsider.com/top-9-countries-with-the-largest-amount-of-entrepreneurs-2015-6.

Bunyi, Grace W. 2003. "Interventions That Increase Enrollment of Women in African Tertiary Institutions." Washington, DC: World Bank Group.

Casserly, Meghan. 2013. "Where the Money's at: The Fastest-Growing Sectors for the Self-Employed." *Forbes.* www.forbes.com/sites/meghancasserly/2013/08/22/where-the-money-at-fastest-growing-sectors-for-freelance/.

Clinton Foundation. 2019. "Girls from Low-Income Families Receive the Least Schooling." *No Ceilings: The Full Participation Project.* www.noceilings.org/education-income/#GIN.

Cole, J. S. 2017. "Concluding Comments About Student Transition to Higher Education." *Higher Education* 73 (3): 539–551.

Dahir, Abdi Latif. 2017. "Private Education Is Growing Faster Than Public Education in Africa." *Quartz.* https://qz.com/africa/979203/private-education-is-growing-faster-than-public-education-in-africa.

Del, E. L., H. E. Burn, and D. Gerdes. 2009. Bringing the Classroom to the Web: Effects of Using New Technologies to Capture and Deliver Lectures. *Research in Higher Education* 50 (4): 377. https://doi-org.ezproxy.lib.utexas.edu/10.1007/s11162-009-9124-0.

Dugger, Celia W. 2004. "In Africa, Free Schools Feed a Different Hunger." *The New York Times.* www.nytimes.com/2004/10/24/world/africa/in-africa-free-schools-feed-a-different-hunger.html.

Eberle, Francis. 2010. "Why STEM Education is Important." *International Society of Automation ISA.* www.isa.org/standards-and-publications/isa-publications/intech-magazine/2010/september/why-stem-education-is-important/.

Education Dynamics, LLC. 2018. "Masters vs PhD | PhD or Masters| Which One Is Right for You?" www.gradschools.com, www.gradschools.com/get-informed/before-you-apply/choosing-graduate-program/masters-vs-phd.

Elkins, Kathleen. 2016. "Nearly a Third of the World's Billionaires Didn't Graduate College." *CNBC Make It.* www.cnbc.com/2016/08/11/nearly-a-third-of-the-worlds-billionaires-didnt-graduate-college.html.

Faruqui, Danish, Sudeep Laad, Mary Abdo, and Priyanka Thapar. 2017. "Is Private Education in Africa the Solution to Failing Education Aid?" *Stanford Social Innovation Review: Informing and Inspiring Leaders of Social Change.* https://ssir.org/articles/entry/is_private_education_in_africa_the_solution_to_failing_education_aid.

Fasae, Joseph Kehinde, and Idowu Adegbilero-Iwari. 2016. "Use of Social Media by Science Students in Public Universities in Southwest Nigeria." *The Electronic Library* 34 (2): 213–222.

Firsing, Scott. 2016. "How Severe Is Africa's Brain Drain?" *Quartz.* https://qz.com/africa/599140/how-severe-is-africas-brain-drain/.

Flinn, Ryan, and Bloomberg News. 2012. "6.7% of World Population Has a College Degree." *San Francisco Chronicle.*

Fredriksen, Birger, and Camilla Helgø Fossberg. 2014. "The Case for Investing in Secondary Education in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA): Challenges and Opportunities." *International Review of Education* 60 (2): 235–259.

Fredua-Kwarteng, Eric, and Samuel Kwaku Ofosu. 2018. "Improving the Quality of University Education in Africa." *University World News.* www.universityworldnews.com/article.php?story=20180306124842675.

Garcia-Navarro, Lulu. 2018. "How Underemployment Is Affecting the Job Market." *NPR.* www.npr.org/2018/07/15/629212924/the-call-in-underemployment.

Garfield, Leanna, and Shayanne Gal. 2018. The Best and Worst Countries to Be a Teacher, Based on Salary." *Business Insider.* www.businessinsider.com/teacher-salaries-by-country-2017-5.

Goujon, Anne, Max Haller, and Bernadette Müller Kmet, eds. 2017. *Higher Education in Africa: Challenges for Development, Mobility and Cooperation.* Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Gumede, William. 2016. "Rise in Censorship of the Internet and Social Media in Africa." *Journal of African Media Studies* 8 (3): 413–421.

Hanson, Stephanie. 2009. "Corruption in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Council on Foreign Relations.* www.cfr.org/backgrounder/corruption-Sub-Saharan-africa.

Harper, Shaun R., and Stephen John Quaye. 2015. *Student Engagement in Higher Education: Theoretical Perspectives and Practical Approaches for Diverse Populations.* New York: Routledge.

Harris, Anne, and Leon R. de Bruin. 2018. "Secondary School Creativity, Teacher Practice and STEAM Education: An International Study." *Journal of Educational Change* 19 (2): 153–179.

Jackson, Terrence. 2016. "Don't Underestimate the Power of Africa's Informal Sector in a Global Economy." *Quartz.* https://qz.com/africa/599483/dont-underestimate-the-power-of-africas-informal-sector-in-a-global-economy/.

Jeong, S., and H. Kim. 2015. "The Effect of a Climate Change Monitoring Program on Students' Knowledge and Perceptions of STEAM Education in Korea." *EURASIA Journal of Mathematics, Science & Technology Education* 11 (6): 1321–1338.

Korn, Melissa. 2018. "I'd Be an 'A' Student If I Could Just Read My Notes." *The Wall Street Journal.* https://www.wsj.com/articles/id-be-an-a-student-if-i-could-just-read-my-notes-1520865531.

Kriek, Lisa. 2011. "Mobile Social Media for a Private Higher Education Institution in South Africa." *2011 3rd Symposium on Web Society.* https://ieeexplore.ieee.org/document/6101273/.

Lesoli, M. K., C. Van Wuk, J. J. Van der Walt, F. J. Potgieter, and C. C. Wolhuter. 2014. "The Elusive Goal of Universal Free Primary Education in Africa: The Case of Lesotho." *Journal of Third World Studies* 31 (2): 197–218.

Levers in Heels. 2019. "About Us—Levers in Heels." http://leversinheels.com/about-us/#.XGj0mehKg2y.

Levesque, Karen, Mark Premo, Robert Vergun, David Emanuel, Steven Klein, Robin Henke, Susan Kagehiro, and MPR Associates, Inc. 1995. *Vocational Education in the United States: The Early 1990s.* Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics.

Li, Li, and Haoming Liu. 2014. "Primary School Availability and Middle School Education in Rural China." *Labour Economics* 28: 24–40.

Manishimwe, Wilson. 2017. "More Africans Joining Self-Employment, Says Labour Report." *New Vision Uganda.* www.newvision.co.ug/new_vision/news/1462228/africans-joining-self-employment-labour-report.

Marginson, Simon. 2011. "Higher Education in East Asia and Singapore: Rise of the Confucian Model." *Higher Education* 61 (5): 587–611. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41477825.

McCarthy, Niall. 2018. "Where Are the World's Self-Employed?" *Forbes.* www.forbes.com/sites/niallmccarthy/2018/06/26/where-are-the-worlds-self-employed-infographic/.

Mohamedbhai, Goolam. 2015. "Higher Education: A Hotbed of Corruption?" *Inside Higher Ed.* www.insidehighered.com/blogs/world-view/higher-education-hotbed-corruption.

Mtshali, Samkelo. 2017. "SA Teachers: Overworked and Underpaid." *IOL Business Report.* www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/kwazulu-natal/sa-teachers-overworked-and-underpaid-2076461.

Mueller, Pam A., and Daniel M. Oppenheimer. 2014. "Corrigendum: The Pen Is Mightier Than the Keyboard: Advantages of Longhand Over Laptop Note Taking." *Psychological Science* 25 (6): 1159–1168.

Mujic, Julie A. 2015. "Education Reform and the Failure to Fix Inequality in America." *The Atlantic.* https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2015/10/education-solving-inequality/412729/.

Muller, Sean Mfundza. 2018. "Free Higher Education in South Africa: Cutting Through the Lies and Statistics." *The Conversation.* http://theconversation.com/free-higher-education-in-south-africa-cutting-through-the-lies-and-statistics-90474.

Mumuni, Adetokunbo, and Gareth Sweeney. 2013. "Public Interest Litigation for the Right to Education: The SERAP V. Nigeria Case." In *Global Corruption Report: Education*, edited by G. Sweeney, K. Despota, and S. Lindner, 307–310. New York: Routledge.

Nadworny, Elissa. 2018. "Why Is Undergraduate College Enrollment Declining?" *NPR.* www.npr.org/2018/05/25/614315950/why-is-undergraduate-college-enrollment-declining.

National Center for Education Statistics. 2018. "Fast Facts: Back to School Statistics." National Center for Education Statistics. https://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=372.

Ngumbi, Esther. 2018. "I Didn't Think There Were Many African Women Scientists. Then I Checked Twitter." *NPR*. www.npr.org/sections/goatsandso-da/2018/02/11/583628387/i-didnt-think-there-were-many-african-women-sci-entists-then-i-checked-twitter.

Nwaokugha, Douglas O., and Magdaline Chinyere Ezeugwu. 2017. "Corruption in the Education Industry in Nigeria: Implications for National Development." *European Journal of Training and Development Studies* 4 (1): 1–17. http://www.eajournals.org/wp-content/uploads/Corruption-in-the-Education-Industry-in-Nigeria-Implications-for-National-Development.pdf.

Oanda, Ibrahim. 2016. "How Political Interference Keeps Hurting Africa's Universities." *The Conversation*. https://theconversation.com/how-political-interference-keeps-hurting-africas-universities-58387.

Okeke, Iruka N., Chinedum P. Babalola, Denis K. Byaruhanga, Abdoulaye Djimde, and Omolaja R. Osoniyi. 2017. "Broadening Participation in the Sciences Within and from Africa: Purpose, Challenges, and Prospects." *CBE Life Sciences Education* 16 (2): es2. https://doi.org/10.1187/cbe.15-12-0265.

Oketch, Moses, and Caine Rolleston. 2007. "Policies on Free Primary and Secondary Education in East Africa: Retrospect and Prospect." *Review of Research in Education* 31: 131–158.

Otieno, Sam. 2018. "Paradigm Shift Needed to Encourage Women in STEM." *SciDevNet: Sub-Sarahan Africa*. www.scidev.net/sub-saharan-africa/gender/news/paradigm-shift-needed-encourage-women-in-stem.html.

Oxford Reference. 2019. "Public and Private Spheres." *Oxford Reference*. http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100353296.

Roser, Max, and Esteban Ortiz-Ospina. 2019. "Tertiary Education." *OurWorldInData.org*. https://ourworldindata.org/tertiary-education.

Ross, Sean. 2015. "What Is Human Capital and How Is It Used?" *Investopedia*. www.investopedia.com/ask/answers/032715/what-human-capital-and-how-it-used.asp.

Rowan-Kenyon, Heather T., Ana M. Martínez Alemán, Kevin Gin, Bryan Blakeley, Adam Gismondi, Jonathan Lewis, Adam McCready, Daniel Zepp, and Sarah Knight. 2016. "Social Media in Higher Education." *ASHE Higher Education Report* 42 (5): 7–128.

Saint, William. 2004. "Higher Education in Ethiopia: The Vision and Its Challenges." *Journal of Higher Education in Africa* 2 (3): 83–113.

Saint, William, and Teresa Hartnett. 2004. "Higher Education in Nigeria: A Status Report." *World Education News & Reviews (WENR)*. https://wenr.wes.org/2017/03/education-in-nigeria.

Sall, Ebrima, and Ibrahim Oanda, 2014. "Revitalising Higher Education for Africa's Future." *Journal of Higher Education in Africa/Revue De L'enseignement Supérieur En Afrique* 12 (2): 95–107.

Sana, Faria, Tina Weston, and Nicholas J. Cepeda. 2013. "Laptop Multitasking Hinders Classroom Learning for Both Users and Nearby Peers." *Computers & Education* 62: 24–31.

Sheng, Jie, Joseph Amankwah-Amoah, and Xiaojun Wang. 2018. "Technology in the 21st Century: New Challenges and Opportunities." *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techfore.2018.06.009.

Sichangi, Mary Wakhaya. 2017. "Why Are Girls and Women Under-Represented in Science Related Fields in Africa?" *Global Partnership for Education*. www.globalpartnership.org/blog/why-are-girls-and-women-under-represented-science-related-fields-africa.

The Economist. 2017. "South Africa Has One of the World's Worst Education Systems." *The Economist.* https://www.economist.com/middle-east-and-africa/2017/01/07/south-africa-has-one-of-the-worlds-worst-education-systems.

Transparency International. 2019. "Transparency International—Education." *Transparency International—The Global Anti-Corruption Coalition.* www.transparency.org/topic/detail/education.

Tshwane, Tebogo. 2018. "Finally: How Government Plans to Fund Free Education." *Mail & Guardian Online.* https://mg.co.za/article/2018-02-21-finally-how-government-plans-to-fund-free-education.

UN-DESA and OECD. 2013. *World Migration in Figures.* www.oecd.org/els/mig/World-Migration-in-Figures.pdf.

University of Oxford. 2016. "A Guide to Oxford for American Students." Oxford, UK: University of Oxford. www.ox.ac.uk/sites/files/oxford/field/field_document/US_leaflet_2016.pdf.

US Department of Education. 2008. "Structure of the U.S. Education System: Associate Degrees." https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ous/international/usnei/us/edlite-structure-us.html.

US Department of Education. 2017. "Types of Schools." *Federal Student Aid.* https://studentaid.ed.gov/sa/prepare-for-college/choosing-schools#types-of-schools.

WIEGO. 2019. "About the Informal Economy." Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing. www.wiego.org/informal-economy/about-informal-economy.

Wong, Alia. 2015. "Let Women Teach." *The Atlantic.* www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2015/11/let-women-teach/416304/.

World Bank. 2000. "Task Force on Higher Education and Society." In *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise.* Washington, DC: The World Bank.

World Bank. 2016. "The World Bank Group (WBG) and Adolescent Girls' Education Factsheet." www.worldbank.org/en/topic/girlseducation/brief/the-world-bank-group-wbg-and-adolescent-girls-education-factsheet.

World Bank. 2017. "Tertiary Education." *Understanding Poverty/Topics.* www.worldbank.org/en/topic/tertiaryeducation.

World Bank Group. 2018. "Poverty and Equity Brief Sub-Saharan Africa: Nigeria." Washington, DC: World Bank. https://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/poverty/33EF03BB-9722-4AE2-ABC7-AA2972D68AFE/Archives-2018/Global_POVEQ_NGA.pdf.

Ancient Africa Education: Egypt and Nubia

Julia Troche

Introduction, Challenges, and Limitations

There is currently no comprehensive study of education production and transmission in ancient, pre-Hellenistic (c. 3200–300 BCE), Egypt and Nubia.[1] There are many variables that have contributed to this—notable among them, the fact that there is simply a dearth of evidence. Formal education institutions, for example schools, are difficult to locate in the ancient archaeological record. Textually, the earliest extant phrase translated as "school" (*at sbA*), or "room of teaching" is known from a First Intermediate Period (c. 2050 BCE) Asyut tomb (Grajetzki 2009, 211). The ancient Egyptian verb "to teach" (*sbA*) and the verb "to know" (*rx*) give evidence that education was, indeed, an emic ancient Egyptian and Nubian concept. While we may not know much about schools, libraries are attested, though still poorly understood. The Egyptian phrases "House of Life" (*pr anx*) and "House of Scrolls" (*pr mDAt*) are often translated as "library" and were likely associated with temples (see Gardiner 1938; Haikal 2008). It is possible that schools, or other formal institutions of education, could also have been part of temples (or temple libraries more specifically), which may obscure their identification. Alternatively, schools may have been located within royal palaces, but the same obfuscation remains intact (Grajetzki 2009, 211). Thus, there is no "place" for historians to focus their inquiry or for archaeologists to excavate. Instead, evidence from various contexts (funerary, domestic, temple, etc.) of various types (textual, visual, material) must be considered in

J. Troche (✉)
Missouri State University, Springfield, MO, USA
e-mail: JuliaTroche@missouristate.edu

concert in order to arrive at some form of understanding of what education may have looked like in ancient Egypt and Nubia.

The notable exception to this dearth of evidence is the Egyptian scribal school. From ancient Egypt, there is relatively good evidence for scribal practice and scribal education (less so for ancient Nubia). To this end, it is possible to examine a variety of artifacts that speak to scribal training: notably, literary texts and scribal exercises recorded on papyrus, wooden writing boards, and ostraca (ceramic or limestone sherds). Thus, studies of ancient Egyptian education have largely focused on scribal training and, relatedly, literacy (see Williams 1972; Baines 1983, 2007). Additional studies have focused on vocational training, scientific and medical knowledge, and knowledge production, more generally, within communities of practice (see Nunn 2002; Allen 2005; Wendrich 2012). Problematically, though understandably, many of these studies look at only a very small segment of ancient Egyptian or Nubian society—typically literate and/or elite workmen. For example, John Baines has estimated that only about 1 percent of ancient Egyptians were literate (2007, 67). Instead of focusing on literate education, this chapter will focus much of its analysis on attempting to reconstruct, with the help of archaeological and sociological theory, what education for the vast majority of people in ancient Egypt and Nubia—the literate and illiterate, children, men, women, servants, and others—may have looked like.

This chapter will begin with a brief presentation of the histories of Egypt and Nubia and a short discussion of the challenges and limitations facing this study before outlining (and somewhat complicating) the most current scholarship on literate education in ancient Egypt and Nubia, including scribal education, and specialized education, which required vocational literacy, for example, in craft specific training, such as ceramic or metallurgy; and medical, numerical, and scientific, such as astronomical or engineering education. The majority of this chapter, however, will focus on a novel presentation of Nubian and Egyptian informal educational systems, including moral and social-behavioral education. While there is not space here to fully realize all these investigations, this chapter aims to push the boundaries of what is considered in studies of education and, by bringing together all these traditionally disparate avenues of research, aims to provide a more holistic understanding of education, broadly defined, in ancient Egypt and Nubia.

Historical Overview

Civilizations emerged in the areas of Egypt and Nubia around 3200 BCE, with evidence for complex societies along the Nile dating much earlier (Wengrow 2006). Around 3200 BCE, Egypt was politically unified under the rulership of a single King (Köhler 2010). Egyptian history would then fall into a series of periods of centralization and decentralization. In the periods of centralization, typically referred to as kingdoms, a single king would rule all of Egypt (and often parts Nubia) as a semi-divine, absolute monarch.

During periods of decentralization, typically referred to as intermediate periods, local nomarchs (regional governors), high priests, and sometimes foreigners ruled a fragmented Egypt. During these intermediate periods, power in Egypt was often split between the north (aka Lower Egypt) and the south (aka Upper Egypt). In 332 BCE, Alexander the Great arrived in Egypt and brought with him Hellenistic culture. His general Ptolemy would start a new dynasty upon Alexander's death, marking major shifts in Egyptian administration, politics, social life, and education. Notably, Greek became the official language of Egyptian administration and Hellenistic culture invariably brought Hellenistic notions of education. Thus, this is a natural stopping/beginning point for historical inquiry. The relative preponderance of texts from this Ptolemaic period, and the following period of Roman occupation, also make it comparatively well studied (see Cribiore 2001).

While the histories of Nubia and Egypt were often entangled, an Egypto-centric perspective characterizes much of the scholarship on Nubian history. This is in part a reflex of (1) the fact that many early Nubiologists were, first and foremost, Egyptologists, (2) the reality of modern racism, and (3) in part due to the ancient Egyptians' own ethnocentrism, which colored early studies (and some unfortunately not so early studies, not to be mentioned here) of ancient Nubia (see Breasted 1909; Reisner 1919). In general, however, more recent research tends to move away from these problematic approaches (see Smith 1995; Török 2008). The term "Nubia" is a Roman term that is used in modern scholarship to refer to the region of the Central Nile Valley, from Khartoum in the south, where the Blue and White Nile merge into a single inundating river, to the first cataract at Aswan in the north. This equates roughly to modern-day Sudan, though the ancient Nubians would have lived mostly along the Nile and in the eastern desert between the River Nile and the Red Sea. We do not know what the indigenous people called this region, but the ancient Egyptians often used the term Kush. Nubia quickly became a cultural and economic center, with goods often sought after by its neighbors: ivory, large gold reserves, ebony, and incense. Lower Nubia (that is northern Nubia) shared a border with Upper Egypt and so here we see a "Third Space" emerge—a zone of cross-cultural interaction and entanglement (Bhabha 1996). A number of powerful kingdoms ruled out of different capitals in Middle and Lower Nubia. Notable among these is the Kingdom of Kerma—preeminent during the second millennium BCE during Egypt's Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. During the Egyptian New Kingdom (c. 1500–1050 BCE), much of Nubia fell under Egyptian control, as Egypt stretched its borders of influence south into Nubia and north into the Levant. Following the reign of Ramesses III, Egypt began to lose these territories as a powerful group emerged in Upper Nubia: the first millennium BCE Kingdom of Kush. The Kushite Kingdom had capital cities at Napata (c. 850–590 BCE) and Meroë (c. 590 BCE–350 CE). It was during this period of Kushite primacy, under the reign of King Piye, that the Nubians conquered Egypt and ruled Egypt as Pharaohs of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.

Writing is first attested in Egypt around 3100 BCE, in Tomb U-j (Baines 2004). From this point on, writing is known from all periods of Egyptian history. The ancient Egyptians wrote in a pictographic system known as hieroglyphs, as well as a more mundane cursive script, hieratic. Later stages of the language introduced new scripts, such as demotic and Coptic (see Allen 2014 for an introduction to these various stages and scripts). Writing did not develop in Nubia along a similar pattern. Notably, there is no indigenous writing known in Nubia before approximately the fourth century BCE. From various periods of Nubian history, for example the Napatan cemetery site of el-Kurru (c. eighth–seventh century BCE), Egyptian writing is employed by scribes familiar with it (Török 2008, 307). The site of el-Kurru is still undergoing excavations, currently by the International Kurru Archaeological Project, and much more is to be learned; however, it seems as if Egyptian writing was used in Kush, predominantly in royal, funerary contexts (Emberling et al. 2015). There is no clear evidence, then, that the Nubians of Kush were using Egyptian writing for administration, or day-to-day record keeping. From about the fourth century BCE, there is evidence for distinct Meroitic writing. Unfortunately, however, Meroitic remains mostly undeciphered. Griffith was first to identify some elements of Meroitic and others built upon his work, identifying consonants and general rules of the language, but without full comprehension (see Griffith 1911).

This lack of access to an indigenous, Nubian writing system fundamentally hampers investigations into ancient Nubian education. What it does tell us, however, is that Nubian education was not focused on literacy, as opposed to what is evinced by the Egyptian evidence. Instead, the production and transmission of knowledge in Nubia were largely part of oral culture. Certainly, though, the same could be suggested, and indeed I do suggest as much, for Egypt. Even though there are tens of thousands of documents ascribed to ancient Egyptian scribes, literacy in ancient Egypt remained limited. Furthermore, while still important to investigate, exclusively studying texts and literate education limits our inquiry to the most elite sector of ancient society.

Literate Education

By default, when we speak of education and literacy in ancient Egypt and Nubia, we are mostly speaking about the literacy of ancient men. Furthermore, due to the lack of writing for much of Nubia's history, we are also mostly talking about ancient Egyptians. While some women certainly were literate and educated (see below), the vast majority of our evidence speaks exclusively of male literacy. John Baines wrote extensively on this topic and it is of no service to re-hash his arguments and statistics here. Instead, those interested should seek out his 2007 compilation entitled *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt*. In summation, he suggests literacy in ancient Egypt was around 1 percent (Baines 2007, 67). Though by no means

universally agreed upon, the point reflected by this statistic is the incredibly low rate of literacy among ancient Egyptians. Notably, in his analysis Baines does not include evidence for semi-literacy, which certainly was a reality for many.

While we do not have physical evidence for schools, a number of scribal practice texts are extant with instructor notations, which speak to the practice of schooling. Presumably, a student would copy a text, and a teacher would correct his pupil's work. The British Museum's Rhind Mathematical Papyrus (EA 10058) and Mathematical Leather Roll (EA 10250.1 and EA 10250.2) provide evidence for the types of mathematical training afforded to scribes, for example, algebra (division, multiplication, fractions); "word problems" (workers worked different amounts during the week, so based on these ratios how do you divvy up the rations?); and geometry (volume, area). More commonly, school exercise texts, such as the Brooklyn Museum's wood exercise board (16.119), record popular stories, such as the "Satire of the Trades" or the "Instructions of King Amenemhat" (see Simpson 2003 for translations). These boards (Fig. 2.1) are typically in hieratic and evince that ancient Egyptian scribes likely would have learned hieratic before hieroglyphs (the opposite of how modern students learn ancient Egyptian).

Being members of the royal family, most Kings were presumably literate; however, they probably had to do very little reading and writing themselves (Baines and Eyre 2007, 78–83). Some may have had tutors that taught them a wide variety of topics and skills. Senenmut, for example, a high official in

Fig. 2.1 Writing board from the Metropolitan Museum of Art New York (28.9.4) shows a student's writing in black ink, with a tutor's corrections in red ink (*Source* https://images.metmuseum.org/CRDImages/eg/web-large/DP234742.jpg)

Hatshepsut's reign (c. 1450 BCE) was the tutor of her daughter, Neferure (Dorman 1988). This practice was likely typical for royal and elite children. Some women in ancient Egypt (and presumably in Nubia, but for this we have less evidence) were certainly literate and, more than that, were formally trained in scribal schools.[2] The word for "female scribe" (*sXAt*) is known from at least the Middle Kingdom onwards (Fischer 1976). Women who held important offices in Egypt, such as the God's Wife of Amun or Divine Adoratrice positions, were certainly literate, as it was fundamental to the performance of their duties. Baines suggested that "there is no iconographic or textual context in which women would normally have been presented as writing (reading being a rare motif in any case), but this gap simply shows that female writing was not part of the official, public life represented by monuments and documents" (Baines 2007, 84). Challenging this claim, I highlight a scene from the Saqqara tomb of Horemheb (a general who would become Pharaoh at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty), which shows, I suggest, female scribes recording prisoners of war, in what would have been a very official and arguably public tableau (Martin 1989).[3]

Both men and women were also invoked in Letters to the Dead—letters written by the living, petitioning the dead for aid or protection (Donnat Beauquier 2014; Troche 2018). This does not, however, necessarily mean that these dead were literate during life. The special status received by the transfigured dead—those who became an *akh* (meaning "effective one") in the afterlife—presumably also provided the dead with literacy. It is unlikely that every tomb owner whose tomb was inscribed, or whose tomb included textual artifacts, was literate during life. Instead, it seems more likely that the transfigured state of the dead enabled them to "read" the texts in their tomb. Thus, mortuary evidence cannot, by itself, confirm real-life literacy.

Specialized Education

Most vocations in ancient Egypt and Nubia would have required specialized knowledge—a sort of professional literacy. While the materials and technologies of ancient crafts have long been the focus of scholarship (e.g. Nicholson and Shaw 2000), the modes by which this knowledge was produced and transmitted have not been studied as much. In part, this is due to the fact that this sort of knowledge transfer leaves ephemeral traces in the archaeological and textual records, making it challenging to reconstruct. Notable among recent scholarship on this topic is Willeke Wendrich's 2012 edited volume entitled *Archaeology and Apprenticeship*, which takes a multicultural approach informed by archaeological and sociological theory. In particular, the concept of *communities of practice* is mobilized as a framework for investigation (as first articulated by Wegner 1998). Wegner suggests that "a social theory of learning must therefore integrate the components necessary to characterize social participation as a process of learning and of knowing" (Wegner 1998, 4–5). Wegner, and the authors in Wendrich's volume, emphasizes the social

aspect of learning. This chapter takes an approach inspired in part by *communities of practice* below in the discussion of informal education. In terms of specialized education, it is within communities of practice that trainees learned their craft. In these apprenticeships, students would become literate in their craft's terminology and skills, learning practical knowledge and how to implement this knowledge. Additionally, it "focused on gaining body knowledge, a physical memory embedded in muscle and the central nervous system, so that in many phases of the work the body simply seems to 'know' what to do" (Wendrich 2012, 4). With this framework in mind, we can speak about specialized education as multifaceted, involving intellectual, physical, and social aspects that work in concert.

There is not enough room here to discuss in detail what we know about all types of vocational training, craft specialization, and scientific knowledge in ancient Egypt and Nubia. Instead, some of the primary sources are highlighted that we rely on to give readers a sense of the scope and types of evidence available to historians. In general, primary sources recorded what the ancient Egyptians (and here we know significantly more for Egypt than for Nubia) knew about various topics, but they do not record much about the processes of knowledge production.

Tomb decorations regularly depict scenes of daily life, which often include scenes of craft production. The west wall of the storeroom in the Mastaba of Ti, for example, illustrates what is perhaps the earliest extant depiction of a potter's wheel in use in Egypt (Epron et al. 1966). The Tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100) shows numerous scenes of manufacture including the production of beads and leather, carpentry, and metallurgy (Hodel-Hoenes 2000). In the New Kingdom, stellar observations in the form of star clocks (aka star tables) are known in a handful of tombs, notably the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Senenmut and the Nineteenth Dynasty royal cenotaph of King Sety I. These depictions, found in tombs and coffins, along with the so-called Book of Nut, preserve astronomical knowledge from ancient Egypt that was likely also accessible to Nubians (Kelley and Milone 2005). Many of these star clocks were recorded and compiled into three volumes published by Neugebauer and Parker in 1960 and 1969. These charts reflect an intimate knowledge of the movements of celestial bodies. Some anomalies have been identified as "mistakes," although more recent studies on these texts and illustrations have tried to show how these "mistakes" actually reflect astronomical realities (Depuydt 2010).

Medical knowledge evidently was primarily recorded on papyrus, with knowledge being transmitted in the form of medical encyclopedias that provided natural and ritual remedies for various ailments. Notable papyri include the Kahun Papyri, Edwin Smith Papyrus, Ebers Papyrus, and Chester Beatty Medical Papyrus. A catalogue of medicine-related artifacts published by the Metropolitan Museum of Art is an instructive introduction to medicine in ancient Egypt (Allen 2005).

We have less access to processes of Nubian, specialized knowledge transmission. Their monuments, however, speak to their ingenuity and mastery of engineering, for example, the Deffufa and massive tumuli of Kerma, and the pyramids of el-Kurru, Nufi, and Meroë. Locally produced artifacts in ceramic, stone, and metal, such as those excavated and displayed at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, speak to the Nubians' training with various materials and technologies. A focused study on Nubian material culture and communities of practice could shed incredible light on this under researched and understood aspect of Nubian education and training.

Informal Education

So far, we have focused on what we know about formal institutions and systems of education in ancient Egypt and Nubia. Informal education, however, was the means by which most ancient Egyptians and Nubians learned about their world and expected social behaviors. Informal education would occur in the home, within local communities—including, those of the living and the dead—and be performed publicly through festival and ritual enactments. In these contexts, performances, texts, and visual culture were mobilized as tools of instruction. As with formalized education, we can better access informal systems of learning from ancient Egypt than we can from ancient Nubia, due to the relative dearth of evidence coming out of Nubia. However, since our analysis of informal education is based in part on applications of sociological theory, we can surmise more about informal systems of education in Nubia than we can about formal education. After a brief discussion of orality in ancient Egypt and Nubia, this section will consider moral education, including specifically the role of the dead as moral guides, and performative education, as manifest in two foodways-focused case studies.

Orality

In both Egypt and Nubia, informal education was a largely oral affair, with written texts and visual culture, I argue, operating as teaching tools rather than as textbooks—that is, compendiums of knowledge. Indeed, this chapter is far from the first to emphasize the fact that the transmission of ideas in the ancient world was founded on an entanglement between oral, performative culture, and literacy (see Thomas 1992; Small 1997; Baines 2007). Orality in this context refers not simply to the spoken word but, following a definition provided by John Baines (2007), specifically to the "conduct of significant social institutions, especially those which convey information in a targeted manner, through spoken language" (148). Where this discussion notably differs from Baines on this point, is that it does not limit orality to be the product of "significant social institutions," but includes all forms of verbal communication that are "targeted" and are intentionally mobilized as a means of education. Speaking about ancient Egypt specifically, but perhaps

more broadly applicable, Baines (2007) has pointed out that "material culture and oral culture in language are indispensable to human existence; the same is not true of writing" (146). He further asserts that "it was normal for significant texts to be memorized to some extent and for their written form to be an aide-mémoire as something to be read out directly" (Baines 2007, 152–153). He further draws attention to the fact that "inscriptional texts and belles lettres exhibit marked verbal patterning," thus confirming the oral, performative aspect of many written texts from ancient Egypt (Baines 2007, 158). Texts and material culture, then, can be points of departure for discussion of oral traditions and vice versa. For example, if we find a didactic text in a single tomb, its archaeological context suggests a limited (if not singular) audience. However, we may be able to extrapolate a larger audience based on what we know about orality in ancient Egypt and Nubia. This didactic text, which acts as a moral guide for the tomb owner, may be used to speak more generally of conceptions of morality based on the assumption that such a text would be spoken aloud and perhaps memorized by numbers impossible to determine. In this example, the audience need not be literate, then, to have experienced and learned from this text.

Moral Education I: Didactic Texts

An entire corpus of ancient Egyptian texts falls into the category of didactic literature—texts meant to provide moral and social instruction, typically framed as a father imparting wisdom to his son (Perdue 2008, 17).[4] A unique corpus of didactic texts is not known from ancient Nubia, but the modes and processes through which moral education was instilled could have been similar. The characters in these instructional texts are usually elite men, such as kings and viziers, who were the kings' second-in-command. So, it would be easy to argue that these didactic texts were geared uniquely toward an elite, male audience, or even the singular son identified in the text's framing. This would be shortsighted, however, for three main reasons: those implicitly addressed in the instructions, the framed characters, and the omnipresence of orality in Egyptian and Nubian society.

Firstly, the texts in themselves give away that their audience is not a singular person, but society at large. The "Instruction of Ptahhotep," for example, is framed as a lesson from a vizier to his son who will take over his position, but within the text, he addresses men from varied status and rank: "if you are a leader" (line 6, 3–4), "if you are one who sits at the table of one greater than you" (line 6, 11), "if you plough" (line 7, 5), "if you are of humble-rank and a follower of a man of excellence" (line 7, 7) "if you are a man of excellence" (line 7, 10).[5]

Secondly, some of the men, or characters (their historicity is not always known), called upon in the framing of these texts, such as Kagemni, were deified as gods, while others, such as Hordjedef, were celebrated within popular memory for millennia as great sages of the past (see P. Chester Beatty

IV, EA 10684; Gardiner 1935). Their fame would indicate that their teachings were not restricted to a closed faction of society. The fact that the didactic texts were sometimes written hundreds of years after their death and pseudo-epigraphically attributed to them because of their popularity further suggests that these texts were intentionally framed with larger audiences in mind. This aspect is explored further below, as the role of the dead as moral guides is considered.

Thirdly, if we remember the oral nature of ancient Egyptian society, as discussed above, in which texts were meant to be memorized and vocalized, the audience of these texts need not be an elite, literate few, but is more likely intended for audiences of varied ages, genders, professions, social status, etc. Thus, if we assume many stories, for which we have preserved textual artifacts, were more widely known, memorized, and possibly spoken aloud for varied literate and illiterate audiences, then we can begin to speak of learning and education among the non-elite. The non-elite, here, could logically include children, servants, and men and women of varied status. While some forms of education would require occupational literacy (a sculptor would need to have a basic understanding of the density and composition of different rocks), oral, moral education requires only that one is hearing able and can comprehend the words being spoken.

If we accept, then, the assertion that texts which fall into the category of "didactic literature" were accessible to varied audiences, we can begin to speak of moral education in ancient Egypt (and possibly Nubia), broadly defined. What moral lessons and ideals do these texts impart? The "Teaching of Ptahhotep," in which an elderly Old Kingdom vizier shares his wisdom with his son, is composed of approximately forty-five verses, each with specific nuggets of wisdom and moral guidance. Clear themes emerge in this text: every man has his appropriate place in society and should act accordingly; one should be consistent in work and fair and honest to those above and below your rank; one should listen to guidance and speak only when necessary; one should be beware of women for they are both frivolous and powerful.[6] Ptahhotep instructs his son, and arguably Egyptian society more generally, to not be arrogant, selfish, nor think too highly of yourself: "know your neighbors (lit. 'those at your side') and your things will endure" (line 15, 3), "be cheerful," literally "be bright of face" (line 14, 12). He emphasizes respect and obedience: "bow to your superior" (line 13, 9), "the one who listens is beloved of the god" (line 16, 6–7). The "Instruction of Kagemni," which is really an instruction to Kagemni, similarly emphasizes the importance of silence or careful speech and proper social behavior. For example, gluttony is described as "despicable" and Kagemni is encouraged to not hold grudges: "do not fight about meat in the presence of a greedy man; take what he gives you; do not deny it. Then matters will be good" (lines 1, 9–10).[7] The "Instruction of Hordjedef," outlines the ideal family: "Establish a household, and find (lit. *jrr* "make" or "achieve") for yourself a reliable wife (lit. "a wife

who is master of the heart"), and you will beget a male child."[8] The emphasis on building a household, meaning a literal house but also a family, extends into the Hereafter. Indeed, Hordjedef instructs his son to equip his house in the necropolis and to "make excellent your place in the West."

These didactic texts, thus, outline expected social behavior, for example, following orders, building a family, but they also articulate ancient Egyptian morality and expose gluttony, ignorance, and hotheadedness as key vices. The ability to be calm, generous, and educated is celebrated as a virtue. Education, as a virtue, does not refer to being literate, but speaks to awareness—a lack of ignorance. The insistence on listening and the power of heeding counsel illustrates this virtue. But these virtues and vices, the morality espoused in these texts, are ideological and idealized. They do not necessarily reflect individual belief or practice. Neither do they reflect historical social norms or real performed behaviors. Morality, generally speaking, is fundamentally ideological and idealized (Gert and Gert 2017).[9]

Moral education, then, is meant to express ideal social convention. Tobin suggests that "although [the Instruction of Ptahhotep] was not intended to be a complete compendium of Old Kingdom thought and morality, it does nevertheless present a very good picture of the general attitude and outlook of that period" (in Simpson 2003, 129). Indeed, Ptahhotep's opening verses frame the story: he asks the king to allow his son to succeed in his position of vizier, and in imparting wisdom to his son also characterizes the goal of his lesson to "instruct the ignorant man regarding knowledge and regarding appropriate speech" (line 5, 7). This notion of "appropriateness" is known emically in ancient Egypt as the concept and goddess *ma'at*. Besides these didactic texts, one of the most common places to find texts espousing the concept of *ma'at* and proper social behavior were Egyptian tombs.

Moral Education II: The Dead as Moral Guides

The dead in ancient Egypt retained (imagined) agency within the realm of the living. Despite the death of their bodies, the dead could influence the living as long as they could attain *akh* status. This transformation was achieved through special "akhification" rites and the passing of the judgment before Osiris, as visualized in the Book of the Dead Spell 125 (Kees 1977; Otto 1942; Pirenne 1959). This transformation would result in the dead becoming *akh*, literally "an effective one" that could protect and aid the living or cause harm (Friedman 1984; Janák 2013). These effective dead were inherently social and, in the ancient Egyptian mind, possessed real efficacy. They were petitioned for aid and protection; written examples of this act include the corpus known as Letters to the Dead (Donnat Beauquier 2014; Troche 2018). In return, the living would sustain the *akh* with real and symbolic (often voiced) offerings of food and beer (Harrington 2014).

The dead, then, were "alive" and could function as harbingers of wisdom and knowledge. The *akh* were often described in funerary texts as being

apr or "equipped." The effective dead were expected to have the necessary equipment in the afterlife but were also expected to be equipped with the appropriate spells and knowledge. Following the term *akh apr*, "equipped, effective spirit" we often see references to this special knowledge possessed by the dead: "I know every excellent thing,"[10] "I know all the secret magic,"[11] and "a lector priest who knows his spells."[12] The dead were, thus, possessors of special knowledge and because of their communication with the living, should be understood as supernatural educators. Specifically, the dead were moral guides and their writings, preserved upon the facades of their tombs, petitioned the living: referred to as "Appeals to the Living." They also called upon the living to give offerings because the dead lived their lives in accordance with *ma'at*. In this way, the dead were moral role models.

The earliest extant example of such an Appeal to the Living dates to the Fifth Dynasty, of the Old Kingdom (c. 2450 BCE), and thereafter becomes a typical feature of tombs, but are also found inscribed on stelae (Shubert 2007, 16). The appeals are typically written upon the facade of the tomb, to face outwards toward the living who are expected to walk by the tomb, as part of the larger biography of the tomb owner. Though possibly, if not probably, written while the tomb owner was still alive, the voice of these inscriptions was the dead, as *akh*. These biographies are known from tombs and stelae from all over Egypt, including the southern Egyptian sites of Aswan and Elephantine, which were within the zone of persistent Egyptian-Nubian cultural interaction. It is possible, then, that these moral teachings were accessible to the Nubians who certainly encountered these tombs on occasion; however, the ideological, Egyptian superiority rhetoric that is sometimes found in these biographies suggest that the Nubians may not have been their primary intended audience.

Harkhuf's biography is an oft-cited example of such a biographic inscription. Based on the preeminence of this tomb, the titles he lists, and the activities he describes in his biography, Harkhuf was likely a well-respected official of the Sixth Dynasty (near the end of the Old Kingdom, c. 2200 BCE) who was native of the island of Elephantine, along the traditional Egyptian-Nubian border. He was a role model during life, and this seems to have continued into death. Through his inscription, he educates all those who pass by his tomb, as to how to live a life in accordance with *ma'at*, as expected, ideal social behavior. Harkhuf, and other authors of these Appeals, explicitly call upon their intended audience: "Oh, all the living who are upon the earth, and who shall pass by this tomb…" (line 1, 5).[13] Harkhuf models proper moral behavior: "I gave bread to the hungry, clothing to the naked; I brought to shore the one who had no boat…I am the one who speaks well and repeats that which is desired. Never would I say anything bad to a powerful man against any men…" (lines 1, 5–7).[14] Similarly, an Old Kingdom nomarch (a sort of regional governor) named Qar also takes credit for giving bread to the hungry and clothing to the naked, but Qar also "gave milk jugs full of milk" and repaid the debts of those who lived in his district, buried all

the men of his district who did not have a son to do this for them, and protected the poor man from the powerful man (line 5).[15] Qar was also "loved by his father, praised by his mother, and loved by his brothers" (line 7).[16]

These behaviors, modeled by the dead via their funerary inscriptions, mirror well what is dictated as proper social convention in the didactic texts discussed above. Proper, moral, social behavior, thus, consisted of protecting the needy, being selfless and generous, and being a beloved member of the family. The didactic texts and the Appeals to the Living speak to the same conceptions of expected social convention, but were employed in different contexts.

Performative Education: Theoretical Considerations

While performative education is being discussed under the heading of "informal" education, performative education could, nevertheless, be highly regulated, even at the level of the state. I consider it "informal" because it was not singular, mandated, nor was there an established curriculum. Similar to moral education, performative education sought to teach a wide range of social conventions and values to literate and illiterate populations from varying social ranks and with diverse identities, for example, children, women, men, servants, elite, alike. Notably, performative education was experiential. Public, social performances could, according to Judith Butler (1988) "[render] social laws explicit" (526). While Butler is speaking specifically about gender identity construction and transformation, what she describes is basically a process of learning and educating through social dramatization. Feminist theory, as argued by Butler (1988), has "sought to understand the way in which systemic or pervasive political and cultural structures are enacted and reproduced through individual acts and practices, and how the analysis of ostensibly personal situations is clarified through situating the issues in a broader and shared cultural context" (522). In essence, this chapter seeks to do the same thing here, but instead suggests that certain performances ('individual acts and practices') can be understood as pedagogical acts through which "systemic or pervasive political and cultural structures are enacted" through ritualization, as defined by Catherine Bell (1992).

Ritual, as a term and concept, is often used to talk about an active, physical manifestation of religious belief. This supposed dichotomy between belief and practice, thought and action, was first properly articulated within the academy by Émile Durkheim (1965, 51) and was the standard until Bell's landmark study, *Ritual Theory Ritual Practice* (1992). Bell (1992) recognizes this dichotomy but argues that ritual can in fact be a "mechanism" by which the two dichotomies of thought (belief) and action (practice/behavior) are entangled rather than opposed (19–20). Within a community, then, ritual (specifically what Bell would refer to as "ritualization") could be a way to create, express, and maintain a collective set of beliefs and practices.[17] Ritual, Bell argues, is a way to create a bridge between tradition and inescapable, constant social change. Inherent in Bell's definition of ritual is the fact that

power is always, in some way, integrated into the ritualized performance. It re-asserts elite ideology, instills hierarchies, and actuates power (Bell 1992, 195). Ritual, specifically "ritualization," is not just an instrument of power, but is a manifestation of power itself (Bell 1992, 193–223). Public, social performances, as in "ritualization" and "ritual social drama," then, could be a means by which the state or other interested institution (such as the temple) could demonstrate its power and negotiate relations through directed social programming, that is, mass education.

In Egypt, this could manifest as one of the many royal and divine festivals that were celebrated throughout the year. The *heb sed* and *Opet* festivals emphasized royal renewal and divine access (Bleeker 1967). The Beautiful Feast of the Valley emphasized the fertility of the land of Egypt, as personified by the sexual union between Amun and Hathor, and was a celebration of continued life after earthly death, culminating in a feast where the dead were honored attendees (Ullmann 2007). Festivals that on the surface seem to be celebratory (certainly a state paid feast was a high point in the calendar for most), could also have been, and certainly were, opportunities to confirm social behavior and instill ideologies and shared histories. Festivals, in particular, made use of landscape and place as points of departure for education. Indeed, the repeated patterning of ritual acts, from a post-processual perspective, is the means by which cognitive structures of ideology are imprinted on the material world. As anthropologist Keith Basso states, "wisdom sits in places" (1996). Thus, I suggest that informal, performative education in ancient Egypt and Nubia can be accessed through an analysis of repeated, ritualizing acts in which a community's worldview and ethos are enacted. These performances could teach, through experiential learning, social values, at the micro- and macro-levels, to a wide range of audiences. Following are two case studies in which ritualizing performances, specifically acts of cooking, eating, and drinking, were mobilized to educate populations, though to two very different ends, within the larger community (macro) and at the individual level (micro).

Case Study 1: Rules to Be Learned; Food and Drink as Instruction at the Community Level

Food procurement, cooking, eating, and drinking are mundane activities of daily life. We must eat to live. Nevertheless, a world of symbolism and power negotiation has emerged around these otherwise mundane practices. Our foodways, that is what we consume, how we consume, when we consume (and don't consume), have become markers of our cultural, geographic, economic, and religious identities (Goody 1982; Harris 1985). Ritualized food and drink consumption, then, can also be a performance in which social conventions, hierarchies, and ideology are taught and reaffirmed.

Speaking specifically about the Fur of the Darfur region (lit. "land of the Fur") of western Sudan, Randi Haaland describes how her husband, Gunnar

Haaland (1998), was able to show how the staples of millet/sorghum products, beer, and porridge were also "sources for metaphorical associations with which the Fur interpret their social world and act in it" (Haaland 2007, 165). Food, then, could be mobilized and used as a tool of instruction, confirming the Fur's unique social world. Beer drinking could be similarly social and instructive. Haaland (2007) points to the practice, which she describes as "wide-spread in East Africa," with beer drinking being a "fundamental part of the definition of the social person" (166). She observes that "elaborate rules specify how the straw is to be held and how one should suck the beer" (Haaland 2007, 166). While we do not know of such explicit rules associated with beer drinking in ancient Egypt and Nubia, images from the ancient Near East show groups of people drinking beer through straws as early as the third millennium BCE. Thus, I suggest this specific method of beer drinking has a long history in East Africa and the Near East. Indeed, while we lack images of beer and alcohol consumption in ancient Nubia "there can be little doubt that alcohol was known and valued in the region, not only during the Kushite period, but also considerably earlier" (Edwards 1996, 73).[18]

The earliest extant depiction of this type of communal beer drinking through straws comes from a Sumerian cylinder seal, titled Lapis Luzili Cylinder Seal (BM 121545).[19] The line drawing below is representative of this seal (Fig. 2.2).

In Nubia, archaeological evidence confirms that "within Kushite society, sorghum and its products, especially beers, developed considerable significance in mortuary and other ritual contexts as well as in socioeconomic relations more generally" (Edwards 1996, 65). Specifically, the Kushite ceramic assemblage includes approximately 75% liquid storage vessels, many of which stored beer (Edwards 1996, 71). The role of beer as a labor mobilizer is

Fig. 2.2 Line Drawing of a Sumerian cylinder seal, based on British Museum 121545. Drawing by Akira Alves

suggested by Edwards (1996) and Haaland (2007), among others (see Barth 1967; Dietler 1990), but neither put much emphasis on the educational role of beer drinking. Edwards, in following Dietler's study of Iron Age France (1990, 360–365), contends that "ceremonial drinking appears to be particularly prevalent in societies where drinking customs were developed aboriginally and have a long history, often reflecting and reinforcing aspects of status differentiation; gender-based distinctions often being prominent" (Edwards 1996, 68–69). Butler would describe this, arguably, as evidence for "systemic or pervasive political and cultural structures" being "enacted and reproduced through individual acts and practices" (Butler 1988, 522). Certainly, within Kushite society, sorghum was beyond mundane. A tomb scene, for example, shows that sorghum was a gift given to King Sherkoror from the gods (Edwards 1996, 75, fig. 3). Sorghum, and arguably also beer as its product, was thus symbols of power. Ritualized beer drinking in ancient Nubia provided an opportunity to teach a community about the power dynamics inherent in that community. Notably those who participated, elite men, wielded more power than those who were only able to observe, such as women, children, and servants. The performance reiterated this power hierarchy, and passive observance of the performance would reconfirm one's acceptance of their position within this network.

Case Study 2: Rules to Be Broken; Food and Drink as Subversion at an Individual Level

As much as food and drink could be used as tools within instructive, ritualizing performances of power, they could also be used as subtle modes of transgression. The subversive use of food and drink confirms their role as tools of instruction. The assumption is that food and drink have embedded cultural meanings that are learned through social experience. If the social experience is subversive, then the food and drink can take on second lives and become tools of instruction anew; this time for a counter-culture. This would only work if food and drink were, in the first place, implements of informal social instruction.

In rare instances do foodstuffs remain intact from antiquity. Instead, scholars of ancient foodways often rely on visual culture and archaeology: for example, physical remains of hearths and ceramics, i.e. the vessels in which, and upon which, food and drink are stored, cooked, and consumed. Ceramics from Nubia and Egypt are distinguishable and reflect different cultural practices (see Smith 2003, 43, fig. 3.2). These cultural practices were generalized by Haaland (2007) as a Near Eastern "bread-oven" tradition versus an African "porridge-pot" tradition, with Egypt expressing entangled elements of both traditions, but in a way unique and archaeologically identifiable.[20]

It is within the cultural "Third Space"[21] of southern Egypt and northern Nubia (roughly the area between the second cataract of the Nile and ancient Thebes) that Stuart Tyson Smith (2003) has looked for evidence

of an Egyptian-Nubian culture, which subverts the imperial rhetoric of the Egyptian state. That is, instead of subjugating the "wretched Kush," Smith finds artifacts of Nubian culture within an Egyptian controlled context. Specifically, he looks at Nubian ceramics at the site of the Egyptian fort at Askut (located near the second cataract) as a marker of Nubian cultural presence. While pots may not equal people, cooking vessels are particularly imbued with cultural heritage and practices.[22] This is why, as Haaland has shown, a bread-oven culture emerged in the Near East and a porridge-pot culture emerged in Nubia (Haaland 2007). Furthermore, ceramics and acts of feasting (which can be traced via ceramic artifacts), in both ancient Egypt and Nubia, expressed social capital and identity. Thus, the use of Nubian versus Egyptian style ceramic wares was culturally significant especially during a period, the New Kingdom, in which Egypt was actively expressing its cultural and political dominance in Nubia. This process was once described as "Egyptianization" and presumed a Nubian acculturation to a "superior" Egyptian culture (Reisner 1919). Most Egyptologists, however, in light of the growing discourse on colonial history, have moved away from this narrative, instead favoring a narrative that recognizes Nubian agency, and embraces concepts like hybridity and entanglement (see Smith 1995; Török 2008).

Egyptian soldiers (who were almost exclusively male) resided at Askut alongside a significant population of Nubians. During the New Kingdom, at the height of Egypt's imperial expansion into the Near East and Nubia, one would expect Nubian pottery at this site to be at an all-time low. Instead, there is a preponderance of Nubian cooking vessels (three times more in the New Kingdom than the Middle Kingdom) across the site, which could indicate a rise in inter-marrying, as women typically did the majority of the cooking, and/or cultural entanglement (Smith 2003, 51–53).[23] In spite of the xenophobic, Egypto-centric rhetoric of the New Kingdom state, it seems as though (presumably) Nubians at Askut used Nubian wares, which were symbolic of their foodways, and by association their cultural values, histories, and practices. Other artifacts, such as Nubian jewelry and fertility figurines, further suggest that these vessels were in fact being used by people who at least partially identified as Nubian, versus Egyptian (Smith 2003, 53).[24] However, the use of Nubian cookware seems to have only occurred within the home or among the local community of women who cooked together. Within "public" spaces, serving vessels of Egyptian style, not Nubian, were dominant (Smith 2003, 55). It is possible and probable, that these vessels were records of cultural histories and identities that were used as part of informal, cultural education that occurred within the home and among the community of Nubians at Askut. At the very least, it is likely that these vessels preserved Nubian, specifically Kerman, foodways, including recipes, techniques, and perhaps a shared heritage more generally. Because these wares were not consistently used within the public realm, they may reflect an act of individual transgression (or not—it is impossible to say how it was perceived). At the very least, it could reflect that Nubians, who lived at an Egyptian fort,

were holding on to some aspects of Nubian identity during a period of active Egyptian cultural and political dominance in Nubia. While we may not be able to access precisely what information was shared, it is argued here that these vessels are evidence that informal education was occurring in these contexts. Where these vessels could be used (private versus public) had to be taught, as well as the recipes and techniques inherent to these vessels. Furthermore, it suggests that the teachers were perhaps Nubian matriarchs who used the act of cooking as teaching moments.

Informal education, then, was assessed here in four manifestations: (1) Didactic lessons, based on extant textual copies, which were shared through oral performances; (2) Funerary texts through which the dead acted as moral role models; (3) Food and drinking as a "top-down" ritualizing process that instilled and confirmed social hierarchies and decorum within communities; (4) Food and drinking as a "bottom-up" mode of creating and transmitting knowledge on an individual or sub-family level, that was sometimes mobilized by counter-culture agents to retain identities that could be understood as transgressive. In all four of these instances, education was informal—it was not regulated or even planned. They were oral, social, and performative, making them more ephemeral within the archaeological and textual records. Sociological and anthropological theory, however, helps to fill in the gaps and allows for us to reconstruct possible processes of informal education in ancient Egypt and Nubia.

Conclusion

Knowledge production and transmission in pre-Hellenistic Egypt and Nubia were dynamic and largely informal, often built around communities of practice. Schools certainly existed, but archaeological evidence remains elusive. Textual and visual records speak to the existence of formal systems of education in Egypt, such as scribal schools and tutors, but evidence for this is notably lacking in Nubia, for Nubian elite did not emphasize literacy as a status marker (cf. Egypt) nor was written language their primary mode of communication for much of Nubia's early history. Most education, then, took place within communities of practice, in public, and within local communities. The analysis of foodways is a productive category of study, for its ubiquity across social contexts and due to the recoverable traces left behind in the material record. Furthermore, food can be used by those with political and/or social power to instill group identity, but it can also be used by those with less power to retain alternative identities, histories, and cultures. In this chapter, there was not enough space here to do justice to everything deserving of consideration. What is presented are well-studied "facts" that push interpretive boundaries in an attempt to present the vast spectrum of what we know and what we do not know about education in ancient Egypt and Nubia. Instead

of accepting what we do not know, hopefully this chapter successfully provided an alternative approach; one that takes some analytical leaps, but is grounded equally in theory and historical reality. Because when confronted by minimal or challenging evidence, as is often the case for antiquity, for Nubia, for subaltern or illiterate peoples, academic silence is not an acceptable solution. Instead, as historians, the hope is to continue this academic trend of studying voiceless and underrepresented groups—even if that means we get it wrong sometimes as we deal with broken and inconclusive evidence. Because it is through this continual process of analysis, comparison, and evaluation, that we get closer to a better understanding of the dynamism and diversity of the human experience.

Notes

1. On education in ancient Egypt, see Brunner (1957). On education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, see Cribiore (2001). No study, however, has comprehensively considered both Egyptian and Nubian education in antiquity. While Brunner's work is foundational and a significant contribution to the field, it is largely text-driven. Thus, there is a lot of room to expand upon this work, especially in considering visual and material culture, more recent archaeological finds, and theoretical approaches, for instance, socio-behavioral psychology.
2. On women's literacy at Deir el-Medina, see J. J. Janssen (1992, pp. 81–94); in general, see Baines and Eyre (2007, pp. 83–89) and Grajetzki (2009, pp. 209–214).
3. On other tombs that depict female scribes, see Bryan (1984).
4. On genre in ancient Egypt more generally, see Parkinson (2002).
5. Translation is author's own, based on hieroglyphs published in Zába, 1956 and hieratic facsimile published in Jéquier (1911).
6. Possibly a Sixth Dynasty or Twelfth Dynasty date, with the earliest manuscript dating to the Middle Kingdom; for a translation, see Tobin in Simpson (2003) or Lichtheim (1973).
7. Translations are the author's own, based on hieroglyphs in Gardiner (1946).
8. Translations are the author's own, based on hieroglyphs in Helck (1984).
9. See Standford University Encyclopedia of Philosophy for a working definition: https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/morality-definition.
10. Translations are the author's own, based on line 3 of Fig. 4b in Silverman 2000.
11. Translations are the author's own; from the tomb of Ibi; Urk. I: 145, 2.
12. Translations are the author's own; from the tomb of Harkhuf; Urk. I: 122, 13.
13. Translations are the author's own; from the tomb of Harkhuf: Urk I: 122, 9–10.
14. Translations are the author's own; from the tomb of Harkhuf: Urk I: 122, 6–8; 122, 17–123, 1.
15. Translations are the author's own; from the tomb of Qar: Urk I: 254, 15.
16. Translations are the author's own; from the tomb of Qar: Urk I: 255, 8.

17. This "collective set of beliefs" is in essence, I argue, Gadamer's (1960) *Horizontverschmelzung*—fusion of horizons. Gadamer (1960) suggests that people have "historically affected consciousness" and are, thus, embedded within their particular histories and cultures, their fused horizons.

18. Specifically, in support of this assertion, Edwards points to the presence of wine imports from Egypt and the Mediterranean as early as second millennium BCE.

19. The Lapis Luzili Cylinder Seal (BM 121545, 1928,1010.236, AN32404001) is a surviving Sumerian cylinder seal that shows communal beer drinking through straws. It is housed at the British Museum. http://www.britishmuseum.org/join_in/using_digital_images/using_digital_images.aspx?asset_id=32404001&objectId=368238&partId=1.

20. Haaland observes, based on her own work and that of others, that ceramic and food production were independent investments in both Africa and the Near East. In the Near East, evidence for cereal domestication predates ceramic technology by about two-three thousand years. In Africa, however, the exact opposite is true, with ceramics predating plant and animal domestication by about two thousand years. This is because, Haaland argues, Africa was characterized by pot and porridge-based societies, while the Near East was characterized by oven and bread-based societies. Bread production required cereal domestication, but did not require ceramics. Porridge, on the other hand, required a pot (or some sort of ceramic vessel), but not the domestication of cereal. Ancient Africa was, as argued by Haaland, characterized by a sorghum, porridge eating-tradition, while the ancient Near East was a wheat and barley, bread-eating culture. Pottery was, as in Africa, adopted in Egypt early on, but Egypt was also part of the Near Eastern wheat and barely tradition. In this way, ancient Egypt exhibits both influence from Near Eastern and African food traditions.

21. Homi Bhabha 1996, "Culture's in-Between." In S. Hall & P. Du Gay (Eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage, 53–60.

22. I am aware of the discourse surrounding the fallacy that pots equal people, including critiques that emphasize this issue is compounded in histories and archaeologies of Africa (see, e.g., Cruz 2011). Cooking vessels, however, are unique in that they are made for utilitarian use and are, thus, rarely considered a "prestige" item to be conspicuously consumed. They are also fundamentally tied to foodways, which is in turn often tied to cultural identity (Goody 1982; cf. Harris 1985).

23. Smith proposes, if there was a small population of Nubian families, the pottery would be spatially demarcated, and if the pottery was the product of trade, they would be almost exclusively storage vessels (Smith 2003, 52).

24. Of course, we must consider that these identities were not mutually exclusive. Ancient Egyptian royal discourse, however, clearly stated that the state differentiated between "Egyptian" and "others," notably the "wretched Kush" of Nubia. While, we must consider intersectionality and the possibility that people of both Nubian and Egyptian descent could have identified as both Nubian and Egyptian, the emic, ideological rhetoric espoused by the state suggests that for the Egyptians, on an ideological level, these identities were in fact mutually exclusive. Archaeologically, however, it becomes difficult to identify this ideology in practice.

References

Allen, James P. 2005. *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Allen, James P. 2014. *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*, 3rd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Baines, John. 1983. "Literacy and Ancient Egyptian Society." *Man* 18 (3): 572–599.

Baines, John. 2004. "The Earliest Egyptian Writing: Development, Context, Purpose." In *The First Writing: Script as Invention and History as Process*, edited by Stephen Houston, 150–189. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Baines, John. 2007. *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Baines, John, and C. J. Eyre. 2007. "Four Notes on Literacy." In *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt*, 63–94. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Barth, Fredrik. 1967. "Economic Spheres in Darfur." In *Themes in Economic Anthropology*, edited by Raymond Firth, 149–174. London: Tavistock Publications.

Basso, Keith. 1996. *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Bell, Catherine. 1992. *Ritual Theory Ritual Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bhabha, Homi. 1996. "Culture's in-Between." *Questions of Cultural Identity*, edited by Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay, 53–60. London: Sage.

Bleeker, C. J. 1967. *Egyptian Festivals: Enactments of Religious Renewal*. Leiden: Brill.

Breasted, James Henry. 1909. *A History of Egypt from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest*. New York: C. Scribner's Sons.

Bryan, Betsy. 1984. "Evidence for Female Literacy from Theban Tombs of the New Kingdom." *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 6: 17–32.

Brunner, Helmut. 1957. *Altägyptische Erziehung*. Weisbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Butler, Judith. 1988. "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." *Theatre Journal* 40 (4): 519–531.

Cribiore, Raffaella. 2001. *Gymnastics of the Mind: Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Cruz, M. Dores. 2011. "'Pots Are Pots, Not People:' Material Culture and Ethnic Identity in the Banda Area (Ghana), Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries." *Azania: Archaeological Research in Africa* 46 (3): 336–357.

Deitler, Michael. 1990. "Driven by Drink: The Role of Drinking in the Political Economy and the Case of Early Iron Age France." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 9: 352–406.

Depuydt, Leo. 2010. "Ancient Egyptian Star Tables: A Reinterpretation of Their Fundamental Structure." In *Writings of Early Scholars in the Ancient Near East, Egypt, Rome, and Greece: Translating Ancient Scientific Texts*, edited by Annette Imhausen and Tanja Pommerening, 241–276. New York: De Gruyter.

Donnat Beauquier, Sylvie. 2014. *Ecrire à ses morts: enquête sur un usage rituel de l'écrit dans l'Egypte pharaonique*. Collection Horos. Grenoble: Jérôme Millon Editions.

Dorman, Peter. 1988. *The Monuments of Senenmut: Problems in Historical Methodology*. New York: Routledge.

Durkheim, Émile. 1965. *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. Translated by J. W. Swain. New York: Free Press.

Edwards, David. 1996. "Sorghum, Beer and Kushite Society." *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 29 (2): 65–77.

Emberling, Geoff, Rachael J. Dann, and Abbas Sidahmed Mohamed-Ali. 2015. "In a Royal Cemetery of Kush: Archaeological Investigations at El-Kurru, Northern Sudan, 2014–15." *Sudan & Nubia* 19: 54–70.

Epron, L., F. Daumas, and H. Wild. 1966. *Le Tombeau de Ti.* 3 volumes. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 65. Cairo: l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Fischer, Henry George. 1976. *Varia.* Egyptian Studies I. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Friedman, Florence. 1984. "The Root Meaning of Ȝḫ: Effectiveness or Luminosity?" *Serapis* 8: 39–46.

Gadamer, Hans-Georg. 1960. *Wahrheit und Methode: Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik.* Tübingen: Mohr.

Gardiner, Alan H. 1935. *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Third Series: Chester Beatty Gift.* London: British Museum, printed by Order of the Trustees.

Gardiner, Alan H. 1938. "The House of Life." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 24 (1): 157–179.

Gardiner, Alan H. 1946. "The Instruction Addressed to Kagemni and His Brethren." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 32: 71–74.

Gert, Bernard, and Joshua Gert. 2017. "The Definition of Morality." In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy.* Fall 2017 edition, edited by Edward N. Zalta. https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2017/entries/morality-definition/.

Goody, Jack. 1982. *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Grajetzki, Wolfram. 2009. "Women and Writing in the Middle Kingdom: Stela Louvre C 187." *Revue d'Égyptologie* 60: 209–214.

Griffith, Francis Llewellyn. 1911. *Karanog. The Meroitic Inscriptions of Shablul and Karanog.* Philadelphia: University Museum Publishers.

Haaland, Gunnar. 1998. "Beer, blood and mother's milk: The symbilic context of economic behaviour in Fur society." *Sudan Notes and Records 2*: 53–76.

Haaland, Randi. 2007. "Porridge and Pot, Bread and Oven: Food Ways and Symbolism in Africa and the Near East from the Neolithic to the Present." *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 17 (2): 165–182.

Haikal, Fayza. 2008. "Private Collections and Temple Libraries in Ancient Egypt." In *What Happened to the Ancient Library of Alexandria?* edited by Mostafa el-Abbadi et al., 39–54. Leiden: Brill.

Harrington, Nicola. 2014. *Living with the Dead: Ancestor Worship and Mortuary Ritual in Ancient Egypt.* Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Harris, Marvin. 1985. *Good to Eat: Riddles of Food and Culture.* New York: Simon & Schuster.

Helck, Wolfgang. 1984. *Die Lehre des Djedefhor und Die Lehre eines Vaters an seinen Sohn.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Hodel-Hoenes, Sigrid. 2000. *Life and Death in Ancient Egypt. Scenes from Private Tombs in New Kingdom Thebes.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Janák, Jiří. 2013. "Akh." *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* 1 (1): 1–9.

Janssen, J. J. 1992. "Literacy and Letters at Deir el-Medina." In *Village Voices. Proceedings of the Symposium: Texts from Deir el-Medina and Their Interpretation,*

edited by R. J. Demaree and A. Egberts, 81–94. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.

Jéquier, Gustave. 1911. *Le papyrus Prisse et ses variants.* Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner.

Kees, Hermann. 1977. *Totenglauben Und Jenseitsvorstellungen Der Alten Ägypter: Grundlagen Und Entwicklung Bis Zum Ende Des Mitteleren Reiches.* Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

Kelley, David, and Eugene Milone. 2005. *Exploring Ancient Skies: An Encyclopedic Survey of Archaeoastronomy.* New York: Springer.

Köhler, Christiana. 2010. "Theories of State Formation." In *Egyptian Archaeology*, edited by Willeke Wendrich, 36–54. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.

Martin, Geoffrey T. 1989. *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tutankhamun, I: Reliefs and Inscriptions.* London: Egypt Exploration Society.

Lichtheim, Mariam. 1973. *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. 1. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Nicholson, Paul, and Ian Shaw, eds. 2000. *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Neugebauer, Otto, and Richard Anthony Parker. 1960–1969. *Egyptian Astronomical Texts.* 3 volumes. Brown Egyptological Studies 3, 5, and 6. Providence: Brown University Press.

Nunn, John. 2002. *Ancient Egyptian Medicine.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Otto, Eberhard. 1942. "Die Beiden Vogelgestaltigen Seelenvorstellungen Der Ägypter." *Zeitschrift Für Ägyptische Sprache Und Altertumskunde* 77: 78–91.

Parkinson, Richard. 2002. *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt: A Dark Side to Perfection.* Athlone Publications in Egyptology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies. London: Continuum.

Pirenne, Jacques. 1959. "Âme et vie d'outre-tombe chez les Égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire." *Chronique d'Égypte* 34 (68): 208–213.

Perdue, Leo. 2008. *The Sword and the Stylus: An Introduction to Wisdom in the Age of Empires.* Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing.

Reisner, George. 1919. "Discovery of the Tombs of the Egyptian XXV Dynasty." *Sudan Notes and Records* 2: 237–254.

Shubert, Steven Blake. 2007. *Those Who (Still) Live on Earth: A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Appeal to the Living Texts.* PhD diss., University of Toronto.

Simpson, William Kelly. 2003. *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 3rd ed. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Small, Jocelyn Penny. 1997. *Wax Tablets of the Mind: Cognitive Studies of Memory and Literacy in Classical Antiquity.* New York: Routledge.

Smith, Stuart Tyson. 1995. *Askut in Nubia: The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium BC.* London: Kegan Paul.

Smith, Stuart Tyson. 2003. "Pharaohs, Feasts, and Foreigners: Cooking, Foodways, and Agency on Ancient Egypt's Southern Frontier." In *The Archaeology of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*, edited by Tamara Bray, 39–64. New York: Plenum Publishers.

Thomas, Rosalind. 1992. *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Török, Lazlo. 2008. *Between Two Worlds: The Frontier Region Between Ancient Nubia and Egypt 3700 BC - 500 AD.* Probleme der Ägyptologie 29. Leiden: Brill.

Troche, Julia. 2018. "Letters to the Dead." *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* 1 (1): 1–12. Retrieved from https://escholarship.org/uc/item/6bh8w50t.

Ullmann, Martina. 2007. "Thebes: Origin of a Ritual Landscape." In *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes.* Oriental Institute Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 61, edited by Peter Dorman and Betsy Bryan, 3–36. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wegner, Etienne. 1998. *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wendrich, Willeke, ed. 2012. *Archaeology and Apprenticeship: Body Knowledge, Identity, and Communities of Practice.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

Wengrow, David. 2006. *The Archaeology of Early Egypt: Social Transformations in North-East Africa, c. 10,000-2,650 BC.* Cambridge World Archaeology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wiliams, Ronald. 1972. "Scribal Training in Ancient Egypt." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 92 (2): 214–221.

Zába, Zbynek. 1956. *Les Maximes de Ptahhotep.* Prague: Académie Tchécoslovaque des Sciences.

CHAPTER 3

East African Indigenous Education Before the Era of Islam

Daniel N. Sifuna

Introduction

Education is often defined as a whole process by which one generation transmits its culture to the succeeding generation or a process by which people are prepared to live effectively and efficiently in their environment. In other words, Indigenous education in East Africa before the era of Islam was a process which went on throughout life and not limited to time, place, or to any particular group of people. As a society-wide system, it was for every member and the environment as well as the socioeconomic and political institutions were as the sources of its content. It was an education that was not only work-oriented but stressed the aspect of service as an individual was urged and expected as part of group loyalty to have a strong sense of obligation of service for the benefit of the community. Indigenous education had also a strong social dimension whose ultimate goal was to integrate an individual into society for its survival. Above all, it did not only inculcate practical skills for living, but also to enable one to achieve awareness and understanding of one's place in society, roles and what the environment offered for personal and community utilization. This chapter explores the concept and meaning of Indigenous education, institutional organization, educational goals and content, teachers and learning strategies, and assessment. It discusses the permanence and decline of Indigenous education. On some of these aspects, the chapter draws examples from major East African communities that include: Baganda and Acholi of Uganda; Chagga and Ngoni of Tanzania; and Gikuyu of Kenya among others.

D. N. Sifuna (✉)
Department of Educational Foundations, Kenyatta University, Nairobi, Kenya

Concept and Meaning of Indigenous Education

In order to properly understand and appreciate the function of African Indigenous education, it is important to know its meaning, as conceptual ambiguity leads to inaccurate understanding of reality. This therefore calls for an elaborate review of its concept as Indigenous education in East Africa before the era of Islam which has generally been misunderstood and misinterpreted. For instance, anthropologists have most often perceived Indigenous education in terms of culturalization. It is noted that every society has a culture which is transmitted from generation to generation through the means of its education (Ocitti 1994).

For sociologists on their part, Indigenous education is considered as a cultural action which is viewed as a process of becoming a member of society and therefore it is a process whereby group values are inducted into the individual. The cultural action prepares each individual for the roles one has to play in the family, community, and society in general. The socialization of members of the family, clan, lineage, age-group, and others deals with the integration of society as a whole. To become assimilated, the individual needs to be encultured in a large measure, and in this way, socialization, like enculturation, means cultural internalization. That is the acquisition of culture by the individual in order to become an acceptable member of the group or society (Ocitti 1973).

The significance of socialization like Indigenous education in the life of the individual is vividly reflected in the fact that children are born ignorant of the social worlds in which they find themselves. To survive and become acceptable members of their society, they must learn all about social knowledge and social skills, such as talking, proper ways of normal behavior in different situations, and role expectations within their society. In this regard, they are assisted by parents, relatives, and members of the community through the medium of communication. In as far as such contacts enable the individual to acquire acceptable codes of behavior in real situations for example, in the homes, on the farms, during ceremonial functions and others, this kind of socialization is akin to Indigenous education (Erny 1981; Sifuna and Oanda 2014).

Organizational Structure

The organizational structure of Indigenous education was conceptualized in accordance with the educational development of the individual from infancy to old age. In a vertical context, therefore, Indigenous education was organized to meet the learning needs of individuals in a life-long perspective from the cradle to the grave. In most communities, the lifespan of each individual was divided into life cycle stages which considerably facilitated the process of learning, especially the basic knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed for successful living as an individual and as a member of the community. During each of the several life cycle stages, every individual was made to know his

or her station in life. This, in turn, meant that one learnt what was expected of his or her sex and status, since each life cycle stage had its own behavior system which had to be acquired by individuals in order to live a normal and acceptable life. The division process of living and hence learning within an organizational framework of life cycle stages helped to bring some order in the process of life-long learning. Among some traditional communities in which there was a well-developed age-set system, like that of the Maasai, it was usually characterized by rites of passage. It was normal for individuals to pass through stages of childhood by emotionally charged rituals and pedagogy such as ear-lobbing and circumcision into the period of childhood and later into adulthood. However, many communities as characterized by the Chagga, Ngoni, Baganda, Acholi, and Gikuyu, as well as most East African communities had three distinct vertical and horizontal dimensions of structural organization that included: childhood, adolescence, and adulthood (Ocitti 1994).

Childhood

The first vertical and horizontal cycle of education was represented by the stage of childhood when individuals were made to learn and live as children, largely under the control of the womenfolk. However, childhood was preceded by birth of the child. In most communities, the general attitude people had towards the newborn was one of interest, encouragement, and well-wishing. Parents and close relatives especially took a keen interest in the welfare of a newborn and how he or she developed. The arrival of a new baby always brightened the family atmosphere and tended to strengthen the marriage and ensured its continuity. In some communities, the birth of a child was marked with celebrations. The first cycle was represented by the organizational framework of the home and the neighborhood during infancy and early childhood, with the parents and other members of the household constituting important elements of education. Initially, educational activities centered on breast-feeding, baby care, weaning, and acquisition of movement and speech. At the time, education was left in the hands of mothers and other female family members and friends. Various ways and means were used to encourage the child to sit, crawl, and walk by himself or herself through opportunities to master these development tasks (Castle 1966).

A child was given considerable assistance in other areas of development. Right from the stage when a child could display some vocalization through the next stage when he or she could indicate his or her needs, feelings, and ideas by means of reflex sounds and feeble gestures and on to the stage of babbling and developing word usage, a child was encouraged by adults to speak. Among the Chagga, for example, when a child uttered words, they tended to draw the attention of either the mother or father to the child, who encouraged and reinforced the child's speech development (Raum 1965). As a child advanced in age, training centered on etiquette, social habits, and

family activities, as well as the cultivation of values. Through the media of playing, folklore, and participation in the everyday social and economic activities of the family and community, the child acquired knowledge and skills. Morally, a child was made to conform to mores, customs, and standards of behavior inherent in the clan into which she or he was born or lived right from the time she or he was able to walk. Bad habits and undesirable or disruptive behavior were not tolerated in any child. To inculcate good habits and character in their young, many parents normally used incentive methods which included encouragement, rewards, approval, praise, and the like as well as deterrent methods which included various forms of punishment (Brown and Hiskett 1975; Hake 1975). Children were protected against dangers and all sorts of harm. In this regard, there were many precautionary measures against such dangerous situations as fire, suffocation, accidents, and malignant glances. Infants and toddlers were rarely left alone in the kitchens; children playing with dangerous objects such as knives, spears, or axes were directed away from them and warned against them (Ocitti 1973).

In general, the educational development until late childhood of the child was mainly conducted within the family and primarily by the mother on whom the child depended both physiologically and materially. Of course, other members of the family interacted with the child in many ways. The father played a complementary role to the mother. During this period, games occupied an important place in the education of children in conformity with their awakening of intense mental and physical activities. Listening to stories, legends, folktales, myths, historical narratives, proverbs, riddles, music, and songs helped children not only to build up and feed their powerful imagination and a solid basis for clarifying their ideas, but also taught them much about the accumulated experience and wisdom of their communities associated with certain events, occasions, or persons (Florence 2005). There was also the spiritual environment which provided many learning activities, especially in the areas of religion and its associated beliefs that helped to explain several mysteries of life to older children, for example, the relationship between life and death (Erny 1981).

With the increasing development of the child's ability for abstract thought and reasoning and the development of her or his personality, their educational development from late childhood into adolescence is associated closely with their social life. During this period, they learned both actively through productive work and passively as a spectator of social relationships and public affairs progressively adding experience and knowledge. At this time, she or he is given a certain amount of independence in the family, along with increased responsibilities. Among the Acholi and Sukuma, for example, the child was increasingly associated with the economic organization of the society which became the educational setting for much of their learning of necessary skills and associated values and attitudes needed to live a normal life as acceptable members of the society. Examples of economic activities that provided much learning included: agriculture, herding or animal husbandry, fishing, as well

as numerous craftworks. Craftworks, such as pottery, woodwork, basketry, blacksmithing, tanning, bark cloth making, weaving, house construction, and others, gradually became a major focus of older children's education within these civilizations (Ocitti 1994; Varkevisser 1969).

Adolescence

At around fourteen to sixteen years, the child underwent puberty and became an adolescent with the anxieties this change entailed. This third vertical cycle began, in the case of girls, with the discharge of the menses. This was characterized by intensified training for family life. For the boy, he became increasingly identified with his father and the menfolk, while a girl with her mother and the womenfolk. This cycle culminated into married life. In some communities, this cycle marked a period for initiation especially circumcision for boys in many communities. Its content in educational value, fully responded to the existing circumstances, with an emphasis placed on physical exercises, sexual education, an awareness of responsibilities, and the harmonious acceptance of the initiate into the community being given strong emphasis. The ritual ceremonies and impressive activities indicated the intense interest shown by the entire community in this event in the life of the adolescent (Sifuna and Otiende 1994; Prazak 2016).

The Ngoni of Southern Tanzania portrayed a rare feature of training for boys in their seclusion hut or dormitory. In the traditional community, the art of engaging in warfare was said to be their main occupation. The dormitory was a place where the boys slept and lived together and where they learnt to defend themselves and obey authority. It was a preparatory school for participation in the regiment, and the rearing of cattle as the major economic activity was the basis of the curriculum. In the dormitory, they learnt and acquired skills pertaining to the bush and its wildlife. They were taught about their forefathers and the qualities required in self-defense and mutual aid which they would need when recruited into the regiment. The dormitory also served as the means of mixing all the boys in the village so that they could lead a common life and share things among themselves. It was primarily a learning and sleeping place, though it served as a place where juvenile activities were organized. It was generally rough and tough, following a "Spartan Greek" way of life where individual feelings and preferences were subordinated and where they were all kept busy most of the time. Taking a cold bath was, for instance, part of the normal dormitory life. The "barrack" was expected to inculcate toughness, good leadership, a sense of responsibility, and respect for authority (Read 1968).

Adulthood

The fourth cycle covered life after initiation, during which the adolescent was prepared for life and completed training with elders. He or she perfected the craft of livelihood, accumulated experience and participated more

fully in social life and assumed more responsibilities as an adult toward other adults. After marriage, a person passed through the final door to complete adulthood. During this long period, education was for successful married life with the married couples getting instructions mainly from the in-laws and the elders of the community. In matrilineal societies, the couples received more instructions from the wife's relatives, while in patrilineal societies; the instructors came mainly from the husband's lineage and clan. Education for parenthood or bringing up a family was not the only subject learned. As junior adults, married couples were also guided by the elders to learn a lot through active participation in the many joint social, religious, judicial, and economic activities of the community. Men were also required to acquire the skills and techniques of warfare and the defense of the homes, the clan, and the entire society (Ocitti 1994).

Elderhood

The final vertical cycle of Indigenous education especially with strong patrilineal kinship system covered the period of elderhood which began with married couples becoming parents-in-law and subsequently grandparents. Education for elderhood was achieved through participation in village and court affairs, as well as in festivities which included: playing leading roles in rituals associated with important activities such as birth, marriage, death, sickness, religion, and governing councils. Above all, the richness of educational experiences which elders went through undoubtedly elevated them to the level of wise men and women or sages of the community and the wider society. Such a status bestowed upon them the prestige of being arbitrators, advisors, and counselors until they passed on to become invisible guardians of the society as ancestors, thus as the "living dead" (Raum 1965; Ocitti 1994).

EDUCATIONAL GOALS AND CONTENT
IN INDIGENOUS EDUCATION

Although Indigenous education systems varied from one community to another, the goals of these systems were often strikingly similar. The purpose of Indigenous education was essentially an education for living, to train the youth for adulthood within the society. Emphasis was placed on normative and expressive goals. Normative goals were concerned with inculcating the accepted standards and beliefs governing correct behavior and expressive goals with creating unity and consensus. There were, however, competitive elements within the system which encouraged competitiveness in intellectual and practical matters, but these were controlled and subordinated to normative and expressive aims (Sifuna and Otiende 1994). The basic goals of Indigenous education included; to inculcate the *acquisition of knowledge* which meant the learning of important or essential knowledge about all aspects of the culture including knowledge of the society's environmental evaluation, mechanisms of survival,

the origin of the clan and society, governing and religious roles and order, and related aspects to these areas. There was also the *acquisition of practical skills* which implied learning through being useful within the environmental setting, namely; learning productive and maintenance knowledge and skills in the home, garden, herding within the community in performing joint activities. There was the wholesome development which meant an achievement of the fullest development of the individual as an acceptable man and woman, namely to become a fully functioning individual and a creative person for self-reliance, self-fulfillment, and self-acceptance and as such acquire knowledge and skills to contribute to the governance, religious life, and well-being of the community (Ocitti 1994; Sifuna and Oanda 2014; Prazak 2016).

The physical environment determined the nature of economic activities which could be carried out, so the dominant activities might embrace cultivation, fishing, gathering, or pastoralism. From their earliest years, elders aimed to adapt children to their physical surrounding and to teach them how to use it. Within the homestead and its environs, parents and older relatives were responsible for the training in economic activities. Closely related to the basic economic needs was the production of objects which had both practical and cultural value. Many societies had craftsmen in pottery, basket-making, weaving, and iron-smithing for making articles such as spears, axes, hoes, machetes, arrows, and other tools. In most communities, such crafts were specialities of certain families and clans which became famous for their skills (Sifuna and Otiende 1994; Sifuna and Oanda 2014).

The social environment also played a very important role in shaping the content of Indigenous education. A dominant value or principle which guided it was that of communalism, which meant that people highly valued living closely together as they cherished each other and at times suffered together, while depending upon one another (Ocitti 1994). Among the Gikuyu for example, the social environment offered a wide range of areas of knowledge. It involved the study of the history of the family, clan lineage, and ethno-national group especially the heroes who were recalled in songs and stories. These stories focused not so much on their individual feats as they did their contributions to the general life of the people, the aim being to discourage individualism. Children learnt oral literature (Kenyatta 1938) as most communities were rich in stories, riddles, proverbs, poems, songs, and lullabies. These were part of the oral literature, reflecting every aspect of life and culture and teaching a wealth of information about community beliefs, customs, and taboos (Florence 2011).

TEACHERS AND LEARNING STRATEGIES IN TRADITIONAL EDUCATION

The educational setting stressed personal involvement as a means of learning and the practice of what was to be learnt. Learning arose and grew out of the active participant of the learner in the everyday activities of the family, clan,

and the entire community. Emphasis was put more on practice rather than theory; on what was learnt than on how it was learnt; and on learning generally than on teaching. However, if teaching is conceived as that process initiated by an individual or group with the intention of influencing or promoting the learning of another individual or group of individuals, then it was quite true to say that teachers of many kinds existed within the Indigenous East African education. What did not exist, therefore, was professional teachers as they currently exist in modern schools. It also needs to be pointed out that besides, being a teacher or facilitator of learning for others, an individual was equally taught by other people, invariably by those who were older or more experienced and who formed part of the social space. Among those who played teaching roles during childhood and adolescence were one's mother, father, aunts, siblings, and grandparents (Florence 2011).

In most East African societies, parents played a very important role in the education of their children. There was often a marked division of labor. The mother educated all children in the early years, but later the father took over the education of the male children, while the mother remained in control of the female children. After learning to walk, speak, and count, the male child went to his father and male older siblings to be trained in male chores. The female child on the other hand continued to be taught by her mother assisted by other women in the community and began to learn how to live and work as a woman in that community. Although there was an overlap in the simple tasks of training for both boys and girls in the early years, especially around six to eight years of age, the general rule was that of establishing sexual dichotomy in most work activities. In apprenticeship centers as well as institutionalized formal "schools" and initiation camps, and in secret learning associations and seclusion schools, there were groups of learners who were taught formally by carefully selected instructors with the necessary expertise and practical experiences (Ocitti 1994; Sifuna and Oanda 2014; Prazak 2016).

Informal learning was a common strategy. Among the informal initiated methods of learning, was learning through play. In most communities, the importance of play was generally realized. A child who did not participate actively in play after "work" was normally suspected of being ill or even abnormal as play was a very popular activity with children due to their physical and emotional impulses. Children were left to take their own initiative to make toys for play from their rich environment. They made toys of animals, houses, people, and objects which interested them from local materials of their own choices and interests. Baganda children, for example, molded items from mud and clay and made use of articles which they knew or thought were of little use to adults such as old and discarded banana trees for sliding on muddy and sloping surfaces in agricultural communities. They also engaged in make-believe play activities which were imitative, imaginative, and symbolic based on the day-to-day activities of the community (Wandira 1973).

In many ethnic communities, a popular form of play was wrestling, which was staged by children inciting each other for a wrestling fight. In some

communities, such children would be imitating a wrestling game or competition often staged by adults, especially by men. Acholi children, for example, did not just wrestle for its own sake or for fun; they did so in order to become more proficient in the game so they might become better competitors as young men, and to compare their physical strength. The child who was often defeated in the game or on a number of occasions by most of his age mates invariably became a laughingstock of the group and was even shunned or despised as a weakling. On the other hand, one who distinguished himself out of the group as the strongest usually assumed the position of leadership in their peer group (Ocitti 1973; Sifuna and Oanda 2014).

Folktales were also closely related to myths and legends and were based primarily on the day-to-day occurrences or happenings within the society. Hence, much of the ethical teaching which was given to children was though folktales and conveyed moral lessons. For example, these tales highlighted triumph over difficulties, virtues of wisdom, dangers of conceit and arrogance and others. Virtues such as communal unity, hard work, conformity, honesty, and uprightness were reflected in many of the folktales. Similarly, by listening to folktales, children learned a lot about human problems, faults, and weaknesses which were calculated to instill moral lessons in a didactic form (Florence 2011).

Proverbs which were widely used in ordinary conversation were also calculated to convey important lessons to the youth. Proverbs were condensed wisdom of the great ancestors and therefore a judicious use of proverbs in ordinary conversations was regarded as a sign of wit. In a given proverb, for example, one or two moral ideas were contained in a single sentence. Most of them referred to different aspects of the socioeconomic as well as the political life. Among the Chagga, for example, old people and parents used them in their dealings with children to convey precise moral lessons, warnings, and advice since they made a greater impact on the mind than the use of ordinary words. Children also learned through dance and folksongs. Music formed an integral part of community daily lives. Many of the rites and ceremonies, feasts, and festivals were usually performed to the accompaniment of melodious music and dancing (Raum 1965).

Traditional teaching and learning also involved the use of deterrence or inculcating fear in the children. Right from early childhood, whenever appropriate, children were made to conform to the morals, customs, and standard behavior inherent in the family and clan into whom they were born or lived. Bad habits and undesirable behavior such as disobedience, cruelty, selfishness, bullying, aggressiveness, temper tantrums, theft, telling lies, and other forms of misbehavior were not tolerated. Among the Acholi and Ngoni, for example, usually, verbal warnings were used and more often followed by some form of punishment. Children who committed offenses would be rebuked or smacked or be assigned some piece of work, which they were expected to complete before being allowed to eat. Serious offenses, however, resulted in severe beating or some form of inflicting pain on the body.

Part of the informal methods of instruction included children learning through productive work. Among the Baganda, learning through the medium of work enabled children to acquire the right type of masculine or feminine roles. Children learned by being useful to the adults through assisting them or working hand in hand with adults on tasks. A child was expected to learn largely through observing and imitating. He or she would be given formal review or instruction of the process, usually after an error or a mistake occurred or when the outcome of the work was found unsatisfactory (Apter 1961). Children were usually given a gradual process of training according to their age and sex. First, the tasks which they performed normally increased in amount and complexity as they grew up. Second, the physical ability of the children was also taken into consideration in the allocation of tasks. Rarely, would a child be assigned a task which was beyond his or her physical strength, even if the assignment was a form of punishment (Hake 1975).

Apart from informal learning practices, formal learning often involved theoretical and practical acquisition of knowledge and practical inculcation of skills. Formal instruction was given in the form of constant warnings and corrections to children, such as in some aspects of domestic work like herding of livestock before embarking on the task; cultivation and tending to certain crops; fishing and other occupations. There was also formal instruction, such as making known to children, the wealth of folklore; teaching them some everyday customs and manners of eating; greeting and how to behave with relatives and important people. In preparing girls for marriage, emphasis was placed on training in home management and on learning parental and marital obligations (Sifuna and Oanda 2014; Prazak 2016).

Formal instructional strategies overall were reflected in organized and continuous learning under the guidance of recognized and accepted instructors in usually fixed places. Formal instruction was also quite common in the institutionalized Indigenous schools and secret societies of some communities in East Africa as well as the training of pages at royal courts such as those of the *Kabaka* or king among the Baganda. Learning through apprenticeship was also formal and direct method in Indigenous education. Parents, who wanted their children to acquire some occupational training, normally sent them to work with craftsmen, such as potters, blacksmiths, basket makers, and others, who would formally instruct them. This too applied to the acquisition of hereditary occupations. For example, an herbalist in handing over the secrets about medicine and its use would instruct the apprentice until she or he became knowledgeable and proficient in the practice (Apter 1961).

Among some ethnic groups, formal education took the form of succeeding stages of initiation from one status to another. This was most pronounced among the Maasai of Southern Kenya and Northern Tanzania. At the age of five for example the outer edges of a child's ears were pierced. At about the age of ten or so, the lobes of the ears were also pierced, a visible indication that the child has advanced from childhood to boyhood or girlhood (Ole Sankan 1971). However, the most prominent of initiation practices were

those associated with puberty which took the form of male or female circumcision, although some ethnic communities practiced male circumcision only. This test was regarded as the point of passage into full membership of the community. It was deliberately made an emotional and painful experience, sometimes covering a period of many months which was engraved forever on the personality of the initiates (Wagner 1948; Prazak 2016). Within ethnic communities which undertook circumcision such as the Chagga and Gikuyu without it, a man or woman could not be regarded as a full member of the group or have rights of property (Kenyatta 1938; Raum 1965; Prazak 2016). Circumcision was normally accompanied with formal lessons. The teaching took the form of formal lessons, songs, and efforts made by the instructor to test or assess whether the initiate understood such lessons.

Assessment in Indigenous Education

Unlike modern schooling, Indigenous education was not an education geared toward passing specific public or private examinations. Instead, it was an education for life adjustment and for acceptable living. This meant that the stigma of failure was not part of the learning process. This of course does not imply that there was no assessment. Every mother, for example, through education and training, always wanted her daughter to gain and master the knowledge and skills for home management. Similarly, every father wanted his son to become at least a competent farmer or hunter, fisherman and herdsman, or any other relevant occupation, in addition to a successful management of his home. Hence, of all the different aspects of educational training to which children were subjected, the one to which most attention was paid was probably that which prepared them as prospective wives and husbands.

With the ultimate goal of education and training to produce functional members of the society, as well as competent husbands and wives, there was a range of assessment. Most of the assessment was informal and on an individual basis. Group assessments were rare and largely confined to military and performing arts or to certain activities in initiation camps. Almost all forms of testing were diagnostic and prescriptive and usually gave rise to some type of remedial teaching or further practice for perfection (Ocitti 1994). Among some examples of testing in Indigenous education included assigning an individual a particular job to do and closely watch the results to then verbally assess the outcomes. An adolescent girl for example was often sent to take care of the running of domestic affairs of an elderly or sick couple, partly to find out if she was accomplished enough to manage a home alone, which was an important qualification for marriage.

Among pastoralists, testing sometimes took the form of asking boys to identify lost cattle, goats, and sheep or strange ones without counting them. Often, a boy's power of observation and identification was tested by being called upon to separate his father's goats from the village herd or identify

each animal by some name or any distinguishing mark on its body or others. In societies with strong kinship relationship, a common form of testing demanded that each individual be able to recall his or her genealogy by the names of relatives both on the father's and mother's sides by name and in correct order transcending certain age groups. In some societies, customs required the bridegroom to work for his mother-in-law for an entire agricultural season single handedly as a form of comprehensive testing which could influence the decision as to whether the marriage would finally be endorsed. In many traditional communities, especially at courts, assessments were made by headmen and women or the most senior members as to how junior adults were able to display their wits in cross-examinations as well as wisdom and ability to quote and utilize precedents and procedures regarding the conduct of specific cases (Ocitti 1994).

PERMANENCE AND DECLINE OF INDIGENOUS EDUCATION

In considering the East African environment today, it is noted that it is no longer possible to observe Indigenous education anywhere in its pure form, free from foreign influences. But the modifications which it has undergone have affected it to very different degrees and at different levels depending on ethnic groups, regions, families, and individuals. However, nowhere has it completely disappeared to give way to Islamic and Western education systems. Even in the most Islamized and Westernized communities, it is always possible to find some elements of traditional or Indigenous education, and very often, it continues to form the backbone of the educational contribution that children receive from their families and environments.

One key factor which has adversely affected the permanence of Indigenous education is school attendance. Indigenous education has often found itself competing with modern schools which spread new ideas and skills. Attending school has become the main criterion for differentiating between the traditionalist and modern segments of the population, which in some communities are sometimes divided by deep antagonism. In comparison, the modern school is said to open the way for new professions and a way of life based on individual remuneration.

Islamic and Western civilizations in general and their education systems in particular have had a very significant impact on the precolonial socioeconomic and political systems. Through transformation, different categories of people have had to assume new functions and roles. For example, women have had to assume functions and roles, which traditionally were not theirs due to radical changes in the socioeconomic structures. New cultural elements are increasingly being introduced into the remotest parts of the rural countryside in the East African region that often severely undermine Indigenous cultural values. The gradual acceptance of new ideas and ways of life and the corresponding disenchantment with old ways have led the youth to aspire to the education provided by Islamic and Western school systems.

The motivations by both children and parents are based on the observation that the old culture is falling apart or falling behind and that only these formal schools are in a position to prepare them for entry into the new system which is taking shape (Sifuna and Otiende 1994; Florence 2011).

However, the Indigenous education system is not disintegrating uniformly, but rather in stages and or by institutions. Among them, the initiation institutions seem to have been the most fragile, although they are classically presented as the cornerstone of traditional or Indigenous education. The onslaught on initiation institutions such as traditional circumcision systems was started by the Christian missionaries who unanimously fought the initiation practices during the colonial period. They strictly forbade their faithful and catechumens from participating in Traditional schools or camps and went ahead to expel from their schools those who had undergone Traditional initiations. The term "Traditional" here refers to the African religion as practiced by these groups. The missionaries considered initiation as the most important pedagogical institution of the Traditional societies which would lead a person to embrace a definite pagan mentality and thus prevent any other form of learning. The circumcision practice itself was tolerated, but more as an isolated practice removed from its ritualistic setting which included Traditional rites.

Consequently, what has become of initiation in many societies reflects significant cultural changes such that these initiations are merely isolated practices stripped of rituals and educational underpinnings. In some East African communities, the kind of circumcision currently done during the school holidays is in a hospital or dispensary without even a family ceremony so that it no longer resembles a Traditional ritual act. Even among some ethnic groups who insist on executing circumcision ceremonies in the homes using Traditional circumcisers, long-established rituals are deliberately omitted. However, from the perspective of such communities, circumcision is still considered indispensable for the membership of the ethnic group. It also remains a requirement as preparation for marriage as any young man who has not gone through it, often feels inferior and ashamed before his peers and elders.

Generally, the school calendar makes children less available for Traditional initiations as they leave to attend formal school. The seclusion in the bush schools or camps is considered outdated and is no longer accepted. Even in situations where nobody openly attacks initiation institutions, they are weakened by the fact that their sociological supports are breaking down gradually. Eventually, no one is left to keep them alive, so in many cases, they may disappear altogether (Sifuna and Otiende 1994; Florence 2011).

The urban setting in East Africa poses one of the greatest threats to Indigenous education. In towns, one witnesses the decline in the role of the family unit in sustaining cultural values. For instance, it is more within some of the family circles than anywhere else that the use of the mother tongue is maintained. In the urban setting, the use of English language or Kiswahili is now much more common than previously practiced, and it tends

to reflect the general transformation of society. The rural areas, on the other hand, still maintain stronger attachment to the traditional values. In the rural context, such features as evening conversations around the fire and beliefs in Traditional healers and cultural values continue to hold ground in some communities. Practices of child rearing in Traditional structures have hardly changed and parental education has continued to follow Indigenous models (Sifuna and Otiende 1994; Florence 2011).

It can therefore be concluded that, while a number of socioeconomic forces have greatly contributed to the decline of Indigenous education in East Africa, it, however, continues to play a very important role in modern societies. Not only in those areas largely untouched by the Islamic and Western ways of life, but also in the early and in the later years of many rural children who enter schools. In this respect, rural schoolboys and schoolgirls usually learn in two education systems, that is their Indigenous education and the imported one.

SUMMARY CONCLUSION

Indigenous education in East Africa was a process which went on throughout life and not limited to time, place, or to any class or specific group of people within a given ethno-national civilization. Pedagogically, it encompassed both instructional and non-instructional modes of learning which were termed as formal and informal. As a society-wide system, it was for every member and the environment as well as the socioeconomic and political institutions was the sources of its content. It was an education that was not only work-oriented, but it also stressed the aspect of service as an individual was urged and expected to demonstrate as part of group loyalty. Such service reflected a strong sense of obligation to the benefit of the community. The organizational structure of Indigenous education was conceptualized in accordance with the physical development of the individual from infancy to old age. In a vertical context, it was organized to meet the learning needs of individuals in a life-long perspective from the cradle to the grave.

Although Indigenous education systems varied from one community to another, the goals of these systems were often strikingly similar. The purpose of Indigenous education was essentially an education for living; thus, it trained the youth for adulthood within the society. Emphasis was placed on normative and expressive goals. Normative goals were concerned with inculcating the accepted standards and beliefs governing correct behavior and expressive goals with creating unity and consensus. Its content grew out of the immediate environment which was physical as well as social and even imaginary. From the physical environment, for example, children learned about weather, types of landscapes, as well as their associated numerous types of animal and insect life. It is noted that teachers of many kinds existed within the Indigenous East African education systems. In this regard, besides one was a teacher or facilitator of learning for others and, as an individual, was

equally taught by other people, invariably by those who were older or more experienced and who formed part of the social space. With the ultimate goal of education and training to produce functional members of the society, there was a lot of assessment, most of which was informal and on an individual basis to ensure that the learner gained and mastered the knowledge and skills for life. While it is no longer possible to observe Indigenous education anywhere in its pure form, free from foreign influences, nowhere has it completely disappeared to give way to Islamized and Western education. Even in the most Islamized and Westernized communities, it is always possible to find some elements of traditional Indigenous education as it continues to form the backbone of the educational experience that each child receives from his or her family and environment.

References

Apter, D. 1961. *The Political Kingdom in Buganda*. London: Longmans.

Brown, G. N., and M. Hiskett, eds. 1975. *Conflict and Harmony in Education in Tropical Africa*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

Castle, E. B. 1966. *Growing Up in East Africa*. London: Oxford University Press.

Erny, P. 1981. *The Child and His Environment in Black Africa: An Essay on Traditional Education*. Translated by G. J. Wanjohi. Nairobi: Oxford University Press.

Florence, N. 2005. *From Our Mothers' Hearts: Bukusu Folktales and Proverbs.* Trenton and Asmara: Africa World Press Inc.

Florence, N. 2011. *The Bukusu of Kenya: Folktales, Culture and Social Identities.* Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press.

Hake, C. 1975. *Child Rearing Practices in Northern Nigeria*. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.

Kenyatta, J. 1938. *Facing Mount Kenya*. London: Secker and Warburg.

Ocitti, P. J. 1973. *African Indigenous Education: As Practised by the Acholi of Uganda*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau.

Ocitti, P. J. 1994. *An Introduction to Indigenous Education in East Africa*. Bonn: Institut fur Internationale Zusammenarbeit.

Ole Sankan, S. S. 1971. *The Maasai*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau.

Prazak, M. 2016. *Making the Mark: Gender, Identity and Genital Cutting*. Athens: Ohio University Press.

Raum, C. F. 1965. *Chagga Childhood*. London: Oxford University Press.

Read, M. 1968. *Children of Their Fathers*. New York: Rinehart and Winston.

Sifuna, D. N., and I. O. Oanda. 2014. *Historical and Contemporary Trends in the Development of Education in Kenya: Government Policy, Gender and Regional Dimensions*. Nairobi: The Jomo Kenyatta Foundation.

Sifuna, D. N., and J. E. Otiende. 1994. *An Introductory History of Education*. Nairobi: Nairobi University Press.

Varkevisser, C. 1969. "Growing Up in Sukumaland." In *Primary Education in Sukumaland*, 42–82. Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff.

Wagner, G. 1948. *The Bantu of Kavirondo*. London: Oxford University Press.

Wandira, A. 1973. *Indigenous Education in Uganda*. Kampala: Makerere University.

Anglophone Africa: Education, Religion, and Nation Building, 1960s–1990s

Jamaine M. Abidogun

Introduction

Education and nation building were and are entwined experiences across Anglophone Africa. The use of Christian Western curriculum by newly independent Anglophone African nations as a tool of national assimilation is a major part of any discussion on "Christianity and Politics in an Age of African Liberation." Marcia Wright explains religion's historical role as, "Religions have secular and spiritual aspects, the secular being most frequently observed and reported in connection with political and social institutions or behavior" (1971, 439). In the development of the Anglophone African nation-state, the secular aspect of religion is clearly evident as it serves to reinforce the political, i.e., nation building, through its presence in the social institution of Western formal education. It is difficult to separate the religious from the political within the historical realities of these nation-states. Toyin Falola's account of his educational experience in Ibadan, Nigeria, during the 1950s demonstrates this religious and political reality within formal education practice, writing:

> Before the mess, there was a clean body, not pure but clean. In my day, the anthem of cults that circulated in schools, one that we all sang, was about the retention of the cultures of old.

J. M. Abidogun (✉)
Missouri State University, Springfield, MO, USA
e-mail: jamaineabidogun@missouristate.edu

> We shall perform our rites
> We will obey our customs
> No religion can forbid us
> Not at all
> From performing our rites.(2005, 230)

His experience as a secondary student in Yorubaland during the last years of British rule in Nigeria references an awareness of the new political and religious structure that is imposed upon the old political and religious structure. The "Mess" he explains develops later, "As they strengthened their faith, Christians and Muslims slowly but surely eroded the cultural foundations of the city, creating a mess that the visitor can see today." Thus, at once, Christianity is identified with the new nation and with the new religious factions that will develop as a part of it. This process began with the Christian mission schools and the early British native schools as Christianity and civic education were used to socialize many ethno-nations to accept a common colonial identity. Falola demonstrates the participants' awareness of this process. This process continued as a foundational element in the establishment and maintenance of the nation-state.

This integrated experience of religion and national identity formation was therefore part of Anglophone Africa's national curriculums from the beginning. The political entity of the colonial British Empire was merely replaced by the nation-state as the religious and civic curriculum was revised to develop a national identity and allegiance to the nation-state. But how can education play a part in this? What does religion have to do with political identity formation and allegiance within the school curriculum? This chapter attempts to address these questions by providing a historical review of national curriculum development to demonstrate the use of the education system to tie Christianity to national identity formation.

The marriage of Christianity to nationhood within the education system became the dominant curriculum. Similar Muslim school curriculum did mirror the Christian national curriculum but was complicated by Qur'anic educational histories that predated the nation-state formation. This, it may be argued, allowed Muslim ethno-nations to maintain a dual allegiance. Due to Islam's earlier integration within the indigenous society, it proved more difficult to replace ethno-national identification with national identification. Instead, it appears that Muslim identification becomes the dominant identity (see Abidogun 2000; Ndzovu 2009; Paden 1981). This makes Christianity's role in fostering national identity formation unique, especially as it is manifested within these nations' formal education systems.

As the number of citizens participating in formal education increased, so did the influence of Christianity on the development of their national identity. One result of their educational experience from the 1960s to the 1990s was a significant reduction in acceptance of Traditional beliefs and practices. The new Anglophone Africa's national curriculums all included social studies textbooks that were carefully written to provide a balanced and diverse

representation of religion and culture, while simultaneously educating students on their civic duty to the nation. Each nation was officially committed to unity within diversity. If the curriculum ended here, the Christianized national identity would not exist. It was the inclusion of a Christian religious knowledge or moral education course along with a not so hidden Christianizing curriculum that made it evident to every student and teacher that Christianity and national allegiance went hand in hand. Thus, the careful balancing of diversity in the social studies courses was cancelled out or at least overshadowed by the Christian doctrine that was explicitly and implicitly taught in these schools. This religion course along with Christian practices embedded in school policy and practice effectively continued the colonial education legacy of acculturating generations of teachers and students to understand that Christianity is part and parcel of the national (civic) identity.

Educational Foundations of Euro-Christian Nationalism

From the 1960s forward, the national core curriculum of most Anglophone African nations included a Christian knowledge course and a civics course. Most also provided the option of offering a Islamic knowledge course in lieu of the Christian knowledge course. In practice, from the 1960s to the 1990s, the majority of schools implemented the Christian knowledge course due to majority of "Christian" students in the schools. These courses were required courses for most primary schools and middle school, later junior secondary school (JSS) students. They were required courses according to the national curriculums often for primary education. Normally listed as an elective under JSS, the religious studies course was often scheduled as a required course in schools. In practice, the majority of students in many Anglophone African nation-states experienced a curriculum that articulated and implemented a Christianized school curriculum.

Sample cases in this chapter from Ghana, Kenya, and Nigeria illustrate the commonalities that tie Christianity and national identity formation together within Anglophone Africa's formal education systems. While their specific histories varied, the British education structures embedded within their colonial pasts were similar. In addition, they share a common order of events in their broader education histories that include:

- Traditional or Indigenous Education Systems
- Islamic Education Systems
- British Trade Schools
- European Christian Missions
- British Colonial Education System
- Neocolonial or Postcolonial Education System.

Obviously, Indigenous education systems are the oldest as they date back to the origins of the ethno-nations. In Ghana and Nigeria, Islam is introduced through local rulers roughly between the tenth and eleventh centuries

C.E. and makes inroads as the people's religion during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Islam comes earlier to Kenya through trade with the Middle East and approximately by the eleventh-century Swahili (African-Arab) societies along the East Coast transition to Islam as the common religion. In all three cases, Islam supported trade and political alliances whether it was across the Sahel or along the East Coast. It effectively provided a regional bond without significant rejection of ethno-national identities.

Trade schools and European mission schools in West Africa often worked as business partners and were clearly established by the nineteenth century C.E. in all three colonies. Kwame Nkrumah noted that while their earliest attempt in West Africa was in 1481 by the Portuguese, the first successful mission school in Ghana (then Gold Coast) was established by the Basle Missionary Society in 1828 outside Accra, and in Nigeria, by 1846 the United Presbyterian Synod of Scotland established a school off the Gulf of Benin at the Old Calabar River (present-day Calabar, Nigeria) (1943, 33–34). In Kenya, mission schools were established somewhat later, as George Urch explained, "it was not until the last quarter of the century that mission work began in earnest. The Berlin Treaty of 1885 provided both freedom to operate and some degree of protection; missionaries soon set up stations in the interior of East Africa" (1971, 250). These Euro-Christian missions effectively established Western education structures that eventually developed into the current national education systems. Mission schools provided the bulk of Western education as late as the 1950s. Edward Berman documented the transition during the 1960s of Ghana's and Nigeria's mission schools to government ownership:

> In 1942, 97% of Nigeria's student population was enrolled in missionary schools; today [early 1970's] missionary education has been banned in the East Central State of Nigeria-the heartland of the highly Christianized Ibos-and is steadily declining with the strengthening of the Local Education Authorities in other areas of Nigeria (Coleman, 1958: 113). As recently as 1950, missionary schools accounted for 97% of the total enrollment in Ghanaian schools; twelve years later the government assumed the responsibility for the payment of salaries of all teachers, irrespective of the type of school in which they taught ([as cited in] Anim, 1966: 189). (1974, 527)

Berman cites these numbers to demonstrate that by the end of the 1960s Local Education Authorities (LEAs) in Nigeria and the newly formed Ghana Ministry of Education respectively had taken control of education. He claimed these changes were evidence of the de-commissioning of missionary education, but failed to note that in neither case did the new owners end the teaching of Christian or moral education courses. These courses continued largely unchanged, alongside the new nationalized social studies and civic courses. Berman described an earlier co-opting of mission education in the Kenyan experience, as he explains:

> In Kenya during the 1920s and 1930s the schools were run almost exclusively by missionaries. The reaction to the demand by the Church of Scotland (CSM) missionaries that all Kikuyu church elders renounce the practice of female circumcision…. [was] Independent schools controlled by the Kikuyu were organized. In 1933 there were 34 schools enrolling 2,518 students; by 1936 these figures had increased to some 50 schools with 5,111 students. (1974, 531)

The Kikuyu were unique as the establishment of these "independent" schools was in part to retain the right to ethno-national cultural practices; this helped to move toward an Africanized Christianity. As Berman noted, it was the "Kikuyu church elders" who led the change to Kikuyu-controlled schools. The teaching of Christian doctrine was not in question, but rather a distinction was drawn between acceptance of Christian doctrine and retention of specific ethno-national cultural practices.

Effectively, the Christianized curriculum kept the majority of African Muslim ethno-national groups, whether in Ghana, Kenya, or Nigeria, on the margins of the colonial Western education system. An exception to this general trend was in British controlled Kenya, as early as 1909, where separate schools were recommended for Arab and Asian (Indian) Muslims. Unlike African Muslims, they were classified as citizens with representation on the governor's legislative council (see Wallbank 1938; Ndzovu 2009; Alwy and Schech 2004). The British through their policy of Indirect Rule sought control over capital in the form of land, labor, and natural resources and claimed minimal interest in forcing religious or cultural change. Education served the Colonial Office's purpose of training labor in the correct attitude and skills to effectively support the British Empire. It was convenient that Christian missions were willing and able to provide this needed education. It was also in keeping with British governance structure as there is no official separation of church and state in England, so the inclusion of Christian coursework was not questioned. As the colonial presence grew, the Christian missions and the few colonial trade schools could not keep up with the labor needs of the British Colonial Office. Also, the mission schools were often at odds with the Colonial Office regarding the ideal curriculum (religion focused versus workforce preparation). In addition, the increase in business and government offices and other facilities within the colonies created an increased need for English literate white-collar workers.

After World War I, the British Colonial Office took a more direct interest in Anglophone African education policy. This took the form in 1925 of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies (Advisory Committee). The Advisory Committee reviewed earlier regional reports that included specific regional education policies, i.e., West and East Africa. It also looked at reports by the Phelps Stokes Fund, a United States-based agency, regarding the state of education in colonial Africa. The Advisory Committee's official report back to the Colonial Office resulted in part in the following official policy:

1. The British government reserved the right to direct educational policy and to supervise all educational institutions.
2. Voluntary missionary efforts in the field of education were to be welcomed and encouraged with a program of grants-in-aid.
3. Technical and vocational training should be carried out with the help of government departments.
4. Education should be adapted to local conditions in such a manner as would enable it to conserve all sound elements in local tradition and social organization, while functioning as an instrument of progress and evolution.
5. Religious training and moral instruction should be regarded as fundamental to the development of a sound education. (1925, 2 as cited in Urch 1971, 259–260)

In particular, the policy maintained "missionary efforts in the field of education" and "religious training and moral instruction as fundamental." At the same time, it provided guidelines on including "'sound' elements in local tradition and social organization, while functioning as an instrument of progress and evolution." This policy point had mixed responses as mission and colonial schools, alike, were divided on the idea of maintaining African social norms and practices. They all agreed on the inclusion of curriculum that "function[ed] as an instrument of progress and evolution" as this was the "civilizing mission" writ large in the curriculum. This policy did result in two changes: (1) added African geography and/or history to social studies curriculums and (2) established English as the language of education. Heretofore, many of the Christian mission schools used indigenous languages "vernaculars" as the language of instruction, especially in learning scripture to help converts better relate to them and therefore more readily embrace Christianity. Otherwise, the ethno-national social realities were marginalized as the schools' informal curriculums indoctrinated students in proper Euro-Christian norms and practices, i.e., appropriate dress, food and table etiquette, courting, Western medicine, vocational skills, recognition of British and Christian holidays, and of course loyalty to the Crown.

As African nation-states took over the colonial education systems, Africanization of the curriculum was the immediate demand of the people and the promise of the new administrations. In reality, African Christian and neocolonial sentiments of Western modernity kept much of the curriculum Christian and Western with few exceptions. One outcome of this religious identification with Western education was the continued requirement of a religion course in the public schools. This course was labeled religious knowledge or moral education and came with a mandated curriculum from the national government. Christian majority schools taught a religious knowledge course based on Christian principles complete with memorization of Biblical scriptures. Muslim schools taught this course with Muslim principles. Both schools used the religious knowledge course to emphasize religious-based codes of conduct through their formal content and the informal curriculum, such as school prayer and dress codes. Christianity as the inherited religion of

Western education within Anglophone Africa was the most pervasive in the school systems. It tied neatly in with the ideas of Western nation building as the roles of citizens were taught as part and parcel of Euro-Christian norms that readily embraced the ideals of patriotism to a central government under one God. National curriculums provided the option of an Islamic religious knowledge course in place of Christian religious knowledge. This option was adopted in majority Muslim schools, but in the early days of nationhood there were comparatively few Muslim majority schools. Therefore, many Muslims faced a common reality of attending Christian majority schools and taking the Christian religious knowledge course. Thus, the Euro-Christian cultural realities of the classroom that simultaneously taught Christian doctrine and national civics were the majority experience in these new nation-states' schools.

Each new nation demonstrated its awareness of the neocolonial influences of an inherited system, but this awareness only met with limited success in curriculum revision to effectively rid themselves of these influences. The following sections provide brief educational policy and curriculum examples from each country to demonstrate curriculum change and continuity from the 1960s through 1990s regarding the dual impact of Christian and civic education in the formation of a national identity.

Ghana

From the beginning of nationalism within Anglophone Africa, the awareness of Euro-Christian influence was recognized and promises to address it were made. Fittingly, Kwame Nkrumah articulated recognition of the continued influence of Euro-Christianity within Ghana's new nation.

> Our society is not the old society but a new society enlarged by Islamic and Euro-Christian influences. A new ideology is therefore required, an ideology which can solidify in a philosophical statement, but at the same time an ideology which will not abandon the original human principles of Africa. Such a philosophical statement will be borne out of the crisis of the African conscience confronted with the three strands of present African society. Such a philosophical statement I propose to name philosophical consciencism, for it will give the theoretical basis for an ideology whose aims shall be to contain the African experience of Islamic and Euro-Christian presence as well as the experience of traditional African society, and, by gestation, employ them for the harmonious growth and development of that society. (1964, 70)

As a leader in the Pan African movement, Nkrumah's observations resonated throughout Anglophone Africa. To address the reality of these religious influences, Nkrumah targeted Ghana's formal education system, first in 1952 as Nkrumah's Accelerated Development Plan for Education was launched that January. There was an immediate push for additional schools that tripled

the number of primary and middle school places from 1952 to 1957 (Antwi 1992, 17). Ghana's national education system provided the conduit for transforming a diverse land of ethno-nations into one nation and preparing them for economic participation (jobs) in the new nation. During the 1960s, Nkrumah's administration directly addresses the demand for Africanized curriculum, according to M. K. Antwi as, "Syllabuses in subjects such as history, literature, biology, were redrawn by subject associations to make them more African in content…textbooks written by Ghanaians and other Africans began appearing in the classroom. In 1961, an Institute of African Studies was set up at the University of Ghana…to carry out research to increase the understanding of African society" (ibid., 19–20). While the revision of textbooks did increase Afrocentric content across the board, especially in the social studies, it did not significantly change the religion course.

Over the thirty-year period, radical revision of the social studies course content is evident, especially cultural studies and civics to focus on inclusion of diverse ethnic groups and national identity formation, respectively. The fact that ethno-nations continued to be viewed as "tribe," "ethnic," or "cultural" groups helped to feed the idea of a greater "national" identity. This hierarchical division between nation and ethnicity also made it easier to accept Christianity as Traditional religion was increasingly associated with the "uneducated" or "bush" people of the society and therefore distanced them from national life. Like English, the Christian religion became a national denominator. English was the official language of instruction, Christian religion was the taught religion, and it made psychological, sociological, and most importantly political sense as they reinforced a common vision of national identity for educated Ghanaians.

While Ghana was successful from the 1960s through the 1990s in creating a national identity that embraced ethnic diversity, it was not so successful in embracing religious diversity as Christianity merged with national identity formation. An ethnography conducted in 1997 at Madina JSS 1, 2, and 3 (public government schools) documented their religious affiliation as Christian as readily identifiable as the crucifix was part of the schools' emblem. Students and teachers alike demonstrated the acceptance of a Christian Ghanaian norm that included appreciation for cultural diversity, but not religious diversity.

A Madina JSS 3 student focus group on Ghanaian Society's Religions reflected general agreement that Christianity was the accepted Ghanaian norm. Sample responses included:

- If you want you can attend a festival…it's not compulsory for you to eat the festival
- food.
- As a Christian I don't think you should go to such places.
- I am proud of every rite that is performed in Akan and you, you love Muslim…

   – People think our religion [Traditional Ewe] is not good and also they
      think we are wicked, we don't behave well. The[y] insult us anyhow and
      that is what I don't like (Focus Group, Madina JSS#3, 1997). (as cited in
      Abidogun 2000, 294–296)

The sample focus group discussion indicated the students' conclusion was
that Christianity was the accepted national religion. One Akan student,
self-identified as Christian, reduced Traditional religion to the inclusion of
specific cultural rites or practices, while the only self-identified Traditional
student described her experience as a religious outsider. This exchange indi-
cates the Muslim student was identified and accepted as Muslim to the extent
of replacing the ethno-national identity as discussed earlier.

    The students' perceptions were reinforced by educators (administrators
and teachers) who claimed there were no students who practiced Traditional
religion at this school. One educator explained the teachers' role as, "We
don't force them to join our religion [Christian], but we tell them the truth
that Jesus is the only way. So we leave them to decide whether to join us
or not" (ibid., 307–308). This Ghanaian educator accurately reflects the
long-held partnership between "Christianizing" and "educating" Africans
within the colonial and later in the neocolonial or postcolonial context. In
this study, "The school was approximately 50% female and 50% male; reli-
gious affiliation included approximately 84% Christian, 15% Islamic, and 1%
Traditional; ethnolinguistic backgrounds included 50% Akan, 25% Ewe, 15%
Ga, 9% Northern groups - Dagomba, Sisala, Hausa, and 1% foreign nation-
als" (Abidogun 2003, 560). These demographics reflected a predominately
Christian student population across a range of ethno-national identities.
The impact of aligning national education with Christianity was not missed
by Muslim students. In individual interviews, many Muslim students were
self-identified as Muslim first and it was only with additional questions that
ethno-national identifications were offered. It was apparent from this study
that Muslim identity was important as these students reflected a feeling of
entrenchment or the need to draw a line of defense as Muslim students in a
Christian school. One student, HA, explained his experience as,

   Me: Is there anything else that you think should be taught here that's not or
       practiced here that's not?
   HA: When we go to worship [a daily school practice], we must always say the
       Christian prayers. I think the Islamic prayer should also be said. (Abidogun
       2000, 210)

This experience was validated by an educator's response during an educator
focus group, she explained, "I had to talk to the child, at least if he knew we
were worshipping God and his school was meeting as a school to worship
the same God even though we don't call him Allah, don't think there's any-
thing wrong; why you cannot take part. So I think since that day, he has been

okay" (ibid., 244). Yet the student indicated the matter was not resolved, even though the teacher thought the student was reconciled to participating in Christian prayer. Neither the student nor the teacher considered whether school prayer was appropriate in the curriculum; the idea that religion was part of the national curriculum was accepted. Needless to say, the other 15% of the school population that this student's religion represents continued to experience Christianity and civics education as mandated parts of their formal education.

One educator summed up an educator focus group on national identity formation by explaining, "You know in Ghana, we have a principle that we are all people of one nation, so they teach about the different ethnic groups and they let the children know that we all belong to the same nation" (ibid., 257). Her observations were reflected throughout the study's interview process, as the majority of students and educators, irrespective of religion, self-identified initially as Ghanaian and then with either their ethno-national identity or in the case of Muslim students with their religious identity. In student and teacher interviews and focus groups, the effectiveness of civic education in the development of a national identity was evident. These students and educators demonstrated the embedded elements of Christianity within national identity formation, as "we don't call him Allah."

Kenya

In Kenya as early as the 1920s, the impact of education on national identity formation, initially as inclusion in the colonial government, was apparent. J. M. Lonsdale describes Western formal education as a signifier of political participation in the colonial state, explaining:

> In order to mollify the newly articulate educated men, [colonial] administrators had 'strained to the utmost the loyal support of the old chiefs, by demanding the inclusion of younger men' in tribal councils, even before the institution of Local Native Councils (L.N.C.s) in 1925. (1968, 121–122)[1]

This process of marginalizing ethno-national political structures, in this case by the inclusion of younger, "educated" men in governance structures of societies where merit and therefore hierarchy were based on wisdom and age, contributed to both the formation of a national (at this time colonial) identity and to Christian identity. These "educated men" were early recipients of a Christian Western formal education. They were also the leaders and constituents of early nationalist movements.

During the colonial era, Kenya's religious and educational histories are complicated by the colonial administration's construction of racial and religious identities that divided Muslims as African, Arab, or Asian (Indian) racially which was further complicated by the issue of a white settler community. Alwy and Schech (2004) commented that "By 1910, 35 mission schools

had been founded in Kenya. A British government-sponsored study of education in East Africa, the *Frazer Report of 1909*, proposed that separate educational systems should be maintained for Europeans, Asians, and Africans" (270). The white settler population experienced a significant increase directly after World War I due to a veteran settlement scheme. This was the same period that the British Colonial Office sought to solidify its education policy across Anglophone Africa. Kenya's racial, ethnic, and religious makeup and the prevailing colonial structures that created hierarchies along these demographics presented significant and unique challenge to nationalism. J. E. Anderson noted the first effort to integrate a racially segregated education system, "In 1960 the first moves towards integrating the school system began, and under political pressure the government began to experiment with a plan put forward by the Christian Churches Educational Association for a seven year primary education system which has been gradually put into action throughout the country" (1965, 202). While this scheme did not result in complete success by independence in 1963, it did identify racial integration as a facet of nationalism that was supported by Christian groups. This goal of integration was reflected in Jomo Kenyatta's words:

> Our moto "harambee" was conceived in the realisation of the challenge of national building that now lies ahead of us. It was conceived in the knowledge that to meet this challenge, the government and the people of Kenya must pull together. We know only out of our efforts and toil can we build a new and better Kenya. This then is our resolution. (Modiba and Odhiambo 2009, 480)[2]

Jomo Kenyatta, born Johnstone Kamau Ngengi, like many Anglophone African leaders attended a Christian school, yet he still maintained a close connection to his ethno-national group. Kenyatta's book, *Facing Mount Kenya* (1938), told the ethno-national story of the Kikuyu people. Ali Mazrui describes Kenyatta's role as both an African advocate and a Euro-Christian nation builder:

> In Jomo Kenyatta, we have a person long associated with the struggle for Africa's religious identity of its own, and a man who served a long term of imprisonment for allegedly managing a movement which had deep roots in African traditional beliefs… It may well be that Jomo Kenyatta is the greatest cultural nationalist that East Africa has so far produced, in the sense of someone with a long record of militant defence of the right of many African customs to survive the European impact. (1973, 667–668)

Yet Mazrui goes on to describe a more complicated picture of Kenyatta similar to Nkrumah of a leader who at once found his roots in Africa, yet recognized and accepted other influences, including Euro-Christianity, as he continues, "Although he had often insisted that if he was a Christian, he was at the most a completely non-denominational Christian…. All he stood for,

he asserted, was parity of esteem for all religions-Christian, Muslim, Hindu and African traditional beliefs, and others" (ibid., 669–670).

This recognition of Euro-Christianity was evident under Kenyatta's leadership of the new nation. When Kenya gained independence in 1963, he immediately went to work to nationalize and expand the Western education system he inherited. In 1964, Kenya's Ministry of Education appointed the Kenyan Education Commission (Ominde Commission) to review the current state of education. The result, as cited by Anderson (1965), was the establishment of long-term goals and strategies that served to nationalize the education system:

1. Education must bring about national unity as opposed to its earlier segregating character.
2. Education must bring responsibility and opportunity to all as opposed to the education for specific "roles" of the past.
3. Education is a function of the secular government and can no longer be a function of the church.
4. Education is a vital factor in the economic development of the nation as opposed to the older view of education being limited to what the economy could afford.
5. Education must recapture the cultural values of the past whereas previously it tended to destroy them. (203)

These goals directly addressed unity within diversity and included a specific goal to remove the Christian church from control of schools. Where they successful? By the end of the 1960s, the curriculum, like that of Ghana's, was revised and textbooks began to materialize that included Afrocentric ethno-national and regional content framed within a context of national unity. In addition, Jerry Olson observed, "that by 1968 all Kenya schools had become in some measure racially integrated, new day schools had been opened, and at all levels the curriculum had been Africanized to some degree" (1972, 46). This comment was somewhat qualified as he also noted that Kikuyu were disproportionately overrepresented in schools, except in the new urban day schools (ibid., 50). The Christian church was no longer directly tied to public education, but the realities of administrators and teachers who were trained in Christian controlled schools could not help but influence the national curriculum. The result was that Protestant and Catholic church representatives were set up as "sponsoring bodies" which, as Anderson (1965) explained, "The Commission recognizes the function of 'sponsorship' by these bodies and suggests that with the permission of the local authority they provide religious instruction in the schools subject to the parents' right of withdrawal" (204). In effect, Christian religion remained part of the curriculum which served to promote Westernized concepts of identity similar to the Ghanaian experience. Kenyatta was successful in a unified, integrated education system, but not successful in removing religious studies from its curriculum. Historically, this may be viewed as

the natural continuation of curriculum that was found in mission schools and in the "Independent" schools prior to independence. After all these were African Christian-run schools by the time of independence, so therefore a curriculum that included religious knowledge was seen as the norm by the time of independence. In this way, the historical influence of Euro-Christianity and its accompanying Anglo cultural norms remained evident in the new national curriculum.

As in other Anglophone African nations, Christian religious studies remained part of the curriculum. While it is an "elective" in secondary school, its influence through the informal and hidden curriculums on school practices and policies serves to create a Christian education with a necessarily Christianized ideal of national identity. The current curriculum continues to include Christian religious knowledge as part of the social sciences. The Republic of Kenya listed it this way under social studies as, "Group 3: History and Government, Geography, Christian Religious Education, Islamic Religious Education, Social Studies and Ethics, and Hindu Islamic Education" (2008, n.p.). As such, the religious education course may substitute for history and government, geography, and social studies and ethics on the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Examination (KCSE) for one of the exam electives. This means that while students may take social studies course work that includes ethno-national content, the need to retain this knowledge is nullified by the option to focus on Christian religious knowledge. Islamic Education and Hindu Islamic Education are also options, but again are only likely to be offered within Muslim or Hindu Muslim majority schools, respectively.

While the Harambee goal of a unity within diversity under one nation is reflected through social studies content, it may be argued that the Christian education course serves to lessen the value placed on ethno-nations' Indigenous knowledge and beliefs. Thus, national curriculum from the 1960s through 1990s demonstrates the lasting influence of a Euro-Christian, Westernized curriculum. Njoki Wane critiqued this curriculum in the late 1990s targeting the need to rethinking education to include not just Afrocentric content, but African Indigenous knowledge. Wane makes the following recommendations:

(1) Maintaining, strengthening, recalling, and enhancing local languages and cultures in the program
(2) Creating a link between the past and present
(3) Encouraging the practice of Kenyan people's values and beliefs and
(4) Encouraging pride in local languages to enhance personal identity. (2005, 289)

Although Kenyatta adopted Swahili as the African official language and it is taught and used in all schools, English remains the primary language of instruction. This lessens the emphasis placed on the retention of indigenous

languages within the curriculum. As Wane puts outs, "Language plays a significant role in children's identity formation and socialization" (ibid., 288). This lack of language integration further supports or allows for the omission of Traditional religious values and beliefs as the formal curriculum presents abbreviated descriptions of ethno-national cultures that do not lend themselves to full elaboration in the languages of instruction. In the end, the omitted, informal, and hidden curriculums, as well as the official curriculum, provided a Christian-dominated view of nationalism within the Kenyan experience. Perhaps the goal was an African Christian nationalism, in which case, the Kenyan national curriculum and its implementation are evidence of achieving, but then what happens to the Traditional, Muslim, and Hindu identities? In such a case, it would seem a major coup by neocolonialism to have Traditional communities viewed as protected minorities within Kenya.

NIGERIA

Nigeria's history of missionary and colonial education was similar to that of Ghana's, but with a slightly delayed timeline. There was a British presence at Lagos as early as 1861, but Britain was given "right of influence" over what would become Nigeria at the Berlin Conference in 1884–1885. From 1903 with the establishment of the Northern Protectorate through 1946, Nigeria was administered as two separate entities, the Northern Protectorate and Southern Lagos Protectorate. During 1946, the two were unified as the British Colony of Nigeria.

From 1903 through 1946, the Northern Protectorate ethno-nations were officially protected from incursion on Islamic education, which significantly curtailed the development of missionary education in this region prior to the 1940s. Colonial education was available by the early 1900s, but was limited in its scope and made little impact. This had many implications for Nigeria for several decades to come. It left the majority of Muslims, who made up approximately half the population, at the margins of the national education experience. This also meant that while they were 50% of the population in terms of the student population, they fell below the 50% mark from independence through the 1990s. When Nnamdi Azikiwe declared the call for Afrocentric education in his work, *Renascent Africa* in 1937, Nigeria did not yet exist as a unified colony. His reference was to a Pan African experience that sought to rid Africa of Eurocentric colonial education and replace it with an African-controlled and Afrocentric-focused curriculum within a Western education structure.

> Black Africa has no university. Black Africa has no intellectual centre where the raw materials of African humanity may be reshaped into leaders in all fields of human endeavor.
>
>   Why should African youth depend upon Oxford, Cambridge, Harvard, Yale, the Sorbonne, Berlin, Heidelberg, for intellectual growth? These universities are

mirrors which reflect their particular social idiosyncracies…give the Renascent African a University…and this continent can become overnight a continent of light. (144)[3]

At the same time, it was observed that had the British maintained a stronger educational presence in the North, they may have reduced or even prevented North–South conflicts within the new nation of Nigeria. Mazrui pointedly comments on this position:

> The exclusion of an English speaking [colonial educated] sub-culture from the North at that important period helped to increase the demand for manpower imported from the South to staff certain clerical, administrative, and sometimes commercial undertakings. The growth of such a Southern minority in the North holding skilled or affluent positions later became one of the precipitating factors behind the massacre of the Ibo in Northern Nigeria in 1966, and therefore a major contributory factor to the outbreak of the civil war. (Mazrui 1971, 57–58)

During the 1950s, there was some reason to believe that this disparity would be addressed. In 1953, a transition to independence was agreed upon and three regional leaders, Ahmadu Bello from the North, Nnamdi Azikiwe from the East, and Obafemi Awolowo from the West led the process. After 2 revisions, a national constitution was ratified in 1960. The need for Afrocentric education was acknowledged as these Nigerian leaders envisioned education for and about Africa. Still, it was difficult at best to see how the Nigerian educated elite would revise the curriculum to include African history and cultural knowledge that through their Eurocentric education they were taught to treat with suspicion and even disdain.

While the intention was no doubt sincere, actual curricular change was slow and the Biafra Civil War (1967–1970) effectively placed a moratorium on most educational reforms. These early disparities and conflicts resulted in a delayed education reform as Michael B. Adeyemi noted that Nigeria's early national social studies curriculum focused on, "rote memorization, moral education, dislike for indigenous culture, and respect for western education" (Adeyemi 1986, 202). The creation of an Afrocentric curriculum was delayed until the end of the first decade of independence. The goal to Africanize the curriculum was given some external support in 1969 when Nigeria Ministry of Education met with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Ford Foundation representatives to create an educational curriculum that would address Nigerian nationalism goals while including significant content on Nigerian ethno-nations' histories and cultures. This meeting was held at Aiyetoro Comprehensive High School. The social studies curriculum was redefined to include, "an interdisciplinary approach which combines aspects of the branches of the social studies which can be taught in secondary schools: history, geography, economics, sociology, political science and anthropology, by which…pupils become familiar with

the concepts of national communities" (National Curriculum Conference 1972, 202). In 1973, the change to a comprehensive model that included 6 years of primary, 3 years of junior secondary, and 3 years of senior secondary education was introduced. Between 1977 and 1981, the Federal Ministry of Education revised the curriculum to reflect the new 6-3-3 system while retaining the overall goals of civic nationalism and Afrocentric content, as well as maintaining the religious knowledge courses (1977, 1981, 47). By 1985, there was a detailed junior secondary social studies curriculum (JSS) that provided year-by-year subject-specific curriculum outlines. These outlines reflected the inclusion of civics, nationalism, and Afrocentric content on ethno-nations. The following excerpts provide examples from the first-year JSS curriculum in each of these respective areas:

E. Civic Rights and Responsibility
Objectives
Students should be able:
   (i) To identify various civic rights and obligations.
   (ii) To develop the habit of performing these rights and obligations.
   (iii) To recognize the consequences of non-fulfillment of these rights and obligations.
   (iv) To distinguish the various civic functions of the voluntary organizations.

G. Nigerian Cultural Patterns and Their Historical Origins
Objectives
Students should be able:
   (i) To identify the ethnic groups of the country and their cultural characteristics.
   (ii) To state the known historical origins of the various cultures.

H. Common Heritage and National Symbols
Objectives
Students should be able:
   (i) To appreciate the heritage of the various groups.
   (ii) To explain the unifying effects of the common traits.
   (iii) To identify and explain the national symbols.
   (iv) To honour all the Nigerian national symbols. (1985, excerpts from 1 to 13)[4]

It is significant that the Christian and Islamic studies curriculums were part of the new social studies JSS national curriculum. This bound them in a direct way to the social studies civic and national education agendas. Nigeria realized to a large degree an African renaissance through the development of this Afrocentric social studies curriculum. The national curriculum, by the Federal Republic of Nigeria, included Christian religious knowledge as a core course in primary school, as well as an elective in junior secondary school. As an elective, it was one of most commonly taken electives under the category of

"non-prevocational electives" (1998, 14 and 19).[5] Often it appeared on the school schedule as a required course.[6]

In Nigeria, the curriculum content has not significantly changed in terms of social studies or religious knowledge content. The Northern ethno-nations are catching up in terms of student numbers and as a result have in recent years established more universities. The religious split is ever more evident, and in the opinion of this writer, the above curriculum is a contributor to this continued adversity. As Christianity and nationalism are core components in the Southern curricula, just as Islam and nationalism are core components in the Northern curricula. Assuming Nkrumah is correct about the cultural packaging of Euro-Christianity, and therefore, the same would be said regarding what he termed the "Islamic presence," then it follows that we are seeing the educational results of a Christian nationalism and an Islamic nationalism. There is Nigeria somewhere in the middle of it with a secular definition that can include Christian and Islam, as well as Traditional. It may be that what is saving Nigeria from a severe split is the survivals of ethno-national Traditional religion and cultural practices that look to the community for answers rather than Western-style individual leadership. This is one possible Afrocentric education response to the growing educational and religious-national divide.

Conclusion

Nationalism comes in many forms, but is still a comparatively new socio-political construct, as Benedict Anderson aptly describes it:

> It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion … it is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as to willingly die for such limited imaginings. (1983, 15–16)

Historically, the inclusion of Christianity in Anglophone Africa Western education reinforced this "fraternity" of nation-state building by providing a common religion to further unite diverse ethno-nations and feed the idea of equality in brotherhood.

The realities of neocolonial Western education also supported the inclusion of Christianity; overtime, it did not matter whether it was the original Euro-Christian doctrine or the African Christian doctrine. The Euro-Christian doctrine had served its purpose of insisting on conformity to one nation under one God. The fact that it morphed into an African Christianity did not reverse or change this effect within Anglophone African nationalism.

As Henry Giroux explains the deconstruction of this neocolonial Christian education through postcolonial discourse based on Critical theory:

> Postcolonial discourse rewrites the relationship between the margin and the center by deconstructing the colonialist and imperialist ideologies that structure Western knowledge, texts, and social practices. Here, there are attempts to demonstrate how European culture and colonialism 'are deeply implicated in each other.'[7] This suggests more than rewriting or recovering the repressed stories and social memories of the Other; it means understanding and rendering visible how Western knowledge is encased in historical and institutional structures that both privilege and exclude particular readings, voices, aesthetics, authority, representations, and forms of sociality. (1992, 27)

The above deconstruction has identified the privileged in some detail. The next step is to bring forward the excluded readings, voices, aesthetics, authority, representations, and forms of sociality in Anglophone African Western education and nationalism.

How does this tie together with religion in Anglophone Africa? On the one hand, education was a necessary tool to create a unified national identity. On the other hand, due to the long history of missionary Christian influences in the imposed Western education system, it proved impossible to separate education and religion. Christian religion took on a different tone in new African nation-states. It was no longer a means to discipline and assimilate African Indigenous societies to a European colonial ruler. It was now part and parcel of the new national identity used to promote and reinforce nation making and national citizenship. This chapter provided evidence from Ghana, Kenya, and Nigeria national curriculums developed between the 1960s and 1990s that demonstrated Christianity's integration in the new national curriculum to assist in the development of nationhood. This chapter argues that while African leaders spoke of Pan African liberation, much of what developed on the ground was a neocolonial Christianized model of nationhood that kept Indigenous ethno-national identities, their religions, and education systems in the margins.

The Christian religious course may be representative of African Christianity. African Christianity is clearly a step away from neocolonialism, but the inclusion of a specific religion(s) in the national curriculum as the privileged religion(s) makes it or them suspect. The fact that Traditional religion does not hold a similar position within the curriculum presents a null or omitted curriculum that keeps Christian religious knowledge and to a lesser extent Islamic religious knowledge in a privileged position that reflects neocolonial influence. In each of the three nation-states, Ghana, Kenya, and Nigeria, Christianity remains an integral part of Western education, and therefore, it works to inform nationalism. Mazrui explains this connection in a reflection on Nkrumah's inclusion of Euro-Christianity in his philosophy of Consciencism:

It was significant that Nkrumah used the term 'Euro-Christian' instead of merely 'Christian'. Christianity came in a cultural package, complete with many of the cultural and political predispositions of Western civilization. The force of Christianity operating in Africa therefore tends to pull in a Western direction. (1973, 665)

As such, it necessarily informs a specific type of knowing that is at once African, due to generations of knowledge transfer, and neocolonial, as it continues without question the acceptance of a hierarchy that places Christianity and Western education at the top and Traditional religion and Indigenous education and knowledge at the bottom. This hierarchy contributed to the development of a neocolonial Christian nationalism throughout much of Anglophone Africa.

Due to these historical realities, some areas of consideration become readily apparent with regard to these national curriculums. The comparatively recent development of Islamic religious studies courses and their implementation along with the continued implementation of Christian religious studies is resulting in evident national splits along religious lines. While these splits were always present in the early decades, they were not as prominent as they are today with significant Christian Islamic conflicts in Nigeria and Kenya. This concern raises the question of the validity of a religious course in these national curriculums. If the goal of these curricula is to foster and maintain national unity, then they are ill served to privilege any religion within the curriculum. Perhaps it is time for a revision of their social studies curriculum.

NOTES

1. J. M. Lonsdale, "Some Origins of Nationalism in East Africa," *The Journal of African History* 9, no. 1 (1968), 121–122 and includes citation from Revd. H. D. Hooper, 29 March 1922, Memo: "Development of Political Self-Consciousness in the Kikuyu Native," enclosure in Hooper to Oldham, International Missionary Council Papers, file H.3, Edinburgh House, London.
2. Jomo Kenyatta, speech at state opening of parliament on 13 December, 1963 as cited in Maropeng Modiba and Angela Odhiambo, "Teachers' Understanding of a Kenyan Identity as a Basis for Their Teaching Strategies," *African Identities* 7, no. 4 (November 2009), 480.
3. Nnamdi Azikiwe, *Renascent Africa* (London: Cass 1937, reissue 1968), 144.
4. Federal Ministry of Education, *National Curriculum for Junior Secondary Schools: Social Science/Religion: Social Studies, Islamic Religious Knowledge, Christian Religious Knowledge* (Lagos: Heinemann Educational Books (Nig) Ltd, 1985), 1–13. Note that this 6-3-3 model was not fully implemented on a national level until 1991.
5. It should be noted that like Ghana and Kenya, an Islamic Religious knowledge course was substituted in majority Muslim schools, but numerically these constitute a minority of primary and JSS schools in Nigeria and are located predominately in the Northern states.

6. Based on field observations and student interviews by the author at Ibadan International and Abadina Junior Secondary Schools in Ibadan and Alor Uno Junior Secondary in Alor Uno during ethnography studies conducted in 1991, 2003, and 2004–2005, respectively. Parent and student releases were signed for release of these data during this fieldwork.

7. Robert Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West* (London: Routledge, 1990), viii. As cited in Henry Giroux, *Border Crossings* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 27.

References

Abidogun, Jamaine. 2000. "Ghana: Educational and Cultural Transformations." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kansas, Lawrence, USA; Bell & Howell Information & Learning Co, Ann Arbor, MI.

Abidogun, Jamaine. 2003. "Ghana: Educational and Cultural Transformation." *International Journal of Diversity in Organisations, Communities, and Nations* 3: 560–568.

Adeyemi, Michael B. 1986. "Nigerian Social Studies." *The Social Studies* 77 (5): 201–204.

Alwy, Alwiya, and Susanne Schech. 2004. "Ethnic Inequalities in Education in Kenya." *International Education Journal* 5 (2): 266–274.

Anderson, J. E. 1965. "The Kenya Education Commission Report: An African View of Educational Planning." *Comparative Education Review* 9 (2): 201–207.

Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Rejections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Anim, N. 1966. "Ghana." In *Church, State, and Education in Africa*, edited by D. G. Scanlon, 165–196. New York: Teachers College Press.

Antwi, M. K. 1992. "Development of Education in Ghana." In *Introduction to Education in Ghana*, edited by Okechukwu Abosi and Joseph Brookman-Amissah, 11–27. Accra: Sedco Publishing Ltd.

Azikiwe, Nnamdi. 1968. *Renascent Africa*. Lagos: Cass.

Berman, Edward H. 1974. "African Responses to Christian Mission Education." *African Studies Review* 17 (3): 527–540.

Coleman, J. S. 1958. *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Falola, Toyin. 2005. *A Mouth Sweeter than Salt: An African Memoir*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Federal Ministry of Education. 1977. *Federal Report of Nigeria National Policy on Education*. Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information.

Federal Ministry of Education. 1981. *Federal Report of Nigeria National Policy on Education*. Lagos: Federal Ministry of Information.

Giroux, Henry. 1992. *Border Crossings*. New York: Routledge.

Great Britain, Colonial Office, Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies. 1925. *Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa*. Cmd. 2347. London: H.M.S.O.

Lonsdale, J. M. 1968. "Some Origins of Nationalism in East Africa." *The Journal of African History* 9 (1): 119–146.

Mazrui, Ali A. 1971. "The King, the King's English and I." *Transition* 38: 57–66.

Mazrui, Ali A. 1973. "The Sacred and the Secular in East African Politics." *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 13 (52): 664–668.

Modiba, Maropeng, and Angela Odhiambo. 2009. "Teachers' Understanding of a Kenyan Identity as a Basis for Their Teaching Strategies." *African Identities* 7 (4): 477–490.

Ndzovu, Hassan. 2009. "Muslims and Party Politics and Electoral Campaigns in Kenya." Working Paper Series no. 09-001, Institute for the Study of Islamic Thought in Africa: 1–13.

Nigeria National Curriculum Conference. 1972. *A Philosophy for Nigerian Education: Proceedings of the Nigeria National Curriculum Conference 1969.* Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books (Nigeria).

Nkrumah, Kwame. 1943. "Education and Nationalism in Africa." *Educational Outlook* 18 (1): 32–40.

Nkrumah, Kwame. 1964. *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonisation and Development with Particular Reference to the African Revolution.* London: Heinemann.

Olson, Jerry B. 1972. "Secondary Schools and Elites in Kenya: A Comparative Study of Students in 1961 and 1968." *Comparative Education Review* 16 (1): 44–53.

Paden, John. 1981. "Islamic Political Culture and Constitutional Change in Nigeria." *Issue: A Journal of Opinion* 11 (1/2): 24–28.

Republic of Kenya. 2008. *Secondary Education Syllabus.* Nairobi: Kenya Institute of Education.

Urch, George E. 1971. "Education and Colonialism in Kenya." *History of Education Quarterly* 11 (3): 249–264.

Wallbank, T. Walter. 1938. "British Colonial Policy and Native Education in Kenya." *The Journal of Negro Education* 7 (4): 521–532.

Wane, Njoki. 2005. "Social Organization of Teacher Education in Africa: A Kenyan Case Study." In *Issues in African Education*, edited by Ali A. Abdi and Ailie Cleghorn, 275–295. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wright, Marcia. 1971. "African History in the 1960's: Religion." *African Studies Review* 14 (3): 439–445.

Young, Robert. 1990. *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West.* London: Routledge.

Conduit and Gatekeeper: Practices and Contestations of Language Within Informal and Formal Education in Senegal

Karla Giuliano Sarr

> If it was the gun which made possible the mining of this gold and which effected the political captivity of their owners, it was language which held captive their cultures, their values, and hence their minds. (wa Thiong'o 1993, 31)

There is no denying that language is central to one's identity, especially for many Africans who navigate daily the competing influences and language politics present within postcolonial environments (Moumouni 1968; Blakemore 1970; wa Thiong'o 1993; Dei 2000; Prah 2002; Quist 2001; Diallo 2003; Odora Hoppers 2009; Owuor 2007; Wane 2008; Skutnabb-Kangas 2009; Brock-Utne 2012; Kosonen and Benson 2013; Sarr 2013; Minga 2017). Despite this evidence, ex-colonial languages continue to assert dominance within educational spheres throughout Africa. Yet, education in African contexts takes many forms and in each, language holds an inextricable position that influences the learner, the instructor, and the knowledge inherent to the exchange. For instance, Indigenous education practices almost exclusively use local languages as authentic packaging and vehicles for transmission. Up until recently, the language of formal education, that is, schooling, in many education systems across Africa has not mirrored the language(s) of informal and Indigenous education practices. Multiple ministries of education across the continent, however, are now encouraging the use of local languages within at least primary education, and in doing so, foster a rapprochement

K. G. Sarr (✉)
SIT Graduate Institute, Brattleboro, VT, USA

between Indigenous and formal Western-style education practices. Cases of language-in-education shifts are present in countries that include Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Ghana, Mali, Niger, Senegal, and Tanzania.[1] Such cases demonstrate a meeting point for arguments that foster cultural and identity preservation with utilitarian arguments that laud the effectiveness of learning to read, write, and calculate through a language that children understand rather than through "official" but previously colonial languages that families rarely speak at home.

Senegal's educational environment provides a particularly interesting case for investigating the connections between language usage, Indigenous educational practices, and formal schooling. As a former French colony that gained independence from France in 1960, French remains the language of instruction (LOI) within public schools in Senegal, with the exception of some pilot programs. Senegal has also demonstrated a privileged relationship with the former Metropole throughout its history, and as a result, the French language also held a privileged position within Senegalese society over local languages (Diallo 2011). At the time of writing, however, pilot programs using local languages within public schools are gaining traction in Senegal and lively debates about language-in-education policy continue within Senegal's Ministry of Education (Balde 2018; Diop 2018; Personal communication, Mamadou Ly, August 2, 2018).

While acknowledging the agency of Africans to make important educational choices as well as how African knowledges and realities permeate all forms of education, this chapter presents Senegal as a case study to demonstrate the historical and political relationships between language use and education that continue to mold learners' experiences and confine knowledge. The focus of the chapter is largely on younger children and basic education. The chapter begins by examining key terms and presenting Senegal's unique colonial and linguistic history as well as Senegal's current language ecology. Examples of Indigenous education and knowledge are then presented along with clarification of the inseparable relationship between language and education. An overview of Senegal's language-in-education history leading up to present-day practices and struggles round out the chapter. Throughout, references to developments across the African continent provide additional context to ground the Senegalese case study within Pan African realities. In developing this chapter, methods relied largely upon literature review as well as data from two small-scale qualitative studies in Senegal. Personal experiences working with Francophone African educational systems, Senegal, in particular, provided additional context.[2]

Linguistic Ecology of Senegal

Like many other African countries, Senegal boasts a multiplicity of languages. French continues to be the official language of instruction within the formal schooling system although pilot projects using local languages as the

LOI grow in prominence (see below). Within the population, only a fraction (47,000 of over 14 million people) use French as their first language and less than a third of the population uses French at all (FranceInfo 2018; Simons and Fennig 2018). The large majority of the population are speakers of the remaining 37 languages present in Senegal,[3] most notably Wolof (5.2 million), Pulaar (3.5 million), Serer-Sine (1.4 million), and Maninkakan Western[4] (1.3 million) (Simons and Fennig 2018). While French may be the official language of formal schooling, local African languages continue to serve as the medium of communication within families and an essential tool in child raising.

In addition, Wolof serves as the lingua franca throughout most of Senegal, serving as a common language across ethnic lines within market spaces, schoolyards, media and pop culture, and within official and administrative settings (Swigart 1994; McLaughlin 2001; Cruise O'Brien 2003; Diallo 2010; Sarr 2015). Some argue that Wolofization, or the expansion of Wolof at the expense of other languages, is hegemonic and has led to linguistic tensions (Cruise O'Brien 2003; McLaughlin 2008; Diallo 2010; Sarr 2015; Chevance 2018). As discussed below, this tension is important to acknowledge as initiatives move away from French toward national languages as the LOI. In addition, research demonstrates a growing number of Senegalese express themselves through written African languages, particularly within text messaging (Lexander 2011; Brock-Utne 2012) and also that English is growing in prominence within language preferences among many Senegalese (Diallo 2011). With an understanding of the dynamic linguistic landscape of Senegal, the next section provides an overview of education in Senegal, beginning with Indigenous practices.

Indigenous Education and Formal Schooling

Holistically understanding educational experiences within the Senegalese context requires a perspective that acknowledges both informal and formal learning environments and asserts the relevance of Indigenous knowledge alongside more Western knowledge. The paragraphs below provide an overview of the informal/formal education delivery spectrum, while the subsequent subsection explores deeply definitional concerns and understandings of "Indigenous knowledge" setting the stage for discussion of education practices within Senegal that follow.

Informal/Formal Educational Delivery Spectrum

A broad conceptualization of education that incorporates all learning experiences expresses a typography of educational environments into three non-exclusive and overlapping categories: informal, non-formal, and formal.[5]

Conceiving the educational spectrum as a two-directional arrow, informal education falls on one end, formal education falls on the opposite end,
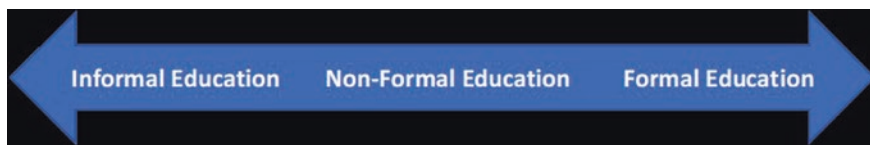
Fig. 5.1 Spectrum of educational delivery (*Source* Karla Giuliano Sarr)

and non-formal education is located in the middle (see Fig. 5.1). The literature distinguishing and defining informal, non-formal, and formal education is problematic and highly contested (Colley et al. 2004; Cameron and Harrison 2012; Lockhardt 2016). Yet, the distinction is useful for understanding the connection as well as the power play between Indigenous education and formal schooling. Most simply, informal education refers to lifelong learning and those moments where we learn from our surroundings, our families, and our contacts. It may be self-directed, very practical in application and often, without a formal curriculum. Examples of informal education include learning to speak, cooking from a recipe, and teaching oneself a musical instrument. Non-formal education includes programs where there are a clear facilitator and learner, where there may be a credential, and where learning objectives exist (Combs with Prosser and Ahmed 1973 as quoted in Smith 2001, para 8). Adult literacy programs, girl and boy scout troops, and organized sports teams are examples of non-formal education. Non-formal education programs often comprise development efforts and may utilize local knowledges and practices (Peace Corps 2004). While non-formal education efforts figure prominently in Senegal, this chapter focuses essentially on informal and formal practices.[6]

Lastly, formal education is what most people typically refer to as "schooling." Formal education has clear, structured, and often rigid teacher and student roles, takes place most often in an institutional setting, and definitely involves some sort of evaluation or milestone which often results in delivery of a credential (Smith 2001; Peace Corps 2004). Among others, credentials include diplomas and licensure. Worldwide, formal education systems display largely identical elements and practices (Baker and LeTendre 2005). Perhaps most importantly, the literature on the different categories of educational delivery identifies a clear power differential, demonstrating that formal education often receives the highest recognition while informal education is often devalued in comparison with formal education (Coffield 2000; Golding et al. 2009; Cameron and Harrison 2012; Lockhardt 2016). Having touched upon three important yet contested categorizations for educational delivery, the next section clarifies some general concepts regarding Indigenous knowledge and education.

Indigenous Knowledge and Education

The terms "Indigenous knowledge" or "Indigenous education" apply to a vast number of societies and practices worldwide and have much to offer the

scholarship on African education (Sarr 2015). While the meaning of "indigenous" varies (Odora Hoppers 2009) and there is much debate within the literature about definitions (see Purcell 1998; Semali and Kincheloe 1999; Dei et al. 2000; Christie 2006; Sillitoe and Marzano 2007), McKinley (2007) puts forth four categories of Indigenous peoples, the second of which is most relevant to Senegal and many other postcolonial contexts across the Africa. Accordingly, "Indigenous" refers to people living in a developing context where white settlers remained inferior in number, but exerted and continue to hold great influence through institutions, including language. Moreover, "Indigenous" refers to groups that are oppressed, marginalized, and lacking power (Purcell 1998; Smith 1999). Recognizing Indigenous education as a category of education parallel to more positivist Western-style education, or formal schooling, is a necessary step toward reversing historical and present-day power imbalances.

Table 5.1 synthesizes several characteristics of Indigenous knowledges and learning practices present within the global literature. The use of local languages is a cross-cutting element as local language is almost always the vehicle of learning and teaching. As presented in Table 5.1, many Indigenous education practices are informal in nature, with some notable exceptions, such

Table 5.1 Main characteristics of Indigenous knowledges and Indigenous education

Characteristic	Description	Additional references
Grounded in time and place	Indigenous knowledges have developed over an extended period of time and in a particular location. Place is frequently a reference to "local," a fixed geographic area, a "fixed territorial space" (Fernando 2003) or an "integral indigenous territory" (Viergever 1999)	Warren (1996), Mwadime (1999), Dei et al. (2000), Fernando (2003), and Botha (2010)
Community focused	Indigenous knowledges are of a communitarian or collective nature and belong to an identifiable group of people. Cultural history informs Indigenous knowledges. Collective values elicit and define individual values as well as responsibilities to the community. It follows that learning is highly interactive	Warren (1996), Reynar (1999), Semali (1999), Viergever (1999), Dei et al. (2000), Reagan (2005), Botha (2010), and Mazonde (2010)
Experiential and practical	Indigenous knowledges inform daily experiences, interactions, and activities throughout the expanse of one's lifetime. Learning of Indigenous knowledges occurs through experiential means including observation, apprenticeship, play, and participation. Most of the content of Indigenous knowledges has real-life application and is the result of problem-solving. This highly practical nature is the source of its validity, on many occasions, having withstood the test of time	Semali (1999), Dei et al. (2000), George (1999), and Reagan (2005)

Table 5.1 (continued)

Characteristic	Description	Additional references
Oral transmission	In addition to the contents of African written scripts that existed well before contact with Arabs or Northern powers (Zulu 2006), oral histories and passage of information remain a key attribute of Indigenous knowledges. Some oral forms of knowledge include stories, proverbs, and sayings. They serve as an anchor for traditions and help to connect generations	George (1999), Mosha (1999), Quiroz (1999), Dei et al. (2000), and Reagan (2005)
Intergenerational	The passage of Indigenous knowledges is from elders to youth, with elders identified and respected as the keepers and teachers of knowledge. Whether knowledge can pass from youth to elder is an issue of contestation	George (1999), Viergever (1999), and Dei et al. (2000)
Relational	Indigenous knowledges sustain relationships between individuals as well as within the natural world	Viergever (1999) and Semali and Kincheloe (1999)
Dynamic nature	Indigenous knowledges are constantly changing and adapting. They do not exist in a vacuum but take influence from and contribute to other knowledge forms and available resources, including Western knowledges. Their dynamism is also the source of their survival and longevity	Warren (1996), Mwadime (1999), Quiroz (1999), Semali (1999), and Dei et al. (2000)
Holistic and spiritual	A holistic approach takes stock of and addresses all the various influences that affect individuals and communities concurrently rather than compartmentalizing. Religion, spirituality, and morality are key components of the overarching Indigenous knowledges that frame a group's worldview. This includes a respect for the universe and an assumption of interconnectivity among people and their surroundings. Indigenous knowledges also link to other knowledges, including Western knowledges	Mosha (1999) and (2005)
Diverse and specialized	Adherence to, understanding and perceptions of Indigenous knowledges differ amongst members of the community. Knowledge is specialized among certain sub-groups or classes, and in the form of technical knowledge for skilled workers. Diversity is due to many factors including gender, age, class, occupation, urban/rural setting, agenda, and power. Learning Indigenous knowledges necessitates learning from multiple experts	George (1999), Mwadime (1999), Reynar (1999), Semali (1999), and Dei et al. (2000)

Source Karla Giuliano Sarr (Adapted from Sarr 2013, 2015)

as apprenticeships and initiation ceremonies, which exhibit many elements of formal education, such as clear delineations of roles and a set curriculum (see Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2002; Reagan 2005). African educational practices (as opposed to formal Western-style schooling practices), in general, strive to

produce a "good person" (Fafunwa 1974 as cited in Reagan 2005, 61) and to indoctrinate children into the social relationships of society so they may serve as responsible community members (Moumouni 1968; Higgs 2008; Kanu 2006; Diame 2011). African educational practices often take place at home or within other community spaces (Sarr 2015) and African languages serve as important conduits for the educational experience (Moumouni 1968; Diallo 2003; Sarr 2015). Collective learning through secret societies, initiation, mentoring, group learning, and group solutions (Ntuli 2002; Wane 2005; Mazonde 2010) as well as polysemic coded messages in the form of tales, proverbs, and riddles (Moumouni 1968; Semali 1999; Kanu 2006; Diame 2011; Sarr 2015) are also hallmarks of African education traditions.

Moreover, while there is diversity of Indigenous education practices and expression across various ethnic groups, scholars remind us of Senegalese social scientist, Cheikh Anta Diop's argument of the profound cultural unity among African cultures and practices (Reagan 2005; Sall 2012). In short, there is more in common between African cultures than with traditions from other regions of the world. The next section builds upon the characteristics of Indigenous knowledge and specifically African education practices above to explore Indigenous education within the borders of Senegal.

Indigenous Education in Senegal

Although formal French schooling began in Senegal in the early nineteenth century, it was not until later in the century that enrollments increased and even then, marginally. Informal and Indigenous education practices remained the principle way that young people learned to be part of their communities. Within these practices, Qur'anic schools also played a prominent role (Bryant 2015). Currently, formal schooling exists alongside these community-based practices. This section investigates these parallel educational forms in greater detail, drawing attention to language use where possible.

Informal education practices. While not exhaustive, this section draws largely from a review of relevant literature and two small-scale studies (Sarr 2013, 2015) to provide an overview of informal Indigenous education practices. In many ways, informal education, historically and at present, takes the form of child raising, or *yar* in Wolof and Serer (Bryant 2015; Sarr 2015). Bryant (2015) notes that *yar* refers not only to the verb for raising a child but also the rod or switch. In her examination of education in Senegal between 1850 and 1914, Bryant (2015) points out that child-raising practices taught moral education as well as work-related skills and that they reinforced generational and gendered hierarchies. Within present-day informal education in Senegal, the transmission of cultural values such as "*Kersa* (decency), *Fulë* (self-respect), *Mun`* (endurance), and *Jom* (honor, pride, hardwork)" continues to be a common theme across multiple ethnic groups (Diame 2011, 7).[7]

The majority of these interactions rely principally upon local languages as their conduit.

Moreover, Sarr's (2013) small-scale study blending community interviews with a classroom game exercise at the primary school level explored how largely rural communities in southern Senegal practice informal education. Key findings indicate that griots, or oral historians, as well as elders continue to possess great knowledge and act as gatekeepers within many communities. Like the more general African education literature above, many respondents in this study, largely from the Pulaar ethnic groups, identified the importance of informal African education for preparing young people for community life. Differentiation between educational content for males and females also supported the more general literature. For young males, "endurance, self-restraint, wrestling (Senegal's most prominent traditional sport), and soccer were most frequently mentioned, while for girls, content included singing, dancing, cooking, taking care of family members, sweeping and fetching water" (Sarr 2013, 123).

In terms of delivery, educational transmission occurs through "music, instruments such as drums and flutes, songs and dancing, riddles and tales, stories and community/village history, pastoral activities, agriculture, male circumcision rituals, fishing and clothing" (Sarr 2013, 123). Shadowing of community members through chores such as agricultural, pastoral, or medicinal practices is also a key mode of knowledge transmission, often punctuated with informal intergenerational conversations and discussions around the fire in the evenings, now growing infrequent. In an area where Pulaar remains the main language of communication, it is clear that most of the communication necessary for these activities takes place within local languages rather than French. Another study focusing on a peri-urban largely Lebou area on the outskirts of Dakar provides complementary insights (Sarr 2015). Many children (from various ethnic groups) within this community learn and support their families through household chores as well as economic activities, such as selling water or mint along the roads, harvesting shells from the beach, helping with a father's masonry work, or delivering butane gas tanks on the weekend.

Formal education practices. In addition to informal practices, more formal educational experiences also make up the landscape of African and Indigenous forms of instruction within Senegal, notably initiation procedures and Qur'anic schooling practices. (Formal French schooling is the subject of the next major section below.) Rites of passage represent critical formal learning moments for many in Senegal, particularly in rural areas, although practices seem to be weakening (Sarr 2013, 2015). Flannery's (2001) documentary of a young Senegalese emigrant to the United States who returns to his Diola village to participate in the *Futampafu* or male initiation ritual in the Casamance provides unparalleled insight into the practice. In his experience, Papis joins a widening age-group of men[8] who have returned to the village from near and far for an exclusive stay in the sacred forest. Much

of what is possible to reveal in the documentary aligns with the characteristics of Indigenous education from the literature above. Less is known of female initiation practices and female circumcision practices are highly controversial and seem to be largely supplanted through advocacy campaigns such as those led by TOSTAN (Molloy 2013) and the Grandmother Project (Scoppa and Antonicelli 2014), both international NGOs. For both NGOs and for formal initiation practices, local languages remain critical vehicles for communication.

Significantly, Qur'anic schooling also provides an example of formal schooling within Senegal, both historically and at present, and one that conflicted historically with the formal French system. As the next paragraphs will describe, current practices demonstrate how families successfully navigate both systems. Historically, while Islam came to West Africa beginning as early as the late eleventh century[9] (Trimingham 1970; Nguirane and Badiane 1995), Islamization gained its fervor during colonial times, and particularly when Islamic reformers and leaders Umar Tall and Ma Ba took up arms against the French (Gellar 1983). The French relationship with Islam was complex and the colonial regime supported the flourishment of Islam, taking advantage of the conversion of rulers as well as the development of four Islamic brotherhoods as conduits for controlling the larger populace (Gellar 1983; Robinson 2000). Two of the brotherhoods, the Mourides and the Layenne, originated uniquely in Senegal and are essentially African manifestations. Over time, the overwhelming majority of the Senegalese population has become Muslim with over 95% identifying as Muslim during the 2002 census (*Archivage national des données du Sénégal*).[10]

Mazonde (2010), among others, identifies the preponderance of Qur'anic education throughout much of West Africa and notes that common elements included rote memorization, and gradually, the introduction to the Hadith (sayings and practices of the Prophet), grammatical learning, and commentaries.[11] As is customary in Islam, Arabic remains the language of curricular content though local languages most often serve necessary management and disciplinary purposes. European explorers documented Arab Qur'anic schoolteachers as early as the fourteenth century with Africans taking the lead progressively between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries (Nguirane and Badiane 1995). By all accounts, Qur'anic education was embraced by many individuals within the Senegalese population and it showcases the dynamism and diversity of educational practices in Senegal. Bryant's (2015) history of education in Senegal from 1850 to 1914 also identifies the prominence of Qur'anic education and its resistance to French schooling. She identifies how Qur'anic instructors, *marabouts*, derived respect, financial stability, and authority through their father-like role with children. *Marabouts* viewed as instilling religious values that were seen as important by a growing number of Muslims at the turn of the nineteenth century. Bryant (2015) documents multiple failed attempts of the colonial state to regulate Qur'anic schools and writes, "Qur'anic schooling was simply too vital to the

education of youth and the constitution of the authority of marabouts for people to abandon it easily" (44).

Cheikh Hamidou Kane's (1963) celebrated novel, *Ambiguous Adventure*, allows a glimpse into the fraught life of a young Qur'anic disciple and his complex relationship with the Islamic instructor or *marabout*. This novel provides rich descriptive evidence of Qur'anic education's sustained influence. Even as French schooling has gained unequivocal prominence with 86% of children enrolled in primary school in 2017 (UNESCO 2020)[12]; Qur'anic education maintains its influence with many children attending French school during the day and Qur'anic school during the evening, on weekends and/ or during school vacations (Sarr 2015). Similarly, secular French-language schools are not allowed in Touba, the holy city of the Mouride brotherhood, as well as in a dwindling number of more conservative rural villages. How families, children, and youth participate in African initiation practices and Qur'anic schooling demonstrates the complexity and dynamism of both educational and linguistic expression within Senegal.

Formal French Schooling

Throughout Africa, formal education schooling systems that began under colonial duress now hold great prominence alongside both informal and formal Indigenous and community education practices. Colonial education began as early as the fifteenth century CE by Portuguese missionaries though it was the eighteenth century that saw the "real foundation of Western-type school system" in British, French, and Portuguese territories (Mazonde 2010, 6). In general, churches led most educational efforts with Catholic schools focusing on academic pursuits and Protestant schools focusing on manual skills. Access to schools was at a minimum and in French Africa, the focus was first on the sons of chiefs, sons of notables or civil servants, employees of trading companies and later, former members of the Senegalese infantry (Mazonde 2010).

Senegal follows this pattern with the first schools established in coastal towns for boys and girls between 1817 and 1819 (Bryant 2015; Diagne 2017).[13] Many of these schools were missionary schools. An exception, French schoolteacher Jean Dard's *Ecole muteulle de Saint Louis*, opened in 1817 and provides an interesting case for study as it was one of the first schools within the French colony and the only one that promoted bilingual education in French and Wolof (Irvine 1993; Diallo 2011; Diagne 2017). With racial understandings between white French colonizers, the *metis* population and black Africans changing later in the century to take on more pejorative undertones (Bryant 2015), Dard's approach supported the equal humanity of all groups (Irvine 1993). As Dard argued of the Wolof in particular, "if one took the trouble to teach them to read, write, and do arithmetic in their own language, they could in very little time take their place among the civilized nations" (Dard 1826, xi, as cited in Irvine 1993, 31). Dard did

not earn reappointment due to personal, political, and administrative tensions (Irvine 1993) including significantly his insistence on using Wolof as an LOI (Diallo 2011). As a result, the school floundered and eventually closed in 1841 (Diagne 2017). Subsequently, French policies vehemently upheld French as the only LOI within formal schooling.

French instruction schools continued to develop with missionary establishments gaining prominence, such as the Catholic Ploërmel Brothers schools in 1841. At the turn of the decade, then governor, Faidherbe, established the first secular schools (Diagne 2017). By 1895, there were 17 schools in the colony and 21 by 1907. Issues with teacher shortages, low attendance, and chronic underfunding continued (Bryant 2015). During the late nineteenth century, attendance grew substantially including among Muslims as many perceived colonial schooling as advantageous to employment within the French administration or with trading firms (Bryant 2015).[14] At the time of independence in 1960, the school enrollment rate was 27%. It grew to 41% in 1970, 46% in 1980, and reached over half of the population at 53% in 1983 (Nguirane and Badiane 1995). While issues around enrollment continued through the 1990s and early 2000s, international commitments associated with Education for All (EFA) and the second Millennium Challenge Goal of universal primary education galvanized efforts for increased enrollments through 2015 (Niane and François 2007). As indicated above, the most recent statistics show that 83% of children in Senegal enrolled in primary schools in 2016 (UNESCO 2018).

Power Struggles. Tensions between the fundamental assumptions of African/Indigenous education practices and formal French schooling were significant both historically and at present. Complementarity and syncretism between Indigenous pedagogy practices and Qur'anic schooling seemed to be more fluid than with the colonial form of schooling. As Bryant (2015) documents, prior to 1914, many Africans in Senegal avoided school or rejected it. The majority of adults perceived formal schooling as a rival to parental authority. She writes that colonial schools "threatened an existing system of education that helped maintain generational and religious authority while preparing children for life as adults" (31). Bryant argued that families were concerned about how a French education may negatively affect their family's reputation. Sarr's (2013) study in southeastern Senegal similarly identified some elders that continue to view the teachers as contenders to their authority even at present.

Moreover, French schooling in Senegal held a civilizing and colonial agenda from its very inception, as is evident from Dard's quote above. Although the French administration made schooling official in 1903, previous schooling forms also carried out a mission to indoctrinate youth in the language and culture of the French colony and as a tool to lessen resistance (Robinson 2000; Quist 2001; Diallo 2011; Bryant 2015; Diagne 2017). Identifying French as the only language of instruction was a key component of conquering the minds of Africans and it had great success. Elsewhere,

scholars argue that choosing French over local languages led to their demise. Minga (2017), for instance, writes that colonial schools were "formed to serve colonists' purposes and it is from these schools that African languages were dethroned and replaced with European languages as Earth by the Sun" (Minga 2017, 198). Part of the success of Western education systems prevalent in much of Africa is their aim to produce a cultural and economic elite that will help develop the country and meet its political and economic needs. Trudell (2010) argues that in doing so, the elite and many parents who adopt their arguments, buy into a "deficit view" of African culture and oftentimes reject more culturally relevant and adapted alternatives in favor of Western schooling.

Senegal's elite are no exception. Leopold Sedar Senghor, Senegal's first president and a major figure in the Negritude movement, was an avid Francophile, and a great example of the new French-speaking elite. Senghor actively contributed to the Negritude movement begun in the 1930s by African and Antillais scholars. Negritude scholars revendicated the value of African ways of life, languages, and culture. However, the Negritude writers used French to communicate their ideas and it is only recently that Senghor's poems were translated from French into local languages, notably "Serer" (Faye 2016; Minga 2017). Cheikh Anta Diop, who translated the "Communist Manifesto" and the "Theory of Relativity" into Wolof and led a campaign for the emergence of Wolof literature and science beginning in the 1960s, offers an important and prominent counterexample. Senegal's third President Abdoulaye Wade, who often used Wolof in his speeches and surprised his constituents with his regular code-switching, also challenged French-language dominance. Such resistance, however, has not yet overcome government policies and efforts to maintain French supremacy enacted under Senegal's first two presidents, Senghor and Abdou Diouf, however (Cruise O'Brien 2003). In this way, French has acted as a historical gatekeeper for advancement (Bryant 2015) and continues to do so at present (Diallo 2011; Sarr 2013).

One of the techniques used by French and then African teachers to achieve French linguistic dominance within formal schooling merits discussion here as it provides insights into mechanisms used and their longevity. The term "*le symbole*" is often used to explain the practice of punishing students that spoke a language other than French in the classroom by hanging a large cow bone, tin of cow dung, a large plaque with a deriding statement or other large object around the neck of the student (Moumouni 1968; Bamgbose 2000; Johnson 2004; Sarr 2015; Minga 2017). At the end of the day, the last student with the *symbole* had to wear it out of the classroom and into the community. This practice to shame children was also ubiquitous during this time period in France as well as within the British colonies.[15] While Moumouni (1968) writes that the practice ended in the early 1980s, personal communication with Senegalese who attended primary school in the 1980s and 1990s tells of its endurance. Similarly, the practice existed in Zimbabwe into

the same time period with "an embarrassing" round badge with the word "Shona" written on it as a token of punishment (Personal communication, Nyardazai Changamire, April 2015). Although the author's experiences in schools in Gabon and Senegal in the 2000s provide evidence of the absence of the *symbole*,[16] primary school students' testimonies during a research project in Guinea in 2015 indicate that the *symbole* may still figure within teachers' disciplinary repertoire at least in one former French colony.

In addition, the acceptance and indeed, vehement support, that many parents provide for continued use of French within schools is also apparent in Senegal, as well as in other African contexts.[17] Much of the literature pointing to obstacles for mother-tongue language instruction identifies parental refusal to move away from colonial languages.[18] Historically, Bryant (2015) provides examples of the beginning of Africans' embrace of French, and particularly their agency in choosing French-language schooling as a way to increase their children's opportunities. At the same time, the power imbalance between the French and the Africans under colonial rule and ensuing postcolonial weight makes it difficult to truly see decisions to send children to school as a free choice. According to a school director, for example:

> And we had to, in order to be really taken into consideration, we needed to understand that official language … It's French … It's the language used in offices, right? You have to go to school in order to understand this language and there was even a time when we would organize evening classes for adults, for the elders, so that they could understand this language … We organized evening classes so that people would be included …. (Sarr 2013, 128)

Similarly, the author's recent experiences conducting an evaluation on a USAID program in Niger that supports local language instruction in grades one and two highlighted some parents taking their children out of schools in protest once local languages were introduced as LOI. At the same time, some parents reversed their refusal upon seeing how children learn better in local language. Multiple terms refer to this identification with the French language as superior to local languages, whether it's the colonization of the mind (wa Thiong'o 1993; Brock-Utne 2000), the cultural deficit perspective (Trudell 2010), or the internationalization of the development discourse (Sarr 2013). Such systematic devaluation of local languages and African education methods has had profound effects on Africans, leading to a sense of inferiority, incompetency, alienation, and marginalization for many (wa Thiong'o 1993; Semali 1999; Quist 2001; Dei 2002; Ntarangwi 2003; Odora Hoppers 2002, 2009; Hountondji 2002; Ntuli 2002; Asante 2010; Diallo 2011; Diame 2011). This devaluation also provides evidence to the point above, that formal schooling enjoys greater prestige compared to informal methods. While this section provided an overview of the history of formal French-language schooling in Senegal up to the present, the next section addresses the current international momentum for schooling in students' home languages.

Examples of innovative practice in Senegal rounds out the section providing some reason for optimism.

Toward local languages as LOI. The use of local languages within formal schooling first entered the international discourse in 1953, seven years prior to Senegal's independence, in the form of a UNESCO statement (UNESCO 1953; Kosonen and Benson 2013; Benson and Wong 2015). While the above arguments demonstrate the resiliency of ex-colonial languages within the classroom, there is now growing international recognition of the importance of local languages as LOI in order to address educational quality (UNESCO 2017).[19] Momentum is growing within conferences as well as within the donor community (Benson and Wong 2015). The underlying pedagogical premise is that by developing oral expression and literacy skills within a language that children know, they will be able to transfer cognitive and academic skills more effectively to other languages (Cummins 2009), such as French. Promising experiences from the implementation of local language instruction programs in Ethiopia (Benson et al. 2010) and Kenya (Piper et al. 2016) provide further stimulus.

In spite of growing support for the use of local languages within formal schooling, challenges remain that have supported the status quo. In addition to parents' reticence, Trudell (2010) argues that the formulation and implementation of policies supporting local languages as the language of instruction are "notoriously lacking" (344).[20] At the heart of this stalemate are the political elite, who are often reluctant to alter the status quo that sustains their power (Bamgbose 2000; Alidou 2009; Diallo 2010; Trudell 2010).[21] In addition to weak political will, experiences of poor implementation of local language programs, concerns for the cost of producing teaching and learning materials (Alidou 2009; Diallo 2010), and weak support from educators and students (Paulson 2010) often inhibit change.

The case of Senegal. French remains the language of instruction within formal schooling in Senegal.[22] At present, the use of local languages within formal schooling in Senegal remains experimental albeit promising. In general, weak efforts to foster education in national languages have characterized efforts (Obanya 1995; Cruise O'Brien 2003; Diallo 2010). Community schools developed in 1998–1999 and received positive feedback but were not taken to scale (Diarra et al. 2000). Another prominent example was a trial phase in 2002 during which 170 national language classes scattered throughout five regions of the country were offered (Diallo 2010). Three policies from the Senegalese state that urge the use of national languages in education provide contradictory evidence, these included:

– 1979 policy on the *Organisation de l'enseignement élémentaire* (Structure of Elementary Education) makes several references to employing national languages particularly within the first few grades;
– 1984 reform—*Ecole Nouvelle* (New School) makes the recommendation that the dominant language of the schooling area should be the LOI beginning with preschool through at least age 9;

– 1991 law—Article 6 of Law 91-22 identifies a policy where the government espouses its commitment to teaching in national languages as part of an effort in "providing a deep understanding of African history and culture" (Sénégal, 1991, my translation).

However, as above arguments attest, Senegal is not alone in its experience of lackluster implementation despite existent policies. Moreover, Sarr (forthcoming) provides examples from classroom observation and interviews with teachers at a peri-urban school that demonstrate how teachers routinely use local languages informally within the school grounds and more formally as an oral pedagogical tool to promote student understanding. See Fig. 5.2 for a photo of the blackboard from a lesson focusing on family trees in grade three. This is one example of a lesson where the teacher frequently used Wolof to aid student understanding. These examples show a distinct break from previously held policies and practices, like the *symbole*, that categorically prohibited local languages and shamed native-speaking children.

In addition, recent and current developments suggest growing interest within the Senegalese *Ministère de l'Education Nationale* (MEN) (National Ministry of Education) in local languages as the LOI. Beginning in 2009, for instance, Associates in Research and Development (ARED), a non-governmental organization, implemented a project that had begun as a
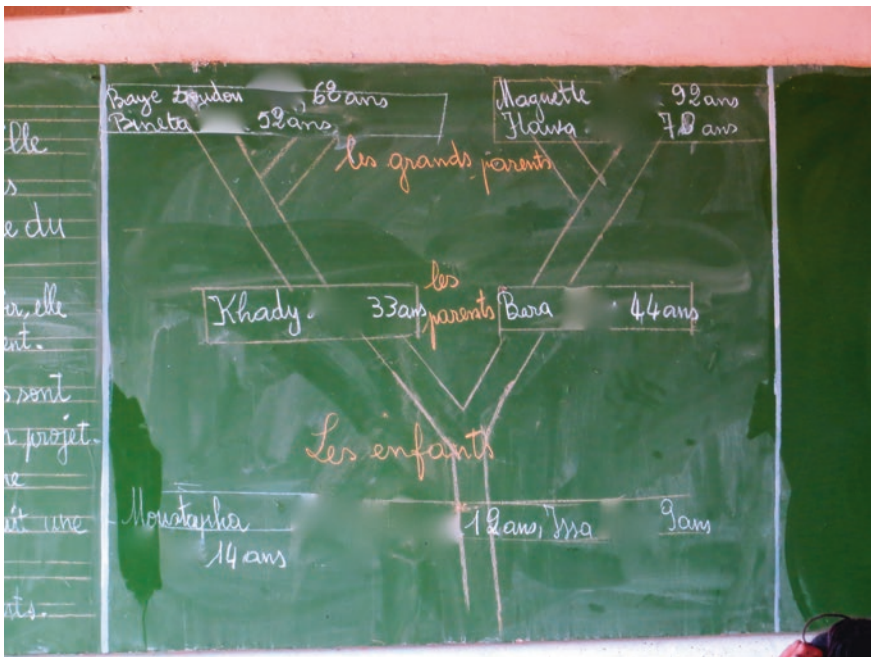
Fig. 5.2 Family tree lesson in Senegal Classroom [Last names removed] (Photograph by Karla Giuliano Sarr)

bilingual after-school program and subsequently moved to directly integrating bilingual instruction (Wolof/French or Pulaar/French) within 208 classrooms within the three regions of Dakar, Kaolack, and Saint Louis (ARED 2017). The program received funding from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation and later through Dubai Cares. ARED implemented the bilingual approach in reading, writing, and mathematics within the first four grades of primary. The author's visit to a Wolof lesson in a participating school in January 2016 demonstrated high levels of participation among students and school personnel's overall satisfaction. One of the efforts strongly linked to ARED's success was advocacy and ongoing action research conducted with parents and other community members. Their efforts showed that parents could be convinced of the benefits of using local languages and that doing so could improve their children's abilities to speak French in the long run (ARED 2017).

An even more grassroots effort also merits additional discussion, particularly for its work with a less dominant local language, Safi-Safi. A local NGO, *Association pour le développement de la langue Saafi* (ADLAS), raised funding and support within its community to develop local language instruction within Safi-Safi language, a language with approximately 200,000 speakers a 2012 statistic (Simons and Fennig 2018) and located just outside of Dakar. At the time of a visit to the program in January 2017, funding had run out at the elementary school level, but the author was able to attend a Safi preschool class full of children and that had support from community members. Concerns exist for the continuation of formal schooling in such less dominant languages should other more dominant and better funded local language instruction practices take hold.

Even more prominently, at the time of writing this chapter, USAID is in its second year of five years of funding (2016–2021) of an early grade reading program in Senegal with Chemonics as the main implementing partner. The program, *Lecture pour tous (LPT)* (Reading for All), aims to implement reading instruction in grades one through three within 5000 schools in six regions of Senegal (Balde 2018). Instruction takes place within three languages: Wolof, Pulaar, and Serer. ARED supports the project at the local level. The project focuses uniquely on reading. The hope is that the program will show strong results using EGRA assessments and be able to further support the Ministry of Education's movement toward more sustainable scaling-up of local languages as LOI at the primary level (Balde 2018; Diop 2018). Other initiatives to support local languages as LOI include projects supported by the Francophonie, World Vision, and UNICEF but are also on a small scale. While the USAID initiative has more extensive reach than previous pilots and may prove to be successful, there are some concerns about how its implementation may have curtailed bilingual reforms that seemed poised to follow the original ARED model and discussions they had engaged with the MEN. These reforms targeted the entire primary cycle and the majority of subject areas rather than simply reading in grades one through three.

Conclusion

Holistically exploring education endeavors in Senegal highlights informal practices that occur in parents' and community's child-raising and cultural assimilation practices alongside more formal education efforts that include Indigenous rites of passage, Qur'anic schools, and French formal schooling. In addition to French, now the ex-colonial language and Senegal's official language, the country boasts of 31 Indigenous languages, of which, Wolof exerts the most dominant position. Senegal's Indigenous languages typically function as conduits of meaning during informal education practices, as few families (well below 1%) speak French within the home. Rites of passage, in particular, make very strong links between linguistic expression and Indigenous knowledge relevant to status and belonging within a community. Testimonies within this chapter provide evidence of these Indigenous and community practices among a variety of ethnic and linguistic groups.

French formal schooling aligns with typical notions of formal education and from its inception in 1817 through independence, a colonial mechanism aimed at developing agents and subjects for colonial control and repression. The French language was the principle vehicle of indoctrination and alienation and acted as a gatekeeper to advancement. Despite notable counter-efforts, French has retained its dominance within academic circles and its prestige to present. French remains the language of instruction with the exception of a growing number of pilot schools. Among all these manifestations of education, language correlates to membership as well as exclusion, identity, and alienation as well as to continuity and change.

Current piloting efforts require further attention as does close monitoring of sentiments within the National Ministry of Education. Of course, student and community voices are also critical. The next few years may provide evidence and impetus for even more extensive and efficient local language efforts, and a potential nation-wide scaling-up. While there is hope for improved reading performance, aspirations for a more comprehensive overhaul remain. Moreover, concerns for lesser dominant language groups and their rights to identity inherent within linguistic practice also hang in the balance. Time will tell how educational forms and language-in-education practices persist and evolve within Senegal's continuously dynamic and fluid environment.

Notes

1. This list is non-exhaustive. There are certainly other cases across the vast Continent.
2. While the author has worked with Senegalese educational issues since 2000, she taught in Gabon between 2003 and 2005 and provided support to projects in Guinea, the DRC, and most recently led an evaluation of an education project using local languages in Niger.

3. Of these, 31 are identified as Indigenous languages and 7 are non-Indigenous as reported in Simons and Fennig (2018).

4. More commonly known by other names including Malinke.

5. Cameron and Harrison (2012) provide an extensive treatment of the definitions and controversies within these categories.

6. The authors' experiences and knowledge of NGO initiatives indicate that many of these efforts occur in local languages.

7. Bryant (2015) also addresses parents' instillation of values in their children historically, though not with as much specificity as Diame (2011).

8. Due to multiple reasons, including economics and logistical complications due to increased emigration, the *Futampafu* in Belaye takes place around every 30 years now. See Flannery (2001) for more on this event.

9. Trimingham (1970) identifies accounts from Islamic travelers such as Al-Bakri and Al-Idrisi describe rulers in the northern region of Senegal, known as the Tekrur kingdom, at this time.

10. According to ANADS (2002) census data, among the 95.6% of the population that is Muslim, 31.9% profess to be Mouride, 48.9% Tidjane, 8.7% Khadrya, and 0.6% Layenne. The remaining 5.5% are Muslims with no particular membership to a brotherhood.

11. Note that in addition to the Qur'anic schools (*les écoles coraniques*), since 1950, Arabic schools or *les écoles arabes* or *franco-arabe* have also grown in number (Nguirane and Badiane 1995). While related, a close study of these latter schools was beyond the scope of this present chapter as they enroll only a fraction of the population.

12. According to UNESCO (2020), the gross enrollment rate in primary school was 885.58%, with 79.38% (boys) and 91.93% (girls) for 2017.

13. While there were some prominent girls schools, notably on Gorée, Bryant (2015) identifies that most students were boys and that their voices are more prominent in lasting archives.

14. See Bryant (2015) for a detailed account of the parallel and unequal systems of education that developed for Africans located within the four Communes compared to those who were in the Protectorate. The French's approach to colonization changed substantially between the 1800s and early 1900s, moving away from assimilationist policies.

15. While punishments did not seem as savage in nature (a piece of wood to put in the pocket rather than a large cow femur to hang around the neck), there are cases of the French using these same techniques for children who spoke Breton, for instance see: Le Télégramme (2009).

16. In Gabon from 2003 to 2005 and Senegal in 2010, 2013 and 2017.

17. Much of the literature pointing to obstacles for mother-tongue language instruction identify parental refusal to move away from colonial languages. See, e.g., Ngwaru and Opoku-Amankwa (2010) for discussion of Zimbabwe; Graham (2010) for discussion of Kenya; Trudell (2010), and Rassool and Edwards (2010) for general overview, and Sarr (2013) for discussion of Senegal. Similarly, in a recently conducted evaluation by Sarr on a USAID program in Niger that supports local language instruction in grades 1 and 2, cases of parents taking their children out of schools that taught in local language are common. At the same time, so are examples where once parents see how children are learning better, they transfer their children to those schools.

18. See Trudell (2010) and Rassool and Edwards (2010) for general overview. Ngwaru and Opoku-Amankwa (2010) provide information about sentiments in Zimbabwe; Graham (2010) discusses Kenya; and Sarr (2013) addresses Senegal.
19. See also, e.g., Rassool and Edwards (2010), Benson et al. (2010), Alidou and Brock-Utne (2011), Skutnabb-Kangas (2009), Diallo (2011), Babaci-Wilhite et al. (2012), Ouane and Glanz (2011), Kosonen and Benson (2013), Piper et al. (2016), and Minga (2017).
20. See also Alidou (2009) and Diallo (2010).
21. At the same time, Trudell (2010) presents an objective presentation of the African elite with preferences for European languages but still speaking the languages of their local communities and acknowledges the various competing pressures they might feel. Trudell argues for the agency and need for elites to exert themselves and especially for the counter-elite to grow in number and to continue to support language in education policies featuring African languages.
22. Nonetheless, Diallo (2010, 2011) provides evidence of growing English-language use and preference.

References

Adeyemi, Michael B., and A. Augustus Adeyinka. 2002. "Some Key Issues in African Traditional Education." *McGill Journal of Education* 37 (2): 223–240.

Alidou, Hassana. 2009. "Promoting Multilingual and Multicultural Education in Francophone Africa: Challenges and Perspectives." In *Languages and Education in Africa: A Comparative and Transdisciplinary Analysis*, edited by Birgit Brock-Utne and Ingse Skattum, 105–132. Oxford, UK: Symposium Books.

Alidou, Hassana, and Birgit Brock-Utne. 2011. "Teaching Practices – Teaching in a Familiar Language." In *Optimising Learning, Education and Publishing in Africa: The Language Factor. A Review and Analysis of Theory and Practice in Mother-Tongue and Bilingual Education in Sub-Saharan Africa*, edited by Adama Ouane and Christine Glanz, 159–186. Hamburg, Germany: UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning (UIL), the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA), African Development Bank.

Archivage National des Données du Sénégal (ANADS). 2002. "Senegal: Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat 2002." http://anads.ansd.sn/index.php/catalog/9/datafile/F7/V409.

Asante, Molefi K. 2010. "Foreword." In *Teaching Africa: Towards Transgressive Pedagogy*, author G. J. Dei, vii–ix. New York: Springer.

Associates in Research and Education for Development (ARED). 2017. "Associates in Research and Education for Development." Unpublished presentation, Field course: "Whose Language?". Senegal.

Babaci-Wilhite, Zehlia, A. Geo-Jaja Macleans, and Shizhou Lou. 2012. "Education and Language: A Human Right for Sustainable Development in Africa." *International Review of Education* 58 (5): 619–647.

Baker, David, and Gerald LeTendre. 2005. *National Differences, Global Similarities: World Culture and the Future of Schooling*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Balde, Aissatou. 2018. "Attitudes and Beliefs About Language, Instruction, and Reading: Recent Data from Senegal." Unpublised presentation, Annual Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) Conference. Mexico City, Mexico.

Bamgbose, Ayo. 2000. *Language and Exclusion: The Consequences of Language Policies in Africa*. Hamburge: LIT.

Benson, Carol, and Kevin M. Wong. 2015. "Development Discourse on Language of Instruction and Literacy: Sound Policy and Ubuntu or Lip Service?" *Reconsidering Development* 4 (1): 1–16.

Benson, Carol, Kathleen Heugh, Berhanu Bogale, and Mekonnen Alemu Gebre Yohannes. 2010. "Medium of Instruction in Ethiopia: A Study and Its Implications for Multilingual Education." In *Multilingual Education Works: From the Periphery to the Centre*, edited by Kathleeen Heugh and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas. New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan.

Blakemore, Priscilla. 1970. "Assimilation and Association in French Educational Policy and Practice: Senegal, 1903–1939." In *Essays in the History of African Education*, edited by Vincent M. Battle and Charles H. Lyons, 85–103. New York: Teachers College Press.

Botha, Louis Royce. 2010. "Indigenous Knowledge as Culturally-Centered Education in South Africa." *Africa Education Review* 7 (1): 34–50.

Brock-Utne, Birgit. 2000. *Whose Education for All? Recolonization of the African Mind, Part II*. New York City, NY: Falmer Press.

Brock-Utne, Birgit. 2012. "Language and Inequality: Global Challenges to Education." *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 42 (5): 773–793.

Bryant, Kelly M. Duke. 2015. *Education as Politics: Colonial Schooling and Political Debate in Senegal, 1850s–1914*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Cameron, R., and J. L. Harrison. 2012. "The Interrelatedness of Formal, Non-formal and Informal Learning: Evidence from Labour Market Program Participants." *Australian Journal of Adult Learning* 52 (2): 277–309.

Chemonics. 2018. "Scaling Up Early Grade Reading in Senegal." Washington, DC. https://chemonics.com/projects/scaling-early-grade-reading-senegal/.

Chevance, Margot. 2018. "Vidéo: le Sénégal Perd son Français au Profi du Wolof." TV5MondeDirect. https://information.tv5monde.com/afrique/video-le-senegal-perd-son-francais-au-profit-du-wolof-217953.

Christie, Michael. 2006. "Transdisciplinary Research and Aboriginal Knowledge." *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education* 35: 78–89.

Coffield, Frank, ed. 2000. *The Necessity of Informal Learning*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

Colley, Hellen, Phil Hodkinson, and Janice Malcolm. 2004. "Informality and Formality in Learning: A Summary of a Research Report, Informality and Formality in Learning." Commissioned by the Learning and Skills Research Centre (LSRC), Lifelong Learning Institute of the University of Leeds, London. https://kar.kent.ac.uk/4647/3/Informality%20and%20Formality%20in%20Learning.pdf.

Cruise O'Brien, Donal B. 2003. *Symbolic Confrontations: Muslims Imagining the State in Africa*. New York: Palgrave.

Cummins, James. 2009. "Fundamental Psycholinguistic and Sociological Principles Underlying Educational Success for Linguistic Minority Students." In *Social Justice Through Multilingual Education*, edited by Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, Robert Phillipson, and Ajit K. Mohanty, 19–35. Clevedon, GBR: Multilingual Matters.

Dei, George J. Sefa. 2000. "Local Knowledges and Educational Reforms in Ghana." *Canadian and International Education* 29 (1): 37–71.

Dei, George J. S. 2002. "Learning Culture, Spirituality and Local Knowledge: Implications for African Schooling." *International Review of Education* 48 (5): 335–360.

Dei, George J. Sefa, Budd L. Hall, and Dorothy Golding Rosenberg, eds. 2000. *Indigenous Knowledges in Global Contexts: Multiple Readings of Our World*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Diagne, Mbacke. 2017. "Ecole Colonial et Politique d'Assimilation." Unpublished presentation, Field course: "Whose Language?". Senegal.

Diallo, Garba. 2003. "Indigenous Forms of Learning in West Africa: The Case of Mauritania." *Education in Africa* 2: 13–53.

Diallo, Ibrahima. 2010. *Politics of National Languages in Postcolonial Senegal*. Amherst, NY: Cambria Press.

Diallo, Ibrahima. 2011. "'To Understand Lessons, Think Through Your Own Languages': An Analysis of Narratives in Support of the Introduction of Indigenous Languages in the Education System in Senegal." *Language Matters* 42 (2): 207–230.

Diame, Maguette. 2011. "Traditional Culture and Educational Success in Sénégal, West Africa." Unpublished masters thesis, University of Oregon, USA. https://scholarsbank.uoregon.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/1794/11518/Diame_Maguette_ma2011sp.pdf?sequence=1.

Diarra, Daouda, Macaty Fall, Papa Madéfall Gueye, Mamadou Mara, and Jacques Marchand. 2000. *Les écoles Communautaires de Base au Sénégal*. Paris: UNESCO. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001224/122463F.pdf.

Diop, Khady. 2018. "Negotiating North-South Partnership for Early Grade Reading: Reflections on How One Program Is Navigating Collaboration to Achieve Results and Sustainability." Unpublished presentation, Annual Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) Conference, Mexico City, Mexico.

Faye, Ndéla. 2016. "Senegal's Founding President's Poetry Heard in Native Language for First Time." *The Guardian: Guardian Africa Network*. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/08/senegals-first-presidents-poems-serer.

Fernando, Jude L. 2003. "NGOs and Production of Indigenous Knowledge under the Condition of Postmodernity." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 590: 54–72.

Flannery, Amy. 2001. *Return to Belaye: A Rite of Passage*. Washington, DC: Yellowcat Productions.

FranceInfo. 2018. "Sénégal: La Langue Française en Recul." https://www.francetvinfo.fr/monde/senegal/senegal-la-langue-francaise-en-recul_2666580.html.

Gellar, Sheldon. 1983. *Senegal: An African Nation Between Islam and the West*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

George, June M. 1999. "Indigenous Knowledge as a Component of the School Curriculum." In *What Is Indigenous Knowledge? Voices from the Academy*, edited by Ladislaus. M. Semali and Joe L. Kincheloe, 79–94. New York, NY: Falmer Press.

Golding, Barry, Mike Brown, and Annette Foley. 2009. "Informal Learning: A Discussion Around Defining and Researching Its Breadth and Importance." *Australian Journal of Adult Learning* 49 (1): 34–56.

Graham, Barbara Elaine. 2010. "Mother Tongue Education: Necessary? Possible? Sustainable?" *Language and Education* 24 (4): 309–321. https://doi.org/10.1080/09500781003678696.

Higgs, Philip. 2008. "Towards an Indigenous African Educational Discourse: A Philosophical Reflection." *International Review of Education* 54: 445–458.

Hountondji, P. 2002. "Knowledge Appropriation in a Post-colonial Context." In *Indigenous Knowledge and the Integration of Knowledge Systems: Towards a Philosophy of Articulation*, edited by C. A. Odora Hoppers, 23–38. Claremont, South Africa: New Africa Books.

Irvine, Judith T. 1993. "Mastering African Languages: The Politics of Linguistics in Nineteenth-Century Senegal." *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice* 33: 27–46.

Johnson, Nancy Kwang. 2004. "Senegalese 'into Frenchmen'? The French Technology of Nationalism in Senegal." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 10 (1): 135–158.

Kane, Hamidou. 1963. *Ambiguous Adventure*. London: Heinemann.

Kanu, Yatta. 2006. "Reappropriating Traditions in Curricular Imagination." In *Curriculum as a Cultural Practice: Postcolonial Imaginations*, edited by Y. Kanu, 203–222. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Kosonen, Kimmo, and Carol Benson. 2013. "Introduction: Inclusive Teaching and Learning Through the Use of Non-dominant Languages and Cultures." In *Language Issues in Comparative Education: Inclusive Teaching and Learning in Non-dominant Languages and Cultures*, edited by Carol Benson and Kimmo Kosonen, 1–16. Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers.

Le Télégramme. 2009. "Breton. Une Conference sur l'Histoire de la Langue." https://www.letelegramme.fr/local/cotes-d-armor/guingamp/ville/breton-une-conference-sur-l-histoire-de-la-langue-31-01-2009-228942.php.

Lexander, Kristin Vold. 2011. "Texting and African Language Literacy." *New Media & Society* 13 (3): 427–443.

Lockhardt, A. S. 2016. "Non-formal and Informal Programs and Activities That Promote the Acquisition of Knowledge and Skills in Areas of Global Citizenship Education (GCED) and Education for Sustainable Development (ESD)." Paris, France: UNESCO. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002456/245625E.pdf.

Mazonde, Isaac N. 2010. "Culture and Education in the Development of Africa." New York City, NY: UNPan. http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/idep/unpan003347.pdf.

McKinley, Elizabeth. 2007. "Postcolonialism, Indigenous Students, and Science Education." In *Handbook of Research on Science Education*, edited by S. K. Abell and N. G. Lederman, 199–226. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

McLaughlin, Fiona. 2001. "Dakar Wolof and the Configuration of an Urban Identity." *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 14 (2): 153–172.

McLaughlin, Fiona. 2008. "Senegal: The Emergence of a National Lingua Franca." In *Language and National Identity in Africa*, edited by Andrew Simpson, 79–97. New York: Oxford University Press.

Minga, Katunga Joseph. 2017. "Between Linguicide and Lingua-Hatred: A Provisional Linguistic Performativity Model for Africa." *Africology: The Journal of Pan African Studies* 10 (3): 196–216.

Molloy, Aimee. 2013. *However Long the Night: Molly Melching's Journey to Help Millions of African Women and Girls Triumph.* New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers.

Mosha, R. Sambuli. 1999. "The Inseparable Link Between Intellectual and Spiritual Formation in Indigenous Knowledge and Education: A Case Study in Tanzania." In *What Is Indigenous Knowledge? Voices from the Academy*, edited by Ladislaus M. Semail and Joe L. Kincheloe, 209–225. New York: Falmer Press.

Moumouni, Abdou. 1968. *Education in Africa*. Translated by P. N. Ott. London: André Deutsch.

Mwadime, Robert K. N. 1999. "Indigenous Knowledge Systems for an Alternative Culture in Science: The Role of Nutritionists in Africa." In *What Is Indigenous Knowledge? Voices from the Academy*, edited by Ladislaus M. Semail and Joe L. Kincheloe, 243–267. New York: Falmer Press.

Nguirane, Djibril, and P. F. Badiane. 1995. "Education de Base et Education Coranique au Sénégal." Dakar, Senegal: UNESCO-BREDA. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0010/001055/105548Fb.pdf.

Ngwaru, Jacob Marriote, and Kwasi Opoku-Amankwa. 2010. "Home and School Literacy Practices in Africa: Listening to Inner Voices." *Language and Education* 24 (4): 295–307. https://doi.org/10.1080/09500781003678985.

Niane, B., and R. François. 2007. *Country Profile Commissioned for the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2007: Strong Foundations: Early Childhood Care and Education*. Paris, France: UNESCO.

Ntarangwi, M. 2003. "The Challenges of Education and Development in Post-Colonial Kenya." *Africa Development* 28 (3 & 4): 211–228.

Ntuli, P. Pikita. 2002. "Indigenous Knowledge Systems and the African Renaissance." In *Indigenous Knowledge and the Integration of Knowledge Systems: Towards a Philosophy of Articulation*, edited by C. A. Odora Hoppers, 53–66. Claremont, South Africa: New Africa Books.

Obanya, Pai. 1995. "Case Studies of Curriculum Innovation in Western Africa." *International Review of Education* 41 (5): 315–336.

Odora Hoppers, Catherine A. 2002. "Indigenous Knowledge and the Integration of Knowledge Systems." In *Indigenous Knowledge and the Integration of Knowledge Systems: Towards a Philosophy of Articulation*, edited by Catherine A. Odora Hoppers, 2–22. Claremont, South Africa: New Africa Books.

Odora Hoppers, Catherine A. 2009. "Catherine Hoppers on Research, Knowledge and Development." http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Og0u-ohkvLI.

Ouane, Adama, and Christine Glanz. 2011. *Optimising Learning, Education and Publishing in Africa: The Language Factor. A Review and Analysis of Theory and Practice in Mother-Tongue and Bilingual Education in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Hamburg, Germany: UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning (UIL), the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA), African Development Bank.

Owuor, Jenipher A. 2007. "Integrating African Indigenous Knowledge in Kenya's Formal Education System: The Potential for Sustainable Development." *Journal of Contemporary Issues in Education* 2 (2): 21–37.

Paulson, Rebecca. 2010. "Enhancing Learning Through the Use of Mother Tongue Language: Analysis of the Forces for and Against Mother Tongue Education." Unpublished comprehensive exam, University of Massachusetts Amherst.

Peace Corps. 2004. *Nonformal Education (NFE) Manual.* ICE No. M0042. Washington, DC: Information Collection and Exchange.

Piper, Benjamin, Stephanie S. Zuilkowski, and Salome Ong'ele. 2016. "Implementing Mother Tongue Instruction in the Real World: Results from a Medium-Scale Randomized Controlled Trial in Kenya." *Comparative Education Review* 60 (4): 776–807.

Plan International. 2018. "Projects: Senegal Lecture pour Tous." Washington, DC: Plan USA. https://www.planusa.org/senegal-lecture-pour-tous.

Prah, Kwesi Kwaa. 2002. "Researching African Languages for Scientific and Technological Development: The CASAS Experience." In *Speaking African*, edited by F. Owino, 9–16. Cape Town, South Africa: Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society.

Purcell, Trevor W. 1998. "Indigenous Knowledge and Applied Anthropology: Questions of Definition and Direction." *Human Organization* 57 (3): 258–272.

Quiroz, Consuelo. 1999. "Local Knowledge Systems and Vocational Education in Developing Countries." In *What Is Indigenous Knowledge? Voices from the Academy*, edited by Ladlislaus M. Semali and Joe L. Kincheloe, 305–316. New York: Falmer Press.

Quist, Hubert O. 2001. "Cultural Issues in Secondary Education Development in West Africa: Away from Colonial Survivals Towards Neocolonial Influences?" *Comparative Education* 37 (3): 297–314.

Rassool, Naz, and Viv Edwards. 2010. "Multilingualism in African Schools: Constraints and Possibilities." *Language and Education* 24 (4): 277–281. https://doi.org/10.1080/09500781003678720.

Reagan, Timothy. 2005. *Non-western Educational Traditions: Indigenous Approaches to Education Thought and Practice.* 3rd ed. New York, NY: Routledge.

Reynar, Rodney. 1999. "Indigenous People's Knowledge and Education: A Tool for Development?" In *What Is Indigenous Knowledge? Voices from the Academy*, edited by Ladislaus M. Semali and Joe L. Kincheloe, 285–304. New York: Falmer Press.

Robinson, David. 2000. *Paths of Accommodation: Muslim Societies and French Colonial Authorities in Senegal and Mauritania, 1880 to 1920.* Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.

Sall, Babacar. 2012. "Cheikh Anta Diop: Great African Scholar Revisited." *Journal of Pan African Studies* 1: 253. http://www.jpanafrican.org/docs/vol-5no1/5.1Cheikh.pdf.

Sarr, Karla Giuliano. 2013. "'We Lost Our Culture with Civilization': Community Perceptions of Indigenous Knowledge and Education in Senegal." In *Language Issues in Comparative Education: Inclusive Teaching and Learning in Non-dominant Languages and Cultures*, edited by Carol Benson and Kimmo Kosonen, 115–131. Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers.

Sarr, Karla Giuliano. 2015. "Integrating Cultures Within Formal Schooling: Exploring Opportunities for Cultural Relevancy in Peri-Urban Senegal." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Massachusetts. https://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_2/322/.

Scoppa, C., and C. Antonicelli. 2014. "Grandmother Project in Senegal: A Short Presentation." Grandmother Project. http://www.grandmotherproject.org/what-we-do/.

Semali, Ladislaus M. 1999. "Community as Classroom: (Re)Valuing Indigenous Literacy." In *What Is Indigenous Knowledge? Voices from the Academy*, edited by Ladislaus M. Semali and Joe L. Kincheloe, 95–118. New York, NY: Falmer Press.

Semali, Ladlislaus M., and Joe L. Kincheloe. 1999. "Introduction: What Is Indigenous Knowledge? Why Should We Study It?" In *What Is Indigenous Knowledge? Voices from the Academy*, edited by Ladislaus M. Semali and Joe L. Kincheloe, 1–57. New York, NY: Falmer Press.

Sillitoe, Paul, and Mariella Marzano. 2009. "Future of Indigenous Knowledge Research in Development." *Futures* 41: 13–23.

Simons, Gary F., and Charles D. Fennig, eds. 2018. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. 21st ed. Dallas, TX: SIL International. http://www.ethnologue.com.

Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove. 2009. "Multilingual Education for Global Justice: Issues, Approaches, Opportunities." In *Social Justice Through Multilingual Education*, edited by Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, Robert Phillipson, and Ajit K. Mohanty, 36–62. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. 1999. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. New York, NY: Zed Books.

Smith, Mark K. 2001. "What Is Non-formal Education?" In *The Encyclopaedia of Informal Education*. London, UK: Infed. http://infed.org/mobi/what-is-non-formal-education/.

Swigart, Leigh. 1994. "Cultural Creolisation and Language Use in Post-colonial Africa: The Case of Senegal." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 64 (2): 175–189.

Trimingham, Spencer J. 1970. *A History of Islam in West Africa*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Trudell, Barbara. 2010. "When 'Prof' speaks, Who Listens? The African Elite and the Use of African Languages for Education and Development in African Communities." *Language and Education* 24 (4): 337–352. https://doi.org/10.1080/09500781003678688.

UNESCO. 1953. *The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education*. Paris, France: UNESCO. Retrieved from http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0000/000028/002897eb.pdf.

UNESCO. 2017. *Teaching and Learning to Read in a Multilingual Context: Ways Forward for Three Sub-Saharan African Countries Burkina Faso, Niger, Senegal*. Geneva, Switzerland: UNESCO.

UNESCO Institute for Statistics. 2018. *Senegal*. Montreal, Canada: UNESCO Institute for Statistics. http://uis.unesco.org/en/country/SN.

UNESCO Institute of Statistics. 2020. *Senegal*. http://uis.unesco.org/en/country/sn.

Viergever, Marcel. 1999. "Indigenous Knowledge: An Interpretation of Views from Indigenous Peoples." In *What Is Indigenous Knowledge? Voices from the Academy*, edited by Ladislaus M. Semali and Joe L. Kincheloe, 333–359. New York: Falmer Press.

Wane, Nioki Nathani. 2005. "African Indigenous Knowledge: Claiming, Writing, Storing, and Sharing the Discourse." *Journal of Thought* 40 (2): 27–46.

Wane, Njoki Nathani. 2008. "Mapping the Field of Indigenous Knowledges in Anti-colonial Discourse: A Transformative Journey in Education." *Race, Ethnicity and Education* 11 (2): 183–197.

Warren, D. Michael. 1996. "Comments on Article by Arun Agrawal." *Indigenous Knowledge and Development Monitor* 4 (1): 1–18. https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/89fc/ff27c450c7d056ea0915d3527f76aa2c1e1f.pdf.

wa Thiong'o, Ngũgĩ. 1993. *Moving the Centre: The Struggle for Cultural Freedoms.* London: James Currey.

Zulu, Itibari. 2006. "Critical Indigenous African Education and Knowledge." *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 1 (3): 32–49.

Islamic/Muslim Education in Africa: From North to West Africa

Mukhtar Umar Bunza

North and West African regions are geographically separated by the Sahara Desert. In spite of the difficult terrain, however, the two areas refused to be detached, as routes which networked them for trading, commercial and in some cases diplomatic purposes were established and maintained over centuries. Volume of trade articles trafficked from the West to North Africa and vice versa across the Sahara as early as the centuries BC proved beyond doubt the connectedness and cooperation which characterized the relations of the two expanses since antiquity.

Islam penetrated the North Africa region via Egypt, from its cradle, the Arabian Peninsula, in the seventh century AD. The existing trade routes which hitherto conveyed goods added to these services and provided ample window as vectors and trajectories for transfer of ideas and ideologies in the territories. Islam and Muslim missionaries exploited the unique opportunity in turning the West African areas to become the stronghold of Islam in Africa, through institutionalizing of Islamic education in the region. The most indelible impact of Islam in North Africa has been educational institutions and creating the World of Muslim intelligentsia on the Mediterranean coast, from Cairo to Casablanca.

Thus, the trading-cum intellectual centers of North Africa, Cairo, Tripoli, Shinqit, Marrakesh, and Qairawan, became well interwoven and cemented with the emerging centers of Islamic education and commerce in West Africa such as the Timbuktu, Jenne, Gao, Sankore, Kano, Katsina, Kanem Borno, and Agadez. The network aided the migration and movement of scholars, literature,

M. U. Bunza (✉)
Department of History, Usmanu Danfodiyo University (UDU), Sokoto, Nigeria

as well as transplant of similitude of North African institutions and centers of learning into West Africa. The role of Muhammad bin Abdulkarim Al-Maghili and Jalal al-Deen al-Suyuti from Algeria and Egypt, respectively, in the making of Islam and Islamic education in West Africa is indubitable. The institutionalizing and development of Muslim indigenous scholars, the availability of literature, as well as general book culture and intellectual tradition which has become synonymous with Islam in West Africa would not have been of any historical significance without the influence of the North African region. It was in light of this premise and paradigm that this chapter provides an overview of the history, development, consequences, and challenges of Islamic/Muslim education in connection with the North and West African regions.

BACKGROUND TO UNDERSTANDING NORTH AND WEST AFRICAN CONNECTION

North and West Africa were geographically separated by the Sahara Desert. Therefore, understanding the spread of Islam from the North to West hugely depends on our clear understanding of the historical relationship between the two regions. The Sahara is a region of Northern Africa where average annual rainfall is currently below 100 mm (see Brooks et al. 2007; Lydon 2007). The name itself comes from the Arabic word *Sahra'* meaning gray-brown colored or dun. For centuries, the only gateway to the wider world with the Sudan was the Sahara. It was the source of trade, and other relationships with the Mediterranean, Arabia, as well as Europe (Hogben and Kirk-Greene 1966, 31). Trade across the Sahara between North and West Africa was a phenomenon of very remote antiquity. As early as 1000 BCE, chariots were drawn across the Sahara along the main routes at the time. A Western route came from Morocco through Zemmour and Adrar to the banks of Senegal and the Niger rivers, and a second route ran from Tripoli through Ghadames, Ghat, and Hoggar to Gao on the Niger river. By the fifth century BCE, trade traffic existed across the Sahara in animals, precious stones, and slaves. The introduction of camels into the Tripolitania marked the turning point into the Trans-Saharan trade and continued to greatly influence the organization, conduct, and materials of the commercial intercourse. With the introduction of this unique and onerous beast of burden, a complicated trade network came to be established. Through that means, commercial, religious, and cultural contacts were established between the Mediterranean worlds, the Saharan into West Africa and beyond (Boahen 1964, 103–104).

Salt and gold were the first objects of trade across the Sahara. According to Robert Law (1967), discoveries show the existence of Roman coins from 58–52 BCE in areas of Mauritania. The commodities exported North by the Garamentes came not from the Fezzan but from further South. In addition to the introduction of camels into the trade, the conquest of Byzantine after 533 CE brought about the revival and restructuring of Trans-Saharan trade that continued for centuries after (189 and 200). A. Adu Boahen described this network as:

The routes through which the trade followed cemented the two regions there by creating centers and cities that concurrently developed in both sides of the African continent. Richardson accounts in 1845 the extent of the network of the trade routes. According to him, 'caravans from Sudan, including all the large cities, but especially from Kano, from Borno, from Tibboo (Tibu), from Tout, from Fezzan, from Souf, from Ghadames and from Tripoli, Tunis and the north coast, visited the Ghat *souk* (market) of this interior. (1964, 118)

The main routes included: Morocco—Taodemi—Timbuktu route; Ghadames—Air—Kano route; Tripoli—Fezzan—Borno route (described as the most ancient, shortest and most active and well-known route); and Cyrenaica—Kufra—Waday route. The volume of trade continued to rise sharply throughout the centuries. In the nineteenth century, a French diplomatic and geographic mission estimated European import across the desert routes and the export of ivory, ostrich plumes, gold dust and lesser items was probably not less than 1,500,000 pounds, according to C. W. Newbury (1966).[1] These trade routes did not only bring goods in relation to the central Sudan. They provided the Sudan at that time the only avenue to communicate and benefit with the wider world reciprocally. The West African region became a very important region to reckon with in the subsequent centuries of the trade and derived much of its culture, belief, and tradition from the outside world especially the North Africa, Middle East, through the Trans-Saharan trade relations. It was based on this premise that, Hogben and Kirk-Greene explained the nature and character of the peoples of West Africa's Northern Nigerian area. They noted that:

Today's (West Africa) northern Nigerians carry the chromosomes of a variety of ancient peoples, including the Berbers, Jewish, and Arab immigrants from the North deriving their civilization and traditions from the Mediterranean regimes of Carthage and Rome, Greece and Byzantium, as well as from the Islamic empires of Spain, Maghreb, Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia. Mixed in varying degrees with these hereditary strains are those of the ancient indigenous people of the Sudan, who later absorbed the lighter skinned immigrants from the north and intermarried with them. (Hogben and Kirk-Greene 1966, 3)

In the same vein, Muhammad Uba Adamu (1998) also argued that the trade routes conveyed to this part of the world new ideas as in dressing in *falmaran* (upper sleeve-less shirt), *jallabiyya*, *yar'morocco*, and *hula dara* (known as red Fez cap usually worn by the upper class people), especially from Tunisia. Diets such as tea, sugar; some wheat-based dishes like, *alkaki, alkubs, al-garagis, gurasa, and kuskus*, were introduced into the area. Horse tackle, swords, coral beads, earrings, kani woven cloths, as well as architecture and religious practices accompanied the trade. The trade was well established between the two regions as early as the period of Sarkin Kano Abdullahi Barja (1438–1452) in Hausaland and was remained strong through the time of Sonni Ali's conquest and reign in 1468 and the time of his successor, Muhammad Askiya (1493–1528); the two cities being very important commercial and education region of West Africa. He further noted that, the people of West Africa

and the inhabitants of North Africa were closely connected for many centuries through the Trans-Saharan caravan routes. The commercial ties were so strong that many Arabs and Berbers from North Africa and Arabia settled permanently in many places in West Africa. The Arabs invested their capital heavily into the dyeing and leather industries, which they found, were flourishing in many areas of Northern Nigeria region, such as Kano. The contact between these two groups of people led to the integration of the communities into a single society facilitated by Arabic language and Islamic religion. Further, the relationship also led to the incorporation of the West African people into an international community and market, introducing a new form of religion, worldview, and a political culture. Therefore, religion, growth, and development of towns and cities as well as education, which accompanied the religion of Islam, were the most remarkable and indelible impacts of the Trans-Saharan trade between the North and West Africa.

Through the existing trade routes Islam made its inroad into the region; and following the commercial goods rendered the trading posts and centers as Islamic centers too. Almost all the major midpoints of commerce in West Africa turned to be new centers of Islam and learning especially from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries. Some of the possible reasons may be that, these well-established cities attracted the attention of migrant scholars who received a very high pay and remuneration in courts and palaces as scribes, and bookkeepers in markets and other financial institutions. The students were also assured of job opportunities (as casual laborers) as a result of the commercial transactions and quest for labor in the extended farms of the wealthy class (Bunza 2013, 343).

Timbuktu was a remarkable example of this cultural expansion. A. Shuriye and I. Dauda noted the following:

> For more than 600 years, Timbuktu was a significant religious, cultural, and commercial center whose residents traveled north across the Sahara through Morocco and Algeria to other parts of Africa, Europe, and Asia. Located on the edge of the Sahara Desert, Timbuktu was famous among the merchants of the Mediterranean basin as a market for obtaining the goods and products of Africa south of the desert. Many individuals traveled to Timbuktu to acquire wealth and political power. Other individuals traveled to Timbuktu to acquire knowledge. It was a city famous for the education of important scholars whose reputations were pan-Islamic. Timbuktu's most famous and long-lasting contribution to Islamic and world civilization is its scholarship and the books that were written and copied there beginning from at least the fourteenth century. The brilliance of the University of Timbuktu was without equal in all of sub-Saharan Africa and was known throughout the Islamic world. (2013, 698)

The activities of traders and Muslim scholars in all the West African societies in the view of Lewis became very difficult to distinguish. That was due to the fact that these two activities of teaching and trading were combined in one person in most cases. Therefore, the contribution of long-distance trade in the spread and diffusion of Islam in all regions of Africa was remarkable

(1969, 20–21). In the same vein, the literacy and ability to read and write had been an onerous feature of the newly Islamized communities of West Africa, which changed much of their social and economic structures and provided a competitive advantage with the Trans-Saharan trade networks. Therefore, the historic commercial and trading links and networks were arguably one of the most viable factors that cemented bonds between North and West Africa as these networks determined other aspects of their relationships, i.e., diplomatic, cultural, and religious.

Aspects of Influence of North African Islamic Education on West Africa

The type of Islam that was introduced in West Africa from North Africa was book and literary oriented. Indeed, the main source of Islamic orientation was the North Africa, the Egyptian, or the al-Azhar tradition, which more or less had established unreserved respect for scholars and books. That was why the Fatimids after their conquest of the North African region in the eleventh century expanded the tradition of scholarship and book culture. The North African intellectual tradition was extended to Timbuktu, Sankore, and Jenne where Islamic learning was first institutionalized in West Africa. As a result, schools of varying degrees were established in those cities. Sankore was renowned for the well-established schools of international standard that flourished in it. Timbuktu is still being explored for its wealth of literary materials, manuscripts, and traces of scholarship tradition of West Africa.[2]

By extension, the Timbuktu educational system was to large extent, transplanted to other parts of West Africa, notably, Hausaland and Borno. Consequently, the presence of Islam in this region served as the foundation for the development of schools and book culture among the people. At the schools for beginners, both adult and children used slates known as *allo* (in Hausa) *for* learning; higher and advanced studies followed with the establishment of *makarantun ilmi*, i.e., schools of higher learning. Books containing the natural sciences were also studied at this level. The curriculum and method of teaching at all levels in the schools were aimed at training and producing teachers who may in turn establish their own schools and train students too. Usually, after a student is satisfied at a given level, he can be given *ijaza* (permission/certificate) to proceed to another scholar or town to reap again from scholars who master other areas of interest to the searcher "student" had not exhausted or learned in depth.[3]

Hiskett also shares the same opinion on the influence of North African scholarship and learning patterns on the central Sudan. According to him:

> The Azhar and Timbuktu tradition certainly influenced the growth of a similar system in the west and central Sudan, from the great Sankore teaching mosque in Timbuctu where the organization of the Azhar was deliberately imitated, down to the innumerable *makarantun allo* and *makarantun ilimi* of Hausaland. (1984, 17)

The *makarantun allo*, since then, focus on learning of basic things such as the Arabic alphabets on slates. After learning the alphabets, the pupil then starts copying the passages of the Qur'an on his tablet and proceeds to the next one only if he fluently reads or memorizes the passage. The process continued until pupils were able to complete the Qur'an. In addition, pupils were also encouraged to learn the art of writing after attaining a certain level of maturity in the learning process. Ability to read the Qur'an fluently prepared ground for pursuit of other Islamic sciences through the *makarantun ilimi* level at which books on jurisprudence (*fiqh*), language and rhetoric (*Lugha and Balaghah*) as well as aspects of tafsir and *Hadith* sciences were studied (Fagge 1997, 16).

Murray Last, anthropologist, explained that while the mode of North African style teaching in these schools was not formalized in writing, it consisted of the following general methodology:

> The teacher's work is to translate, elucidate the text after the student has read a sentence or line aloud. The teacher has a set speed, tone of voice and vocabulary different from that he normally uses… Courses continue until a book is finished, in six months or more…There is no formal academic licensing or organization. The quality of work is left to the individual and his student audience is the only examination he is likely to face. (1994, 121)

In the opinion of Fagge, learning in books had as early as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries became fashionable in West African Muslim societies generally and Hausaland in particular. The noble and wealthy of these societies were involved in the process of Islamic or Muslim learning. Quite a few Hausa rulers studied under different immigrant scholars. For example, Sarkin Kano Umar (1410–1421) learned *fiqh* with as-Shaykh Dan Gurdum who initiated him into the doctrine of *Zuhd* (ascetism). A doctrine that was responsible for him to leave his throne to the Galadima in order to pursue his ascetic life at the countryside. Sarki Muhammad Rumfa (1463–1499) studied under al-Maghili, the Algerian radical reformist scholar; while Sarki Abd Allah (1499–1509) studied with Shaykh Ahmad Al-Timbucti, from the famous Timbuktu center of learning. Sarki Abubakar Kado (1565–1573) studied *al-Shifa'a* under Shaykh Abd al-Azizi al-Qairawanii, a famous Tunisian and Moroccan scholar (1997, 56–57). The same story could be found in Borno under the Mais who were said to extensively studied different aspects of Islamic sciences from the Egyptian scholars that they employed for the purpose to teach them and their immediate families. These private scholars were in addition to allocating significant portions from the public treasuries to pay for scholars from all corners and crannies of the empire to teach and educate their people.[4]

The Literature and Learning Centers

At the initial as well as the development stages of Islamic education in West Africa literature and books of North African origin (or most had passed through the region) provided both stimuli and impetus as the sole guiding

and reference materials for the West African Muslims students and scholars to thrive. That was so, due to the fact that, most all the books used in West Africa until recently originated largely from North Africa and Spain. Last describes West African Islam as "book oriented, with a marked skill required in classical Arabic. Scholars of this tradition taught text and sought out copies of new books. As exceptional Arabists, they were employed as tutors at royal courts" (2006, 39). In addition to employment at such high places, graduates of these specialized schools were qualified to establish their independent schools and enjoy the esteem and respect accorded to scholars in the society. For the need to acquire higher education, students enrolled into various schools established in West Africa and many also began trooping into the North African institutions for their studies. Notably, al-Azhar University stood out as indubitable in the training and development of scholars in the West Africa. As early as the thirteenth century, Mai Dunama, the famous Borno ruler over Kanem Borno, established hostels (*riwaqs*) in al-Azhar to accommodate Kanem Borno students. This clearly indicated that a large number of Kanem Borno students at the time were admitted and studying at al-Azhar University. This also shows the commitment of the Kanem Borno rulers to encourage and strengthen the scholarship culture and education among their people (Gazali 2005, 27–28).

The contact with the North African scholars and literature, especially by these categories of trained scholars who attained the level of *ilimi* schools, continues to remain very important as sources of clericalism, radicalism, and reforms in the history of the Sudani Islam. The type of scholarship and practice of Islam in West Africa followed the North African pattern. This is vividly evident by the eighteenth century in the manner of scholarship and teaching, that emphasized functional Islamic sciences, jurisprudence, mysticism, and *tajdeed*.[5] Stewart further argued that, instances can be cited in the carriers of the nineteenth century *mujahiddun* in West Africa where they were in contact with southern Saharan Shaykhs. Abd al-Qadir's study under Awlad Daiman teachers in Shinqit (in Morocco) prior to the Futa Toro jihad is well established. Shehu Usman Danfodiyo's debt to Jibril Ibn Umar's teaching among the Ait Awari of the Iullemmenden in Adrar (Algeria) has been widely discussed. Ahmad Lebbo's (the Macina reformist) connexons with Azaouad Kunta political and religious counsel is well known; and al-Hajj Umar seems to have been influenced at least indirectly by the Idaw Ali Shaikh of Shinqit at an early date (1976, 88).[6]

North Africa and the Making of West African Muslim Intelligentsia

The combination and interplay of educational and Islamic agencies and individuals from the North African states played an important role in shaping and developing the intellectual arena of West Africa. Indeed, without the North African scholars, literature, and institutions one may conclude that

unless Islamic studies had expanded from another region; there would be no Islamic scholars and scholarship in West Africa. One of the consequences of the importation of books and tutelage of the North African Ulama' and *madaris* (-*madras*, singular-schools) was the immediate emergence of indigenous scholars in almost all the cities and states in West Africa (especially Timbuktu, Kano, and Katsina) from the sixteenth century. The emergence of West African scholars was made possible through the study and mastery of the North African literature emerged from its erudite scholars and prolific writers of international standard. E. D. Morel cited Edward Blyden accounting for the Sierra Leonean experience where a long list of works was presented as a byproduct of local *malams* of the area. Thus, Morel commented that, "not long after the introduction of Islam in West Africa; many Negros raveled their Semitic or Berber teachers in Knowledge and erudition" (1968, 214). Most of the books produced in this part of the Muslim world, suggests Stewart, "from their theme, sources, affiliation and even the scripts and style used completely followed the Magribean (North African) and Egyptian pattern" (1976, 89). Scholars included Ulama' such as Shaikh Ahmad Baba (1550–1627), an intellectual icon and luminary whose indefatigable efforts ensured the success of Timbuktu as the center of learning and sciences. Ahmad Baba came into contact academically or trained and tutored other eminent scholars such as Muhammad Baghayogo, Muhammad Al-Maghili, Abu Abbas al-Maqqari, and Abdulrahman al-Sadi, the author of *Tarikh al-Sudan* all in the Timbuktu Institute for Islamic Sciences. Raji (1997) identified seventeenth-century West Africa scholarly writings that manifested the direct fruit of intellectual influence from North Africa on the region (1997, 155).[7] In reference to Katsina, these works show, according to Tsiga and Adamu, that because of direct contact between literature and scholars of the North African origin with the Hausaland indigenous scholars developed:

> The learning centers in Katsina produced a number of Ulama who distinguished themselves in various fields of learning such as philosophy, etc. Among these were such great names like the celebrated 17th century scholar, Muhammad bin al-Shabbag bin Muhammad al-Hajj bin Barakah bin Ibrahim al-Katsinawi, popularly known as Dan Marina. Dan Marina was a very active scholar who published a number of works, including his famous commentary on the book of *Ishshirriniyyat* of Abd al-Rahaman bin Yakhftan al-Fazazi. (1997, iii)

The speedy emergence of scholars in Hausaland as a consequence of the quick absorption and assimilation of the intellectual heritage of the Muslim world via Egypt, the Maghreb, and the Sahara was also considered. The West African intelligentsia accordingly were exceptional intellectuals, erudite and prolific in all matters of societal needs, such as: labor, public governance, law, medicine, sciences, as well as other core religious areas like *fiqh* (jurisprudence), *tafsir* (Qur'an exegesis), *lugha* (language), in contrast with other ulama' in the Muslim world. Last comments that "Mande and Hausa scholars

absorbed the intellectual stimuli of the metropolitan centers of Islamic culture seeking it out on pilgrimage to Mecca via Cairo; looking over their shoulders to the Arab world, they imitated its literary forms, even its clothing fashions. Sojourns in the Arab world, whether for pilgrimage, study or simply through lack of means to return home, exposed these scholars more to learning than those who never travelled out of the central Sudan or had no contact with other scholars or their works" (2006, 117). The similitude of the Hausa scholars of the period, according to Hunwick (1984), could only be found in the person of Sheikh Saleh al-Fullani.[8]

Some popular Ulama' in Hausaland and Borno who were direct products of North African scholarship included scholars such as: Muhammad bin al-Sabbagh (d.1640), popularly known as Dan Marina; Muhammad bin Masanih (d.1667) al-Barnawee al-Katsinawee, popularly known as Dan Masani; Muhammad al-Wali bin Sulayman al-Baranwee al-Kabawee (d.1688–1689), who was of Kebbi origin; and Muhammad bin Muhammad al-Fullani al-Katsinawi al-Dan Rankawi (d.1741), who was described as a scholar highly respected among scholars and students for his knowledge and was held in high esteem by scholars in the Middle East. Al Jabarti Kani described al-Dan Rankawi as "the cynosure, the theologian, the ocean of learning, the sea of knowledge, the unparalleled, the garden of science and disciplines, the treasury of secret and mysticism" (1986, 58). According to Tarajim al-Akhbar, as cited by Kani, al-Katsinawi owed his success in mastering *ulum al-Huruf* and *al-Awqaf* and the sciences of calendar (*al-Mawaqit*) in the genre of Maghribean (Egyptian) system of calculation and *ulum al-Asrar* according to *Harfi* and *Waqfi* methods. The book titled *al-Durr al-Manzum wa Khulasat al-Sirr al-Makhtum* was described by al-Jabarti as a voluminous work consisting of a Muqaddimah (introduction), five sections, and a conclusion. The book is said to have been completed by the author in Cairo in 1646 (1997, 30–31). Another scholar worthy of note in this category was Muhammad bin al-Hajj Abd al-Rahman al-Khatib al-Barnawi (d.1746).

The most remarkable contribution of the indigenous scholars in West Africa could be seen in three major fields: original literary contribution in all fields of human endeavors; providing commentaries to previous books available in the region (to highlight on some specific issues affecting the people and practice of the religion in this part of the world); and invention of new scripts of Hausa characters known as *Ajami*. The characters are Arabic letters in indigenous languages such Mandingo, Fulfulde, Hausa, Kanuri, Yoruba, Nupe, and other languages, which provided opportunity for Hausa speakers literate in Arabic to read and write in local languages. That contributed to the widespread literacy in West Africa especially among the Muslim communities. Indeed, Arabic language was adopted as the official language in the Caliphates of West Africa by the late seventeenth through the beginning of the twentieth century. The level of expertise and sophistication in Arabic language and the ingenuity of West African scholars were indeed remarkably exceptional.[9]

The waves of scholars from North Africa and other West African Islamized cities continued the tradition among scholars to travel and teach others. Almost all the reputable scholars were known to be itinerant. Scholars like Al-Ahmad from Sankore University, Timbuktu left 700 books in his personal library while leaving for hajj, he settled in Kano circa 1485. Makhluf bin Ali al-Bilbali went to Kano and Katsina and died in 1533. Aida Ahmad al-Tadhikhti on his return from Mecca, 1509, also settled in Katsina and was made a judge, where he died in 1530. Grandfather of Ahmad Baba al-Timbukti called Umar bin Muhammad bin Atiq was also at Katsina. They were all known to be reputable scholars whose movement served as medium for transportation of books into the areas where they settled. According to J. S. Trimingham (1986) during the reign of Muhammad Kisoki (1509–1565) many *fuqaha* arrived in Hausaland from North and other parts of West African states, who taught for the first time Iyad Ibn Musa's *al-Shifa'a*, Sahnun's *Mudawwanah*, Suyuti's *al-Jami' al-Saghir*, and other books of Samarqand. It is worth noting that the tremendous intellectual achievements in West Africa before the nineteenth century contributed to the development of egalitarian scholars who championed the cause of reform in the region.

The influence of North African books across the Sahara was vividly reflected in most of the works of the scholars previously mentioned. The ideas of Shaykh Sunusi (the leader of Sanusiyyah in North Africa) were absorbed and accepted by Wali bin Sulayman al-Kabawi (mentioned previously); thus, his *al-Manhaj al-Farid fi ma'rifat ilm al-Tauheed* was written because of al-Sunusi's *al-Sughrah*. Similarly, DanMasani, DanMarina, and Al-Barnawi wrote commentaries on *Ishamawiyyah*, *Ishriniyyat*, *Ajurumiyah*, and *Akhdariyyah* of Moroccan and Egyptian origins, respectively. Similarly, the nineteenth and twentieth century jihad and *tajdeed* ideology and sources that provided intellectual backing and support to it were mostly from North African foundations.

In the nineteenth century for instance, the most prominent scholars who emerged in West Africa were a continuum in the intellectual tradition of the region. The most popular were Shaikh al-Mukhtar al-Kunti in the Mali/Senegambia region and his contemporaries in Hausaland like Shehu Usman Danfodiyo, Abdullahi Fodiyo, Sultan Muhammad Bello, as well as Shaikh Abdulqadir ibn al-Mustafa (Dan Tafa) and Gidado bin Lema among others. This category of scholars was not only prolific as they authored hundreds of books addressing various fields and areas of human endeavor, but they also established Islamic leadership, including the Sokoto Caliphate at Sokoto and Gwandu between 1804 and 1903 in present-day Northern Nigeria. The scholarly and literary legacy of the Caliphate in the nineteenth century was termed as the Golden Period of Islamic scholarship in West Africa (see Bunza 2016).

LIBRARY TRADITION FROM NORTH TO WEST AFRICA

The tradition of keeping stock of books for personal and institutional usage was the unique norm of a literary society. North Africa with all the intellectual and educational transformations that took place in the region since the

introduction of Islam remains the hub for intellectual exercise and orientation. The establishment and use of libraries were the major landmark and accomplishment in this direction. During the reign of Fatimids in Egypt (953–1171) libraries became the central focal point for intellectual activities. This tradition spread to other parts of North Africa and indeed to the West African Muslim societies (see Ramdane and Souad 2014). Books and libraries were given prominence by the onerous royal interest in the provision of books and handsome payment for scribes and copyists. According to Hitti:

> One of the remarkable foundations of the Fatimids was the Dar al-Ilm (Hall of Knowledge) established by al-Hakim in 1005AD for the teaching and propagation of extreme Shiite doctrines. In conjunction with it, al-Hakim instituted a fund which income of 257 dinars was to be spent for copying manuscripts, repairing of books and general maintenance. The hall was connected with the royal palace and contained a library and rooms for meetings. (1981, 628)

Inflow and outflow of books in West African region, from within and outside the region, is a clear indication of institutionalization of book culture and library operation among the people. One of the famous books of Shehu Danfodiyo (d.1817) was distributed during the hajj season of 1813, which according to Kamara was circulated to pilgrims for free. A copy of the book, reached Walata through a pilgrim from Tishit arrived from hajj in October 1814 (Al-Naqqar 1972, 54–55). Similarly, Barth saw in a possession of a pilgrim, Faqih Sambo, a number of works of Aristotle and Plato, which had been translated into fine Arabic, as well as some scientific gadgets like Astrolabe or Sextan and Sambo confirmed to him, were all (from their family library) bought during hajj (Al-Naqqar, 124–125). This account is similar to Clapperton's encounter with Sultan Muhammad Bello in 1824. Clapperton was amazed to have met Sultan in Sokoto reading *Euclids*, which Bello confirmed to him its availability as well as other similar texts in their custody that were brought to their family by pilgrims (Hodgkin 1975, 285). Pilgrimage had always served as an important instrument for diplomatic and commercial integration among Muslim communities, so it was a viable means for obtaining books in West Africa past and present.

The level of intellectual activities in West Africa as a result of the growing number of indigenous scholars as early as the seventeenth century suggests very strongly the course for the emergence of libraries at various levels in this region. Aguolu (1983) defined "library" for Islamic education purposes as a:

> Vital repository of knowledge that provide[s] the vital underpinning for socio-economic, political, cultural, economic and intellectual forces operating in the society and a social instrument designed to serve information, recreation, research, culture, education and conservation. … Libraries have tended to flourish in societies of political and cultural maturity that appreciate the need of preserving, transmitting and enlarging a body of knowledge; in periods of considerable intellectual creativity and scholarly activity or research requiring large and varied collections for study and research. (18)

Under this premise, Abdullahi Muhammed (1978) opined that, "due to the thriving intellectual atmosphere in Hausaland at least from the seventeenth century, libraries were not only available but also became part of the way of life and the foundation for the establishment of people's learning culture" (108–109). A phenomenal example was the Umar Falke of Kano on whose personal library a doctoral research was conducted in 1978.

From the seventeenth to nineteenth century, Hausaland as elsewhere in the Muslim West Africa witnessed unprecedented intellectual activity. In order to address the quest for books and research materials it became a prerequisite for the libraries whether public or private to emerge. Almost all the scholars in this region established private collections for their individual research and consultations. In reference to the nineteenth century Nuhu noted that, "there was the corresponding increase in the number of *Ulama* and their intellectual production in the form of books, poems, pamphlets, and correspondence. More private, mosque, and palace libraries proliferated, while those librarians, intellectuals of the jihad era in West Africa, became more specialized in authorship and dissemination of information with an elaborate bibliographic compilation" (2004, 69).

Personal and private libraries. There were many private libraries. This category of library could be found in most of the scholars' private homes. The books they copied, bought, or produced themselves and equally maintained and preserved for their own use were considered their private libraries. Nuhu further emphasized that this development also led to the acquisition and accumulation of manuscripts materials in the form of books and pamphlets. It was in this form that the pre-colonial libraries emerged among Muslims in West Africa (2004, 71). Muhammad al-Katsinawi al-Danrankawi's library was said to be extensive, for he said that he never borrowed a book without making a copy of it for himself leaving ample margins for glosses and comments. "Making copies of books by scholars," said Alhaji Dan Ige, "apart from adding to the volumes of their collections, which they were always proud of, provided some income to scholars and professional copyists. As some books like *al-Akhdari*, *Ishmawiyy*a … were copied down in order to be sold to buyers whether students or teachers."[10]

The nineteenth-century Jihad scholars as explained by Abd Allah bin Fodio in his *Ida' al-Nusukh* gathered many reading and teaching materials in their private collections as well as studying from highly recognized scholars, which enabled them produced highly academic and qualitative research thesis and related findings. Sultan Muhammad Bello reported some evidence of availability of paper and books during their time in his book *Infaq al-Maisur*. One of the strongest challenges al-Kanemi of Borno labeled against the Shehu Danfodiyo and his people was their wanton destruction of books during their jihad campaigns in Hausaland. In his words as reported in *Infaq al-Maisur*, "We see among you a thing which every *Malam* (Hausa word, scholar/teacher) rejects. You are destroying books, you are scattering them in the roads, (and) you are throwing them in the dirt" (103). In another report

probably in defense, Sultan Muhammad Bello confirmed that after their conquest of one of the towns of Katsina (possibly in 1806) a dispute erupted during distribution of spoils of war in their camp. He accounts in *Infaq al-Maisur* that he was at the hilltop out of the city, "I saw papers being blown about by the wind. They were falling into the dirt. I endeavored to pick them up till I was weary being they were very many" (107).

It is probable that the quantity of papers and related materials as part of the spoils was enormous and part of the distribution. Similarly, part of what Sarkin Gobir Yunfa captured and destroyed at Gimbana in late 1803 were collections of books and writing materials. Shortly after the death of Shehu at the battle of Kalambaina, Abdullahi took as part of his booty a copy of *Ishiriniyyat*.[11] These historical events are evidence that the use of paper and the practice of stockpiling books for personal and public purposes were common culture in Hausaland in particular and West Africa in general.

The enormity and vastness of the private collections owned by West African scholars were demonstrated in their accurate citation and documentation of sources in their writings, that cannot be refuted even today, confirms not only availability but usability of literature, including books. The level of their acquaintance and familiarity with these source materials made it beyond any doubt that a wide range of literature was part and parcel of their lives. Abd Allah, a brother of Shehu Usmanu Danfodiyo (d.1829 CE) noted that, "he had never heard of a book without trying to get it and make a copy of it." They (the Sokoto Jihad scholars) also traveled far and wide in order to get books that they needed or wanted but had not had the opportunity of possessing. This was validated by Shehu, who established a well-stocked library at Degel. At the time of migration from Degel to Gudu in 1804, Shehu's collection of books alone was enormous and could not be easily transported to their new destination without the assistance of a Tuareg disciple called Agali who used a number of camels for transporting of the books.[12] That was the tradition of libraries and book collections which the Sankore and Timbuktu exported to Hausaland and the Sokoto Caliphate from the Great al-Azhar University. In the opinion of Shuriye and Ibrahim:

> By the end of Mansa Musa's reign (early 14th century CE), the Sankore Masjid (a great tawny, pyramid structure laced with protruding wooden support beams) had been converted into a fully staffed Madrassa (Islamic school or in this case university) with the largest collections of books in Africa since the Library of Alexandria. The level of learning at Timbuktu's Sankoré University was superior to that of all other Islamic centers in the world. The Sankoré Masjid was capable of housing 25,000 students and had one of the largest libraries in the world with between 400,000 to 700,000 manuscripts. (2013, 698–699)

Similarly, the private library of Sheikh Abd al-Kadir bin Mustafa al-Torodi popularly known as "Dan Tafa" is also worthy of mention in this section. He was assumed to have inherited a large collection of books from his father

Mustafa al-Torodi (d.1836 CE), who was a renowned scholar and prolific writer. Among the students of al-Torodi were: al-Sayyid Muhammad al-Bukhari and Abd al-Qadir, sons of Shehu Usmanu Danfodiyo; also Ahmad al-Nakalif the erudite scholar; Alfa Umar bin Al-Alim Abd Allah al-Kanawi; and Shaikh Sa'ad al-Gharbi among a host of others. Al-Torodi's son, Abd al-Qadir, established a library collection that survives to this writing; although threatened by inheritance disputes among the members of his family that has scattered many of the books into the hands of individuals.

Al-Torodi's grandson Muhammad al-Amin Salame recorded that about two hundred and twenty-one (221) books and manuscripts remain part of the remnant library collection today. According to him, some of the serious challenges facing the library include how to preserve the remaining valuable manuscripts from destruction by weather and termites. He appealed to non-government organizations (NGO's) and national and local governments to assist in saving the library from monumental loss (Salame 2007). Another special feature of the library was its Timbuktu connection. A number of researchers and scholars from the famous Timbuktu Center felt that to be accomplished in their studies required a visit to Salame Center in Sokoto throughout the nineteenth century. Among the texts brought directly to the al-Torodi Library at Salame, Sokoto by the Timbuktu visiting scholars was *Kitab al-Talkhis* on rhetoric originally by Abi al-Yakub Yusuf al-Sakkaki. The book was copied by Shaykh Ahmad Gobele at Timbuktu. There are still copies of correspondences about the emirship of Sheikh Ahmad Lobbo of Macina among these collections. One of the correspondences is entitled, *Risalat Shaikh Abdulkadir bin Mustafa al-Torodi ila akhihi fi Allah Nuhu bin Tahir* ("Treatise from Shaikh Abdulkadir bin Mustafa al-Torodi to his brother in Islam Nuhu bin Tahir"). Another aspect of the linkage with Timbuktu and this citadel of learning was that some departing visiting scholars on their way home from Salame in Sokoto to Timbuktu, Mali, composed *Qasaids* (poems) indicating the strong intellectual and scholarly ties between the two areas.[13]

The same tradition of private book ownership continued to exist in this part of the Muslim world. Examples of twentieth century private collections were the Umar Falke collection in Kano and the Waziri Junaidu collection in Sokoto (see Jumare and Bunza 2012). The Falke collection had over a thousand books in various aspects of knowledge: religion, brotherhood, travels, trade, medicine, commentary or exegesis, translation and biography. An extensive study of this library collection, mentioned above, was conducted as a Ph.D. dissertation at Northwestern University by Abdullahi Muhammed (1978). Waziri Junaidu's personal library was described as, "the volume strength of the library of Waziri Junaid was about four hundred 19th century documents. Apart from the collection of the triumvirates and his own works, that of Nana Asmau's compositions need special mention. Her over forty-five works preserved from the nineteenth century in *gafaka* (traditional leather bags) were among the archival materials that constituted the collection of Waziri Junaid Library known to have survived to date". In addition, the

library collection also includes some 700 correspondences, dealing with the affairs of the emirates of Kano, Zaria, Misau, and Katagun. There were also some letters from Bauchi, Kontagora, Zungeru, Gobir, and Katsina addressed to Waziri Buhari, the father of Junaid.[14] These are only a few examples, as in every home of well-known Muslim scholars it is an obvious expectation to have collections of books for his consultation with which to pride himself among the *ulama'* of his time.

Institutional libraries. Next to this category of personal or private libraries existed the institutional libraries. These were book centers attached to a certain school or institute primarily for students, researchers, and teachers. The way for acquisition of books in these places was through charity known as *hubus* (books are kept under this system for whoever would read or study them in the school premises, but they cannot take them away). The system is still in practice today in most schools in this region. In addition, students copied a number of such texts for their general use in the school and donations of books were also received from rulers, kings, and well to do individuals seeking blessings, as long as such donated materials were read or studied. In a less institutionalized form, most of the schools that were established had collections of books. Describing the attachment of libraries with the established schools in West Africa, Muhammed (1978) noted that:

> In addition to the numerous schools organized by Mallams (all over this area), the principle school was in the main mosque which was provided with a library and where not only reading, writing and calculation were taught but also other sciences. (112)

That was indeed, the Azhar and the Qairawan traditions which were exported to Timbuktu, Hausaland, and Borno. It is a common practice that a teacher in his school would be flanked on either side with stacks of texts, mostly manuscripts, sometimes written badly by copyists. As part of their duties, students in the process of studying these texts from the teacher corroborate with fine or printed copies mostly imported from North Africa to correct the existing texts available in their school collection.[15]

The institutional library collection that flourished at Salame Institute established by Sultan Muhammad Bello (d.1837 CE) following the Sankore example was another encouraging example. According to Omar Bello (1994), "Sultan Bello's intention in establishing Salame, a University city, solely for academic purposes was no doubt to replace Degel, the *jami'ah* –university, former center for intellectual and reform activities. Advanced students from all over the Caliphate used to visit the center for academic and intellectual enrichments. One of the achievements of the Institute was establishing a library for students' consultation. Many valuable books belonging to the Institute were lost to the French invaders when they raided the area" (2–4).[16]

There also existed at various places in Hausaland what was known as palace libraries. Starting from the Sultan's palace in Sokoto and other emirs'

palaces, which also served as appellate courts presided over by the Sultan or an emir in his respective emirate. Thus, the established library in the palace was to provide ample juridical and legal reference materials to the emir or sultan. The Sultan's library in Sokoto is a typical example of this type of library; highly enriched with documents, manuscripts, and books, mainly for private by the sultan or emir and his officials and staff.[17] In the same vein, there were mosque libraries. The pristine example of such libraries was the Gobarau Mosque at the Tsohuwar Kasuwa Katsina. It used to be a center for research and learning and books kept for people to read especially during *ta'alim* (lessons/lecture) sessions.[18] The idea of libraries for individual or collective usage could be seen from the foregoing as a well-known culture practiced by the Muslims all over the world; and as such, Muslims in West Africa were not an exception in this regard.

MODERN DEVELOPMENT IN ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN NORTH AFRICA AND ITS ECHO IN WEST AFRICA SINCE 1900

The Muslim world experienced a sudden shift and change in the educational, political, social, and economic spheres from the beginning of the twentieth century. There were troubles and tribulations connected with the European invasion and introduction of Western education systems which posed a huge challenge to Islamic education systems. Education as it has been said earlier is the only agent that imparts meaning to a worldview of a people and ensures their survival and the flourishing of their civilization. The fundamental education crisis that has continued to bedevil the Muslim Ummah was brought about by the perpetual domination and promotion of a system of education that is diametrically opposed to their value system. As it has been explained earlier in this paper, the secular conventional education system is a product of Western historical experience. S. Shehu in an undated document, commented that, "The Muslim Ummah does not have the same experience with the West. It is therefore, inconceivable that the one case (the West) would be compatible with the other (the Muslim world). This is the factor that explains the conceptual and philosophical contradictions and conflicts in education in almost all Muslim communities throughout the world" (2–3).

That wave of change was first experienced in Egypt and other North African Muslim states, especially Morocco, Algeria, and Libya before West Africa. West African Muslims, following the examples of their counter parts in the North, began to adjust their system of education, and even curriculum in order to incorporate new challenges, which were mostly foreign in nature. The onslaught of imperialism on the Muslim harmonizing Islamic education with newly introduced Western education was the main challenge. The new ideologies from modern Muslim thinkers such as Hassan Al-Bnna, Sayyid Qutb, Rashid Rida, Muhammad Abduh also started to impact significantly this new form of Islamic/Muslim education, imparted and acquired in West Africa. The stimuli came especially from the al-Azhar University, through

the influence of its West African graduates; the *Salafiya* (the reforming ideas associated with Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida) was transmitted mainly through Maghreb and Wahabiyya influence. In their political aspect, T. Hodgkin explained that these movements were essentially anti-traditionalist, anti-Mouraboutic and they stressed for a development of a reformed and modernized type of Islamic education, through the study of the literature and books imported from the region (1962, 327). The result of the new curriculum and teaching style as well as books that were introduced across the Sahara contributed to the emergence of *Malams*, who, as H. F. C. Smith (1962) explained, continued to pursue a powerful tradition of Arabic learning, which indeed persists to the present day (333–334).

The curriculum, according to M. S. Umar (2001), includes: Arabic Language, Literature, Islamic Law (Jurisprudence), theology, Qur'anic exegesis, Hadith, and to certain levels medicine and *Ilm al-Hisab* (Arithmetic and Mathematics). This curriculum was accessed by West African students and teachers through relevant literature from their only readily available means, that is from North Africa. The young Hausa *Ulama'a'*, therefore, as documented by Bunza (2004, 2005a) either subscribed to the *Salafiya* mode of Islam, that was radical and revivalist in nature; adopting the Saudi and Middle Eastern *Wahhabi* discourse, Egyptian *Ikhwan* style, or the Iranian *Shiite* model of reformism. As noted by Launay and Soares (1999), the experience of the French colonized African Muslim areas was similar to the situation in Hausaland from the 1970s. The groups of young students who returned home after studying at al-Azhar or Medina were exposed to the writings of Ibn Taymiyah, Ibn Qayyim, Muhammad bin Abdulwahhab, Rashid Ridah, Muhammad Abduh, Hassan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb or even the Egyptian *Da'i*, Abdulhamid Kishq. They in course continued to spread their new-found Islamic doctrinaires that were becoming fashionable among the young. As noted by Launay and Soares, these young scholars denounced all forms of Sufism as illegitimate attempts to introduce intermediaries between God and believers; they rejected all forms of veneration of holy men dead or alive. They opposed any reason whatsoever in the utilitarian value of magic or for the manufacture, use, or sales of amulets as it was the practice among the traditional *Ulama'a'a* (1999, 511). Louis Brenner (1997) also made a remarkable illustration of the activities of the new class of clerics in the French Sudan that also appropriately fitted Hausa society. Gummi and the *Yan Izala* (anti-traditional Islam) as identified by Miles (2000) and Loimeier (1997) were the champions of the new movement.[19]

Muhammad Sani Umar also identified another contributory factor of the young scholars in Northern Nigeria/Hausaland in his study on the impact of new system of education in the region. He says:

> This engagement with modern global discourse is likely to continue in view of generational change. Whereas, the old Ulama'a' are guided in traditional Islamic education, the young Ulama'a are trained in at least two of the

following educational systems: traditional Islamic, Modern Islamic and Western Education up to university level in Nigeria and abroad. This experience to different educational systems acquaints the younger Ulama'a' with modern ideas and institutions, hence, they are likely to continue modernizing the traditionalism of Ulama'a, a development observable in the form, style and substance of public roles of the younger Ulama'a'.[20]

Unlike in the traditional religious education and practice where the women folk were suffered restricted access to Islamic education, the activities of the young *Ulama'a* were characterized by emergence of a considerable number of women schools operating day and night, for adult and female youth. In addition, women Islamic organizations and associations emerged subscribing to these new ideologies since they were identified with giving women access to education. In their preaching they argued that since the ultimate desire of every Muslim after death is to gain accommodation in paradise, there is no distinction in efforts that one should be able to make to reach paradise. Hence both men and women must strive for admission into paradise, which makes the acquisition of education as a criterion in worship a compulsory issue without the discrimination the traditional *Ulama'a* were known to have met with women.[21]

The new system of Islamic education in twentieth-century North Africa that was responsible for the development of modern Islamic ideas of reform that had their origin in Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco also found their way into West African Muslim societies. As opined by M. S. Umar (2001):

> On the surface, it is self-evident that different types of education should dispose individuals toward particular worldviews. What seems counterintuitive, however, is that Islamic fundamentalism attracts more western-educated Muslims than Muslims with either a traditional Islamic education or modern Islamic education. This phenomenon has also been observed in a number of Islamic societies including Egypt (Ibrahim 1988) and the Gulf States (Eickelman 1992). Similarly, Marty and Appleby (1993) conclude that "schools, day care centers, seminaries and colleges are the local chapters of fundamentalist movements," and that reclaiming. (130–132)

The transformation and changes which characterized Islamic education since the beginning of the twentieth century aided debates regarding the legality or otherwise friending the Europeans, in their education system, as well as their culture and traditions. The Islamic system of education in the contemporary period adopted quite a number of models and methods which were hitherto unknown. Some books such as *Jundullah Thaqafan wa akhlqan* of Said Hawwa, although a Syrian scholar, were popular among the Ikhwan-oriented circles and spread especially to Nigeria mainly among the youth in modern schools. Works of Sayyid Qutb such as: *Fi Zilal al- Qur'an, Maalim fi al-Tariq, Ila al-Shabab* and host of others became references of interest in the mosque teaching circles (see Bunza 2015b).[22]

Conclusion

Islamic education can be described as the most enduring factor which served and continue to serve as bond between peoples, cultures, and traditions of the North and West Africa for more than six centuries. The system of education which was first introduced in the North disseminated rapidly to West Africa despite the Sahara Desert that divided the two regions. Persistently, over the centuries, literature, scholars, schools, and ideologies of Islam poured from Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco to contribute to the establishment of commercial and intellectual centers in West Africa such as Jenne, Timbuktu, Gao, Kano, Katsina, other cities in Borno to the famous Lake Chad area. Consequently, with the combined impact of North African scholars, books, and institutions there was the emergence of indigenous scholars in West Africa. They followed their tutors' examples in erudition and scholarship to establish and develop their own institutions and authored high-quality literature that equaled any in academics in the Muslim world. Indeed, this chapter met its purpose to show the impact and influence of North Africa in the spread, development, and transformation of Islamic education in West Africa.

Notes

1. See also Martin, B. G., 1969, "Kanem Bornu, and the Fezzan: Notes on the Political History of a Trade Route," *Journal of African History* 11: 15–27.
2. Professor J. O. Hunwick is one of the leading scholars with reasonable volumes of works on the literary traditions and achievements in the Timbuktu region.
3. Abdullahi bin Fodiyo explained in detail in his *Ida' al-Nusukh* this method of learning as part of a tradition in this land and the same process they followed in search for knowledge.
4. More examples and details, see Sifawa, A. M., 1991, "The Role of Kanem Borno Ulama' in the Intellectual Development of the Bilad al-sudan," in *Proceedings of Conference: The Impact of Ulama' in the Central Sudan*, edited by A. Mustapha and A. Garba, Maiduguri, Nigeria: University of Maiduguri.
5. See detailed discussion on North African influence in Bunza, M. U., 2005b, "The North African Factor in *Tajdeed* ….".
6. This aspect was also discussed in detail in Bunza, M. U., 2013, "The Maghrebian Scholarship ….".
7. Raji, R. A., 1997 "Katsina as the Gateway …" cites examples of these writings from a compilation by John O. Hunwick and R. S. O'Fahey, eds., 1995, *The Writings of Central Sudanic Africa*, Leiden: Brill.
8. See a full discussion of his influence in Hunwick, J. O., 1984, "Saleh al-Fullani (1752–1803): The Career and Teaching of West African Alim in Medina," in *In Quest of an Islamic Humanism; Arabic and Islamic Studies in Memory of Muhammad al-Nowaihi*, edited by H. A. Green, 139–154, Cairo: American University Press.
9. See Ajayi, W. O., 1966, "Aspects of Protestant Missions in Northern Nigeria 1887–1910," *ODU: Ife Journal of African Studies* 3: 45. Ajayi cited Rev. Father Brooke and Robinson in reference to the Hausa literacy and *Ajami*

inventions as one of the factors for the Christian missionary interest in the region. Similarly, most portions of the Bible New Testament were rendered into Ajami characters and also in the Romanized Hausa form. Muhammad Umar Ndagi claimed that Nupe also developed a Nupe Ajami in the nineteenth century that like the Hausa Ajami provided an avenue for communication and literacy among the Nupe. See M. U. Ndagi, 2007, "Islamic Literary Traditions and the State of Manuscripts Collection in Nupe Land," unpublished paper, International Conference on Preserving Nigeria's Scholarly and Literary Traditions and Manuscripts Heritage, Kaduna, Nigeria: organized by the Arewa House and the American Embassy, 7–8 March. In the same vein, A. Muhammad also argued that scribes in Kanembu adopted Arabic scripts to their own local language and were producing Qur'an in Kanenmbu. See Muhammad, A., 1993, "The Arabic and Ajami Culture of Nigeria," in *Culture and Book Industry: Proceedings of NAFEST '83 Seminar, Maiduguri, Borno State*, edited by Sule Bello and Abdullah R. Augi, 33–44, Lagos, Nigeria: National Council for Arts and Culture.

10. Interview with Alhaji Danige Sokoto, October 6, 2007, at his bookstore, Sokoto, Nigeria. At 75 years old at the time of this interview, he had been in the book business for 50 years between Sokoto and Cairo.

11. See Hiskett, Mervyn, 1963, "Introduction," in *Tazyin al-Waraqat*, Abdallāh Ibn-Muḥammad, and Mervyn Hiskett, Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.

12. See Wazir Junaidu Bin Bukhari translated the *Dabt al-Multaqitat fi akhbar almufriqat fi al-muallifat* into Hausa and published it as Junaidu, Wazir, 2007, *Tarihin Fulani*, Zaria: Northern Nigerian Publishing Co. In the book, Wazir writes, "Agali Ya Kawo Rakumansa (sing. Rakumi) ya dauki littafan Shehu." The Hausa version records that, "Agali brought his camels and carried books of Shehu" (p. 16).

13. These manuscripts are available in the Library at Salame based on an interview with Muhammad al-Amin Tahir Salame (45 years old), at Sokoto, April 7, 2007 by M. U. Bunza.

14. See Nuhu, A. K., 2004, "Origin and Development of Public …," 72.

15. At the school of Modi Mamaru at Sokoto a contemporary of Sultan Muhammad Bello various copies of books were corrected with the help of a Moroccan scholar who brought a printed copy of the same text. See al-Qadi al-Hajj, A. *Tarikh Mustafa al-Torodi*, edited and translated in Omar Bello, 1994, *Islamic Education in 18th Century "Nigeria": Tarikh Mustafa al-Torodi*, Sokoto: Islamic Academy, 12. Also at the Makarantar Babban Malami in Kano most of stacked text of badly copied manuscripts in the school were corrected with the help of printed books imported from Egypt and North Africa. See Mohammed and Falke, 1978, "A Hausa Scholar-Trader …," 121.

16. See detailed discussion on the Salame University in M. U. Bunza, 2015a, "Towards an Integrated, Sustainable and Quality Assured Islamic University System in the Circumstances of Scarce Resources: The Salame University Experience in the Sokoto Caliphate," unpublished paper, 3rd International Conference on Islamic Universities: Integration of Knowledge and Challenge of Quality Assurance, International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT), Bayero University, Kano.

17. Interview, September 20, 2007 with Alh. Muhammad Bello, Director, Waziri Junaidu History and Culture Bureau Sokoto by M. U. Bunza at Sokoto, Nigeria.

18. Interview, September 13, 2007 with Alh. Shehu Ibrahim Bakori, Director, Katsina State History and Culture Bureau by research assistant Mal. Nura Aliyu at Katsina, Nigeria.

19. See Miles, W. F. S., 2000, "Religious Pluralism in Northern Nigeria," in *The History of Islam in Africa*, edited by N. Levtzion and R. L. Pouwels, Athens, OH: Ohio University Press; especially pp. 212–214. Changes associated with the new *Da'awa* especially by Abubakar Gummi and *Yan Izala* are discussed in detail in Loimeier, Roman, 1997, *Islamic Reform and Political Change in Northern Nigeria*, Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, especially Chapter 3 "The Political and Religious Development of the Muslims in Northern Nigeria 1951–1978" and Chapter 4 "The Dogmatic Discussion." Also see Westerlund, D., 1997, "Reaction and Action: Accounting for the Rise of Islamism," in *African Islam and Islam in Africa: Encounter Between Sufis and Islamists*, edited by E. E. Rosander and D. Westerlund, 308–333, London: Hurst and Company.

20. Umar, M. S., 2001 "Education and Islamic Trends in Northern Nigeria: 1970s–1990s," *Africa Today* 48, no. 2, p. 132. Most of the features of this group of clerics were the same as articulated by Kaba, Lasane, 1974, *The Wahhabiyya: Islamic Reform and Politics in French West Africa*, Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, especially pp. 20–45.

21. See details in Bunza, M. U., and A. M. Ashafa, 2010, "Religion, and the New Roles of Youth in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Hausa and Ebira Muslim Communities in Northern Nigeria 1930s–1980s," *Journal for Study of Religions and Ideologies* 9, no. 27: 302–331.

22. On the influence of literature, see Bunza M. U., 2004, "Muslims and the Modern State …" and Bunza, M. U., 2002, "Political Islam Under British Colonial Administration in Sokoto Province 1903–1950s," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 22, Special Issue: 66–81.

References

Adamu, M. U. 1998. "Further Notes on the Influence of North African Traders in Kano." Unpublished paper, International Conference on Cultural Interaction and Integration between North and Sub-Saharan Africa, B.U.K, 4–6 March.

Aguolu, C. C. 1983. "Libraries as Agencies of Research and Scholarship with Special Reference to Borno State." *Annals of Borno* 1: 18.

Al-Naqqar, Umar. 1972. *The Pilgrimage Tradition in West Africa*. Khartoum: Khartoum University Press.

Bello, Muhammad. 1951. *Infaq al-Maisur fi Tarikh bilad al-Takrur*. Edited and translated by C. E. J. Whitting. London: Luzac.

Bello, Omar. 1994. *Islamic Education in 18th Century "Nigeria": Tarikh Mustafa al-Torodi*. Sokoto: Islamic Academy.

Boahen, A. Adu. 1964. *Britain, the Sahara and Western Sudan, 1788–1861*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Brenner, L. 1997. "Becoming Muslim in Soudan Francaises." In *The Time of the Marabouts. Islamic Strategies and Routes in West Africa (1880–1960)*, edited by David Robinson and Jean-Louis Triaud, 465–492. Paris: Karthala.

Brooks, Nick, Isabelle Chiapello, Savino Di Lernia, Nick Drake, Michel Legrand, Cyril Moulin, and Joseph Prospero. 2007. "The Climate-Environment-Society Nexus in the Sahara from Prehistoric Times to the Present." *The Journal of North African Studies* 10 (3–4): 253–292.

Bunza, M. U. 2002. "Political Islam Under British Colonial Administration in Sokoto Province 1903–1950s." *Journal of Islamic Studies* 22 (Special Issue): 66–81.

Bunza, M. U. 2004. "Muslims and the Modern State in Nigeria: A Study of the Impact of Foreign Religious Literature, 1980s–1990s." *Islam Et Societes Au Sud Du Sahara/Islam and Societies in South of the Sahara* 17–18: 49–63.

Bunza, M. U. 2005a. "The Iranian Model of Political Islamic Movement in Nigeria, (1979–2002)." In *Political Islam South of the Sahara: Identities, Discourse and Issues*, edited by M. Gomez-Perez, 227–242. Paris: Karthala.

Bunza, M. U. 2005b. "The North African Factor in *Tajdeed* Tradition in Hausaland, Northern Nigeria." *The Journal of North African Studies* 10 (3–4): 325–338.

Bunza, M. U. 2012. "Migration and Itinerancy Among the Ulama'a (Muslim Scholars) in West Africa: The Making of Trans-National Muslim Intelligentsia in Nigeria." In *Religion et Migration*, edited by F. Harrak, E. Ross, and S. Anegay, 65–80. Rabat, Morocco: Publication de L' Institute des Etudes Africaines.

Bunza, M. U. 2013. "The Maghrebian Scholarship and the Development of Muslim Intelligentsias in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Case Study of the Central Bilad al-Sudan." *History Research* 3 (5): 342–352.

Bunza, M. U. 2015a. "Towards an Integrated, Sustainable and Quality Assured Islamic University System in the Circumstances of Scarce Resources: The Salame University Experience in the Sokoto Caliphate." Unpublished paper, 3rd International Conference on Islamic Universities: Integration of Knowledge and Challenge of Quality Assurance, International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT), Bayero University, Kano.

Bunza, M. U. 2015b. "Islamic Education in Nigeria: A Brief History of Stability and Transformation." *Scholars World – IRMJCR* 3 (1): 38–46. Online: ISSN-2320-3145.

Bunza, M. U. 2016. *Gwandu Emirate: The Domain of Abdullahi Fodiyo: 1805 to Present*. Kaduna, Nigeria: Gwandu Emirate Development Association (GEDA).

Bunza M. U., and A. M. Ashafa. 2010. "Religion, and the New Roles of Youth in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Hausa and Ebira Muslim Communities in Northern Nigeria 1930s–1980s." *Journal for Study of Religions and Ideologies* 9 (27): 302–331.

Fagge, M. D. A. 1997. "Literary Life in the Intellectual Tradition of the Ulama' in Kano Since 1804." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria.

Gazali, Kalli Alkali Yusuf. 2005. *The Kanuri in Diaspora: The Contribution of Kanem Borno Ulama' to Islamic Education in Nupe and Yorubaland*. Lagos: CSS Bookshops Ltd.

Hiskett, M. 1984. *The Development of Islam in West Africa*. London and New York: Longman.

Hitti, P. K. 1981. *History of the Arabs*. 10th ed. London: Macmillan.

Hodgkin, T. 1962. "Islam and Nationalist Movements in West Africa." *The Journal of African History* 3 (2): 323–327.

Hodgkin, T. 1975. *Nigerian Perspectives: An Historical Anthology.* London: Oxford University Press.

Hogben, S. J., and A. H. M. Kirk-Greene. 1966. *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria: A Preliminary Survey of Their Historical Traditions.* London: Oxford University Press.

Hunwick, J. O. 1984. "Saleh al-Fullani (1752–1803): The Career and Teaching of West African Alim in Medina." In *In Quest of an Islamic Humanism; Arabic and Islamic Studies in Memory of Muhammad al-Nowaihi*, edited by H. A. Green, 139–154. Cairo: American University Press.

Hunwick, John O., and R. S. O'Fahey, eds. 1995. *The Writings of Central Sudanic Africa.* Leiden: Brill.

Ibn-Muḥammad, Abdallah, and Mervyn Hiskett (Trans. & Ed.). 1963. *Tazyīn al-Waraqāt.* Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.

Jumare, I. M., and M. U. Bunza. 2012. "Wazirii Junaidu (1906–1997) and the Making of Arabic Manuscript Library in Sokoto: A Historical Overview." *Arewa House Journal* 1 (1): 54–77.

Junaidu, Waziri. 2007. *Tarihin Fulani.* Zaria: Northern Nigerian Publishing Co.

Kaba, Lasane.1974. *The Wahhabiyya: Islamic Reform and Politics in French West Africa.* Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Kani, A. 1986. "The Rise and Influence of Scholars in Hausaland Before 1804." *Al-Muntaka: Courier de I'Islam* 9: 47–69.

Kani, A. 1997. "The Place of Katsina in the Intellectual History of Bilad al-Sudan up to 1800." In *Islam and History of Learning in Katsina*, edited by I. A. Tsiga and A. U. Adamu. Ibadan: Spectrum Books.

Last, Murray. 1994. "The Traditional Muslim Intellectual in Hausaland: The Background." In *African Historiography: Essays in Honor of Jacob Ade Ajayi*, edited by Toyin Falola, 116–130. United Kingdom: Addison-Wesley Longman Ltd.

Last, M. 2006. "The Books in the Sokoto Caliphate." In *Studia Africana: Revista Interuniversatinia d'estudies African*, No. 17, October.

Launay, R., and B. E. Soares. 1999. "The Formation of an 'Islamic Sphere' in French Colonial West Africa." *Economy and Society* 28 (4): 497–519. https://doi.org/10.1080/03085149900000015.

Law, Robert. 1967. "The Garamantes and Trans-Saharan Enterprises in Classical Times." *Journal of African History* 8 (2): 181–200.

Lewis, I. M., ed. 1969. *Islam in Tropical Africa.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Lydon, Ghislaine. 2007. "Writing Trans-Saharan History: Methods, Sources and Interpretations Across the African Divide." *The Journal of North African Studies* 10 (3–4): 293–324.

Martin, B. G. 1969. "Kanem Bornu, and the Fezzan: Notes on the Political History of a Trade Route." *Journal of African History* 11: 15–27.

Miles, W. F. S. 2000. "Religious Pluralism in Northern Nigeria." In *The History of Islam in Africa*, edited by N. Levtzion and R. L. Pouwels, 209–226. Athens: Ohio University Press.

Morel E. D. 1968. *Affairs of West Africa.* London: Frank Cass.

Muhammed, Abdullahi. 1978. "A Hausa Scholar-Trader and His Library Collection: The Case Study of Umar Falke of Kano, Nigeria." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL.

Muhammad, A. 1993. "The Arabic and Ajami Culture of Nigeria." In *Culture and Book Industry: Proceedings of NAFEST '83 Seminar, Maiduguri, Borno State*, edited by Sule Bello and Abdullah R. Augi, 33–44. Lagos, Nigeria: National Council for Arts and Culture.

Newbury, C. W. 1966. "North African and Western Sudan Trade in the Nineteenth Century: A Re-evaluation." *Journal of African History* 7 (2): 245–246.

Nuhu, A. K. 2004. "Origin and Development of Public Library Services in Northern Nigeria, C.1804–2000." Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, History Department, Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto.

Raji, R. A. 1997. "Katsina as the Gateway of the Earliest Muslim Scholars and Learning in Nigeria: The Case Study of *Madh* Literature." In *Islam and the History of Learning in Katsina*, edited by I. A. Tsiga and A. U. Adamu. Ibadan: Spectrum Books.

Ramdane, T., and M. Souad. 2014. "The Fatimid Educational Administration in Egypt." *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 4 (11): 136–150.

Salame, M. A. 2007. "The Arabic Library of Shaikh Abdulkadir bin Mustafa Torodi and Its Role in Promoting and Preservation of Islamic Legacy in Nigeria." International Conference on Literary Tradition and Manuscript Preservation in Nigeria Proceedings, AREWA and the USA Embassy Abuja, Abuja.

Shehu, Salisu. "Nigerian Muslim Educational Aspirations in the Context of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) Challenges and Opportunities." Unpublished paper, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria.

Shuriye, Abdi Omar, and Dauda Sh. Ibrahim. 2013. "Timbuktu Civilization and Its Significance in Islamic History." *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 4 (11): 696–704.

Sifawa, A. M. 1991. "The Role of Kanem Borno Ulama' in the Intellectual Development of the Bilad al-sudan." In *Proceedings of Conference: The Impact of Ulama' in the Central Sudan*, edited by A. Mustapha and A. Garba. Maiduguri. Nigeria: University of Maiduguri.

Smith, H. F. C. 1962. "Nineteenth-Century Arabic Archives of West Africa." *The Journal of African History* 3 (2): 333–336.

Stewart, C. C. 1976. "Southern Saharan Scholarship and the Bilad al-Sudan." *Journal of African History* 17 (1): 79–93.

Trimingham, J. S. 1986. *The Influence of Islam Upon West Africa*. London: Longman.

Tsiga, I. A., and A. U. Adamu, eds. 1997. *Islam and the History of Learning in Katsina*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books.

Umar M. S. 2001. "Education and Islamic Trends in Northern Nigeria: 1970s–1990s." *Africa Today* 48 (2): 129–137.

Westerlund, D. 1997. "Reaction and Action: Accounting for the Rise of Islamism." In *African Islam and Islam in Africa: Encounter Between Sufis and Islamists*, edited by E. E. Rosander and D. Westerlund, 308–333. London: Hurst and Company.

CHAPTER 7

Christianity and Vocational Education in Africa

Andrew E. Barnes

This chapter surveys the discourse among African and European Christians about the implementation in Africa of programs of education identified as "vocational" during the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. "Discourse," as in an ongoing, though not necessarily dialectical discussion of initiatives and outcomes, is the best term to use to convey the nature of the Christian effort to transfer knowledge on how to use European technology from Europe to Africa over the period in question. Christian missionaries, the primary agents of the transfer, cannot be said to have made much headway in effecting the education of Africans in European technology. To their credit, missionaries may be said to have taught Africans how to utilize certain types of European technology. But it must be acknowledged that missionaries failed, and failed horribly, at passing on to Africans the capacity to replicate European technology. Missionaries came to Africa mostly during the European industrial age, the great age of European machines. African Christians turned to European Christians to teach them how to build and maintain similar machines. European Christians never did this.

Some African critics argued that the failure of European missionaries to teach Africans European technology was the result of design. Missionaries, like other Europeans, were committed to never giving Africans knowledge that would allow Africans to compete with Europeans. As argued below, the inability of missionaries to effectuate the transfer of European technology to

A. E. Barnes (✉)
Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ, USA
e-mail: ANDREW.BARNES@asu.edu

J. M. Abidogun and T. Falola (eds.),
The Palgrave Handbook of African Education and Indigenous Knowledge,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-38277-3_7

Africa was a function of a good many things above and beyond the missionaries' control. Whatever racial, proprietary instincts missionaries maintained about European technology as European had at best a limited impact on the shaping of the flow of European technological knowledge to Africa.

This chapter below will begin with a selective survey of the development of vocational education in Europe up to the nineteenth century with the goal of identifying what Christian missionaries had in mind when they first introduced vocational education in Africa. The survey will seek to show two things. First is the mitigated connection between vocational education and technical training in Europe. Second is the negative view European Christians held of any activity that involved manual labor. The chapter will move on to an overview of missionary initiatives at introducing vocational education in Africa before the colonial era, treated here as having begun during the 1880s. There was a myth shared among European Christians that vocational schools could be engines of social change. Various missiological strategies pursued in Africa up to the colonial era built upon this myth. The chapter will next consider the African Christian response to the vocational education programs put in place by nineteenth-century missions. As will be argued, Ethiopianism, a term for what has been understood in the past as a theological and ecclesiastical movement among African Christians, also had a political economical dimension. African Christians seeking to take the lead in the evangelization of Africa looked to the establishment of versions of the vocational school crafted in the USA at Tuskegee Institute by Booker T. Washington to jump-start the Christian regeneration of Africa.

The later sections of the chapter take up the response to Ethiopianism by governments and missions. Colonial governments placed the blame for Ethiopianism on missions and threatened to replace not just vocational but all mission schools with government schools. The American educator, Thomas Jesse Jones, offered colonial governments and missions a way out of their disagreements. Jones put forth a new idea of the educational program that had developed at Tuskegee and its parent institution, Hampton Institute, a new idea that suggested a new set of vocations for both European missionaries and African Christians. The chapter concludes with an assessment of the historical impact of Jones' vision for Christian vocational education in Africa.

EUROPEAN FOUNDATIONS OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

In the ancient Greek intellectual traditions that inform most European historical explanations of things, Hephaestus, the god of technology, better known these days by his Roman name Vulcan, reserved fire, the source of technology, for the use of the gods. Prometheus, in some versions of Greek mythology the creator of humankind, stole fire from Hephaestus' forge and passed it to humans, allowing humans to build civilizations. As David Landes' seminal work, *Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Europe 1750 to the Present* (Landes 2003) attests, European scholars have

readily embraced the story of Prometheus and his theft of fire to explain how industrialization happened in Europe. The point to mentioning the myth here is that in these scholarly narratives, the Christian church is identified as one incarnation of Hephaestus. There were other, more powerful incarnations, most importantly the craft guilds who monopolized the regulation of all aspects of the technology of production and the marketing of manufactures. The state in Europe was another guise of Hephaestus. States worked in conjunction with guilds to support the guilds' monopolies. States reserved access to markets, regulated the transfer of knowledge and enforced penalties on all manufacture and sale not authorized by local guilds. The church embodied Hephaestus through granting heavenly sanctions to these restrictions, supporting the evolution of an urban Christian economic culture that reinforced the monopoly over technology claimed by guilds (Chatellier 1997; Van Leeuwen 1994; Davis 2014). As illustrated below, however, the church might also be credited with something of a Promethean role, negotiating with the guilds for some small access to technological knowledge for the social poor, that is the socially marginal, so that the latter, under Church guidance, could learn how to make things and strive for a Christian life under the prevailing Christian ethos.

In narratives about the industrial revolution, the guilds, as Hephaestus, lost control of fire to Prometheus, treated in European ideological traditions as capitalism. European states switched roles in the drama about market access and became Promethean as well, working with capitalists to free up markets. Industrialization allowed European capitalists to break the hold of the guilds over the production of commodities (Smits and Stromback 2001). The Christian churches of Europe were mostly on the sidelines in this battle, rooting in conflicting ways for both sides. Christian churches never gave up their mediating role in communicating technological knowledge to the social poor, however (Grell et al. 2002). Christian churches endeavored to maintain this mediating role in the missions they sent out to Africa and the rest of the world.

Europeans placed in the vocational category all types of education they understood to involve training in the use of some technology. "Technology" is a European term derived from the Greek word, "techne," one translation of which is "cunning of hand." All forms of technology demand some degree of "cunning of hand," of skill or manual dexterity, or to use one last phrase, of "technique" with a set of tools, coupled with some cognitive capacity to comprehend how to apply this ability to the completion of the tasks for which the technology evolved (Lis and Soly 1984; Gutton 1991; Van Leeuwen 1994; Jutte 1994). Programs of instruction aimed at the dissemination of knowledge about tools and the use of tools, what Europeans called a "craft," is what Europeans had in mind when they talked about vocational education (Lindberg 1993; Safley 2003, 2004; Barnes 2018a).

Missionaries could not teach the production of technology. The point is worth emphasizing because the historiography on Christian missions has given a wrong impression. The historiography talks about "artisans" being sent out to staff the earliest missions, the connotation being that these

missionaries had some mastery of technology, when they did not (Cox 2010). It is not even clear whether, typically, the artisans sent out were guildsmen. The vocational schools that Christian evangelists developed to reform the lives of the social poor combined the teaching of a small measure of rudimentary training in the use of some set of tools with large measures of mental and behavioral disciplining (Safley 2003, 2005; Barnes 2018a). Churches sought out Christians with some technical knowledge to teach in vocational schools. Some of the Christians with technical knowledge may have been guild masters, most probably were artisans. Primarily they were home (domestic) missionaries. Since the objective of these schools was the Christian conversion of the poor people who enrolled in them, the appeal to the Christians with technical knowledge who taught in them was not to pass on for free technical knowledge, but to save the souls to the poor (Gutton 1991; Lindberg 1993; Julia 2006).

Vocational education in Europe never aimed to challenge the economic status quo. The goal of the founders and promoters of vocational schools was to establish a symbiotic relationship with local guilds. A major issue for vocational schools and the Christians who ran them was operating costs. Most such schools were the outcome of pious bequests and donations. These monies always eventually ran out, so schools had to find ongoing ways to generate revenue. One way schools sought additional revenue was from student provided technical services and student produced commodities. Vocational schools taught students "tinkering," to use the British expression, that is, how to supply rudimentary technical services, like fixing a door or repairing a pot, typically for other poor people. In terms of commodities, the schools taught students to produce cheap knock-offs, easily recognizable as inferior to guild made products (Safley 2005). As just suggested, there were gradations in manual skill. The manual use of tools for repair or simple manufacture was one thing. The manual use of tools for large-scale commodity production was another. The latter presumed some degree of technological mastery, not only in the use of tools, but the making of tools. In the European tradition, technological competence itself was recognized as a marketable skill whose creation needed to be controlled. Technical training in fact was far more regulated than all other types of education in Europe (Smits and Stromback 2001; Schalk et al. 2017). Thanks to the guild systems, competition in the provisioning of technological services was rigorously overseen, primarily on the local level, usually by guild leaders working in conjunction with local government officials. Until the nineteenth century, when the industrial revolution mooted the power of guilds to regulate production, the knowledge of how to make things was carefully managed from above.

It is helpful to compare technical training with what Europeans considered its cultural opposite, academic education. In Christian Europe, up to the Protestant Reformation, academic education was synonymous with clerical or religious training. Academic education in European civilization aspired to recreate the learning experience that first took place in fourth-century BCE

Athens, when the intellectual skills summed up in the notion of the seven liberal arts or what was later labeled the humanities were first taught in a systematic fashion. Because academic education in Europe was closely tied to the Christian church, schools from the end of Roman times to the Protestant Reformation focused on inculcating these thinking skills in individuals destined for the clergy. Ironically, the term "vocation" as used in the European Middle Ages signaled those individuals who had a "calling" or vocation for the priesthood. The term took on its modern connotations of a livelihood based upon mastery of some technology during the Protestant Reformation, when Protestant theologians followed Martin Luther's lead in rejected the idea of a Christian priesthood as a separate social and spiritual estate (status group), affirming instead the idea that every individual had a "beruf," a vocation or calling given them by the Christian God. Luther and the theologians who followed him did recognize the existence of a "priesthood of all believers," meaning that there was some expectation that at least all males would have some command of the thinking skills needed to understand the ideas put forth in Christian preaching and writings (Lindberg 1993; Jutte 1994; Snell 1999; Safley 2003, 2004).

The historical import of this line of thought was that the academic education once reserved for the Christian clergy was mainstreamed in Protestant states in the form of day and boarding schools for children whose parents could afford systematic education, and "Sunday school" lessons for children whose parents could not. Catholic states went Protestant states one better and through the agency of the Society of Jesus, or as it is better known, the Jesuit order, created the first Christian school systems aimed at lay or non-clerical education. In the early modern European centuries as well, states began to compete with churches by investing in the building of state schools where the academic curriculum offered in church schools was incorporated on the primary level, while secondary fields of knowledge such as oceanic navigation or military engineering were treated on a secondary level (Laqueur 1976; Lis and Soly 1984; Julia 2006; Barnes 2018a).

Technical training evolved in a very different way. Training was through apprenticeships, which only masters recognized by the local guild were licensed to offer. Parents paid guild masters fees to train their sons. Contracts were written out, stipulating the obligations of both masters and apprentices. Special courts oversaw the maintenance of these contracts. Apprenticeships emphasized experiential learning, learning by doing, learning by trial and error. Apprenticeships involved boys leaving their parents' home and living with the master at his shop, with the master having full legal rights of *in loco parentis*. After the conclusion of an apprenticeship, which lasted between three and seven years, young men spent some stretch of time completing their training as journeymen, individuals who traveled from place to place learning different secondary techniques from different masters. Ideally, the culmination of training was the completion of a masterpiece, a work that demonstrated mastery of the technology used within the craft. Completion

of a masterpiece would allow an individual to be recognized as a master with the right to open his own shop and take on his own students. But by the early modern age, only perhaps a majority of the boys who began apprenticeship programs actually got to the point of receiving the letters that certified they had completed their program of training. And less than half of these were ever recognized by a local guild as masters. Almost all of latter were from families already in the guild. The economic security to be had by opening a shop was something guild masters effectively monopolized for their offspring. Most journeymen remained journeymen for their entire lives (Smits and Stromback 2001; Belfanti 2004; Schalk et al. 2017).

Over the centuries in Europe, while academic education became more accessible, technological training became more exclusive. Guilds, through their control of apprenticeships maintained something of a stranglehold on the dissemination of technical education. Two developments, however, worked to loosen the guilds' grasp. First was the economic takeoff fueled in Atlantic Europe by the discovery of the New World and the subsequent expansion of European trade. Guild monopolies aimed at controlling local markets and as such could not keep up with, much less regulate overseas' demand. Overseas' demand continued to grow until, supplemented by local and national demand for goods, it created the markets filled by the industrial revolution. The glass ceiling that reserved economic opportunities for members of the families of master craftsmen broke, allowing journeymen to open shops in Europe, find wage-paying jobs at technicians in factories, or migrate to the colonies. In terms of vocational training, perhaps the second of these options was most important, since increasingly technical training was moved outside the control of the guilds, funded and supported by governments, and focused on the generation of the technical skills needed for industrial advance (Smits and Stromback 2001).

The second development was an outcome of the religious changes that swept over Europe beginning in the sixteenth century. Both the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Counter Reformation distanced themselves from medieval notions about the holiness to be found in begging and the piety which might be displayed through dispensing alms to beggars. In the sixteenth century, religious thinkers, and the social and political elites who listened to them, came to make a distinction between the "honest" or "shamefaced" poor and the "dishonest" poor, the former being the people who would and could work if given the opportunity, the latter being those who preferred to beg. According to early modern European Christian sensibilities, only the honest poor deserved charity. The dishonest poor needed to be removed from the streets and locked away until they turned honest. Honest poor people may have been willing to work for a living, but as European economies went through the economic transformations mentioned above, opportunities for work following the old agrarian regime disappeared. Christian communities began to experiment with versions of vocational education (Jutte 1994; Safley 2004, 2005).

The vocational schools that resulted from these experiments, more and more labeled as "industrial institutes," were not really concerned with giving students competitive technical skills. Their first and primary objective was to teach students how to live a Christian life in a post-agrarian world. Technical skills would have helped students live such a life no doubt, but these skills were kept out of reach by guilds. For vocational institutes then, it was more important for students to learn the work discipline needed to mass produce items, the cash nexus that would permit the students to exchange these products for sustenance, and the Christian self-respect garnered by individuals who left home each morning headed for a workplace (Safley 2004, 2005; Barnes 2018a).

The trade-off for students for acquisition of these life skills was acceptance of the political, social, and cultural marginality associated with the skills they were acquiring. Early modern European civilization also inherited from the Greeks an absolute disdain for manual labor. The one direct action for which an individual could be automatically expelled from the European nobility was to be discovered engaged in manual labor. "Cunning of hand" was considered to involve far less mental prowess than any sort of intellectual cogitation. Working with one's hands in fact was understood to dull the mind (Lis and Soly 1984).

Academic training could serve as a vehicle of social mobility in European civilization. Before the industrial revolution, technical training rarely did (Dick 2008). Technological competence was associated in the European mind with economic security, but in terms of providing a pathway to higher status in either the society, the community or the government, it was considered a dead end. A cultural gradient evolved over time in European societies, with vocational learning and those who made their living by it at one end and academic learning and those who made their living by it at the other. Between the two there grew up a cultural chasm that hardened into social and political class boundaries (Billett 2014).

Illustrative here is the etymological history of the expressions "blue collar" and "white collar." "Blue collar" over the course of the twentieth century came to stand for all the associations that in the previous century had been subsumed under the terms "artisanal" or "working class." "Blue collar" continues to serve in the English language as a synonym for work that involves some form of regimented manual labor. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the expression originally came into usage in British prisons during the late nineteenth century as a term for the type of clothing permitted to prisoners whose good behavior gave evidence of behavioral reform. Both the notion of good behavior and the notion of behavioral reform in the minds of prison authorities were inspired by Christian ideas of religious conversion. The right to wear a "blue collar" was a reward for those individuals who had accepted the connection Christians posited between the former's social marginalization and the sinfulness of their lives and who had exhibited a willingness to work their way away from the margins through manual labor.

Blue-collar prisoners were a nineteenth-century variant of the honest poor. But then use of the term "blue collar" migrated across the Atlantic to North America where it came to designate the lifestyle of all individuals who worked with their hands. The term's use in the USA was fueled by a cultural dialectic that posited "blue collar" as the opposite of "white collar," the latter a term that came to designate all jobs that did not involve manual labor. Blue-collar jobs remained honest, but they also involved labor that did not require intellectual effort. White-collar jobs, on the other hand, were assumed to be prizes won through academic training and mental smarts. As such, holders of white-collar jobs were deemed superior to holders of blue-collar jobs, no matter the level of material compensation. The cultural dynamics behind the dichotomy between blue collar and white collar go back in the history of European culture and consciousness and have to do with, from the intellectualist perspective, a negative view of any and all who make their living using manual labor. For those who work with their minds, those who work with their hands are the cultural "other" (Lis and Soly 1984; Billett 2014).

The political implications of this point were important. Arguably beginning with the Protestant Reformation, notions about the nature of the political nation and about who had a right to participate in it became increasingly more inclusivist in Europe. Pushed by the French Revolution, by the nineteenth century most states had come to think of their inhabitants as citizens rather than as subjects, a distinction which, thanks to the successes of European imperialism, progressively became more important. Implicit in notions of citizenship were ideas about civil or political rights. These ideas prompted efforts by states to police the borders of citizenship. Foreign birth served as one justification for excluding individuals from citizenship. Race came to provide another. Education and training functioned as a third. Just as the early modern European state churches came to demand that every churchgoer needed to be able to read the articles of faith of the national church to qualify as a good Christian, so early modern states themselves came to insist that inhabitants needed to be able to at least read in the national language to merit inclusion in the political nation. Those who could not read were not fit to be either Christians or citizens (Hastings 1997; Van Horn Melton 2001; Lotz-Heumann 2008).

The ability to read and the ability to write were viewed differently in early modern Europe, with writing ranked as a much higher intellectual skill. Thanks to the efforts of Christian churches, a majority of males in most western European societies could read by the nineteenth century. Writing remained the preserve of those who had undergone academic training. Voting, as a perquisite of citizenship, was also reserved for as long as possible as a privilege of males who could read and write. Male members of the working classes did not get the vote in Europe until the end of the nineteenth century. Women did not get the vote until the early decades of the twentieth. Before these developments, for those who had it, academic learning had become a means to navigate previously recognized political and social, if not

sexual hurdles, to neutralize low status. In a world that celebrated the idea of careers open to talents, bright men from the lower classes could teach or write or invent or politically maneuver their ways into higher political and social stations. Educated women did not get the vote before other women, but (unmarried) women with some academic schooling found more economic and social opportunities opening for them as teachers, governesses, nurses, secretaries and missionaries, the point being that they claimed for themselves the positions involving authority and decision-making European civilization made available to women (Van Horn Melton 2001).

European society celebrated self-improvement, social uplift, and social mobility. But poverty was the only position from which to start to climb that was lower than vocational work. Sadly, one outcome of the fact that it became increasingly possible for those with vocational education to send their children to academic schools and for those children to essay to become something other than vocationally educated was that the social status of vocational employment declined even further. Vocational education branded the individuals who possessed it as ignorant. For these individuals, any movement toward higher status necessarily began with gaining some sort of academic training, with being rebranded as a thinking being. Useful as a qualification here are Benedict Anderson's insights about the inclusiveness of imagined communities, that is, the voluntarily embraced social and political worlds created through the evolution of especially print media in eighteenth-century Europe. Anderson's main point was about the nation-state, but the nation-state was just the apex of a hierarchy of lesser imagined communities like religious movements, political clubs, etc. These communities were accessible to all who could read, and members of these communities were quite willing to teach those who could not read how to do so. Imagined communities such as these allowed vocationally trained individuals to gain the recognition denied them as manual laborers. No one had to stay just a carpenter, or wheelwright or ironsmith. They could become the leader of a movement or a club. Still the pathway to higher social status was through learning to read and write (Anderson 2006).

The obverse of the point about academic learning facilitating social mobility was also true. On the cultural gradient that held in European society, any movement toward vocational education brought with it political marginalization and social degradation. Thus, for those concerned with policing the borders of citizenship, guiding individuals toward vocational training became a strategy for keeping the latter outside the imagined community of the citizenry. During the nineteenth century, the state took over from churches poor relief, which governments now labeled social welfare. The old Christian ideas about marginalized populations were retained, though dressed up in the new religiously neutral language of the social sciences. Vocational educational programs were expanded. Yet to the extent to which poor people enrolled in these programs, they brought themselves within the matrices of the state as subjects not citizens. There were obvious tensions between these programs,

with their expectations of self-exclusion and the ambitions for social inclusion of the people who enrolled in them. These tensions had not been resolved (they arguably have yet to be resolved), when Christian missionaries began widespread efforts to evangelize in Africa (Barnes 2018a).

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS VOCATIONAL EDUCATION IN AFRICA

Two points may be taken from the discussion of vocational education in Europe of value for understanding the Christian missionary endeavor to introduce vocational education in Africa. First is that missionaries had no firm ideas about how to transfer vocational skills to Africa. There was a good deal of experimentation. Mission schools which featured some sort of vocational training for African students opened at a number of locations across nineteenth-century Africa. Writing in 1922, Thomas Jesse Jones insisted that several European vocational institutes were operational on the continent, but he did not give details in his work *Education in Africa 1922.* What he probably had in mind were the Basel Mission schools in Ghana, the Hope Waddell Institute in Nigeria, Lovedale Institute and Blantyre Institute, respectively in South Africa and Malawi. Most of these schools had some connection with the Scottish Presbyterian mission, which was perhaps the one mission that pursued vocational education as a missiological strategy (Taylor 1996; Mackenzie and Dalziel 2013). Henry Venn, who guided the Anglican Church Missionary Society through the middle decades of the nineteenth century, promoted the evangelical value of industrial training at mission stations, primarily from the perspective of the need for missions to create prosperous congregations who could pay the upkeep of their churches (Ajayi 1959; Barnes 2018b). The need for revenue also prompted some Roman Catholic missions to invest in the development of mission stations that featured industrial education. Staffing these stations for both Anglicans and Catholics was a problem, however, since only an exceptional few of their missionaries had a vocational aptitude or technical capacities. Other denominational missions set up schools with an explicit vocational focus in places like Kenya and the Congo. Depending upon the expertise of the resident missionaries, these schools offered training in an array of technical and craft skills (Strayer 1973; Yates 1978).

Vocational education at these schools was rarely a means toward the end of occupational training, however. The idea motivating the missions remained the same as that which had previously motivated churches in Europe, which was to have student labor and student-made products offset the costs associated with school expenditure. Most of the students pursued other training as a career goal, most often preparation for life as an evangelist/teacher/catechist or clerical work. One illustration of this underlying dynamic was provided in Natal, in South Africa, where, in response to complaints from settlers about competition, a vocational program nominally aimed at the production of carpenters was replaced with one aimed at the production of evangelists (see Koschorke et al. 2016, 205). The few students who eventually made

a living based upon the artisanal or technical skills acquired at the schools typically found employment working for Europeans. These technicians functioned as part of the expatriate economy, not the indigenous one. One great exception to this generalization may have been typesetting and printing. Individuals with this knowledge could find employment working for the growing number of European firms, but also for African edited newspapers (Switzer 1984; Newall 2013).

One other missiological strategy had import for vocational education. This one expanded upon the experiential dimension of apprenticeships and experimented with ways of extending the contact between European masters and African apprentices. Rather than isolate vocational skills as an item for cultural transfer as part of school curricula, this approach argued for the transfer of vocational skills nested in lived experiences in the context of enclaves of Western-like community life. This was an argument for settlers as evangelists, settlers who could demonstrate to Africans, not just how to make things, but to use those things to live a Christian life. The Scottish Presbyterian missionary David Livingstone proposed that communities of the "honest poor" from Britain could serve in this capacity, freeing themselves from poverty in the process (see Cairns 1965, 194–198). The African American Anglican missionary Alexander Crummell made a similar argument, proposing that communities of entrepreneurial African American Christians serve as the agents of civilization, in their case saving themselves from the brutalities of American racism (Crummell 1891; Barnes 2017). Livingstone's advocacy had no issue—European settlers did not come to Africa to save African souls. Crummell's influence can be seen behind the Back to Africa movement led by the AME bishop Henry Turner and in the explanation by Orishatukeh Faduma of why the Chief Sam party emigrated from the USA to Ghana (Redkey 1969; Barnes 2017). There was a third variation on this theme. In his "Plan for the Regeneration of Africa," the Italian Catholic missionary saint Daniel Comboni sought to address the need for vocational schools for Africans by proposing the building of mission vocational schools across the Mediterranean. These climes would be warm enough for African Christians to live, yet sanitary enough for European Christians to survive. Africans were to come to these stations for two to three years of vocational training and then head back to their home locales to pass on their skills as artisan-evangelists. This plan never got very far toward implementation, but the missionary order Comboni established, the Comboni Missionaries of the Heart of Jesus remains one of the largest Catholic orders dedicated to the evangelization of Africa (Comboni 1871; Ozioko 2015). A similar idea for taking Africans out of Africa to a place where Europeans would be sufficiently comfortable as to provide Africans with sustained apprenticeships was advanced and realized for at least a short time by the Welsh Baptist missionary William Hughes at Colwyn Bay in Wales (Killingray 2014; Barnes 2017).

African thinkers such as Edward Blyden indicted Europeans in general, and missionaries, in particular, for refusing to pass on to Africans the

technical know-how that went into the industrial revolution (Blyden 1967; Barnes 2016). But Europeans in general and missionaries in particular did not possess much technical knowhow. Scholars writing in the past have taken for granted that concrete programs of vocational education, equivalent to liberal arts curricula, existed in Europe and that missionaries had the option of introducing these programs to Africa. But such programs did not exist in Europe either. In Europe, instruction in technical skills continued into the twentieth century to be the preserve of master-apprenticeship programs. Apprenticeship programs still exist. In recent decades, they have been supplement by for profit technical training institutes. To the extent to which technical training has been acquirable outside these types of arrangements, access has been sponsored by governments. Over the course of the nineteenth century, many European states did invest in the development of technical high schools, with structured, thought out curricula aimed at systematically training students in new machine powered technologies. Such training demanded huge investments in physical plants and equipment, and long years of trial and error learning for mastery. Few of the graduates of these high schools ever made it to Africa as missionaries, and even if they did, they had no equivalent teaching environment in which to build vocational training programs. Along the African coasts where trading firms had set up operations, and ultimately in the mining industries that came to dominate so many colonial economies, there were some Africans who were trained to a master's level of competence in European technology. These men gained their training through apprenticeships to the European masters in the employ of European firms and colonial governments. Neither the Europeans nor the Africans were free to disseminate their knowhow, and even if they were, they lacked the workshops and materials required for the learning through doing which technical knowledge demands (Yates 1978; Taylor 1996; Smits and Stromback 2001).

Contrary to what Africans like Blyden thought, and scholars have since presumed, the programs of vocational education, of industrial education instituted in Europe were, like the programs later introduced in Africa, cobbled together amalgams of Christian evangelism coupled with exercises in social discipline coupled with rudimentary instruction in the use of European tools. The vocational programs in Europe were in fact the prototypes for the programs later introduced in Africa. Scholars have paid far too much attention to missionary writings, which presents missionaries as jacks of all trade, capable of using all sorts of European technology to solve the problems encountered out on the mission field (Adas 1989; Cox 2010). The reality was simply different. Missionaries were proficient users, but not producers of technology. The vocational education programs missionaries put into place reflected their own ignorance of technical knowledge. As such, they could not offer a comprehensive introduction to the use of any technology.

The second point to be made about the introduction of European Christian ideas of vocational education in Africa is that, while few missionaries had firm notions about what vocational education was, almost all missionaries

had clear ideas about what vocational education was not. Vocational education was the opposite of the humanistic education most missionaries themselves had received. There is some irony in the fact that while missionaries failed to transfer European technical knowledge to Africa, they succeeded in transferring the contempt with which Europeans viewed manual labor. No missionary came to Africa with a purely technical background. It should be clear by now that when early missionaries were described as artisans or tinkers, these terms were used with blue-collar connotations. Still, even missionaries who themselves were the product of vocational training had some systematic training in how to read and write and in how to teach the Bible, in other words, some humanistic training. Every missionary came to Africa with some propensity toward looking down at those who only possessed manual skills.

Vocational education was as scorned by Europeans in Africa as it was by the Christian population in general in Europe, but in Africa in addition it became for Europeans the educational background of the designated racial other. Africans could not think beyond the vocational level, European thinking came to assert, which is why Africans got so many of the abstract ideas associated with Christianity and European culture so terribly wrong (Cairns 1965; King 1971; Lorimer 1978; Yates 1980a; Corby 1981, 1990; Thorne 1997; Jensz 2012). Accepting the discussion above about how vocational education was negatively coded in the European mind; accepting also that the decades which saw the number of missionaries heading to Africa increasing were also the decades when scientific racism became most pervasive in the European mind, accepting lastly the idea that Europeans understood humanistic education as helping individuals to transcend racial categories, it should be possible to apprehend how vocational education in Africa lost any necessary connection with technical training and became in the European mind a catch-all term for types of learning that would not challenge racial boundaries. Europeans feared that humanistic learning gave Africans a sense of mastery of European civilization. Under the rubric "vocational education," Europeans tried to develop educational strategies that avoided humanistic learning (Yates 1980a; Corby 1981, 1990; Jensz 2012).

The earlier discussion of white collar versus blue collar is helpful here. Missions came to shy away from educational practices they identified as qualifying an African for a white-collar occupation, because Europeans felt that these practices also gave Africans inflated ideas about racial equality (Sivonen 1995). Europeans used the term "denationalization" for the intellectual process through which Africans came to insist that they were "civilized," that is, just as worthy as Europeans of citizen status in the empires Europeans were constructing. Africans who thought in these ways saw themselves as white collared, and dressed appropriately. Denationalization summoned up in the European imagination a process of Africans pretending to know more than their manually oriented minds could comprehend, but also of Africans losing awareness of their tribal identity, of Africans losing their affinity for

their native dress. Later in the twentieth century, the idea of denationalization was in fact replaced in anthropological literature with the notion of detribalization. Detribalization was understood to be the outcome of the onslaught of Western civilization on social adhesion and community identification in Africa. The earlier notion of denationalization, however, was more narrowly tied to the universalizing ideas inherent in academic education. Denationalization was a mental disease Africans picked up through exposure to humanism in mission schools (Barnes 2009, 2017).

As an alternative, missions tried to identify educational practices that would guide Africans toward what Europeans conceived of as indigenous equivalents to blue-collar views of the world. There was syllogistic reasoning at work. Blue-collar workers in Europe were non-citizens in ways it was hoped Africans would adjust to being non-citizens. It helps to remember that the associations middle-class European Christians posited between the blue-collar mind and apolitical thinking were formed before the emergence of labor unions and radical movements in Europe and then in Africa. Blue-collar people were the honest poor, and the minds of the honest poor, according to this earlier line of thought, harbored no political agenda. In promoting the equivalent of honest poor training in Africa, missionaries saw themselves as herding African converts away from the distraction of politics. Vocational training was supposed to be not so much the antidote to denationalization as the vaccine that inoculated Africans against the disease. Humanism replaced local ideas of culture with universalizing ideas of civilization derived from what Europeans increasingly argued was their own racial heritage. The goal of vocational education became the discovery of a formula for teaching Africans the intellectual skills they needed to be practicing Christians without simultaneously exposing Africans to humanistic thought (Cairns 1965; Thorne 1997).

AFRICANIZING MISSION EDUCATION

Missions were pushed toward this goal by the emergence of Ethiopianism. Ethiopianism is a controversial term with a contested legacy. Historically it has signaled very different things to Christians of African descent and Christians of European descent (Kalu 2008; Barnes 2016, 2017). As used here the term is meant to sum up four connected sets of ideas. First is the idea that the Christian God had decreed that the evangelization of Africa was to happen through the agency of Africans. The term "Ethiopianism" goes back to a passage from the Hebrew Bible, Psalms 68:31, "Princes shall come out of Egypt and Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands unto God." For Ethiopianists, implicit in this passage was a repudiation of the evangelical claims of European missionaries. Ethiopianists did not dispute the idea that European missionaries had introduced Christianity and Christian civilization to Africa and Africans. Ethiopianists argued that the racism that had crept into European evangelism made the Christian message European missionaries

sought to communicate toxic for Africans. The second set of ideas had to do with the nature of the Christian civilization Ethiopianists hoped to strip of racist content. Ethiopianists were squarely in the liberal European tradition of viewing civilization as an interrelated collection of things, an interrelated set of "toolkits" to use a modern global history term. The collection as such had begun in ancient times and had been embraced and added to by various peoples across the ages. While recognizing and acknowledging that Europeans had added the industrial technology toolkit, Ethiopianists insisted that entire collection did not belong to Europeans—no matter how loudly the latter proclaimed that it did. Civilization was God's gift to humankind, and it was something that Africans could access on their own, which is what Ethiopianists proposed to do in the context of Christian evangelization. Wresting God's gift from the hands of Europeans was how Ethiopianists perceived the task before them (Shepperson 1968; Redkey 1969). The third set of ideas had to do with how civilization was to be claimed. It was to be a gradual process that implied the social transformation or, as Ethiopianists talked about it, the Christian regeneration of all African peoples. For several generations of trans-Atlantic Protestant African Christians, Ethiopianism was a cultural mindset that brought together peoples of the Anglophone Christian African Diaspora and organized their discussions around a common initiative to nurture a modern Christian civilization on the African continent (Langley 1973; Moses 1978; Chirenje 1987; Moses 1998). The fourth and last set of ideas had to do with how to pay for this modern Christian civilization. Civilizations cost money to build. Industrialization would generate that money. Ethiopianists did not condemn European industrial capitalism. Ethiopianists wanted to create an African version of it. Many African Ethiopianists had spent time in Britain and the USA and were conscious of the enormous cost of building up industrial infrastructure. So Ethiopianists sought ways to generate the wealth needed for African industrialization. As Blyden's complaint demonstrated, Ethiopianists understood the connection between technological training, wealth creation, and industrial development. "Industrialism" was the term used for the connection in West African newspapers. Seeing industrialism as the fire that Europe as Hephaestus kept hidden from the Africans as mortal men, Ethiopianists went in search of their own Prometheus (Barnes 2017).

Africans wanted to know how to replicate European technology. As one letter to the editor in a Ghanaian newspaper proclaimed, after condemning the curriculum in missionary schools, "the Salvation, freedom and independence of the black man lies in nothing but industrialism."[1] Europeans, however, were unwilling to share industrialism. The question was how to obtain it in spite of European opposition. Another letter to the editor in a Ghanaian newspaper suggested that Africans follow the strategy of the Germans who had, "sought the lowest positions in London offices and British manufactories, accepting paltry wages, but thereby learning the rudiments of British industries." As a result, the Germans had "mastered all that could be known,

[and now were] competing with British merchants the wide world over."[2] An opinion piece in a Nigerian paper offered Africans the example of the Japanese who had paid "foreign technologists" to come to Japan to live for five to seven years, i.e., the length of the term of a European apprenticeship, to train Japanese students. By the time the foreigners were ready to leave Japan, there were Japanese "graduates" ready to take their places.[3] African Ethiopianists initially invested their hopes, though, in the emigration to Africa of technologically savvy African Americans.

Edward Blyden and Alexander Crummell were perhaps the two best-known promoters of the idea of "providential design," the idea that the Christian God had suffered millions of Africans to be taken to the New World as slaves to learn European ways, so that they could now return to Africa and bring that knowledge back with them (Blyden 1862; Crummell 1891). Historians have not given sufficient attention to the fact that the knowledge the "exiles," as Blyden called them, were supposed to bring back was knowledge of European technology. Yet Crummell, in making the case for communities of African American missionary settlers, talked in one passage about the "well trained handicraftsmen [and] skillful sugarmakers," from Barbados who were already making a difference in Liberia (Crummell 1891). Blyden was even more explicit. Speaking to reporters in New York on one of his trips across the Atlantic, Blyden insisted that the type of African Americans Africans hoped would return to Africa were "workers, mechanics – all the trades in fact." As he went on to note, immigrants who had already come back to Africa from the New World had brought with them, "their trades, and steam sugar mills and saw mills, iron foundries, machine shops and all such industries."[4] Speaking the following year to a church audience in Lagos, proclaimed that "it is hardly necessary for me … to recount the advantages which would flow from the return of experienced agriculturalists and skilled mechanics … and the lessons they would impart in the various elements and appliances of civilized life."[5]

As the comments by both men suggest, neither of them thought of the passing on of technical training in terms of vocation schools. They understood the transfer of technical knowledge to be the outcome of the apprenticeship process. Their ambition was to persuade African American master craftsmen in the New World to come back to Africa to train young Africans. Significant numbers of African Americans of any stripe did not return to Africa, however. In a letter acknowledging the lack of interest on the part of African Americans for leaving the New World, Blyden informed readers of African newspapers that perhaps there was no need of widespread immigration on the part of black Americans. Perhaps all Africans needed to know about industrialism had been encapsulated into an educational institution and the course of study it provided, and all Africans needed to do was to establish versions of that school in Africa as well (Barnes 2017). Tuskegee was the educational institution in question. There were many myths about Tuskegee, some of them fabricated by Tuskegee's founder and first principal, Booker T. Washington, some of them fabricated by Washington's many African

American detractors (Spivey 1978; Anderson 1988; Brundage 2003; Norrell 2009; Dagbovie 2010). What is important to keep in mind is that Tuskegee was first and foremost a normal school that produced elementary school teachers. What was innovative about the school was the double vocational training it promoted. Schools for African Americans in the American South did not pay teachers much, so Tuskegee trained students as teachers first and then gave them additional training as artisans and craftsmen, the strategy being that income from their trade work could subsidize their meager teachers' salaries (Fairclough 2007). Washington did not expect the majority of Tuskegee's graduates to make their living through trade. But he did promote the ideas that the more entrepreneurial of them had gotten all they needed at Tuskegee to be successful as capitalists, and that it was from small capitalists, such as his students would become, that big capitalists, like his main benefactor Andrew Carnegie, would evolve (Harlan 1972, 1983; Beize and Gasman 2012).

Already before the emergence of Tuskegee, there was some discussion among African Christians about the advantages of American versus European style industrial education. Tuskegee Institute was the daughter institution of Hampton Institute in Virginia, and Washington was a student of the founder of Hampton, General Samuel Armstrong. There was a positive discussion of Hampton and Armstrong in African newspapers in both West and South Africa before the emergence of Washington and Tuskegee. Blyden, who distrusted the white administration at Hampton, was concerned enough about the appeal of Hampton to Africans to specifically condemn the school in the West Africa press. Yet Blyden was the most effusive African supporter of the Hampton approach to education once it became associated with Tuskegee. In South Africa, John Tengo Jabavu, editor of *Imvo Zambantsundu* (Native Opinion), the most successful African newspaper, was an early admirer of Armstrong and Hampton. White missionaries in South Africa were fierce enthusiasts of Hampton as well, however, so Jabavu kept his distance. Later on, after Tuskegee had become famous, Jabavu sent his son Davidson to Tuskegee to study Washington's methods. Lastly, perhaps the greatest African promoter of Washington and Tuskegee was John L. Dube, who, when sent to America to study at Hampton as a young man, chose instead to obtain a degree from Oberlin. Dube went back to South Africa, but then returned to the USA to take a divinity degree. It was during that second tour in the USA that Dube heard Washington speak, and had a change of heart about industrial education. Dube went on to found Ohlange Industrial Institute in Natal, which he proudly characterized as the Tuskegee of South Africa (Barnes 2017).

Ethiopianists viewed Tuskegee style industrial education as the key to creating sufficient wealth in Africa to foster an industrial revolution. Washington achieved a Confucius like status in African newspapers, his speeches and writings copied, his observations and sayings quoted as "black diamonds" to fill out the spaces between articles (Barnes 2017). In both West Africa and South Africa, Africans organized movements to petition colonial and settler

governments to establish schools based upon the Hampton-Tuskegee model. In the absence of government support, private initiatives, led by African churchmen, sought to establish versions of Tuskegee across Africa. In West Africa, they got nowhere. In South Africa, there was Dube's Ohlange (Davis 1976; Marable 1979; Chirenje 1987; Vinson 2012). In Central Africa there was, for a brief moment, John Chilembwe's Providence Industrial Institute (Shepperson and Price 1969). By the 1920s, all of these initiatives had been suppressed by colonial and settler governments (Barnes 2017).

African Ethiopianists had no greater success introducing vocation education in Africa than European missionaries. It would be wrong to say that they failed because they had no real knowledge of American style industrial education and how it worked. Orishatukeh Faduma opened his own industrial education school in North Carolina, and came back to Africa to lecture on industrial education, before returning to Ghana as part of the Chief Sam party. John L. Dube likewise spent years in the USA and visited both Tuskegee and Hampton before opening Ohlange. John Chilembwe studied at an industrial education school in Virginia before returning home to Malawi to open his school. Part of the problem was that these men were churchmen not technicians. None of the Ethiopianists had the background to pursue a technical career, much less establish a school specializing in technical training. Another part of the problem was that American style industrial education was not vocational education in the sense of technical training. At best, as demonstrated by Tuskegee, it was vocational training to serve as a supplement to a teaching or pastoral career. A final, perhaps overarching part of the problem was that Europeans were committed to making sure that industrial education for Africans, in the sense of technical training for the utilization of modern European technology, did not happen (Barnes 2017).

Colonial and Mission Resistance to Africanizing Education

Perhaps the greatest historical outcome of the industrial education efforts on the part of African Ethiopianists was that these efforts terrified Europeans into action on the issue of the provision of European style education to Africans. African efforts to found schools like Tuskegee threatened and irritated missionaries. Governments read such efforts as proto-nationalist and therefore, seditious. European fears seemed confirmed when in 1914, Chilembwe, frustrated with European efforts to suffocate his school out of existence, led his students and followers in a rebellion against colonial rule (Shepperson and Price 1969; Mwase 1975; Makondesa 2000). Marcus Garvey, a few years later, promised his followers that Booker T. Washington institutes dedicated to technical training would be opened across Africa once his steamship line was up and running (Barnes 2017). Europeans read Garvey as making overt what had been covert in Ethiopianist support for schools like Tuskegee from the start. African Tuskegees were to be the launching ports

for African liberation. Europeans traced this sedition back to the denationalizing impact of African American teachings on the African mind. In the wake of the suppression of the Garvey movement, colonial governments and Christian missions worked in unison to shut down African American access to Africa (Barnes 2017).

With far less unanimity, governments and missions tried to come up with some version of technical training that would make Africans useful for the development plans of colonial states; yet inure Africans to ideas about political rights. At the core of the tensions that developed between colonial states and missions was the move by most colonial states in the decade following the end of World War I to establish departments of education, typically staffed with seconded political officers, whose primary task was to monitor the education taking place at mission schools for potentially subversive content. Schools were directed to not teach humanistic subject matter, or if they had to teach this type of subject matter, then to offer in addition some sort of "vocational" or "industrial" education experience that would serve as a prophylactic to humanism (Strayer 1973; Yates 1978; Summers 2002). In government schools, founded mostly for the training of political elites as collaborators, this effort took the form of the students getting their hands dirty through afternoon instruction in vocational techniques in school workshops run by trained technicians or agricultural methods on school farms run by agricultural demonstrators (Corby 1981, 1990). Mission schools had workshops and farms as well of course. But vocational instruction on mission stations was a haphazard affair, limited by the local missionary's expertise.

Humanism was communicated through books, colonial governments reasoned, and the capacity to read European languages needed to be recognized as the gateway to books. The easiest and most effective way to stop Africans from reading European languages, it was concluded, was to stop teaching them European languages. Colonial departments of education came to require that missions give instruction in non-European languages. In most areas of colonial Africa, instruction was in vernaculars only recently put into writing by missionaries. In other areas, those in proximity to Muslim communities, instruction was in a Muslim lingua franca like Hausa or Swahili. Neither missions nor governments were happy with these arrangements. Missions because missionaries were spending all their time learning to teach in vernaculars. Governments because missionaries were not very effective at teaching in vernaculars. Governments began to talk about taking over education in colonial territories and replacing mission schools with government schools (Yates 1980b; Fabian 1983; Barnes 2009, 2015).

In 1920, Thomas Jesse Jones, educational director of the American philanthropy, the Phelps Stokes Fund, appeared on the scene in Africa to offer missions and governments a way out of their dilemma over African education. Jones had made a name for himself in American educational circles as an expert on the brand of industrial education taught at Hampton and Tuskegee. Jones, in fact, through his two-volume survey, *Negro Education*,

had shaped the public perception of the nature of the education that took place at the two institutions. Jones made a persuasive case to a white American audience looking for an approach to educating African Americans that shored up white supremacy, that the educational experience promoted at the two schools produced students more interested in social service than political activism (*Negro Education* 1917). In 1919, British missionaries, under the direction of J. H. Oldham, general secretary of the International Missionary Council, the Protestant mission lobbying organization that grew out of the 1910 Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, invited Jones to conduct an external review of mission schools in Africa along the Western coast from Sierra Leone to Cape Town in South Africa with a view toward identify how those schools could be made to better serve the needs of the colonial states. The result of what was called the first Phelps Stokes Education Commission was a 300-page report, *Education in Africa*, published in 1922. The first report was so successful that Jones was invited by missions and governments to come back and do the same sort of review of mission schools along the Eastern coast from Durban in South Africa up to Addis Ababa in Ethiopia. This resulted in a 400-page report, *Education in East Africa*, published in 1925. Jones' two reports changed the understanding of vocational education, and the role of mission schools in providing vocational education in Africa (also see Berman 1970, 1971; King 1971).

Jones agreed with the government charge that missions were responsible for the rebellious tendencies exhibited by African Christians. Notions of equality and fraternity as preached by missionaries were sending Africans all the wrong messages. Yet while he recognized missions as the source of the problem, Jones also insisted that missions were the solution as well. What was needed, he recommended, was for missions to put aside their obsession with evangelization, and focus their energies instead on training African Christians to be service providers for other Africans (Jones 1925b, 1926a).

When writing about Africa Jones already had in mind the germ of the idea of what he later developed as the "four essentials" that govern the growth and evolution of human societies. By way of quick summary, the four essentials may be identified as health and sanitation, economic activity, home life and what Jones called recreation but what he really meant to stand for religion. Distinct from previous Christian discussion of social regeneration, which focused on the redemption of the individual, Jones emphasized that the four essentials had no historical impact on the individual level. The four essentials only had an impact on the community level. Community was an amorphous term for Jones that extended from the narrowest collectivity, the village, to the widest collectivity, the race. It was from the point of view of this argument that Jones dismissed African claims for recognition as civilized individuals. Individuals could not be civilized, only communities could be civilized (Jones 1926b, 1929; Correia 1993).

Much has been written about Jones' use of the term "adapted" to characterize the approach to education he advocated. As scholars have pointed out,

there was not much in terms of specific educational strategies and initiatives behind the term. It meant different things to different groups of missionaries and colonial officials (Ball 1983; Steiner-Khamsi and Quist 2000; Whitehead 2005; Küster 2007; Yamada 2008; Windel 2009). Perhaps that was Jones' goal. The hook though that Jones used to pull Europeans into his vision was the idea that at some protean moment in their past (Protestant), Europeans had begun to pursue the four essentials in some unique, exceptional ways, which explained European ascendency in the modern age. Based upon this understanding of the European past, an early example of the idea of European exceptionalism, Jones posited that to the extent other racial communities "adapted" their own versions of the four essentials to their collective needs, these groups could evolve in the same ways in the future.

The two Phelps Stokes Education Commission reports that Jones wrote recommended that missions work with colonial governments toward the completion of two goals. First was the exposure of African communities to the benefits of European versions of the four essentials: European ideas of health and sanitation to wipe out the disease rampant in Africa; European ideas of economic activity to teach Africans modern ways to make a living; European ideas of home life to show Africans the virtues of monogamy; European ideas of recreation to convince Africans of the superiority of Christianity. Missions were supposed to communicate the four essentials by dedicating their missionaries and mission stations to the provision of social services. Jones proposed that missionaries curtail their evangelical activities and commit to interacting with Africans primarily as doctors, nurses, school superintendents, teachers, technical instructors, agricultural and craft demonstrators. In these guises, missionaries could more effectively expose Africans to the social benefits that came along with European colonization (Küster 2007; Windel 2009; Barnes 2015).

The second goal toward which missions and governments were supposed to work together was the passing on to Africans of simplified versions of all these types of occupations. Missionaries were supposed to train Africans as medical dressers, medical dispensers, maternity nurses, teachers, supervising teachers, vocational trainers and model farmers. Here the idea of toolkits, as used by global historians, can again help to explain things. Edmund Burke III talks about toolkits having "hardware" and "software" components (Burke 2009). Hardware are all the material, technical attributes of a toolkit. For example, as applied to the writing, record keeping toolkit that got its start in ancient Mesopotamia before arriving where it now stands today in Silicon Valley, hardware had to do with the evolution of clay and styluses, paper and pens, touch screens and keyboards, etc. and the knowledge of how to use these things. Software are all the cultural, intellectual attributes of the toolkit. Literature, abstract ideas, legal codes are things that have evolved based upon the writing, record-keeping tool kit. While Jones did not use the terminology, his case about the four essentials was that European societies had developed a new social welfare toolkit, which had to do with making communities safer,

healthier, materially more comfortable, and economically more viable for their inhabitants. The hardware in this toolkit were the hospitals, clinics, and laboratories; schools, workshops and demonstration farms; mechanical and electrical technologies that Jones proposed be introduced to Africans through vocational training. Through hands on, watch and learn, repetition and drill teaching methods, Africans were to learn the upkeep of these things and the most basic of their entry level applications. This meant that Africans would learn how to treat wounds and administer vaccines, to teach and oversee the teaching of rudimentary intellectual skills, to lay out buildings according to European concepts of construction, to prepare agricultural fields for exploitation using European technology.

Software was all the abstract thinking, intellectual and professional knowledge, government policies needed to sustain such hardware. Software was reserved for Europeans. This was because only Europeans had the collective racial knowledge needed to maintain the social welfare toolkit correctly. The capacity to determine what was hardware and what was software would remain in the hands of the colonial state. To Africans demanding some say in the introduction of European civilization in Africa, Jones argued that when Africans had acquired the collective racial knowledge sufficient to make the decisions Europeans were making, then Africans would have all they needed to leave European tutelage behind, and construct their own civilization. At the core of what Jones saw as his own liberal convictions was his certainty that Africans, like Protestant Europeans, would eventually discover their own versions of the four essentials, and use these to create their own equivalent civilization (Dougall 1950; King 1971; Correia 1993).

VYING FORMS OF COLONIAL
AND MISSION VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

To assess the impact of Jones' recommendations on the development of vocational education in the second half of the colonial era, it is most useful to talk about the failures first and the successes second. The failures were so total and complete that they can obscure the successes. Yet the successes led to some social and economic changes still influential in African life.

Implicit in Jones' ideas were what was later theorized as a "takeoff" stage of economic and social development, a stage when elements come together in such a fashion that quantitative change became qualitative. More than just being Eurocentric, Jones was Anglo-centric, tracing European takeoff to developments in Britain. For him it was within the yeoman agrarian communities of eighteenth-century Britain, with their simultaneous openness to individual self-improvement and collective commitment to social amelioration, that the modern European world came into existence. The European world at that moment, not the following age of industrial revolution, was the protean stage that Jones had in mind when thinking about the development of the four essentials in Europe. It served as Jones' starting point for his hypothesizing

about how European like social and economic development could take place elsewhere. Scholars have called attention to Jones' phobias about cities and the negative impact of cities on Africa's social development. What should also be appreciated is Jones' vision of prosperous rural communities as ground zero for Europe's great transformation. The task before governments and missions seeking to redeem Africa, Jones preached, was to find ways to improve the economic viability of village-based agriculture (Jones 1926b, 1929; Hodge 2007).

The primary new vocation Jones envisioned for African males was yeoman farmer, or, given the apolitical mentality this farmer was expected to possess, the entrepreneurial peasant. The idea of an entrepreneurial peasantry may seem to have been counter intuitive, yet the idea can be argued as reflecting the same early twentieth-century belief in the capability of social engineering to transform people discernible behind the five-year economic plans pursued contemporaneously in the Soviet Union. What remains impressive in retrospect are the intellectual and spiritual energies Christian missions invested in implementing Jones' scheme. Missions and governments, and the private philanthropies that funded their joint initiatives, applied Jones' ideas about how to teach the social sciences as social studies to the communication of all types of technical knowledge. "Expert" European and American scholars and teachers were called upon to work out proportionate dosages such that Africans could be taught just enough biology to understand European style animal husbandry, just enough chemistry to understand the value of chemical fertilization, just enough mathematics to figure out crop rotations. All this learning was to take place in mission schools where the curriculum had been reformed away from the old preoccupation with Christian conversion and restructured to concentrate instead on the new preoccupation with community development. To teach Africans more specialized forms of technical knowledge, there was even the remarkable Bantu Cinema Project. Short films from a Do-It-Yourself perspective were to be produced, with the understanding that they would be voiced over by local technicians in languages villagers could understand (Notcutt and Latham 1937; Reynolds 2010). Animating all this effort was the shared European conviction that the clock could be turned back, and that the erosion of African village life could be reversed and that coordinated effort from above could help create an idealized, modernized agrarian existence (Cohen 1993; Leedy 2007; Hodge 2007).

Missions continued to promote back to the farm movements through the end of the colonial era, yet the revitalization of rural life did not happen in colonized Africa. How consciously perfidious colonial governments were in supporting missions in pursuit of this goal is an open question. For all the rhetoric, government policies never favored the creation of a class of small agricultural entrepreneurs, or the construction of the type of infrastructure that would allow for rural villages to become hubs of agricultural commerce and exchange. Everywhere in colonial Africa, governments were concerned with large-scale capitalist agriculture for the world market and pursued policies favorable to expatriate firms, settlers, and African elites. Schools never

got the technology, and missionaries never got the training to facilitate any large-scale transformation of African villagers to entrepreneurial peasants. In practice, the new emphasis on agricultural training meant that the little humanistic education once given in mission schools was replaced with more manual labor. Agricultural education became even more tightly associated in the African mind with European domination (Leedy 2007; Barnes 2009; Saeteurn 2017).

African men, Jones promised, could become yeoman farmers. African women, he promised likewise, could become modern wives and mothers. The third of the four essentials was a stable home life which, according to Jones, had to be rooted in a monogamous marriage controlled by a matriarch. The primary vocation for which African women were to be trained was the African village equivalent of the bourgeois European housewife. Several sets of European desiderata came together to fashion this vision for the African woman. Arguably the most significant difference between the first and second Phelps Stokes education reports was that, while Jones dismissed women and girls' education with a few paragraphs in the first report, in the second report he dedicated an entire chapter to the topic. The argument he made in that chapter attempted to reconcile concerns by women missionaries that in any new educational scheme girls' education be given some specific attention, concerns by male missionaries that revised school curricula give monogamous Christian marriage some reinforcement, concerns by colonial governments that schools guide African communities toward better child rearing practices. Jones identified the African male's libido as the greatest obstacle to the relief of all these concerns. The way to surmount the obstacle was through the creation of a Christian African matriarchy who could force African men to turn their attentions from sex toward social improvement. This Christian African matriarchy, trained to rudimentary understandings of European ideas of health and hygiene, educated to understand the importance of "mother tongue" instruction in primary education, armed with the nurturing skills Europeans subsumed under the term "mothercraft," would produce for their monogamous husbands broods of eugenically superior children (Jones 1925a).

Problems with implementation doomed this vision from the start. To highlight only one such problem, there was friction between female and male missionaries about the priority missions gave to training girls to become wives even before the Phelps Stokes education reports appeared. The reports forced these tensions out in the open. The majority of female missionaries in Africa were single women who had discovered a religious vocation in service to the evangelization of other women. They did not see anything wrong with training African girls to seek careers as service professionals, such careers implying that the girls might remain single as adults. Male missionaries wanted Christian African women to be trained to accept responsibility for mothering future generations of African Christians. Women missionaries preferred to teach African girls in single-sex schools. Women missionaries felt single-sex education kept girls safe from predatory males. Male missionaries felt that

single-sex education kept girls suspicious of men and awkward in all types of gendered interaction. The issue that triggered an open debate between the two groups of missionaries was whether the American model of Hampton and Tuskegee institutes, where girls and boys studied together, would not be a better way forward in Africa. The issue was not resolved during the colonial era, mooting any pursuit of Jones' vision. Female missionaries were so adamant in their defense of single-sex schools, that colonial governments initially backed off on the idea of American styled co-educational schools, preferring instead to build girls schools and boys schools in proximity to each other, so that the students could socialize. Later in the colonial era though, colonial governments moved toward supporting American style co-educational schools and explicit training of girls to become housewives and mothers (Hunt 1988, 1990; Barnes 2015; Prevost 2017).

The primary social engineering projects Jones convinced missions and governments to attempt failed. But Jones' recommendations did have some successful outcomes, and these outcomes, though they may have been unintended, continue to shape the social landscape in Africa (see Lebby 1980; Vaughan 1991; Sivonen 1995; Summers 2002; Küster 2007; Kallaway 2009). Most significantly, Jones' recommendations were the impetus behind the introduction of a new set of vocations for Christian Africans. A new social services sector came into existence in colonized Africa. It provided employment for two sets of service providers. There was a top tier of Europeans with European training in medicine or education. Most of this people were missionaries or associated with missions. There was a bottom tier of Africans trained by Europeans in medicine or education. The bottom tier was much larger and composed mostly of Africans educated as Christians. European service providers were concentrated at mission hospitals and boarding schools. Some Africans were centralized in these same locations, but many more occupied small stations set up in regional networks. At these stations, they dispensed either medicine or educational knowledge. Still a third group of Africans moved between the central and network locations, typically in performance of some oversight over activities at the latter. Initially, both groups of service providers were paid by missions, though the funding came in part for governments. Ultimately, especially the African service providers were paid directly by governments (Barnes 2009; Hughes 2013; Jennings 2013).

Male Africans found jobs as medicine dressers, medical dispensers, hospital nurses, primary and secondary school teachers, craft and farm demonstrators. Female Africans found jobs as midwives, nurses, school teachers, and home economics demonstrators (Dougall 1930, 1938; Oldham 1934). Schools were set up across Africa to teach these fields of expertise, taught in part by missionaries, but in part also by government-paid instructors from Europe and America. Some of the Africans taught in these schools became sufficiently expert at their jobs to evaluate the performance of others. Some of them even went further and became in turn teachers in the schools where they had trained (Lebby 1980; Smit 1988; Sivonen 1995; Sweet 2004; Barnes 2009).

Some of these teachers spent time in Europe and America learning the cutting edge of the technology they used in their classrooms (Jennings 2013; Hughes 2013).

In sum, missions and governments did all that they could to foster into existence a trained corps of African social service providers. Put another way, missions and governments did all the things that they did not do to issue into existence a trained corps of technical service providers. There is a striking contrast between the ways that missions and governments pursued the introduction of European social services technology and European industrial technology in Africa. In their defense, social services were an attribute of the public sector in Western cultures. Missions and governments knew all there was to know about social services, since these services had been pioneered by churches and states in Europe. Industry and technology were an attribute of the private sector in Western cultures. In Europe, churches and states had left technology and its development to guilds and then industrial capitalism.

The new vocations opened a world of opportunities for African Christians to embed themselves and their faith in African communities. Previously, the jobs available for Africans with Western education were jobs servicing the expatriate sector. Educated Christian Africans worked for Europeans. Social welfare jobs were community facing and applied European knowledge to the benefit of African peoples. There have been a number of studies of how African intermediaries played a role in negotiating the space between rulers and the ruled during the colonial era (Lawrance et al. 2006; Mark-Thiesen 2012; Moyd 2014). African social service providers were a new set of intermediaries whose roles have not received the study they deserve. One question worth investigating is the extent to which these providers helped detach Christian social services from their previous narrow association with missionary Christianity. By the end of the colonial era, European style social services were something Africans expected their governments to supply, even if Africans also accepted that governments routinely franchised the provision of these services to missions and churches. A separate question has to do with the relationship between the new social services elite and the other trained elite that Europeans introduced into Africa, the military. To the extent to which they could build their militaries through the recruitment of Muslims, colonial states could be argued to have sought to build their armies and police forces as a set of alternative intermediaries with no connection with missions and Christianity. Social and cultural interactions between the two sets of intermediaries still deserve some further examination, however, if only from the perspective of how and why the political objectives they displayed after African independence evolved in such diametrically opposed ways. A last question to be mentioned is the connection between African Christian social service providers and the leadership as well as the membership of the African independent churches that began to appear in the final decades of the colonial era. Once African social service providers began to draw their salaries

from governments, not missions, they were free to explore their own notions of Christian spirituality. It would be interesting to know how vocationally, as distinct from humanistically trained social service providers shaped the indigenous Christianity that began to emerge.

Notes

1. *The Gold Coast Leader*, June 23, 1906, p. 3.
2. *The Gold Coast Leader*, August 12, 1906 (Supplement), p. 1.
3. *Lagos Weekly Record*, January 15, 1921, p. 5.
4. Quoted from *The Sierra Leone Weekly News*, January 8, 1890, p. 5.
5. Blyden, Edward W., 1891, "The Return of the Exiles and the West African Church: A Lecture Delivered at the Breadfruit School House, Lagos," *West Africa* 19–20: 23.

References

Adas, Michael. 1989. *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Ajayi, J. F. A. 1959. "Henry Venn and the Policy of Development." *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 1 (4): 331–342.

Anderson, James D. 1988. *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Anderson, Benedict. 2006. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. London and New York: Verso.

Ball, Stephen J. 1983. "Imperialism, Social Control and the Colonial Curriculum in Africa." *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 15 (3): 237–263.

Barnes, Andrew E. 2009. *Making Headway: The Introduction of Western Civilization in Colonial Northern Nigeria*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press.

Barnes, Andrew E. 2015. "'Making Good Wives and Mothers': The African Education Group and Missionary Reactions to the Phelps Stokes Reports." *Studies in World Christianity* 21 (1): 66–85.

Barnes, Andrew E. 2016. "'Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race': E. W. Blyden, African Diasporas and the Regeneration of Africa." In *Redefining the African Diaspora: Expressive Cultures and Politics from Slavery to Independence*, edited by Toyin Falola and Danielle Porter Sanchez, 225–254. Amherst, NY: Cambria Press.

Barnes, Andrew E. 2017. *Global Christianity and the Black Atlantic: Tuskegee, Colonialism and the Shaping of African Industrial Education*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press.

Barnes, Andrew E. 2018a. "Christian Social Welfare and Its Legacy in Colonial Africa." In *The Palgrave Handbook of African Colonial and Postcolonial History*, edited by Martin S. Shanguhyia and Toyin Falola. New York: Palgrave Macmillan Press.

Barnes, Andrew E. 2018b. "Samuel Ajayi Crowther: Yoruba Missionary Agent." In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Beize, Michael Scott, and Marybeth Gasman, eds. 2012. *Booker T. Washington Rediscovered*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Belfanti, Carlo Marco. 2004. "Guilds, Patents, and the Circulation of Technical Knowledge: Northern Italy during the Early Modern Age." *Technology and Culture* 45 (3): 569–589.

Berman, Edward H. 1970. "Education in Africa and America: A History of the Phelps Stokes Fund 1911–1945." Ed.D. Unpublished dissertation, Columbia University.

Berman, Edward. 1971. "American Influences on African Education: The Case of the Two Phelps Stokes Fund's Education Commissions." *Comparative Education Review* 15 (2): 132–145.

Billett, Stephen. 2014. "The Standing of Vocational Education: Sources of Its Societal Esteem and Implications for its Enactment." *Journal of Vocational Education & Training* 66 (1): 1–21.

Blyden, Edward W. 1862. *Liberia's Offerings, Being Addresses, Sermons.* New York: John Gray.

Blyden, Edward W. 1891. *The Return of the Exiles and the West African Church: A Lecture Delivered at the Breadfruit School House, Lagos, West Africa, January 2, 1981.* London: W. B. Whittingham.

Blyden, Edward W. 1967. *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. First published London, 1887.

Brundage, W. Fitzhugh, ed. 2003. *Booker T. Washington and Black Progress: 'Up from Slavery'.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Burke, Edmund, III. 2009. "Islam at the Center: Technological Complexes and the Roots of Modernity." *Journal of World History* 20 (2): 165–186.

Cairns, H. Alan C. 1965. *Prelude to Imperialism: British reactions to Central African Society, 1840–1890.* London: Routledge & Keegan Paul.

Chatellier, Louis. 1997. *The Religion of the Poor: Rural Missions in Europe and the Formation of Modern Catholicism c.1500–c.1800.* Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Chirenje, J. Mutero. 1987. *Ethiopianism and Afro-Americans in Southern Africa, 1883–1916.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press.

Cohen, Cynthia. 1993. "'The Natives Must First Become Good Workmen': Formal Educational Provision in German South West and East Africa Compared." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 19 (1): 115–134.

Comboni, Daniel. 1871. *Plan for the Regeneration of Africa.* English translation consulted online at: https://www.lmcomboni.org/documentos/Planforthere generationofAfrica_EN.pdf.

Correia, Stephen Taylor. 1993. "'For Their Own Good': An Historical Analysis of the Educational Thought of Thomas Jesse Jones." Ph.D. Unpublished dissertation, Pennsylvania State University.

Cox, Jeffrey. 2010. *The British Missionary Enterprise Since 1700.* New York: Routledge.

Corby, Richard A. 1981. "The Bo School and Its Graduates in Colonial Sierra Leone." *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 15 (2): 323–333.

Corby, Richard A. 1990. "Educating Africans for Inferiority Under British Rule: Bo School in Sierra Leone." *Comparative Education Review* 34 (3): 314–349.

Crummell, Alexander. 1891. *Africa and America; Addresses and Discourses.* Springfield, MA: Willey.

Dagbovie, Pero Gaglo. 2010. *African American History Reconsidered.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Davis, R. Hunt. 1976. "John L. Dube: A South African Exponent of Booker T. Washington." *Journal of African Studies* 2 (4): 497–528.

Davis, Adam J. 2014. "The Social and Religious Meanings of Charity in Medieval Europe." *History Compass* 12 (12): 935–950.

Dick, Malcolm McKinnon. 2008. "Discourses for the New Industrial World: Industrialisation and the Education of the Public in Late Eighteenth-Century Britain." *History of Education* 37 (4): 567–584.

Dougall, James W. C. 1930. "School Education and Native Life." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 3 (1): 49–58.

Dougall, James W. C. 1938. "The Development of the Education of the African in Relation to Western Contact." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 11 (3): 312–324.

Dougall, James W. C. 1950. "Thomas Jesse Jones: Crusader for Africa." *International Review of Mission* 34 (155): 311–317.

Fabian, Johannes. 1983. "Missions and the Colonization of African Languages: Developments in the Former Belgian Congo" *Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines* 17 (2): 165–187.

Fairclough, Adam. 2007. *A Class of Their Own: Black Teachers in the Segregated South.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Grell, Ole Peter, Andrew Cunningham, and Robert Jutte, eds. 2002. *Health Care and Poor Relief in 18th and 19th Century Northern Europe.* Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

Gutton, Jean Pierre. 1991. "Enfermement et Charite dans la France de l'Ancien Regime." *Histoire, Economie et Societe* 10 (3): 353–358.

Harlan, Louis R. 1972. *Booker T. Washington: The Making of a Black Leader 1856–1901.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Harlan, Louis R. 1983. *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee 1901–1915.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Hastings, Adrian. 1997. *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationhood.* Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hodge, Joseph M. 2007. *Triumph of the Experts: Agrarian Doctrines of Development and the Legacies of British Colonialism.* Athens: Ohio University Press.

Hughes, Rebecca C. 2013. "'Science in the Hands of Love': British Evangelical Missionaries and Colonial Development in Africa, c. 1940–60." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 41 (5): 823–842.

Hunt, Nancy Rose. 1988. "'Le Bebe en Brousse': European Women, African Birth Spacing and Colonial Intervention in Breast Feeding in the Belgian Congo." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 21 (3): 401–432.

Hunt, Nancy Rose. 1990. "Domesticity and Colonialism in Belgian Africa: Usumbura's Foyer Social, 1946–1960." *Signs* 15 (3): 447–474.

Jennings, Michael. 2013. "Common Counsel, Common Policy: Healthcare, Missions and the Rise of the 'Voluntary Sector' in Colonial Tanzania." *Development and Change* 44 (4): 939–963.

Jensz, Felicity. 2012. "Missionaries and Indigenous Education in the 19th Century British Empire. Part II: Race, Class, and Gender." *History Compass* 10 (12): 306–317.

Jones, Thomas Jesse. 1922. *Education in Africa; A study of West, South, and Equatorial Africa by the African Education Commission, Under the Auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and Foreign Mission Societies of North America and Europe.*

Report Prepared by Thomas Jesse Jones, Chairman of the Commission. New York: Phelps Stokes Fund; London: Edinburgh House.

Jones, Thomas Jesse. 1925a. *Education in East Africa; A Study of East, Central and South Africa by the Second African Education Commission Under the Auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, in Cooperation with the International Education Board. Report prepared by Thomas Jesse Jones.* New York: Phelps Stokes Fund; London: Edinburgh House.

Jones, Thomas Jesse. 1925b. "The White Man's Burden in Africa." *Current History*, 213–221.

Jones, Thomas Jesse. 1926a. "A Good Word for Missionaries." *Current History*, 539–544.

Jones, Thomas Jesse. 1926b. *Four Essentials of Education*. New York: Scribners and Sons.

Jones, Thomas Jesse. 1929. *The Essentials of Civilization; A Study in Social Values.* New York: H. Holt and Company.

Julia, Dominique. 2006. "Christian education." In *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, edited by S. Brown and T. Tackett, 147–165. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jutte, Robert. 1994. *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Kallaway, Peter. 2009. "Education, Health and Social Welfare in the Late Colonial Context: The International Missionary Council and Educational Transition in the Interwar Years with Special Reference to Colonial Africa." *History of Education* 38 (2): 217–246.

Kalu, Ogbu U. 2008. "Ethiopianism and the Roots of Modern African Christianity." In *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Vol. 8, edited by Sheridan Gilley and Brian Stanley, 576–592. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

King, Kenneth J. 1971. *Pan-Africanism and Education: A Study of Race Philanthropy and Education in the Southern United States and East Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Killingray, David. 2014. "Godly Examples and Christian Agents: Training African Missionary Workers in British Institutions in the Nineteenth Century." In *Europe as the Other: External Perspectives on European Christianity*, edited by Judith Becker and Brian Stanley, 164–195. Gottingen: Vanderhoeck and Ruprecht.

Koschorke, Klaus, Adrian Hermann, E. Phuti Mogase, and Ciprian Burlacioiu, eds. 2016. *Discourses of Indigenous Christian Elites in Colonial Societies in Asia and Africa around 1900: A Documentary Sourcebook from Selected Journals*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Küster, Sybille. 2007. "'Book Learning' Versus 'Adapted Education': The Impact of Phelps-Stokesism on Colonial Education Systems in Central Africa in the Interwar Period." *Paedagogica Historica* 43 (1): 79–97.

Landes, David. 2003. *Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Europe 1750 to the Present*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Langley, J. Ayondele. 1973. *Pan Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa 1900–1945: A Study in Ideology and Social Class*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Laqueur, Thomas. 1976. *Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture, 1780–1850*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Lawrance, Benjamin N., Emily Lynn Osborn, and Richard L. Roberts, eds. 2006. *Intermediaries, Interpreters, and Clerks: African Employees in the Making of Colonial Africa*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Lebby, Samuel Joe. 1980. "The Development of Elementary Education Policy and Practice in Sierra Leone, 1924–1976." Ph.D. unpublished dissertation, Pennsylvania State University.

Leedy, Todd H. 2007. "The World the Students Made: Agriculture and Education at American Missions in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1930–1960." *History of Education Quarterly* 47 (4): 447–469.

Lindberg, Carter. 1993. *Beyond Charity: Reformation Initiatives for the Poor*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.

Lis, Catherina, and Hugo Soly. 1984. "Policing the Early Modern Proletariat 1450–1850." In *Proletarianization and Family History*, edited by David Levine, 163–228. Orlando: Academic Press.

Lorimer, Douglas. 1978. *Colour, Class and the Victorians: English Attitudes toward the Negro in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*. Leicester: Leicester University Press; New York: Holmes and Meier.

Lotz-Heumann, Ute. 2008. "Imposing Church and Social Discipline." In *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, edited by S. Brown and T. Tackett, 147–165. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mackenzie, John M., and Nigel R. Dalziel. 2013. *The Scots in South Africa: Ethnicity, Identity, Race and Gender, 1772–1914*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Makondesa, Patrick. 2000. *The Church History of Providence Industrial Mission*. Kachere: Kachere Series Publications.

Marable, Manning. 1979. "South African Nationalism in Brooklyn: John L. Dube's Activities in New York State 1887–1899." *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 3 (1): 23–30.

Mark-Thiesen, Cassandra. 2012. "The 'Bargain' of Collaboration: African Intermediaries, Indirect Recruitment, and Indigenous Institutions in the Ghanaian Gold Mining Industry, 1900–1906." *International Review of Social History* 57: 17–38.

Moses, Wilson Jeremiah. 1978. *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1850–1925*. Hamden, CT: Archon Books.

Moses, Wilson Jeremiah. 1998. *Afrotopia: The Roots of African American Popular History*. Cambridge, UK and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Moyd, Michelle R. 2014. *Violent Intermediaries: African Soldiers, Conquest, and Everyday Colonialism in German East Africa*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.

Mwase, George Simeon. 1975. *Strike a Blow and Die: The Classic Story of the Chilembwe Rising*. London: Heinemann.

Newall, Stephanie. 2013. *The Power to Name: A History of Anonymity in Colonial West Africa*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.

Norrell, Robert J. 2009. *Up from History: The Life of Booker T. Washington*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Notcutt, L. A., and G. C. Latham, eds. 1937. *The African and the Cinema: An Account of the Bantu Educational Cinema Experiment during the Period March 1935 to May 1937*. London: Edinburgh House Press.

Oldham, J. H. 1934. "The Educational Work of Missionary Societies." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 7 (1): 47–59.

Ozioko, Johnson Uchenna. 2015. "Rereading Comboni's Plan for the Regeneration of Africa in the Light of Today's Africa." *Alpha Omega* 18 (3): 451–476.

Prevost, Elizabeth E. 2017. "Troubled Traditions: Female Adaptive Education in British Colonial Africa." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 45 (3): 475–505.

Redkey, Edwin S. 1969. *Black Exodus; Black Nationalist and Back-to-Africa Movements, 1890–1910.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Reynolds, Glenn. 2010. "'Africa Joins the World': The Missionary Imagination and the Africa Motion Picture Project in Central Africa 1937–1939." *Journal of Social History* 44 (2): 459–479.

Saeteurn, Muey Ching. 2017. "'A Beacon of Hope for the Community': The Role of the Chavalali Secondary School in Late Colonial and Early Independent Kenya." *Journal of African History* 58 (2): 311–329.

Safley, Thomas Max, ed. 2003. *The Reformation of Charity: The Secular and the Religious in Early Modern Poor Relief.* Boston and Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers.

Safley, Thomas Max. 2004. "Charity and Poor Relief." In *Europe, 1450 to 1789: Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World*, Vol. 1, edited by Jonathan Dewald, 452–458. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Safley, Thomas Max. 2005. *Children of the Laboring Poor: Expectation and Experience Among the Orphans of Early Modern Augsburg.* Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers.

Schalk, Ruben, Patrick Wallis, Clare Crowston, and Claire Lemercier. 2017. "Failure or Flexibility?: Apprenticeship Training in Premodern Europe." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 48 (2): 131–157.

Shepperson, George. 1968. "Ethiopianism: Past and Present." In *Christianity in Tropical Africa*, edited by C. G. Baeta, 250–260. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Shepperson, George, and Thomas Price. 1969. *Independent African: John Chilembwe and the Origins, Setting and Significance of the Nyasaland Native Rising of 1915.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Sivonen, Seppe. 1995. *White-Collar or Hoe Handle: African Education Under British Colonial Policy 1920–1945.* Helsinki: Soumen Historiallinen Seura.

Smit, Joyce. 1988. "Training of African Nurses in Nyasaland (Malawi) from 1889 to 1927." *Curationis* 2 (2): 4–7.

Smits, Wendy, and Thorsten Stromback. 2001. *The Economics of the Apprenticeship System.* Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar.

Snell, K. D. M. 1999. "The Sunday-School Movement in England and Wales: Child Labour, Denominational Control and Working-Class Culture." *Past & Present* 164: 122–168.

Spivey, Donald A. 1978. "The African Crusade for Black Industrial Schooling." *Journal of Negro History* 63 (1): 1–17.

Steiner-Khamsi, Gita, and Hubert O. Quist. 2000. "The Politics of Educational Borrowing: Reopening the Case of Achimota in British Ghana." *Comparative Education Review* 44 (3): 272–299.

Strayer, Robert W. 1973. "The Making of Mission Schools in Kenya: A Microcosmic Perspective." *Comparative Education Review* 17 (3): 313–330.

Summers, Carol. 2002. *Colonial Lessons: Africans' Education in Southern Rhodesia, 1918–1940.* Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann; Oxford: James Currey.

Sweet, Helen. 2004. "'Wanted: 16 Nurses of the Better Educated Type': Provision of Nurses to South Africa in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries." *Nursing Inquiry* 11 (3): 176–184.

Switzer, Les. 1984. "The African Christian Community and Its Press in Victorian South Africa." *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines* 24 (96): 455–476.

Taylor, William H. 1996. *Mission to Educate: A History of the Educational Work of the Scottish Presbyterian Mission in East Nigeria, 1846–1960*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Thorne, Susan. 1997. "'The Conversion of Englishmen and the Conversion of the World Inseparable': Missionary Imperialism and the Language of Class in Early Industrial Britain." In *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, edited by Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler. Berkeley: University of California Press.

U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Negro Education. 1917. *Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States. Prepared in Cooperation with the Phelps-Stokes Fund under the direction of Thomas Jesse Jones, Specialist in the Education of Racial Groups*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Van Leeuwen, Marco H. D. 1994. "Logic of Charity: Poor Relief in Preindustrial Europe." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 24 (4): 589–613.

Van Horn Melton, James. 2001. *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vaughan, Megan. 1991. *Curing Their Ills: Colonial Power and African Illness*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Vinson, Robert Trent. 2012. *The Americans Are Coming: Dreams of African American Liberation in Segregationist South Africa*. Athens: Ohio University Press.

Whitehead, Clive. 2005. "The Historiography of British Imperial Education Policy, Part II: Africa and the Rest of the Colonial Empire." *History of Education* 34 (4): 441–454.

Windel, Aaron. 2009. "British Colonial Education in Africa: Policy and Practice in the Era of Trusteeship." *History Compass* 7 (1): 1–21.

Yates, Barbara A. 1978. "Shifting Goals of Industrial Education in the Congo 1878–1908." *African Studies Review* 21 (1): 33–48.

Yates, Barbara A. 1980a. "White Views of Black Minds: Schooling in King Leopold's Congo." *History of Education Quarterly* 20 (1): 27–50.

Yates, Barbara A. 1980b. "The Origins of Language Policy in Zaire." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 18 (2): 257–279.

Yamada, Shoko. 2008. "Educational Borrowing as Negotiation: Re-examining the Influence of the American Black Industrial Education Model on British Colonial Education in Africa." *Comparative Education* 44 (1): 21–37.

Central African Education: Indigenous to Western

Gertrude Mianda

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the encounter of Indigenous education in Central Africa with Western education, focusing on the gender dimension. The concept "Indigenous" is defined as "the state of belonging to a particular place rather than being considered as someone coming to it from somewhere else" (Baires 2017, 151). It refers to the sense of belonging to ancestral territories, a collective cultural configuration, and a specific historical location (Owuor 2007). George Dei notes that the question of the link or "connections with spirit, and metaphysical realms of existence of a place" are important to the conception of Indigenous (2014, 167).

Education is a process of transmitting "from one generation to next, the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society and to prepare young people for their future membership of the society and their active participation in its maintenance and development" (Abdi 2006, 15; Adeyinka 2000). Indigenous knowledge is therefore a body of knowledge that belongs to a group which has common cultural and social ties and is native to a certain place (Owuor 2007). In that sense, Africa had Indigenous knowledge before colonization occurred (Dei 2014, 167).

The diversity of populations, religions, and political, socioeconomic, and cultural traditions which characterize Central Africa makes it challenging to provide insight into this large continental sub-region's Indigenous

G. Mianda (✉)
York University, Glendon Campus, Toronto, ON, Canada
e-mail: Mianda@glendon.yorku.ca

educational practices without falling into the trap of generalization. Although scholars are cautious about the variety of cultural traits in Sub Saharan Africa, they emphasize that Indigenous African education is based on a commonly held core of cultural traits (Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2002; Dei and Asgharzadeh 2006; Paré-Kaboré 2013; Zulu 2006; Mosweunyane 2013). From that perspective, one can argue that, in all the countries now encompassed by Central Africa, Indigenous education is based on a shared set of cultural traits. Nonetheless, it must be highlighted that Indigenous education has been transformed due to the introduction of Western education.

It is pertinent to value and recognize the strength of Indigenous education in Central Africa, and in Sub Saharan Africa in general, but it is also important not to be so blinded by its strengths that one ignores its gendered dimension. Each educational system—Indigenous African as well as Western colonial—embodied particular gendered aspects which, in precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial periods contributed to the societal marginalization and exploitation of women. Recognizing the values embedded within the model of Indigenous education in Central Africa does not mean rejecting its openness to adapting to the present socioeconomic, political, and historical context.

With its multiple locations, my subject position as a woman born and raised in Central African, trained as sociologist in the West/Canada, and working as an academic in the discipline of gender and women's studies places me in a position that facilitates my ability to critically analyze both Indigenous African and Western colonial educational systems as well as to focus on their gendered aspects from a feminist postcolonial or critical anti-colonial and intersectional perspective. Postcolonial feminist scholars have questioned Western feminist hegemony, as well as whiteness, and argued in favor of considering the multiplicity of women's situations historically, politically, and socioeconomically. They have also contested the priority accorded to sexism as a system of oppression by Western feminists who have ignored other systems of oppression when analyzing women's situation (Oyewumi 2003; Amadiume 1997; Mohanty 2003; hooks 1984). Black feminists were the first to call for use of intersectional analysis, which takes into account the simultaneous operation of multiple systems of oppression such as gender, racism, classism, and others (Crenshaw 1991; Collins 1991; hooks 1984). In her examination of African women's situation, Awa Thiam (1978) also rejected the idea of prioritizing the struggle against sexism while ignoring classism and racism in colonial and postcolonial contexts. Thiam pointed out that these forms of oppression are interconnected and act together at the same time (Mianda 2014).

By engaging critically with the analysis of the gender dimension in African Indigenous education in my own region of origin, my aim is to contribute to the search for social justice so that, when reforming current educational practices to promote Indigenization or the Africanization of education, the quest for equality between men and women will also be considered.

I argue that ritual practices which prepared young girls for marriage, such as *Kikumbi* ritual examined in this paper, are among the formal institutions of Indigenous African education shared by many Central Africa *Bantu* groups which contribute to the reinforcement of inequality in men's and women's relationships. The *Kikumbi* ritual contributes to strengthening the subordination of women in significant ways. Western education also contributed to African women's marginalization in colonial as well as postcolonial societies because, during colonization, it granted men most of the privileges of modernization.

Indigenous African Education and Gender in Central Africa

Indigenous African education is a dynamic process through which the generation that inherits a particular culture, having taken into account their social, political, and economic situation, adapts and transmits that culture to the generation that follows (Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2002, 224; Abdi 2006; Mosweunyane 2013; Wane 2002). Prior to colonization, Africans had their own way of transmitting culture through successive generations. Indigenous education was a process through which young people learned through doing and by practicing and imitating adults (Brock-Utne 2000, 17). Thus, Indigenous education existed before the introduction of Western education (Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2002; Emeagwali and Dei 2014; Mosweunyane 2013; Abdi 2006; Semali and Stambach 1997).

Indigenous African education is based on a common, shared philosophical foundation that includes preparation, functionalism, communalism, perennialism, and holisticism. Imparted through practical methods, its content is physical, social, and spiritual (Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2002; Brock-Utne 2000).

Indigenous education equipped boys and girls with skills they need to fulfill their distinctive gendered social roles as adults. It trained boys to fill socially defined masculine roles by teaching them specific skills necessary to become farmers, warriors, and blacksmiths. Girls were educated to better master socially feminine tasks to become good mothers, wives, and homemakers (Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2002). The preparation aimed at teaching youth to adjust and develop a sense of community obligation as well as to appreciate their ethnic group's language, history, customs, and values. While the principle of functionalism relates to the utilitarian side of Indigenous education, the communalism principle underlies the sense of belonging to a community which owns things in common and whose members share a communal spirit and work life. Focusing on the preservation of cultural heritage and the status-quo, the perennialism principle refers to the conservation of Indigenous education (Adeyinka 2000).

Because it is holistic, integrating many activities—rituals as well as skills (Owuor 2007; Omolewa 2007)—Indigenous education incorporates cultural

practices such as games, dancing, music and sports, and teaches ethical values (Brock-Utne 2000, 112). Its holistic quality also underlies Indigenous education's conscious emphasis on material and spiritual as well as moral and intellectual values.

Moreover, Indigenous education was participatory, that is people learned through imitation, ceremonies, work, play, and oral literature. Education was given by the community, the family, and/or parents who taught the young generation through stories, proverbs, riddles, and live examples (Kumbu 2012; Semali and Stambach 1997; Omolewa 2007). Knowledge was transmitted through successive generations when youth listened to and observed elders at the community palaver (Mosweunyane 2013, 53; Omolewa 2007). Then, the dominant mode of knowledge transmission, the oral tradition, was imparted in an informal manner (Abdi 2006; Brock-Utne 2000, 112; Omolewa 2007), for example, during storytelling. Transmitted informally to individuals or formally to groups through well-structured institutions such as the initiation ritual, Indigenous education was a learning process that continued throughout life.

The initiation ritual characteristic of Indigenous education was a well-structured institution whose task was to prepare youth; both girls and boys, at the time of their transition to adulthood for the roles they would occupy in society, in sum for their social life (Kumbu 2012; Omolewa 2007). In contrast to storytelling as a learning process in which gender differentiation was not a factor (Brock-Utne 2000, 112), gender-based separation was central to the institution of ritual initiation as a system of learning. Initiation was carried out by community members chosen because of their mastery of knowledge as well as their wisdom (Mosweunyane 2013). Youth undergoing initiation considered the teacher as someone who had mastered the knowledge that he/she was transmitting. Because the initiation ritual encoded a "top-down traditional culture of acquiescence before one's superiors" (Mosweunyane 2013), there was no possibility for initiates to question the superior's abilities or knowledge. Thus, the initiation ritual reflected the framework of Indigenous education with its underlying values of collectivism, respect for elders and the belief in the spirituality.

The Institution of Ritual Initiation in Central Africa: The Transmission of Indigenous Gender Knowledge

The ritual institution of initiation was a common and widespread method of transmitting Indigenous knowledge in Central Africa. A culminate moment in a young person's learning process, the initiation ritual takes place within the general framework of the Indigenous education (Ngambu 1981, 19). It can be approached as a type of formal education which is linked to participants' lives at a time of their transition to adulthood (Kumbu 2012). Encoding cosmological beliefs about the interaction of invisible and visible universes, the training imparted during initiation rituals is spiritual as well as

social (Masiala 2008). The ritual was a school in which courage, self-discipline, intellectual, and technological refinement—moral as well as spiritual—were taught (Kumbu 2012, 118). In traditional Africa, initiation rituals generally took place during a temporary period of time; depending on the community, a ritual could last several months (Ngambu 1981). It was a space in which youth were prepared for gendered adult societal roles—whether in marriage, as fetish specialists, traditional chiefs or healers—by community or family elders (Kumbu 2012, 117).

Various types of ritual initiation ceremonies prepared individuals for marriage, chieftainship, and as healers or fetish specialists (Masiala 2006–2007, 2008; Kumbu 2012). Organized at a chosen place outside the village on a date determined by a chief or another village authority, the ceremony was always collective (Ngambu 1981). Women did not generally fully participate in the various ceremonies which made up initiation rituals. The practices of the *Kongo* group in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) illustrate, for example, that women were not admitted to certain types of initiation ritual ceremonies; their participation in such ceremonies was very limited (Ngambu 1981). It is of interest to examine a ceremonial ritual from which women were not excluded, even partially—the ritual initiation for the marriage of girls called *Kikumbi* among Kongo speakers, or *Umwali* in Swahili (Makungu Ma Ngozi 1976; Salmon 1989), in the DRC. Initiation rituals that prepare young women for marriage exist throughout Central Africa. Similar initiation rituals that prepare boys for marriage also exist.

Kikumbi/Umwali: Initiation Ritual as a Tool for Strengthening Gender Inequality

Shared by many *Bantu* groups, *Kikumbi* or *Umwali* is a ceremony of ritual initiation that prepares young girls to leave behind their status as infants and become mature adult or "whole" women (Kumbu 2012; Masiala 2006–2007, 2008; Engwete 2008; Makungu Ma Ngozi 1976; Salmon 1989). In the Central African countries of Congo, Gabon, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Central Africa Republic, these groups include the *Bavili, the Baslongo, the Bawayo, the Yombe, the Luba of Kasai, the Barega, the Bahunde, and the Babemba*, among others (Kumbu 2012; Masiala 2006–2007, 2008). An important formal element in the Indigenous education of young girls, the ritual, whose purpose is to motivate young women to keep their virginity in order to be pure at marriage, marks the culminate moment in their socialization to becoming a woman.[1] Because a female's reproductive role is to give birth to human beings, these groups prescribe virginity as an indispensable virtue for women. An aspect of the *Kongo* group's (Masiala 2006–2007, 2008), as well as *Bantu* groups in general, conception of the cosmogony, this valuation is based on the cultural belief that a woman's reproductive function expresses her power to communicate with the invisible universe.[2]

To illustrate initiation rituals as an institutional practice central to Indigenous educational, we examine the *Kikumbi* marriage initiation ritual carried out by selected *Bantu* peoples in Central Africa such as the *Basolongo* and *Yombe* groups in the *Kongo* region in the Democratic Republic of Congo and by the *Vili* group in the Republic of Congo as well as the *Umwali*[3] in the province of Maniema, in the Swahili language region in DRC (Makungu Ma Ngozi 1976; Salmon 1989), and in certain other regions (East Africa). The ritual took place as soon as the girls reached the age of 15. Like all initiation rituals, the *Kikumbi* ceremony was held outside the village. The learning process incorporated in the ritual, which could last one to two years,[4] began when an elder and wise woman in charge of initiation tested each girl's virginity. If the girl had lost her virginity, she and the man with whom she has had sexual relations were sanctioned before being allowed to enter the ritual. The punishment consisted of her head being shaved and palm oil poured upon it. Aimed at teaching a lesson, the sanction obliged the girl and young man to undress and expose their nakedness for an entire day during which, to the rhythm of tam-tam, they were the targets of public teasing. The day following her punishment the girl could be integrated into *Kikumbi*. Traditional law prescribed that the young man pays a penalty and immediately marry the girl, following her completion of the *Kikumbi* initiation (Masiala 2006–2007, 2008).

During the seclusion period, the initiate is allowed to exit the ritual space for physiological needs only, at which time she must be accompanied by two or three *duennas*. To avoid being seen by men, her body is covered with a cloth from head to toe. After her daily obligatory bath, which occurs very early—around five or six o'clock in the morning—she applies her makeup which consists of a kind of red powder called *Ngoala* (red earth) and other ointments. Every night, the elders organize a choreographic spectacle with tam-tams, improvised talks, and riddles in front of the girls' house of seclusion; *griots* sometimes improvised a concert (Masiala 2006–2007, 102; 2008, 32–33).

Among the *Yombe*, the ritual is called *Nzo-kumbi*, the name of the structure or house in which one or more nubile girls lived during the four-week period of their apprenticeship for marriage. During this period, the girls, who were painted with *tukula* (red powder), were allowed to come out of the house only three times a day in order to take a ritual bath that washed away the *tukula* or red color from their bodies.

Virginity is one of the requisites for participating in *Nzo-kumbi*. With the authorization of the mother in charge of the initiation, a girl's fiancé, along with other young men, could be allowed to spend some nights in the house of initiation. The young men were bound to observe total continence under penalty of being disqualified and/or tabooed (Kumbu 2012, 122).

In the province of Maniema (DRC), the ritual preparing girls for marriage is called *Umwali*, a Swahili noun that refers to a young girl who is a virgin, has had her first menstruation, has been initiated and also to a girl who has had a child before her initiation. Typically, the *Umwali* initiation ritual is

composed of ten girls under the supervision of one or more teachers, called *somo*,[5] who teach sexual practices, among other things (Makungu Ma Ngozi [1976](); Salmon [1989]()). *Umwali* is *a methodical apprenticeship to physical sexual practices as well as the moral preparation of a girl to a woman's obligations and the conjugal duties.*[6] Having completed her apprenticeship, at the end of the *Umwali*, the *mwali*, the initiated girl, receives a scepter or leather baton which symbolizes her supernatural power over her husband in the conjugal bed. On this same occasion, she takes either the name of her *somo* or a specific Swahili name that characterizes her expertise in bed, such as *Bi-Safi* (clean young lady), *Bi-Sifa* (glorious young lady), *Bi-Laza* (lullaby young lady), *Bi-Atosha* (young lady who suffices), *and Bi-Furahara* (joy young lady).[7] In addition to preparing girls for marriage, the *Umwali* ritual creates an informal network among the small group of girl/women initiates which functions as a community of basic support which lasts throughout its members lives, whether in a village or in an urban milieu (Engwete [2008]()). In terms of what girls are taught about how to behave in their relationships with their husband—in terms of sexuality, in particular—the knowledge transmitted during *Kikumbi/Umwali* is very instructive.

Kikumbi/Umwali: Socialization to Serve One's Husband

The *Kikumbi*, *Nzo-Kumbi*, and *Umwali* rituals have similar organizational structures and pursue the same goal—preparing the girls for marriage. While the duration of the apprenticeship as well as certain symbols the girls receive at the end of the ritual vary from one ethnic group to another, the core content of the ritual curriculum is shared across all ethnic groups. This content is about socializing the girls to women's activities, to value fecundity and to initiate them to sexual relations in ways that emphasize being dedicated to one's husband.

The initiation ritual was the moment for girls to consolidate learning specific adult women's social activities, such as how to do braids (braid hair), basketwork, pottery, and crafts. It was assumed that the girls had already learned how to do housework under the tutelage of their mothers and other women in the household. Among the values relating to sexuality taught to the girls during initiation were hygiene (corporal and vaginal), knowledge of medicinal herbs to cure such things as vaginitis, for example, and various techniques of birth control. Girls were also taught to value motherhood, virginity, and self-sacrifice (Kumbu [2012](); Engwete [2008]()).

Among all groups that believe a girl's virginity is linked to a spiritual power that surrounds fecundity, virginity is a requirement for nubile girls to participate in the ritual. As a symbol, the red color reflected in the use of *tukulu* as well as *ngoala* for painting a girl's body in *Kikumbi* is highly indicative of the value accorded to fecundity. In *Ndembu* culture, the color red, which is associated with female menstrual blood, is interpreted as constituting an intermediary color category between white and black; white symbolizes purity, the

good, life, and harmony, in contrast to black, which connotes the bad, bad luck, darkness, the night, and witchcraft or a curse. Thus, for the *Ndembu*, the color red can connote good as well as evil (Mudimbe 1994, 119). In sum, the color red symbolizes menstruation in association with the fecundity with which women are identified (Mudimbe 1994, 119).

In terms of teaching sexual relations in the initiation ritual, Mbadu Kumbu points out that, "Initiation focused on the woman's sexual behavior towards her husband. She is initiated to discover the character, tastes, weaknesses, qualities and needs of the husband to make him happy in terms of the character, attitudes and behavior that she herself shows him" (2012, 112). Similarly, during the *Umwali* girls learned various sexual techniques that developed their expertise in the bed and were directed toward the husband's sexual satisfaction.

Although the *Kikumbi/Umwali* ritual taught initiates about corporal hygiene, its main focus was on how women should be attentive to sexually satisfying the husband. Women were taught to master techniques that would contribute to the husband's sexual satisfaction and to be his sexual servant. In short, *Kikumbi/Umwali* imparted a gendered education which reinforced women's submission to men in traditional society in Central Africa. The following quotation based on witnesses' accounts of the *Chinamwali*, as it is currently practiced in Zambia, is revealing with respect to the submission of women:

> When we teach girls these sexual techniques, they want to try them. They get pregnant and get married quickly and drop out of school …
>
> When the girls finish their initiation, they are sexually tested by an old man in their community who judges if they have been properly trained. If this is not the case, the girl must begin the initiation again. I met a tester last week who told me that he had tested twelve girls and that he had sent one back to the initiators because she did not know anything.[8] (Plan International 2015)

Because the examiners of these girls do not use precautions, they can, potentially, transmit sexual diseases such as HIV and others to the girls. Moreover, the probability that they can impregnate the girls, contributing to early motherhood, is high. Thus, the ritual as a practice endangers women's health and their reproductive rights. The *Kikumbi/Umwali/Chinamwali* initiation ritual exemplifies the consolidation of the inequalities in the relationships between men and women and clearly exposes the submission of women.

Western Education and Gender

One of the best ways to approach the introduction of Western education to Central Africa is through the lens of the colonizing structures, whose three interlocking axes—administrative, economic, and missionary—acted simultaneously (Mudimbe 1988). The close collaboration between colonial administrations,

imperial economic interests, and missionaries was reflected in the educational curriculum the West put in place across Central Africa.

Throughout Central Africa, Western education was introduced by missionaries (Mianda 2002; Martin 2009; Fereira 1974). In French Equatorial Africa, Catholic missionaries became responsible for the introduction of Western education through an agreement between the French government and the Holy Ghost Fathers (Martin 2009). The signing, on May 26, 1906, of a similar convention between the Catholic Church and the Independent State of the Congo ensured that Catholic missionaries were entrusted with education in the Belgian Congo (Mianda 2002, 144). The situation that occurred in the Portuguese colony of Angola was similar to those in French Equatorial Africa and the Belgian Congo (Fereira 1974, 11–13).

Examination of the educational curriculum the missionaries introduced throughout Central Africa reveals the church's close collaboration with the colonial administration and the mining and agricultural companies which represented imperial economic interests. Colonizers' bias against women as cash crop producers resulted in women being marginalized in agriculture production where they were confined to subsistence crop production for family consumption and to cultivation of foodstuffs for market (Coquery-Vidrovitch 1997, 59–64). The colonial administration participated in the subordination of women in French Equatorial Africa by introducing laws that transformed collectively held land into private property and also laws designating the husband as sole household head, thus providing husbands with a legal basis for wives' economic dependence (Coquery-Vidrovitch 1997, 65).

The colonial mindset was that women, including those in Central Africa, should be relegated to the domestic sphere. With such a conception of women's role, the purpose of the western curriculum the missionaries put in place was to train individuals, especially men, to work in the modern economy in order to facilitate "the colonial enterprise." To fulfill that goal, boys were given technical training to become artisans, craftsmen, and auxiliaries. Girls' education was introduced after that for boys (Amani and Talla 2008, 223; Martin 2009, 76; Mianda 2002, 146; Dianzinga 2015). Moreover, as the case of the Belgian Congo well illustrates, the initial focus of girls' education was on a curriculum that emphasized homemaking skills such as laundering, ironing, sewing, fieldwork, cooking (Mianda 2002, 147). Its purpose was to prepare girls to become Christian wives and mothers who would have good domestic skills and be attentive to serving their children and husband (Mianda 2007, 146; Martin 2009, 76–77).

Colonial education has affected women in a multitude of ways, transforming their lives in relation to their rural or urban location, religion, ethnicity, class, and family situation. Lacking effective training to facilitate their integration into the modern labor market, women were confined to the domestic sphere which, by default, made them economically dependent on their husband. Women in Central Africa overcame these obstacles to their participation in modern economy by continuing their traditional agricultural activities, developing

small-scale trade and invading the informal sector to escape the economic dependence on a husband colonial rule attempted to impose upon them.

Colonial education imposed a curriculum that was gendered and privileged men. From that perspective, and as the ritual of initiation illustrates, it also consolidated the gendered characteristics of Indigenous education which favored men. Moreover, the missionaries' intent was to use Western gendered education to introduce the Western conception of the nuclear family only composed of the father as the family head, his wife and children, in contrast to the traditional Central African conception of the extended family based on collective, community values. This was clearly the case in the Belgian Congo where missionaries wanted the wife to be solely under the authority of the husband (Mianda 2002, 153–154).

The Indigenization of Education in Africa and Contemporary Women's Situation

Scholars advocating for the Indigenization or Africanization of education argue in favor of reforming current formal African education by integrating the roles and values of Indigenous knowledge into the curriculum (Abdi 2006; Shizha 2014; Dei and Asgharzadeh 2006; Omolewa 2007; Semali and Stambach 1997). However, those revisiting the curriculum inherited from colonial education have paid little attention to the question of gender equality (Okeke 2006, 81). In claiming its values, it is pertinent to recognize that Indigenous education was primarily a type of informal education and that, as is the case in ritual initiation, some of its components were sex specific and sex-segregated (Brock-Utne 2000, 112). When discussing the Africanization/Indigenization of education, is it not also relevant to incorporate the informal Indigenous sex specific and sex-segregated aspects of Indigenous education in order to question those aspects? How will Africanization/Indigenization educational reforms take into account the Indigenous knowledge transmitted through ritual initiation to prepare girls for marriage, which is still shaping and impacting the status of African women today?

With regard to gender, the Indigenization of African education should promote the increased participation of African women in higher education (Okeke 2006) while it should also question gender inequality in the current curriculum as well as in the curriculum of Indigenous education. It should be concerned about the unequal gender values encoded in the Indigenous curriculum and revisit the impact of that inequality on women's social status, health, and reproductive rights. How is the emphasis given to marriage and fecundity continuing to affect the situation of contemporary women in Central and Sub Saharan Africa in general? How could the Indigenization of education challenge girls' excision/infibulation and the valorization of motherhood and also value African women outside marriage and women who cannot give birth to human beings?

The dynamic character of Indigenous education is reflected in the fact that Western education did not totally eradicate all Indigenous knowledge, though it transformed it. To illustrate this, we return to the initiation ritual of *Kikumbi* which continues to be practiced, though it is less present in urban than rural areas. Narrowly limited today to girls' circumcision among some ethnic groups, the *Kikumbi* ritual continues to be a channel through which the virtue of fecundity—the basis of gaining social status as an adult woman— is inculcated in girls' minds (Ela 1995).

The high value that continues to be put on marriage and fecundity in contemporary Central and Sub Saharan Africa causes young women to reflect about whether they want to marry or pursue education. This high value is also reflected in the prevalence of child marriage in Sub Saharan Africa, where it averaged 30% of all marriages in 2000 (UNICEF 2014). It is because of the importance of fecundity within marriage and motherhood that child marriage continues to be widespread. The highest rates of child marriage are found in West and Central Africa with 46%. Two central African countries, Central African Republic and Chad, are among the ten countries that have the world's highest rates of child marriage (UNICEF 2014). Between 1990 and 2001, the proportion of African girls married before they were 18 rose from 34 to 44% (UNICEF 2014).

The Africanization of education needs to confront these uncomfortable truths about early marriage and women's genital mutilation as aspects of Indigenous African knowledge. When incorporating certain Indigenous values into the revised African curriculum, informal African knowledge that continues to marginalize African women needs to be considered and included in ways that effectively educate the young generation for the change. African scholars, and students/women in gender/women studies programs and departments, in particular, should embrace and question the fact that, while much Indigenous African knowledge is dynamic, some of the traditionally gendered values encoded within it have tended to remain fixed/static. A small number of African women feminists took this step in the aftermath of the first African Feminist Forum in 2006 (Badri and Tripp 2017). The question of gender inequality in Indigenous knowledge should be brought into the curriculum of the Africanization of education. Incorporating this into the curriculum has the advantage of developing critical thinking which, in the long term, will do more to contribute to changing social mores and bringing child marriage and genital mutilation to an end than would constitutional or legislative reform.

NOTES

1. This ritual is also practiced by the Okrika in Nigeria whose Ira ritual, which prepares young girls for marriage, emphasizes the link between fecundity and spirituality. See the documentary film "Becoming a Woman in Okrika."
2. This belief is also shared by the Okrika.

3. *Umwali* is also practiced in Zambia, where it is called *Chinamwali*, and in Malawi, where it is practiced among Sera girls in Chikwawa. It is also practiced in Rwanda and Burundi.

4. The duration of the *Kikumbi* varies from one ethnic group to another among the *Bantu* groups who continue to practice the ritual.

5. In Swahili, *somo* has several meanings, such as lesson, education, woman who teaches young girls, and all the matters relating to sexuality, assistants in the initiation ritual, and namesakes.

6. Author's translation from French: "L'umwali (…) apprentissage méthodique physique de la technologie sexuelle (…) ainsi qu'une préparation morale de la jeune fille aux obligations et aux devoirs conjugaux de la femme." Engwete, Alex, 2008, "Umwali, Société 'Secrète' et proto-féministe subversif de la femme," as cited in Gaspard Musabyimana, 2016, *Sexuality and Rites in Africa: Yesterday and Today*, Melbourne: Scribe Publishing.

7. These names all relate to the sexual techniques that initiated girls master.

8. Author's translation from French.

References

Abdi, Ali A. 2006. "Culture of Education, Social Development and Globalization." In *African Education and Globalization: Critical Perspectives*, edited by Ali A. Abdi, Korbla P. Puplampu, and George J. Sefa Dei, 13–30. Boulder, New York, Lunham, Toronto, and Oxford: Lexington Books.

Adeyemi, Michael B., and Augustus A. Adeyinka. 2002. "Some Key Issues in Africa Traditional Education." *McGill Journal of Education* 37 (2): 223–240.

Adeyinka, A. A. 2000. "Basic Concepts in Education: The Issues at Stake." In *Selected Topics in Philosophy and Education*, edited by H. J. Msango, E. C. Mumba, and A. L. Sikwibele. Lusaka: University of Zambia Press.

Amadiume, Ifi. 1997. *Re-inventing Africa: Matriarchy, Religion and Culture*. London and New York: Zed Books.

Amani, Serge, and Mathieu Talla. 2008. "Les pionnières du Cameroun ou le grand livre des femmes, premières…du Cameroun." Edited by Theophile Tatstsa. Collection Elle, Editions Cognito.

Badri, Balghis, and Aili Mari Tripp. 2017. *Women's Activism in Africa: Struggles for Rights and Representation*. London: Zed Books.

Baires, Sarah E. 2017. *Land of Water, City of the Dead: Religious and Cahokia's Emergence*. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press.

Brock-Utne, Brigit. 2000. *Whose Education for All? The Recolonization of the African Mind*. New York and London: Falmer Press.

Collins, Patricia Hill. 1991. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.

Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine. 1997. *African Women: A Modern History*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Crenshaw, Kimberle W. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence Against Women." *Stanford Law Review* 43 (6): 1241–1299.

Dei, George J. Sefa. 2014. "Indigenizing the School Curriculum: The Case of the African University." In *African Indigenous Knowledge and Disciplines*, edited by Gloria Emeagwali and George J. Sefa Dei, 165–180. Rotterdam, Boston, and Taipei: Sense Publisher.

Dei, George J. Sefa, and Alireza Asgharzadeh. 2006. "Indigenous Knowledge and Globalization: An African Perspective." In *African Education and Globalization: Critical Perspectives*, edited by Ali A. Abdi, Korbla P. Puplampu, and George J. Sefa Dei, 53–78. Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, and Oxford: Lexington Books.

Dianzinga, Scholastique. 2015. "Parcours des femmes dans l'histoire du Congo (1892–1985)." *Revue Cames* 1 (5).

Ela, Jean Marc. 1995. "Fécondité, Structures Sociales et Fonctions Dynamiques de l'Imaginaire en Afrique Noire." In *La Sociologie des Populations*, edited by H. Gérard and V. Piché. Montréal: PUM/AUPELF.

Emeagwali, Gloria, and George J. Sefa Dei. 2014. *African Indigenous Knowledge and the Disciplines*. Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publications.

Engwete, Alex. 2008. "Umwali, société 'secrète' et proto-féministe subversif de la femme." Accessed February 8, 2018. http://alexengwete.afrikblog.com/archives/2008/02/17/7992282.html.

Fereira, Edouardo de Sousa. 1974. *Le Colonialisme portugais en Afrique: la fin d'une ère. Les Effets du Colonialisme Portugais sur l'Education, la Science, la Culture et l'Information*. Paris: Les Presses de l'UNESCO.

hooks, bell. 1984. *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center*. Boston, MA: South End Press.

Kumbu, Pamphile Mbadu. 2012. "Du Mariage à la Famille de Base en Milieu Yombe. Jalons pour un projet éducatif." Thèse de doctorat, Faculté de théologie, Louvain-La-Neuve.

Makungu Ma Ngozi, Isaya. 1976. "Umwali, L'Education de la Jeune Fille Ngwana avant le Marriage." *Cahiers des Religions Africaines* 10 (20): 309–320.

Martin, Phyllis M. 2009. *Catholic Women of Congo-Brazzaville, Mothers and Sisters in Troubled Times*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Masiala, Nathalis Lembe. 2006–2007. *Le Kàandu chez les Basolongo du Bas-Congo (RDC)*. Thèse de doctorat, Faculteit Letteren en Wijsbegeerte Vakgroep Afrikaanse Talen en Culturen. Universiteit Gent, Belge.

Masiala, Nathalis Lembe. 2008. *Le Rite du Kàandu chez les Basolongo du Bas-Congo (RDC)*. Paris: Editions Publibook.

Mianda, Gertrude. 2002. "Colonialism, Education, and Gender Relations in the Belgian Congo: The Evolué Case." In *Women in African Colonial Histories*, edited by Jean Allman, Susan Geiger, and Nakanyike Musisi. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Mianda, Gertrude. 2007. "Du Congo des évolués au Congo des Universitaires: La représentation du genre." In *L'Université dans le Devenir de l'Afrique: Un Demi-siècle de Présence au Congo*, edited by I. Ndaywel è Nziem. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Mianda, Gertrude. 2014. "Reading Awa Thiam's *La parole aux Négresses* Through the Lens of Feminism and Hegemony of the English Language." *Atlantis* 36 (2): 8–19.

Mohanty, Chandra. 2003. *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Mosweunyane, Dama. 2013. "The African Education Evolution: From Traditional Training to Formal Education." *Higher Education Studies* 3: 50–59.

Mudimbe, V. Y. 1988. *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Mudimbe, V. Y. 1994. *Les Corps Glorieux des Mots et des Etres. Esquisse d'un Jardin Africain à la Bénédictine*. Paris: Présence Africaine.

Musabyimana, Gaspard. 2016. *Sexuality and Rites in Africa: Yesterday and Today*. Melbourne: Scribe Publishing.

Ngambu, Ngoma. 1981. *Initiation dans les Sociétés Traditionnelles Africaines: Le cas Kongo*. Kinshasa: University Press of Zaire.

Okeke, Philomina E. 2006. "Higher Education for Africa's Women: Prospects and Challenges." In *African Education and Globalization: Critical Perspectives*, edited by Ali A. Abdi, Korbla P. Puplampu, and George J. Sefa Dei, 79–92. Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, and Oxford: Lexington Books.

Omolewa, Michael. 2007. "Traditional African Modes of Education: Their Relevance in the Modern World." *International Review of Education* 53: 593–612.

Owuor, Jenifer A. 2007. "Integrating African Indigenous Knowledge in Kenya's Formal Education System: The Potential for Sustainable Development." *Journal of Contemporary Issues in Education* 2 (2): 21–37.

Oyewumi, Oyéronké. 2003. *African Women and Feminism: Reflecting on the Politics of Sisterhood*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Paré-Kaboré, Afsta. 2013. "L'Education Traditionnelle et la Vie Communautaire en Afrique. Repères et Leçons d'Expériences pour l'Education au Vivre Ensemble." *McGill Journal of Education/Revue des Sciences de l'éducation de McGill* 48 (1): 15–33.

Plan International. 2015. "Initiation Sexuelle en Zambie: Les Rites se Modernisent." Accessed May 5, 2018. https://www.plan-international.fr/info/actualites/news/2015-05-06-initiation-sexuelle-en-zambie-les-rites-se-modernisent.

Salmon, Pierre. 1989. "L Umwali: Une école d'amour africine (Zaire)." *Histoire Sociale de l'Afrique de l'Est* 19e–20e siècles: 497–518.

Semali, Ladislaus, and Amy Stambach. 1997. "Cultural Identity in an African Context: Indigenous Education and Curriculum." *Folklore Forum* 28 (1): 3–27.

Shizha, Edward. 2014. "Indigenous Knowledge Systems and the Curriculum." In *African Indigenous Knowledge and the Disciplines*, edited by Gloria Emeagwali and George J. Sefa Dei, 113–129. Rotterdam, Boston, and Taipei: Sense Publisher.

Thiam, Awa. 1978. *Speak Out, Black Sisters: Feminism and Oppression in Black Africa*. Translated by Dorothy S. Blair. London, Sydney, and Dover, NH: Pluto Press.

UNICEF. 2014. *Ending Child Marriage: Progress and Prospects*. New York: UN Children's Fund.

Wane, N. N. 2002. "African Women and Spirituality: Connection Between Thought and Education." In *Expanding the Boundaries of Transformative Learning: Essays on the Theory and Praxis*, edited by Edmund O'Sullivan, Amish Morell and Mary Ann O'Connor. New York: Palgrave, St Martin's Press.

Zulu, Itibari M. 2006. "Critical Indigenous African Education and Knowledge." *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 1 (3): 32–49.

Africa Indigenous Education and Knowledge

Examines African Indigenous education and Indigenous knowledge to describe their contemporary structures and content and discuss the nature and vitality of Indigenous education across the continent. Issues and themes are raised by African educators that acknowledge the contemporary development and positioning of Africa's many Indigenous education systems within African societies. They document and discuss these systems with fresh insights that highlight the central role of Indigenous education as the repository and distributor of African civilizations' complex knowledge bases that continue to shape African thought and culture today.

Copyright © 2019 Nathan E. McCormack & Toyin Falola

Reconstructing African Philosophies of Education: Historical and Contemporary Analyses

Ali A. Abdi

INTRODUCTION

Education, as a construct and practice, is one of those so taken-for-granted life systems that more often than otherwise, we normalize into at times unquestioning and possibly problematic extensions which locate it as important and prospectively neutral. The issue becomes even more dangerous when we, either unknowingly or deliberately, dehistoricize the general constructions of education, its philosophical intentions which can lead to the subsequent ideologizations that lessen the necessity of the structure as well as the impact of educational programs and policies. For African and other colonized populations, the situation was actually so much. As I have argued elsewhere, colonialism was, more than anything else, psycho-cultural and educational, and once those were achieved on its behalf, the rest (political and economic dominations) were easy. To achieve psycho-cultural and educational colonization in the African context, the first steps were to disparage and decommission African educational and social development system and to locate the continent as ahistorical, uneducated, and underdeveloped (Nyerere 1968; Rodney 1982; Achebe 2000). In straightforward terms, these organized steps represented the main power of the colonial project, i.e., mental colonization through colonial education (Kane 1963; wa Thiong'o 1986) which is

A. A. Abdi (✉)
The University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC, Canada
e-mail: ali.abdi@ubc.ca

201

enduring so much longer than any physical or related resources control of the people. The discrediting of Africa on the historical, educational, and developmental fronts also carried the denial of its philosophical and educational philosophy achievements which formed the content's livelihood and learning dynamism and trajectories.

The colonial approach here was clearly contrary to the general realities of education (all education, irrespective of its structure and contents) as a quotidian, ongoing, and evolving perspective and practice of all social life contexts, without much temporal and/or locational classification, where learning and teaching had to function with culturally conceptualized and from there, praxicalized thinking and doing relationships that should be initially emanating from the general platforms of philosophy and philosophical of education. Expressed differently and more succinctly, it is via our observations and analysis about the way we live in given tempo-spatial facts that shape our learning and related living platforms. With this initial understanding, the character as well as the characteristics of way we live should be usually located around and understood through what we term culture or cultural life. Perhaps approaching these points in a more comprehensive manner, culture should be everything that takes place and affects/affected our lives today, a thousand years ago, and only for time-determinant illustrative purposes, in the year 2129 A.D. With this in mind, one could then present culture, in simple but not simplistic terms, as the totality of our lives at the intersections of time and its connections with our social, educational, economic, political, technological, and environmental contexts. Needless to add that such connections are both naturally and humanly constructed.

That understanding should bring us to the centrality of our philosophical lives, i.e., the way we ascertain, design, and establish our cultural lives, which would require organized observations, analysis, and socially viable decisions that become the guiding principles, so to indicate, of the way we critically create and sustain our onto-epistemological existentialities. It can be with that in mind that I shall be suggesting, as early as possible in this writing, that philosophical traditions and their extensions of inter alia, philosophies of education, as fundamentally and actual terms, common to all socio-physical formations of people irrespective of their historical, geographical, and other attributes, and regardless of the type of learning and related instructional systems established and pragmatically undertaken. Clearly, no group of people, whether small units or large societies, or even within family and professional formations, could have practiced life in their own ways without thinking about, analyzing, designing, and achieving their overall life and theretofore, indispensable learning systems.

Despite that reality that in order to practice our cultural fact, we have to apply critical inquiry to our life systems, these millennia-old relationships in Africa were portrayed as deprived of any systematic or even fragmented platforms of philosophical thinking and achievement, which also implicate the absence of the foundations as well as the methodologies of educational

philosophy. For reasons that are no longer regarded viable, the Western philosophical tradition somehow assumed that all philosophy irrespective of how it is defined, epistemically and subject-wise analyzed, must follow a universalizable thought system where we do the world with a horizontal obedience to the Platonic (Socratic) and Aristotelian intentions, i.e., à la Greek Academy way of classical Athens. An attempted totalizing credit to this was shared by the late British Philosopher, Alfred N. Whitehead, who willfully characterized all philosophy as a footnote to Plato (Ozmon 2011). That problematic mon-crediting of all philosophy to the West and the attempted universalization of such thought systems to the rest of humanity was continued by other so-called thought luminaries of the area including the German thinkers Immanuel Kant and G. W. F. Hegel, the French philosophers Charles de Secondat (Montesquieu) and François-Marie Arouet (Voltaire), and into Thomas Hobbes from the British isles (Abdi 2008).

African Philosophies and Philosophies of Education

With the attempted universalization of European thought systems as the viable philosophies of the world, and with the advent of European colonialism from the fifteenth century into the current politico-economic domination, an organized system of negating African achievements in history, culture, education, and philosophy as well as philosophy of education was undertaken by European colonialism with the help of all the philosophers named above, and later by modernist academic and policy loyalists. In the words of the Oxford University historian, Trevor-Roper (1963), when he was speaking on public radio, Africa had no history prior to the arrival of European colonialists, which as preposterous as this might sound actually does not make him the first one who invented this bland but Eurocentrically sanctioned falsehood. The quintessential philosopher of the West, Hegel (1965), was sure that this ancient land was not endowed in historical terms and understanding any history it had was therefore neither necessary nor warranted. Hegel, as an important colonial ideologue, went even further, advising European metropolises that Africa as infantile and ahistorical context should be deceived and robbed of its resources.

It should not take too much expanding of our thought faculties to understand how such willful but categorically false dehistoricization was extended into all spheres of African life including the philosophical where the main argument rested on this area as requiring systematic and analytically thought processes that Africans did not possess. To respond to this kind of shallow platitude about the continent and its people would not be difficult as the facts of leading viable lives over millennia which, as briefly explicated above, would require thoroughly organized and thickly thought systems (philosophies), fundamentally rescind it. But for the fabricators of this false story, the facts were not based on any facts, but on the hegemonic temporality of their onto-epistemologies then, which were not to be scrutinized, debated, or even situationally evaluated.

To sustain the physical and mental colonization of Africans and other colonized peoples therefore, cultural colonization was to play a great role, with education serving as the most important factor in the situation. The reasons for this should not strain our thinking as cognitive imperialism, as the Canadian Aboriginal scholar, Marie Battiste (1998), dubs it, was ipso facto, the most effective weapon enabling all other forms of colonization to succeed. While many observers might synopsize the European imperial project to the political and economic spheres as these became overtime more visible, the power of disturbing the subjective and intersubjective realities of people, that is, negatively reversing their ontological points of reference in relation to the colonizing entity, was to more or less routinize the rest of the dominant-subordinate relationships. Indeed, such ontological decentering of the lives of colonized Africans (Fanon 1967; Nyerere 1968; Achebe 2009 [1958]) was destructive and actually disturbed the human dispositions of people where in the words of the Martinican poet, Aimé Césaire (1972), it changed them into confidence-distilled creatures who slowly transfer the trajectory of their self-valuations to the oppressor.

The colonial and later subjectively sourced devaluations of Africans were achieved through three-pronged processes that were implemented by colonialism. In Nyerere's excellent analysis (Nyerere 1968), the first of these was the systematic devaluations, through a well-designed stick-and-carrot approach, and later destruction of precolonial traditional education. The second was the mostly perforce imposition of colonial education with all its historical, philosophical, and curricular categories that all instructionally demeaned African knowledges and ways of learning. The third, according to Nyerere, was a derivative of the second, i.e., social development and personal well-being attached to the consumption and prescribed success in European education and languages. Prescribed success in the sense that with the devaluation and programmatic destruction of African education, the colonized were not actually allowed to receive advanced European education, but were limited in many instances to the completion of elementary schooling (Abdi 1998). Here, both the philosophical intentions and attendant curricular objectives of this education were not to enhance the lives of Africans, but in effect, to de-onto-epistemologize them and give them what colonialism perceived as enough, rudimentary training to function at the lowest levels of service and administrative economies.

With my intended emphasis here to discuss more the philosophical and more specifically the educational philosophy, the foundational deconstruction of African traditional education was systematic and attached to the above-stated dehistorizations of the continent and its people. Again, for European colonialists and their philosopher-apologists, ahistorical Africa was not capable of sophisticated philosophical analysis and was by extension devoid of any viable educational philosophies of education (Abdi 2008). On even the most surface scrutiny though, such claims just reaffirm the racist exhortations, if baseless for all pragmatic considerations, of some of those so-described

European thought leaders who have both epistemically (more or less in the belief realm) and morally (de-morally for the rest of us) paved the unmitigated justification for the colonial project. When the British philosopher Thomas Hobbes described Africans as not naturally capable of reading, understanding, and appreciating literature, which later supported by Hegel's infantilization of African life, which itself was proceeded by Kant's equation of skin color with innate intelligence (so fully discredited now), one need not deploy any deep analysis to ascertain how Africa and Africans were located as aphilosophical and by extension, incapacitated in the educational philosophy endowments.

That being as it was though, the facts to refute these falsehoods masquerading as real knowledge need not be too difficult to find. For starters, if philosophy, beyond its etymological inheritance of wisdom love, is primarily about critically analyzing and reflecting upon our world in its epistemic, relational, and existential categories, then could have Africans or others survived for millennia without inquiring about and contextually responding to the social and physical environments including education that affected their lives? The right, if so simple answer, is they would not have. Neither Europeans, nor Africans, nor Asians or others would have existed continuously without organized systems of learning that actually possess and pertained to the now formalized, so-said big questions of the philosophy of education, i.e., the what, the why, and how inquiries (formal or deliberately deformalized) on education and related learning and instructional perspectives.

Contrary to European misreading and demeaning of African traditional education, different types of learning their philosophical formulations and practices were contextually conceived and designed for needs that were locally obvious, and that were modified to fit the emerging needs of the community (Nyerere 1968; Rodney 1982). In his paradigm-shifting work, *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*, Rodney praises the inherent values of African traditional education, describing it as well constructed and situationally capable of fulfilling the social development needs of its recipients. In terms of its disciplinary coherence and specific life area transformative capacities, Semali (1999) shows us how in traditional education, everything from historical studies to warfare training, literature platforms, and advanced medicine and veterinary programs was formalized or formalizable when needed, thus making it a viable and again, contextually responsive to those who immediately needed and knowledge-wise, benefited from it. In reading the outcomes of these works, one need not belabor the philosophical point. The analysis and perspectives applied here should fulfill our search for the main educational philosophy questions. For the sake of perspectival decency, African communities were, of course, asking and extensively discussing the types of education needed in, say mid-eighteenth-century Zimbabwe, Somalia, and Burkina Faso.

The fact that they might not have officially shared (although in other ways) their education and educational conceptualizations, theorizations, and practices with Europe should never be constructed as lacking the fundamental

life and learning contexts of philosophy and philosophy of education. Indeed, as Chinua Achebe's excellent analysis on knowledge valuations showed, the European epistemic mono-logic wanted to command us that in order to validate our knowledge systems and related literary perspectives, we needed to first check it with London, Paris, and New York (Achebe 1989). That certainly represents a telling case of how the problematic extensions of philosophical and epistemological colonization were entrenched in the lives of the colonized. But the commandments were not enough as Africans were determined to recreate what was lost in the generally misnamed postcolonial era, so the new tactic was to deinstitutionalize anything written by Africans which for those of us in formalized academia should know so well. Here, the epistemological imperialism which sustains the overall thought colonization we are discussing here has to continue through the ongoing legitimation of everything European from knowledge conceptions to places/venues of publication and the de-legitimation of all that is African in all those categories.

The damage such continuing and colonial schemes of legitimation and de-legitimation do is extensive, especially with respect to foundational thinking and achievement in the reconstruction of African philosophies of education which conceptualize, theorize, and should operationalize African ways of knowing, learning, teaching, and aspiring for something better than what we inherited from those who despised, denied, and almost destroyed our philosophical, educational, and social development contexts. In Ngugi wa Thiong'o's terms in his *Something torn and new* (2009), the possibilities of revival for African philosophies, epistemologies and overall knowledge systems are possible, but I would add, require a foundational re-thinking where the reconstruction of African philosophies of education becomes central to new ways of designing clusters of education that are capable of moving the continent and its peoples into viable and dignified social well-being platforms. Throughout this chapter I am using the terms, social development and social well-being interchangeably, with the intention of not leaving the main objectives of education in precolonial traditional Africa and into the present, where the happiness and attachable daily life endowments of the individual were not detached from the lot of the community. And in actualizing both terms into our current life situations which are real and factual, the general intentions of social well-being and social development are about contemporary redeemable life possibilities (educational, political, economic, emotional, technological) that are, in the simplest expression, good for us.

In achieving something that is good for our lives, the educational becomes fundamental (Nyerere 1968; Cabral 1979; Mandela 1994). As Nelson Mandela noted in his *Long walk to freedom* (1994), from personal well-being to national development, education has to be the main catalyst, but he conditionalized it with the need to establish these learning programs with equity and inclusion. As a victim of, and victor over apartheid, Mandela knew that colonial education (including that of internal colonization as in South Africa) was unequal, historico-philosophically demeaning and marginalizing, and

effected inverse development systems for Africans and Europeans in South Africa and elsewhere. It is with that in mind that we need to constructively recall, minimally at the conceptual and theoretical levels (with possible improvements into the practical), Nyerere's oft-referenced and still important disquisition on "Education for self-reliance" (1968) with the central message that Africans need to rethink the future of their education as propagated by their future needs, relationships, and aspirations. As primarily a philosopher of education, Nyerere knew that a foundational re-thinking in the case was important with the need to ask the main questions of educational philosophy that were stable in traditional African education.

With precolonial African education and its philosophical categories derided, in the classic modernist thinking (e.g., Huntington 1971) as backward and primitive though, Nyerere realized that the need to reconstruct our philosophies of education was urgent in the post-independence 1960s and beyond. With all of Nyerere's anti-colonial educational and social development projects which were mainly constituted in his *Ujamaa* program, extensively attacked by global capitalism and with his policies not actively and effectively implemented by the emerging comprador class in Tanzania (McHenry 1994), the move forward was at best limited. But with almost all African countries continually using colonial systems of education (in their philosophical, curricular, and language categories), the need for change is, I submit, as important and as urgent as ever. Indeed, I will go so far to say that the main reason for Africa's sluggish pace to move forward, in some cases de-development realities, is primarily the result of (a) myopically corrupt and incompetent leadership, and (b) contextually dysfunctional colonial education systems. If Africans can cure these two recently acquired chronic social ailments, we could actually heed Nyerere's still echoing call that while the rest of the world is walking, we need to sprint to achieve viable learning programs and individual-community connecting social development. In the following I am speaking about ways of reviving traditional Indigenous African philosophies of education.

Reviving Traditional African Philosophies of Education

To reaffirm it for ideational and analytical intentions, precolonial traditional African education was well endowed with communally constructed and situationally viable systems of learning and teaching that were continuously capable of responding to the main questions of contemporary educational philosophies, and certainly when so occasioned by people's needs, to other questions that could have gone beyond, or expanded on the what, why, and how of educational programs and possibilities. As clearly explicated above, Africans and other colonized communities would not have survived and thrived without such philosophies of learning. Perhaps a mini tactical insertion here: the possible query that my use of the terms philosophy and philosophy of education as descriptively and critically applicable to what was

happening in traditional African education need not bother the reader. The use is for illustrative purposes and I fully believe the general purposes and categories of the philosophy of education—as we know it now—were present and practiced in precolonial traditional Africa. In straightforward parlance, Africans critically (as in the general meaning of critical thinking, i.e., discussing current situations and considering possibilities for improvement) and contextually (i.e., what works best now and into future) discussed and debated the character, design, and contents of their education—that is, as far as I know, philosophy of education.

In discussing and reaffirming precolonial African philosophies of education, it is important to historically and culturally understand and appreciate the social environments in which they were located. More often than otherwise, these philosophies of learning and their attendant epistemologies were not textually located but were recorded in the minds of intellectually well-endowed men and women who, in the writing of the late Kenyan philosopher Odera Oruka (1990), would be called traditional sages or to use his own and aptly chosen words, sage philosophers. Critically ascertaining this sociocultural and epistemic realities is exceedingly important in that so many times, the willy-nilly minimization of oral literature (orature) and orality-based-and-expounded philosophies of education has sustained the less than justifiable supremacy of the text which itself is an imposition of colonial systems that were strategically determined to lower, indeed, rescind, the value of most of Africa's knowledge and learning achievements that were non-textually constructed and embedded. That even when writing, as we know it today and through its millennia formalizations and reformatting, was actually invented in Africa, indeed within the cultural interplays of Egyptian and Nubian kingdoms and dynasties in northeastern Africa. And to extend the boundaries of the critical in analyzing the clash of orality with textuality, the idea as well as the imperialism-coded and later perforce elevation of Western notions and practices of book-based knowledge and knowing (wa Thiong'o 1986), was, as far as I can see now, a pure reductio-ad-absurdum logic that refuses to value brain-created and still brain-based theories and epistemic categories that were to be, in that line of thinking, subordinated to brain-to-text transferred platforms of knowing and learning. *Sidaan ku qoray meel kale* (as I have written elsewhere) (Abdi 2010), in their intersubjective, communicative, and relational matters, orally contained knowledges and attached learning particles and blocks were actually more personal, more inter-humanizing, and certainly more socioculturally affirming than their text-bound counterparts. With this in mind, African traditional philosophies of education were as contextually viable and learning-wise as effective as anything imposed on the terra educativa Africana. Apropos these realities, the urget need to revive and reconstruct foundational African philosophies of education, or in the way Odera Oruka would prefer, sagacity-based African philosophies of education.

Reconstructing African Philosophies of Education for Social Development

In contemporary and unfortunately global media parlance, Africa has become almost synonymous with interlinked and quasi-incurable political, economic, educational, and developmental failures. Even the once expected exceptions, outside Botswana which itself is not yet out of these categorizations, have not lived up to the post-Independence aspirations of the people. While a listing of the problems is not warranted here, descriptively or otherwise massaging the open sore of our continent, in Wole Soyinka's terms (Soyinka 2003) when narrating the Nigerian situation, is not going to solve the issues we are facing. And while there are a countable number of bright spots in the continent's economic situation especially (some recent high annual growth cases, emerging tech sectors, and few global level successful and self-made entrepreneurs), the lot of our "nation," especially with respect to educational quality and youth employment (well-being), is not worthy of noisy celebrations. But it should not be despair and mournful-bound either as the brilliance, energy, and determination of the African people is indeed, worthy of recalling and reclaiming both the aspirational as well as the inspirational of life, learning and developing. To recast those capacities which have enabled the African public to survive the massive onslaughts that have almost torn its sociocultural and onto-epistemological references asunder (partially borrowing from Van Sertima 1991), especially in today's globally intermeshed world with a low chance of official African de-linking, a full reconsideration of educational programs and policies should be of utmost importance.

Currently, Westernized (read colonial) and indigenously de-philosophized and de-epistemologizing African education cannot, in its current philosophical policy and curricular contents and practices, lead to the horizontal endowment of those that need it the most, that is the burgeoning young population which is expected to number about 850 million by the not-too-far away year of 2050. According to the International Labour Organization (ILO) (2016), the current trends show that about 70% of Sub Saharan African youth are experiencing what it calls working poverty rates. This economic characterization is especially important in that the majority of the youth who are experiencing working but non-life-transforming realities have not only completed African basic/pre-tertiary education systems, but many are also university graduates. The issue therefore is not lack of education, but the inferior quality of such education which cannot assure the situational success of these young people, not only in Africa itself, but possibly in the global scene where it is now, at least at the rhetorical level, an open and almost (selectively for Africans, I would suggest) globalized learning and jobs competition.

According to the African Center for Economic Transformation (ACET 2016) with offices in Accra and Washington, DC, half of the continent's 10 million yearly university graduates do not find jobs. Granted some of these eventually manage to procure some employment, it should not surprise

us that many of these young men and women who are roaming around the streets of the continent's major urban centers in the now tragically celebrated idle youth status are continually trying to eke some living out of bleak employment landscapes with so much loss of promise and potential. The image of others on non-sea worthy vessels desperately trying to reach Europe and North America is conveniently splashed on electronic media screens, with many lately exposed to the new chattel-ization of young Sub Saharan men and women (*Atlanta Black Star* 2017) at the hands of cruel racists across the Mediterranean shores. In these attempts to escape their countries and continent, many also perish in the Mediterranean, while those who somehow manage to reach Southern Europe suddenly grab their new realities: living in the same poverty they were trying to escape from, but this time systematically complemented by the twin humiliations of rejection and racism. And just to say it here, these young men and women are Africa's educated, its brightest minds and its future, and for a timely reminder, they were full human beings before their departure from home. So, what Africa and African youth need are viable life possibilities (social development in more common expressions) that are Indigenously conceived, conceptualized, and implemented while still borrowing what is useful for contemporary African contexts from elsewhere.

As things are now, the reconstruction of the continent's education platforms should perhaps be the most important starting point, but without reconstructing it at the foundational level with fundamental educational philosophy questions of what education African needs and how to do that, any changes will continue to be at best limited. Perhaps to do this in the most effective way, African educational researchers, educators, and educational policymakers need to rethink about active but inclusive ways of locally recentering long ago decentered Indigenous ways of knowing, knowledge valuation, all complemented by the restitution of both the philosophical and the epistemological in African spaces of learning and teaching. Again, the relative Africanization of these should not be read as an isolationist scheme of education as the continent's learning and economic systems are not detached from the rest of the world. Indeed, the back and forth queries in reconstructing African philosophies of education have to be connected to some questions that lead to the realization of African social development as implicated in the quality of such education and the socioeconomic prospects of those that are exposed to it in both the short-term and long-term views. So, the centrality of the main educational philosophy questions still abound. This time though, these should be reframed into what education for contemporary African social development needs in light of the immediate livelihood difficulties so many in the continent and especially young are dealing with. I do not think that the middle question, the why issue, should detain us too much in our current discussions, I think we know that but the centrality of the how question should be clear.

Doing so should include new ways of strategically returning to the source, to use a Cabralian expression (Cabral 1979), to community-connected ways

of reading ideas and knowledge, valuing the role of experientially learned sages, recovering so much that was contained in orality and orature, and reclaiming Africa's rich and indispensable contributions to global knowledge systems. In her very important studies, Sandra Harding (1998, 2008) confirms the factuality of how all of us, irrespective of our national or continental origin, cultural categories, gendered locations or otherwise, have contributed to the dominant and most used epistemic categories of life. In my characterization of Harding's findings, I have bemused, but in real practical terms, how all of us (Africans, Asians, Europeans, all Americans from North and South America, and Aboriginal peoples) have brought at least one brick to the global edifice of knowledge and knowing. It is with this in mind that the epistemic discrediting of Africa by colonialism and its philosopher-apologists and by current education systems must be challenged tout court, and that should help us co-recenter all philosophies and epistemologies of education, thus giving Africans their long-waited place at the rendezvous of the real globalization of all epistemic systems and related categories of learning. Such collective recentering project will certainly endow Africans in their quest to design and practice educational programs that can philosophically answer their contextual questions which could help them deal with current needs for social well-being. When we do not think that way and start doing it, as the case is now, we will continue suffering from the still colonizing singularities of European education, characterized as it is, by its generally rationalist and individualist philosophical foundations, and even worse, from its exclusionary epistemic categories that exclude Africa's important, indeed indispensable and tangible contributions to the multicultural edifice of knowledge. The current education-knowledge-philosophy status quo will not also be constructive in facilitating the much needed reconsideration and re-doing of the continent's important, indeed urgent questions on the type of social development it needs and deserves, and what educational and philosophical platforms need to be deployed to achieve that.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shared a literature and subjective–experiential-based descriptions and analysis of African education and African philosophies of education in their historical and changing social contexts, perspectives, and possibilities. In so doing, I have located the colonial impact on these systems of learning and teaching with a select connection to the role of so-called European thought leaders and how these have led the deliberate dehistorizations and attached epistemic discrediting of the continent and its peoples. The project of dehistorization was extended into the general spheres of African life including schemes the de-philosophization and its attendant de-epistemologization intentions that attempted, with a measure of success, to fix Africa and Africans as devoid of viable educational and social development platforms. In responding to these concocted racist

falsehoods, I have used what could be described as the primary logic of lives lived: Africans would not have survived, thrived, and managed their learning and forward movement lives without thick blocks of education, philosophy, and philosophies of education that were all, either circularly or selectively horizonto-vertically, enveloped within and/or around their vie quotidian.

To complement those life realities with research categories that perhaps colonialist habitualized minds could understand better, I have deployed a number of brilliant original analysis that affirm, hopefully once and for all, this rich and contextually powerful African achievements in foundational philosophies and philosophies of education, in well-formulated and implemented learning and teaching programs, and in situationally fully functioning social development projects and prospects that connected, in all these and related terms, the individual to the community and vice versa. With these counter-colonial points in place, I have suggested ways of reconstructing African philosophies of education where by answering now the main questions of what education Africa needs and how we do that for the well-being of our people, we could achieve so much more for the socioeconomic betterment of especially the continent's burgeoning young population who are now extensively marginalized in their daily relationships with prevailing learning and employment contexts, and are by extension, exposed, indeed victimized by multiplicities of dangerous migration and anti-African global racism, not to say much of the massive loss of potential for this ancient continent and its peoples. As such, it is opportune to heed Julius Nyerere's still timely recall to decolonize Africa's theorizations and practices of education by re-enfranchising, inter alia, the place of African philosophies of education, which shall help us constructively recast our social development platforms and outcomes.

REFERENCES

Abdi, A. A. 1998. "Education in Somalia: History, Destruction and Calls for Reconstruction." *Comparative Education* 34 (3): 327–340.

Abdi, A. A. 2008. "Europe and African Thought Systems and Philosophies of Education: 'Re-culturing' the Trans-temporal Discourses." *Cultural Studies* 22 (2): 309–327.

Abdi, A. A. 2010. "Clash of Oralities and Textualities: The Colonization of the Communicative Space in Sub-Saharan Africa." In *Indigenous Knowledges and Learning in Asia/Pacific and Africa*, edited by D. Kapoor and E. Shizha, 147–164. New York: Palgrave.

Abdi, A. A. 2013. "Decolonizing educational and social development platforms in Africa." *African and Asian Studies* 12 (1–2): 64–82.

Achebe, C. 1989. *Morning Yet on Creation Day*. London: Heinemann.

Achebe, C. 2000. *Home and Exile*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Achebe, C. 2009 (1958). *Things Fall Apart*. Toronto: Anchor Canada.

African Center for Economic Transformation (ACET). 2016. "Unemployment in Africa: No Jobs for 50% of Graduates." http://acetforafrica.org/highlights/unemployment-in-africa-no-jobs-for-50-of-graduates/.

Atlanta Black Star. 2017. "10 Reasons the Enslavement of Africans in Libya Should Alarm Us." http://atlantablackstar.com/2017/12/08/10-reasons-enslavement-africans-libya/.

Battiste, M. 1998. Enabling the Autumn Seed: Toward a Decolonized Approach to Aboriginal Knowledge, Language and Education." *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 1 (22): 17–27.

Cabral, A. 1979. *Unity and Struggle: Speeches and Writings of Amilcar Cabral.* Trenton, NJ: Monthly Review Press.

Césaire, A. 1972. *Discourse on Colonialism.* Trenton, NJ: Monthly Review Press.

Fanon, F. 1967. *Black Skin, White Masks.* New York: Grove Press.

Harding, S. 1998. *Is Science Multicultural? Postcolonialisms, Feminisms and Epistemologies.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Harding, S. 2008. *Sciences from Below: Feminisms, Postcolonialities and Modernities.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Hegel, G. W. F. 1965. *Reason in History.* New York: Macmillan.

Huntington, S. 1971. "The Change to Change: Modernization, Development and Change." *Comparative Politics* 3 (3): 283–322.

International Labour Organization (ILO). 2016. "Youth Unemployment Challenge Worsening in Africa." http://www.ilo.org/addisababa/media-centre/pr/WCMS_514566/lang--en/index.htm.

Kane, H. 1963. *Ambiguous Adventure.* London: Heinemann.

Mandela, N. 1994. *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela.* Boston: Little, Brown.

McHenry, D. 1994. *Limited Choices: The Political Struggle for Socialism in Tanzania.* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Nyerere, J. 1968. "Education for Self-Reliance." *Cross Currents* 18 (4): 415–434.

Odera Oruka, H. 1990. *Sage Philosophy: Indigenous Thinkers and Modern Debate on African Philosophy.* Leiden: Brill Academic.

Ozmon, H. 2011. *Philosophical Foundations of Education.* 9th ed. Toronto: Pearson.

Rodney, W. 1982. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa.* Washington, DC: Howard University Press.

Semali, L. 1999. "Community as Classroom: (RE)valuing Indigenous Literacy." In *What Is Indigenous Knowledge? Voices from the Academy*, edited by L. Semali and J. Kincheloe, 95–118. New York: Routledge.

Soyinka, W. 2003. *The Open Sore of a Continent: A Personal Narrative of the Nigerian Crisis.* London: Oxford University Press.

Trevor-Roper, H. 1963. "The Rise of Christian Europe." *The Listener*, 871.

Van Sertima, I. 1991. *Blacks in Science: Ancient and Modern.* New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.

wa Thiong'o, N. 1986. *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature.* London: Heinemann.

wa Thiong'o, N. 2009. *Something Torn and New: An African Renaissance.* London: Civitas.

African Indigenous Knowledge, African State Formation, and Education

Cati Coe

As the following poem expresses, nationalist movements in Africa and elsewhere have often drawn on Indigenous knowledge, or "culture," to create a sense of national identity.[1]

ɔman yi daakye gyina amammrɛ so.	This nation's future depends on culture.
Amammrɛ yɛ ahyɛnso	Culture is the identifying mark
Ma ɔman tease-man biara	for every living nation.

This poem "ɔman yi daakye gyina amammrɛ so" (this nation's future depends on culture) was recited by Abigail Mintaah, representing Kwawu South district in the Eastern regional second-cycle cultural competition, 16 April 1999 (translation by Afari Amoako and me). Many African nationalist struggles made use of Indigenous knowledge to promote the movement for independence, efforts which postcolonial states continued to create a sense of national cohesion and legitimacy for the government in power. For example, from 1959 to 1984, Sékou Touré in Guinea supported theater competitions showcasing revolutionary themes and adopted Les Ballets Africains, a world-renowned dance troupe founded by Fodéba Kéita and which interpreted folkloric elements into exciting and exotic performances (Straker 2009). President Hastings Banda of Malawi was often accompanied by women dancing and singing at his rallies (Gilman 2009). Efforts to promote these indigenous forms of knowledge have resulted

C. Coe (✉)
Rutgers University, Camden, NJ, USA
e-mail: ccoe@camden.rutgers.edu

in the formation of national dance troupes, as in Ghana, Liberia, and Senegal (Schauert 2015; Shapiro-Phim 2017), and the promotion of forms of expression marked as national and indigenous.

Anthropologists and folklorists have explored the emergence of a sense of national belonging and national sentiment in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries around the world (Anderson 1991; Handler 1988; Herzfeld 1997). The nation was a new locus of identification that was neither natural nor self-evident but was constructed with the help of literacy (Anderson 1991) and the popularization of folkloric, linguistic, and historical scholarship (Verdery 1990; Wilson 1976). Indigenous knowledge in the form of culture and local language became the primary signifier for identifying and representing the modern nation, and in the process of generating a national identity, Indigenous knowledge was remolded for national use: objectified, sanitized, and reified. In Africa, print literacy and language were less important than performing and musical arts for representing the nation (Apter 1996; Askew 2002; Haugh 2014; Turino 2000).

These efforts were initially performed at political events, adding to the pomp and emotional fervor (Turino 2000), but they spilled over into schools, as schoolchildren were mobilized to perform or as school curricula began to incorporate Indigenous knowledge, usually in the form of performance traditions. For example, Lisa Gilman (2009) describes how one woman, who was active in the League of Malawian Women which danced and praised President Banda at his rallies, was also a schoolteacher (50–51). Somewhat against her will, she became involved in teaching the girls in her school to dance for special occasions. In previous work (Coe 2005), I documented that students and teachers in Ghanaian schools in the 1960s wrote to the Ghana Dance Ensemble and Arts Council asking for assistance acquiring musical equipment and learning various dances for school performances. As a result, the Arts Council of Ghana, which had previously focused on organizing adults, began to organize dance troupes in schools. Indigenous knowledge became incorporated into the school curriculum in many African countries: as oral literature in Kenya (Opondo 2000; Samper 1997); as performing arts, music, and visual arts in independent Namibia (Mans 2000); as "cultural activity" in South Africa under the ANC (UNESCO 1995); and in Burkina Faso, a government organization teaches theater in schools (UNESCO 1981). Cultural competitions are organized regularly in schools in Botswana, Guinea, and Uganda (Straker 2009).[2] When African states have promoted Indigenous knowledge for nationalist purposes, they usually involved schools in that effort.

Schools became significant for promoting Indigenous knowledge for four reasons. First, young people were viewed as more significant for the future progress of the nation and more malleable than adults. Second, because of their significant role in missionization, schools were viewed as promoting and valuing colonial or alien forms of knowledge. Jay Straker (2009) shows clearly how Sékou Touré "feared it [teaching] had been irreversibly tainted by its colonial origins and multiple, complex entanglements with French

imperialism" (57). Touré called on teachers to consider themselves equal, not superior, to the villagers among whom they worked, and to learn from them (65). In addition, schools, particularly at the secondary level, drew students from a variety of ethnicities and regional areas; through the peer culture developed at school, they began to construct a national culture (Turino 2000). Finally, schools and teachers could be re-directed from their colonial roots because they were directly under state control. Thus, because young people were already somewhat organized in schools, an existing state institution, schools became a major site by which Indigenous knowledge could be promoted in Africa. These interventions raise questions about what happens to Indigenous knowledge and practice as they become incorporated into an institution with a very different purpose and history.

In this chapter, I will discuss what happens when Indigenous knowledge is codified as performing and musical arts taught in schools. I will examine the transformations that happen when a local form of knowledge, embedded in a certain kind of social organization, with a distinctive epistemology and cosmological order, is communicated in a different form and as part of another institution concerned with formal knowledge transmission and intimately connected to the modern nation-state, that is, schools. My specific lens will be the effort by the government of Ghana to have cultural traditions taught in primary and junior secondary schools, dating from 1986. I examined this national educational reform through ethnographic research in one area, Akuapem, in 1998–1999 and 2002, but it is an issue that is salient in many countries in Africa, as they promote cultural traditions for the purposes of nation-building.

Schools and States

Studies of the state have shown how state actors seek to render visible the people and areas under their domains in order to control them. They seek to rationalize, standardize, and make legible social life in order to better manage it through social engineering and planning, such as teaching farmers scientific agricultural methods, creating well-ordered cities and sewage systems, surveying populations, and mapping the land (Cohn 1984; Scott 1998). Although many studies of the state do not mention schools in these interventions, historically, the expansion of mass education is closely linked to the expansion of the state. Schools are one of the most sustained zones of contact most people have with the state, and they become a way for the state to attempt to reach and shape its populace. State-sponsored schooling was seen as vital to the development and future of the nation and as a primary way to reach the nation's future citizens, an ideal of the governmental dream (Thomas 1994; Foucault 1979). Not only does the provision of mass education, as a public good, help bolster the legitimacy of the state to govern and accumulate power, particularly in postcolonial states (Chatterjee 1999), but it also helps the state control its populace by appropriating knowledge and

power associated with local social institutions. With the expansion of mass education, children spend more time in school. As a result, they generally have less opportunity to learn local knowledges, closely tied to complex local social relations and ecologies.

Scholars who have examined the nationalist use of Indigenous knowledge have not paid sufficient attention to the way that state-sponsored cultural interventions focus on schools. In fact, one way that Indigenous knowledge became reified was through schools, as nationalists sought to popularize their ideas about tradition by reforming school curricula. For instance, Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1802), whose theories animated later European nationalism, preached on the reform of German elementary education, and at Weimar, he functioned as the duke's minister of education where he was able to put into practice some of his ideas, such as replacing the Latin curriculum with instruction in the mother tongue (Hayes 1927). Thus, the teaching of an Indigenous knowledge in schools often accompanies nationalist sentiment and the extension of state-sponsored schooling to non-elite children, but it has not been well studied. If studies of nationalism and the representation of Indigenous knowledge took schooling into account, it would become clear how those nationalist representations are transformed as they are incorporated into an institution with its own traditions, associations, and dynamics.

State projects entail imaginations and intentions that aim to be powerful but may never be fully realized (Thomas 1994). Schools attempt to standardize and objectify vernacular knowledge, codifying tradition in classroom lessons into facts, taking the form of lists and definitions. However, that very standardizing process undercuts itself: Rather than appropriating Indigenous knowledge through standardization, a new field of knowledge is generated, that of school knowledge, which has different connotations and meanings than Indigenous knowledge. Ultimately, both forms of knowledge exist side by side, each with their own associated meanings and social institutions. Thus, even as the state attempts to claim and appropriate Indigenous knowledge through schools, its meaning bisects and becomes multiple, slipping from the state's grasp. In Ghana, what this means is that as Indigenous knowledge is taught in schools, local elders and chiefs are esteemed for their knowledge and practice of the most "authentic" culture, while an objectified and nationalized culture taught in schools is devalued, considered suitable for children and adolescents.

Ghana serves as an interesting place to study the relationship of Indigenous knowledge and schooling. It has had a long history of cultural programming: Ghana's first prime minister, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, set up the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana, which was devoted to research and teaching about African culture, performance traditions, and history, as well as the Arts Council (renamed the National Commission of Culture in the 1980s), whose mission was to collect folklore traditions, promote local artists, and educate the public about Ghana's cultural heritage. As a result of Nkrumah's vision, there has been a history of cultural programming over the

past fifty years, although it has risen and fallen with the financial resources and power of the state.

The (P)NDC government of Ghana, in power from 1981 to 2000, reinvigorated the push to promote "Ghanaian culture." It wrote a new cultural policy. It established a Cultural Education Unit within the Ghana Education Service—the implementation arm of the Ministry of Education—to organize cultural competitions and activities within schools. As part of an extensive Education Reform Programme launched under the auspices of the World Bank in 1986, a new subject of cultural studies was included in the national curriculum in primary and junior secondary schools. By developing, preserving, and promoting a "national culture," the Ghanaian government hoped that children would develop attitudes and skills useful for development, national unity, and social cohesion. The Policy Guidelines for the Educational Reform Programme stated, as one of seven principles forming the basis of the reform of Basic Education:

> Every Ghanaian needs a sense of cultural identity and dignity. Ghana has a Cultural heritage of individual ethnic cultures and promoting a unified Ghanaian culture will ensure a sense of national identity and make the nation stronger and more unified. This will help the pupils to be proud of themselves and their society. A proper cultural identity will help free our minds from dependency on the cultures of other people. (Ministry of Education and Culture 1988, 3; their capitalization)

Even though the main opposition party was elected to power in 2000, many of the (P)NDC government's educational and cultural policies remained intact through that transition. Although many African countries engage in cultural programming, Ghana is among those with a long and elaborated history of state representation of culture in schools.

The school-based program has two components. As part of a World Bank-sponsored education reform, a subject called cultural studies was added to the national syllabus for the first nine years of education in 1986, in which students studied music, dance, life-cycle customs, verbal art, and religion in classroom settings. Another, more popular, method, used since the late 1960s, has involved cultural competitions between schools, in which students perform in the categories of drum language, poetry recital, choral music, and dance-drama and display their work in arts and crafts exhibits (Fig. 10.1).

Ghana articulates the contested dynamics about schooling and Indigenous knowledge and between the state and its citizens that are significant throughout the continent. As in other African countries, indigenous traditions were labeled "cultural" and representative of the past during the colonial period in the Gold Coast. The objectification of African tradition for evaluation according to colonial norms resulted in its rehabilitation by nationalist and anti-colonialist movements during the struggle for independence. Furthermore, African postcolonial states, in order to shore up their legitimacy, often attempt

Fig. 10.1 Dance-drama performance of "Send Your Girl Child to School," Akropong, Akuapem, Ghana, 1997 (Photograph by Cati Coe)

to appropriate and undercut the power of alternative political authorities. Indigenous knowledge, to the extent that it is associated with these local polities, can be used symbolically in this political struggle. Schools in Africa are associated with access to colonial power, entry into state employment, and the rejection of indigenous ways of living. For this reason, as part of their rehabilitation and appropriation efforts, African states have inserted culture into school curricula and extracurricular activities, but this effort is made problematic precisely because of schooling's historical associations. In illustrating these complex historical, political, and social processes, Ghana provides a rich case study for understanding how a national culture is created and contested when Indigenous knowledge is taught in schools in an African postcolonial state.

Making Culture Teachable

In Akuapem, Ghana, most indigenous cultural and historical knowledge, is called "*mpanyinsɛm*" or elders' matters, and the distribution of this prestigious knowledge attests to the gerontocratic hierarchy operating in Akuapem. Indigenous knowledge or culture (or *amammrɛ*) is historical, involving town and family history as well as the ritual practices and wisdom of the ancestors and elders. Akuapem people place emphasis on chiefs as the "custodians of culture," a popular phrase. The chiefs, aided by the knowledge of their elders, are the ones to perform the proper rites that will placate and please the spirits and ancestors of the town and family. Kwame Ampene, a retired teacher of Akan language and music, articulated this most clearly to me,

The chiefs are custodians of our culture and the very embodiment of our customs and culture. They have retained our heritage from the ancestors. Ancestors founded the particular land, and they have to see the land is properly maintained and ruled, and the taboos kept, festivals observed, and to see that development is going on. (interview, 3 March 1999)

The most powerful and sacred knowledge behind these rituals and festivals is considered secret. Just as chiefs are protected from the profane world by the mediation of their spokesmen (Yankah 1995), so too are powerful objects and events kept hidden and protected by indirection. Even individual elders hold knowledge about different parts of a larger ritual, with few knowing the whole sequence of rites (Asiedu Yirenkyi, conversation, 26 March 1999) (Fig. 10.2).

The secret nature of this knowledge is noted by authors in books that make cultural knowledge public. In a popular book documenting the various festivals of Ghana, A. A. Opoku wrote in the preface that it is difficult to give acknowledgments "in a book dealing with what is sacred and to some extent, secret in our cultural heritage" (1970, preface). In a review of two books documenting different Akan festivals, the reviewer (Boama 1954) wrote,

Two Twi festivals which every Akan should try to watch are Adae and Odwira. But there are many people who even if they have seen these festivals, they have seen only a part. Because only insiders have permission to see the true activities. (translation by Afari Amoako and me)

Fig. 10.2 Libation being poured by the elders, Eba festival, Larteh, Akuapem, Ghana, 1999 (Photograph by Cati Coe)

Indigenous knowledge, at its deepest or most true, is thus considered hidden and not accessible; books documenting them violated that secrecy by describing rituals to non-royals and youth. The secrecy of certain historical and cultural knowledge allows powerful elders to manipulate important decisions regarding property rights and political positions, which are entwined with family genealogy and local history. As William Murphy (1980) points out about secret knowledge in Liberia, the content of the hidden knowledge does not matter as much as the privileged society (in this case, of elders) the secrecy creates.

Culture in Akuapem is associated with the secret knowledge and rituals of elders and chiefs and is generally not available to children and non-royals. There is a contradiction in having schools teach such knowledge to young people: Conceptually, the modern project of knowledge transmission in schools involves a general, common, and basic training of all citizens in the nation, specifically of children and adolescents for their future productivity. However, this notion of the school goes against the more selective local transmission of culture, in which people learn rituals and history *after* they have gained a ritual-political position and are given access to certain knowledges only after middle age.

The incorporation of Indigenous knowledge into schools thus involves three transformations to the meaning, communicative form, and content of that knowledge and to the local hierarchical relationships between young people and adults:

1. As Indigenous knowledge is taught in schools, it is translated from one epistemology into another and abstracted from its embeddedness in a social context to be fitted into another. Everyday, experiential knowledge about cultural practices is codified and systematized as it is transformed into the logocentric genre of school knowledge, which takes the form of lists and definitions, written or spoken in English. Through schools, students' experiential knowledge is articulated, decontextualized, and codified into facts, for the purpose of examining them and determining their future school careers. Thus, although students draw on their experiential and embodied knowledge of indigenous practices in classroom lessons, its transformation into school knowledge alienates that experiential knowledge from students.

2. The construction of cultural practices as cultural knowledge to be taught in schools creates new experts on culture, namely teachers and the writers of curricula or textbooks. Yet the school teaching of culture goes against local proscriptions against the sharing of cultural information with a general public, and especially with children and youth. Because some teachers themselves do not have expertise in cultural practices, whether through books or their own experiences, elders are re-legitimated as the keepers of the most authentic cultural knowledge.

3. This brings the distinction between school and lived knowledge into stark relief. The distinction between the two informs authority negotiations between teachers and students. In general, schools give youth opportunities to create peer associations, generate discourse critical of their elders, and gain some authority, if only over one another. However, the teaching of culture in schools furthers that role of schooling. It allows youth to gain more authority over their teachers than they normally have in school. The teaching of culture caused tensions between teachers and students, and between students: battles over authority were fought through the language of competence and knowledge. Learning Indigenous knowledge in the schools was a situation where students as children and adolescents had more authority than usual, either in or out of classrooms, and adults tried to deal with this problematic situation by maintaining order, limiting participation, and controlling the creative content of the performances.

Based on ethnographic research in Akuapem, this paper speaks to the complicated, problematic effects of the promotion of Indigenous knowledge in schools on the status of both youth and forms of knowledge associated with elders. The production of national culture through such Indigenous knowledge in schools in Ghana is a project with contradictory effects, continuously contested and appropriated, as social actors struggle to make sense of their lives.

How Cultural Knowledge Becomes School Knowledge

I will first discuss my first two arguments: (1) that as Indigenous knowledge is taught to youth in schools, their everyday knowledge is alienated from them as it is turned into the genre of school knowledge; and (2) that through schools, Indigenous knowledge is changed in epistemological form and decontextualized, thus rendering its transmission to youth more socially palatable. These are articulating processes: Schools help in the codification and decontextualization of Indigenous knowledge, but this also supports local conceptions about elders holding the purest and most deep Indigenous knowledge.

Let me give an example of the alienation of students' experiential knowledge as culture is taught in schools. In a primary five classroom, the teacher gives a lesson on "traditional occupations" which is a topic in the cultural studies syllabus for primary schools. After writing "Some Traditional Occupations" on the board, he asks students to name their father's occupation. They respond: teacher, farmer, doctor, trader, dressmaker, and driver. The teacher writes these down on the board and then checks off doctor and teacher. He explains to the students that traditional means "in the olden days," "what our forefathers were doing," before the white people came. He then gets some answers he accepts: farming, trading, fishing, and hunting.

He tries again, asking: What did your grandfathers do? The students respond: painter, baker, carpenter, and mason. But he is after specific traditional occupations—potter and *kente* weaver[3]—after which he felt he had enough listed on the board and ended the lesson (field notes, 16 September 1998).

In this example, the teacher's conception of "traditional" occupations did not correspond to the actual family histories of his students. Although the teacher thought he could elicit responses about tradition and the past by asking about the children's fathers and grandfathers, their answers did not correspond to his (or the cultural studies syllabus's) notions of "traditional." Thus, students' experiential knowledge of their families was discredited because it did not fit an idealized view of the past. Local understandings of culture as "tradition," located in the past and not in the experience of young people, help in the systematization of Indigenous knowledge in the classroom.

Furthermore, schools have contributed to a youth's view of culture, without any sacred significance, changing its meaning and power. As a result, cultural knowledge becomes a list of facts to be memorized for exams. The lessons on culture as part of Akan language lessons in the primary and junior secondary schools followed closely the regular style of teaching, in which students sat in their seats, teachers were the source of information, and the creation of notes was the goal of the lesson. In general, schooling in Akuapem is marked by a pedagogy in which knowledge is made abstract and into a game of word-reproduction, a litany to be learned and not questioned, with very little relevance to everyday life. Classroom teaching consisted of the typical question-answer-response format characteristic of schools around the world: Teachers asked direct questions in which the explicit goal was to elicit student knowledge but students were in fact supposed to figure out the answer in the teacher's mind, as we saw above. The discussion would result in various lists and definitions being written on the board. Then, "notes" would be given, in which the teacher would write down sentences and paragraphs on the topic on the board, often duplicating the points of the previous discussion, and students would copy these notes into their notebooks. These notes would form the basis of exercises, questions in school tests, and (it was assumed) the nationwide exams. Sometimes, for homework or classwork, the teacher would write questions on the board, based on the notes, and students would write the answers in their notebooks.[4] This is a labor-intensive and mechanical process. Notebooks are often the material objects around which lessons revolve: Students hurry to copy notes down from the board, they are collected to be graded by the teacher who often has stacks of notebooks on his or her table, after which they need to be distributed again and corrections made (Fig. 10.3).

Notes are therefore an important mechanism for turning Indigenous knowledge into school knowledge and verbalizing embodied knowledge through English words, definitions, and lists. In a lesson on folktales (*Ananseɛm*) in a third-year class in a junior secondary school (ninth year of schooling), the teacher led the students through a discussion, writing several lists on the board:
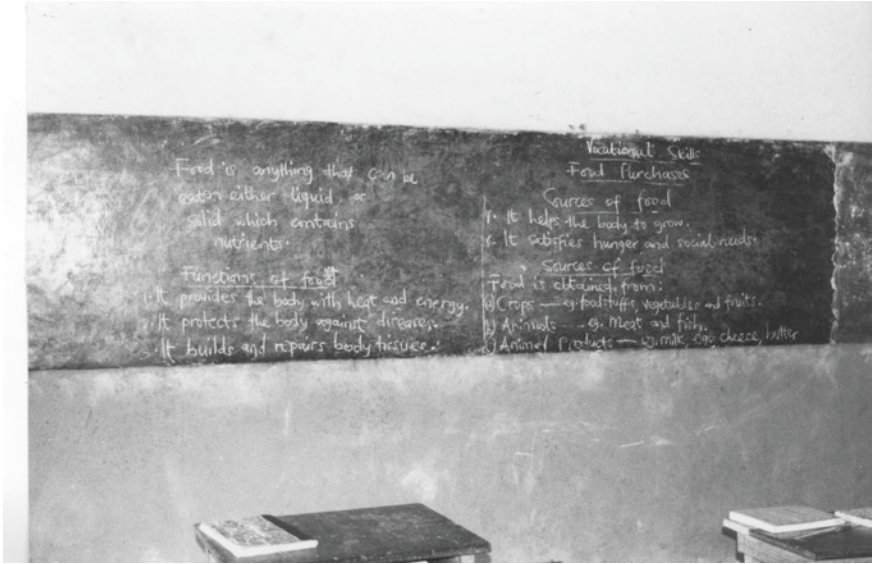
Fig. 10.3 Notes on a blackboard on food production, JSS class, Akropong, Akuapem, 1999 (Photograph by Cati Coe)

- the stock characters in folktales;
- the structural parts of folktales: the introduction, response, story, and songs; and
- the virtues or morals one learns from folktales.

A lesson on the Akan festival of Odwira for a third-year class in another junior secondary school similarly produced several lists:

- festivals of different ethnic groups in Ghana;
- the importance (functions) of festivals; and
- the food used to feed the ancestors at festivals.

Because the Odwira festival had been celebrated in the town the week before, this lesson drew heavily on students' experiences during Odwira and systematized it into school knowledge. The teacher, a young woman from Kwawu, did not pretend to know a great deal about the town's Odwira, which she had not attended; in fact, the students knew that the festival had not been celebrated properly because of an important chief's death, a death which had been kept secret for several months, whereas she did not. But she created a list that built on students' experiences of Odwira: Among its functions, Odwira brought family together, strangers came to the town, it gave

the chiefs the opportunity to make the government aware of problems of the town, and people found marriage partners during this time. She also allowed students the freedom to ask their own questions, some of which she could not answer; for instance, a boy asked a very metaphysical question about how spirits eat and carry food, a yearly event during the Odwira festivities. She told me afterward that every year, at about this time, she gives a lesson on festivals, because Odwira is "fresh" on her students' minds. At the end of the lesson, the students copied these lists down from the board. Thus, in this lesson, we see tensions between different ways of knowing, in which students had greater experiential knowledge of the festival than their teacher, but she transformed it into factual information and lists, to be evaluated later as correct or incorrect.

Thus, as Indigenous knowledge is translated into different forms, it assumes a different meaning and power, becoming factual knowledge to be memorized and reproduced in exams. Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron (1990) argue that as people of lower status gain access to prestigious occupations, those occupations lose their prestige. Here, we see an analogous, but slightly different, operation, in which as youth gain access to a prestigious Indigenous knowledge through schools, a hierarchy and differentiation within that knowledge appears, in which Akuapem people considered the most "deep" historical and ritual knowledge to be held by elders, while youth gained access to a decontextualized cultural knowledge that is meaningful only within a youthful domain, that is, school. For instance, when I asked a cultural studies teacher in an interview how he gained his expertise in this subject, he referenced the textbook *Cultural Studies for Junior-Secondary Schools* (1989) and then critiqued it, saying, "It doesn't go into much depth in there." In the process, as Indigenous knowledge becomes school knowledge, students' experiential knowledge of cultural practices takes a devalued form, of codified knowledge, as lists, functions, and definitions.

Teacher Authority, Student Knowledge

Let me discuss now my third argument: That despite the transformation of students' everyday knowledge into decontextualized school knowledge, the teaching of culture *does* create opportunities for students to demonstrate competence, teach, and gain authority over one another, as well as over their teachers. This change in authority can happen because teachers themselves are often not elders and keepers of cultural knowledge.

A counterexample illustrates this point most clearly. I met one secondary-school Akan language teacher who was able to use rhetorical strategies associated with elders to point to his superior cultural knowledge. Mr. Danquah[5] was a gentleman in his sixties. One rhetorical strategy that he used was to contrast today's practices negatively with the past, a strategy that gave him authority

because of his age. In a lesson about funerals, he said in Akan, "Now, it has been corrupted. It is a party" and "Funerals are not sad anymore." He emphasized the fasting that took place in the funerals of the past, and how food was only served to strangers who had traveled, not to everyone as is currently done.

He also showed his superior knowledge by giving students Akan words that they had never or rarely heard, as elders did. In the lesson on libation, a student said that a "glass" (using the English word) was needed for libation to be performed. Mr. Danquah asked for the Akan word for "glass." A girl from Akropong said, "kɔnkɔnkɔ" which Mr. Danquah corrected to "kɔnkɔ." The students responded with surprise—"Eh!" and "Ehsh!"—because they had never heard the word before. He also gave another name for Asaase Yaa, a spirit of the earth mentioned in libation prayers, that the students had never heard before. A boy asked for the name's meaning, and Mr. Danquah explained. Thus, Mr. Danquah maintained authority through rhetorical strategies which positioned him as an elder in relation to the students: He had superior access to the more authentic ways and the purer language of the past. In fact, many colleagues and students showed him respect by calling him "ɔpanyin" or elder. Thus, in order for teachers to be seen as new experts (or as elders), they have to have more knowledge than that provided in the curriculum or textbooks. Because Mr. Danquah had a great deal of background knowledge of the Akan language and personal experience of the past, he was able to bridge the divide between book knowledge and experiential knowledge, by taking on the role of an elder.

However, unlike Mr. Danquah, many teachers do not feel comfortable or competent in teaching about culture. Some are devout Christians and avoid going to festivals, considering them dangerous to their Christian identities; therefore, they did not attend cultural activities, which is the primary way of learning about them.[6] Other teachers are strangers to the local community, and many teachers, especially at the primary and junior secondary school levels (the first nine years of schooling), are young, and therefore, their incorporation into important ritual and political positions will happen at a later period in their lives. Thus, because of their own lack of knowledge, teachers relied on student knowledge of culture in their teaching, and this resulted in different kinds of tensions and possibilities than normally happened at school.

The new subject "Music and Dance," which had formerly been part of the subject of cultural studies, was not taught in many schools because teachers did not feel comfortable with it. When it *was* taught, the degree of teacher participation and authority, especially during enactments within lessons, depended on the teacher's knowledge of culture and the students' age. Sometimes the students, especially older ones, drew on their personal observations of community events like funerals and festivals to reenact them in the classroom; at other times, students were dependent on direct prompting and

direction from teachers standing on the sidelines or the teacher herself performed. At one end of the extreme, in one junior secondary school, the Akan language teacher was neither from the local area nor was Akan her first language. She was uncertain about her knowledge and relied heavily on a book entitled *Akanfo Amammrɛ* (Akan Culture) that she carried. Rather than carrying out a logocentric transformation like those described in the previous section, she asked students to perform a play about a funeral. She thus created an opportunity for them to show off their experiential and performative knowledge. The students, especially the boys, took over the enactment of the funeral with great gusto and enthusiasm, as the teacher sat in the back of the room and read her book.

> A boy who was named the organizer of the funeral (*Ayipasohene*) gave a confident little speech, standing at the front of the room. Then another boy went forward to pour libation. Laughter and giggles erupted as he went to the front of the room. He adjusted the cloth tied over his school uniform so that it was around his upper chest, rather than over his shoulder, a sign of respect for the spirits to be addressed. Another boy went forward to be speech-mediator or *ɔkyeame* for the libation-pouring, but the teacher told him "*ɛnyɛ hwee*" (don't bother) and he returned to stand at the back of the room. The boy pouring libation did not have the usual props of a calabash or bottle but he prayed with full confidence, using his cupped hands. Because there was no *ɔkyeame* responding to the prayer, other students seated in their chairs responded *("Wɛ! Wɛ!")* at the end of each phrase. The students laughed at themselves. Then boys beat on their desks to represent the drumming, and the girls pretended to weep in their seats. Then they rose, swept up a table representing the corpse, and they went through the corridor of the school wailing and making a commotion, bringing other students out of their classrooms. (field notes, 9 November 1999)

Although the boy heeded the teacher's comment that no *ɔkyeame* was needed, the students felt the lack of response that an *ɔkyeame* normally gives during the libation-pouring, and they took on that role, moving from observers to participants. Yet they were embarrassed, giggling, and laughing (Fig. 10.4).

Those who had had the greatest access to cultural events, usually through their families, had greater opportunities to perform at school, and the rest observed, a structure that was similar to learning contexts in non-school settings. Although one might argue that demonstration and observation mimicked community contexts of learning in which adults had expertise, it was different in several ways: Young children played the roles of adults and elders in these demonstrations, and teachers corrected students from the sidelines, as they faltered through the steps or words. Yet there were very few harsh judgments or criticisms, from either teachers or fellow students, perhaps because no one was quite sure of the exact way to do it. Students who had access to certain kinds of cultural knowledge at home perceived that teachers did not have the expert knowledge that elders did.

Fig. 10.4 Performance of a funeral during a school dance-drama, Akropong, Akuapem, Ghana, 1997 (Photograph by Cati Coe)

Conclusion

It seems quite natural for the state to involve schools in the work of producing a national culture.

However, the state is also limited in its ability to appropriate culture through schools because the modern project of knowledge transmission in schools goes against the logic of learning Indigenous practices and knowledge, which people generally learn only after they have gained a ritual-political position in their families and towns after middle age. In general, school lessons transform the practical into the theoretical, or students' experiential, embodied knowledge into school knowledge, a form of lists, definitions, and functions which can be memorized and regurgitated on an exam. Schooling is therefore a process of alienating students from what they know, as they struggle to articulate their everyday experiences in complicated English in the particular forms required by school knowledge. As they do with other kinds of Indigenous knowledge, teachers simultaneously strive to make cultural knowledge into a form of knowledge appropriate for school. Thus, lessons on libation and festivals take the form of a series of lists, definitions, and functions that are mentioned in discussion, written on the board, copied by students into their notebooks, and can be the basis of homework questions and exams. Culture becomes located in the past, distant from the experience of young people, as it takes the shape of a codified, standardized school knowledge, circulated verbally and in writing in school contexts. In incorporating the teaching of tradition into schools, the meaning, location of expertise, and the process of learning those traditions shift.

However, these transformations into school knowledge are only partial because the school teaching of culture goes against local proscriptions against the sharing of Indigenous knowledge with a general public, and especially with children and youth. Teachers are the linchpin in the state's strategy to appropriate cultural traditions and make schools the site for its transmission. Because some teachers themselves are positioned as inexpert because they are youth, strangers, Christians or highly educated, many feel shaky in their cultural knowledge. As a result, when teaching about culture, many teachers can neither retain their role as teachers elucidating school knowledge nor appropriate the role of traditional elders. Akuapem people thus tend to dismiss the school teaching of culture as appropriate for children and unworthy of respect, pointing to chiefs and elders as maintaining the ancestors' and town's traditions. Because the majority of teachers do not feel knowledgeable, school programming gave students a greater sense of expertise than they usually felt in school classrooms in relation to their teachers.

Yet it also seems to me that fifty years of cultural programming in schools in Ghana have been a partial success in generating a sense of nationhood which frames and contains local and ethnic loyalties. Thus, when ethnic violence breaks out, it is relatively local and small scale. The state-sponsored buffet of a variety of ethnic cultures presented in state pageantry and school cultural competitions means that the nation is not associated with one ethnic group, as happened in Côte d'Ivoire with the Akan. Thus, the fact that Ghana has not been plagued by ethnic violence since independence speaks, at least in part, to Ghanaians' feeling of the legitimacy of the nation as a political entity, and school cultural programming has contributed, at least in part, to that structure of feeling. The state in Ghana has been partially successful in associating Indigenous knowledge with the nation, reifying both culture and the nation-state, and as a result, containing potential divisions.

Notes

1. Haugh (2014) argues that Namibia is an exception to this pattern, in which the experience of apartheid meant that nationalism took the form not of culture, but of access to opportunity and cosmopolitanism, such as through promoting English.
2. See Jay Straker (2009) and personal communication with Kristen Cheney and Deborah Durham.

3. *Kente* is a brightly colored and expensive cloth made of sewed strips of woven cotton or silk.
4. This teaching strategy is to some extent a response to the lack of textbooks; when textbooks are pulled out of their closets, five or more students share one book, huddled around a table, reading upside-down, sideways, or over another's shoulder.
5. All names of schools, teachers, and students are pseudonyms.
6. I discuss Christian objections to the teaching of cultural traditions in schools elsewhere (Coe 2005).

References

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso.

Apter, Andrew. 1996. "The Pan-African Nation: Oil Money and the Spectacle of Culture in Nigeria." *Public Culture* 8 (3): 441–466.

Askew, Kelly M. 2002. *Performing the Nation: Swahili Music and Cultural Politics in Tanzania*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Boama, I. E. 1954. "Reviews of *Adɛɛ* by J. H. K. Nketia and *Odwiratwa* by E. A. Tabi." *Kristofo Sɛnkekafo* 44: 12.

Bourdieu, Pierre, and Jean-Claude Passeron. 1990. *Reproduction in Education: Society and Culture*. 2nd ed. Translated by Richard Nice. London: Sage.

Chatterjee, Partha. 1999. "The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories." In *The Partha Chatterjee Omnibus,* edited by Partha Chatterjee, 1–174. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Coe, Cati. 2005. *Dilemmas of Culture in African Schools: Youth, Nationalism, and the Transformation of Knowledge*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cohn, Bernard S. 1984. "The Census, Social Structure and Objectification in South Asia." *Folk* 26: 25–49.

Foucault, Michel. 1979. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage.

Gilman, Lisa. 2009. *The Dance of Politics: Gender, Performance, and Democratization in Malawi*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Handler, Richard. 1988. *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Haugh, Wendi A. 2014. *Lyrical Nationalism in Post-Apartheid Namibia: Kings, Christians, and Cosmopolitans in Catholic Youth Songs*. Lanham: Lexington Books.

Hayes, Carlton J. H. 1927. "Contributions of Herder to the Doctrine of Nationalism." *The American Historical Review* 32 (4): 719–736.

Herzfeld, Michael. 1997. *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics of the Nation-State*. New York: Routledge.

Mans, Minette. 2000. "Creating a Cultural Policy for Namibia." *Arts Education Policy Review* 101 (2): 11–17.

Murphy, William P. 1980. "Secret Knowledge as Property and Power in Kpelle Society: Elders Versus Youth." *Africa* 56 (2): 193–207.

Opoku, A. A. 1970. *Festivals of Ghana*. Accra: Ghana Publishing Corporation.

Opondo, Patricia A. 2000. "Arts Education in Kenya." *Arts Education Policy Review* 101 (3): 18–24.

Samper, David. 1997. "'Love, Peace, and Unity': Romantic Nationalism and the Role of Oral Literature in Kenya's Secondary Schools." *Folklore Forum* 28 (1): 29–47.

Schauert, Paul. 2015. *Staging Ghana: Artistry and Nationalism in State Dance Ensembles.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Scott, James. 1998. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Shapiro-Phim, Toni. 2017. "Because of the War" [film]. Philadelphia Folklore Project.

Straker, Jay. 2009. *Youth, Nationalism, and the Guinean Revolution.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Thomas, Nicholas. 1994. *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Turino, Thomas. 2000. *Nationalists, Cosmopolitans, and Popular Music.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

UNESCO. 1995. *Looking Backwards, Looking Forwards: Culture and Development Conference, Johannesburg, April–May 1993.* Bellville: Mayibuye Books.

———. 1981. *Cultural Development: Some Regional Experiences.* Paris: UNESCO Press.

Verdery, Katherine. 1990. "The Production and Defense of 'the Romanian Nation,' 1900 to World War II." In *Nationalist Ideologies and the Production of National Cultures*, edited by Richard G. Fox, 81–111. Washington, DC: American Anthropological Association.

Wilson, William A. 1976. *Folklore and Nationalism in Modern Finland.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Yankah, Kwesi. 1995. *Speaking for the Chief: Okyeame and the Politics of Akan Royal Oratory.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

African Education and Cultural Belief Systems: Extrapolations from Igboland, Nigeria

Christian Chukwuma Opata

Introduction

For Africans, there is always a problem of conceptualizing education. In the first instance, the word "education" is not African and the understanding of words not existent in a people's vocabulary is riddled with problems; quite often, the equivalent or near equivalent is taken to mean the same thing with the word in question. It would be very pedestrian to say that Africans are confronted with the challenge of conceptualization of education just because the Europeans from whom they borrowed the word "education" concluded that Africans had neither culture nor education (Onwuka 1992). As it concerns the Igbo, A. E. Afigbo scripted that:

> Not only did the Igbo not know a literate culture until the imposition of European rule, but in addition, their land lay outside the area traversed by early travellers, Arab or European, until a little over a century ago. The result was that the development of Igbo culture, throughout the millennia before 1900 went undocumented. (1981, 2)

This raises the question, can Africans in general and the Igbo in particular be talking about education when it was assumed that they had none. To know if

C. C. Opata (✉)
Department of History and International Studies,
University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Nigeria
e-mail: christian.opata@unn.edu.ng

Africans had any form of education or not, we need to clarify what is meant by the term *education*.

The definition of education has taken many forms, and this gave rise to a lot of definitions as exemplified by D. J. O'Connor who defines education using three criteria. He refers to education as a set of techniques for imparting knowledge, skills, and attitudes. He also posits that education is a set of theories which purport to explain or justify the use of these techniques and as well a set of values and ideas embodied and expressed in the purpose for which knowledge, skills, and attitudes are imparted and so directing the amount and type of training that is given (1957, 5). Writing on the problematic of defining education, Asaju (2015) contends like Ukeje (1966), that education is a process, a product and as well a discipline. As a product, education is measured by the qualities and traits displayed by the educated person and in this case, the educated being is conceived of as "knowledgeable" and "cultured", while as a process it means a set of activities, which entails handing down the ideas, values, and norms of the society across generation. As a discipline, it is defined in terms of the benefits of organized knowledge to which students are exposed. From the above definitions, one is convinced that education here is construed from the prism of literacy and numeracy which to a large extent is not in tandem with African traditional educational system. Despite this disparity and confusion, scholars such as K. A. Bussia would insist that Africa had systems of education before the colonial era (1964, 13). What is obvious is that this perplexity emanated from the distinction between formal and informal education and the emphasis of the West on formal education and the accompanying literacy attached to the latter which were obtained through a school system either at the level of pre-primary, primary, secondary, or tertiary levels.

The Igbo, like other ethnic nationalities in Africa, conceptualize education as B. O. Ukeje rightly observed as the processes by which people are acclimatized to the culture into which they were born so that they may advance such culture. In the simplest language, it is the process by which people are prepared to live effectively and efficiently in their environment (1966, 54). As if to harmonize the varied definitions of education to suit the Igbo conception, T. U. Nwala scripts that education, whether formal or informal, is the recognized means whereby a person acquires most of his ideas, beliefs, and attitudes; in short, his knowledge, skill, and manner necessary, not only to combat the hazards and problems of life (physically, theoretically, and psychologically), and to secure the needs of life (biological, social, and economic), but also to fit into the company of fellow human beings (2010, 324). Deriving from the various definitions, the present writer is of the view that education could be said to be the oil that lubricates the accepted wisdom, thoughts, actions, and character of an individual and by extension a society and as well the determinant of how society accepts the individual.

In traditional Igbo society, according to S. O. Igwe, education is regarded as a social duty for a social purpose (1987, 32). Its content is the whole culture and it behooves on adult members of each society to pass it on to the young ones with a view to making them learn through indoctrination, observation (especially through participation), ceremonies and festivals, recitation, demonstration, and imitation. S. I. Okoro (2016) argues that Igbo traditional education could be grouped into two broad categories. These are the recreational and the intellectual. Recreational subjects that formed part of Igbo traditional education include dancing, wrestling, acrobatic displays, racing, and a host of others. The intellectual arm has to do with the study of local history, legends by way of moonlight tales, poetry, reasoning, riddles, proverbs, storytelling about the environment and geography of the area. Consequent on this conclusion, it becomes obvious that education in Igboland is culture-based and community-specific. According to Nasidi and Iliya (2016), education stands for a wide range of methods, processes, techniques, and beliefs that are set aside to develop human mental capacity in the name of knowledge. Be that as it may, the Igbo transmit their knowledge systems to their young ones through many means and agencies approved and legitimized by their culture, but definitely not in schools of the Western model. In transmitting knowledge, A. Babs. Fafunwa explains that Igbo traditional education, like that of other African education systems laid emphasis on virtues of social responsibility, job orientation, political participation, and spiritual and moral values (1974, 2). Nevertheless, in their discourse of education and belief systems, the Igbo are quick to observe that education (*mmuta*) is different from knowledge (*amamife*) and belief (*nkwenye*) but are convinced that the former two drives the latter.

The Nexus Between Cultural Practices, Belief Systems, and Education in Traditional Igbo Society

Among the Igbo, language education is very strong as it forms the basis of all other education. This is because languages play an indispensable role in education as it is the most effective medium of communication by means of which knowledge is acquired and transmitted from one generation to another (Onumajuru 2017). Among the Igbo, one often hears them talk of the power of words and by extension language. As Nwala observes, what people refer to as the power of word has to do with the traditional belief and practice of psycho-kinetic activity or remote control effect as it is believed that through the utterance of a word, a physical effect can be achieved (2010, 70). Granted that there is what could easily be recognized as the Igbo language, there exist strong to mild dialectical variations. Inculcating in the young Igbo people, their different linguistic variations help to speed up their integration into their respective communities. This was/is achieved through younger people imitating their parents, elders in the society, or some people with special skills that

had languages that are restricted to their profession. For instance, Igbo diviners and traditional medicine men have language that is peculiar to them. For instance, they call cow *akwọbra*, whereas the name for cow among the Igbo is *efi, eshu* or *ehi*, depending on the dialect of the speaker.[1] One interesting aspect of this particular language is that it is restricted to those who can predict the future and as well unravel the past, especially when there appears to be no answer. This must have informed K. A. Ranson to script that divination is the exercise of foretelling the future by means of alleged predated natural powers (1983, 202). It is based on the belief that the future is predetermined, that all things, however casual or accidental they might appear, have significance, and that the pattern of coming events can be read from them.

Divination encompasses all methods of predicting the future, such as card reading, reading tea leaves, or palms. In Igbo, they have an instrument that is held at one end and the holders asked the instrument questions and watched how it swings; this is called *Uperete*. They also have kola nut divination; called *eha oji*, Igbo cards; called *eha Ụkpụkpa n'ogboduaga*, and palmistry; called *amụmụ banyere akaraka*. In Igbo Astrology, the general direction of a person's life is read from the position of the stars at the time of his or her birth. Dream interpretation, once a popular form of divination is today an important aid to psychoanalysis. Divination from the description has something to do with prediction. The predictive vocation of divination is done by a priest called diviner priest. In the Igbo language, he or she is called (*Dibịa-afa*) and functions as a healer, diviner and possessor of psychic power, diviner (foreteller), and the mystic. Diviners are consulted whenever there is an ominous event or manifestation. They declare the future as revealed to them by the gods and idols. They warn citizens of looming disaster, the anger of gods, misdoing or neglect of some religious ceremonies, rituals or sacrifices to idols, an outbreak of infectious diseases and epidemic. They prescribe remedies in the way of sacrifice and give better solutions to people's problems. Since people are products of their objective situations, the Igbo are educated early in life to believe that through esoteric language, they could commune with the spiritual realm. However, there is a limit to their accepting the predictions or verdicts of the diviner or medicine man as encapsulated in their saying that after the diviner had divined for you, you also "divine" for yourself.

Related to the above is the Igbo belief that their economy is tied to their religion and spirituality. Nwala wrote that in Igbo traditional society, economic factors generate religious and philosophical ideas and these in turn influence economic activity (2010, 243). Hence, from childhood, the young ones are taught the regulations guiding the economy either through involvement in festivals, participating in farmwork or trade and crafts. In whichever case, the child was made to observe and participate in the ritual observances attached to whichever economic activity he is engaged in. For instance, in agriculture, the child is made to understand that there are supernatural forces that control the growth and fertility of plants. Such forces are

worshiped and revered. They include *Ala*-the earth goddess and *Fijioku, Njoku,* or *Ahajioku*—goddesses of yam. The Igbo believe that desecration of any of the plants amounts to a violation of the spirit force attached to it and must not be taken lightly. For instance, a recent newspaper article, described how Igbo give utmost reverence to yam, to the point that any person caught in the unlawful act of pilfering yam is visited with the severe punishment of banishment or even death in the olden days (*Vanguard*, August 23, 2017).[2] As a mark of respect for the spirit force of yam, the Igbo performed some rituals before they commence the eating of yam. This is made manifest during the celebration of new yam festivals. It is assumed that failure to perform such rituals portend danger and anyone who ate yam harvested from within an Igbo community with the intention of eating same before the rituals of the new yam festival were performed did so with the intention of attracting the wrought of the gods of the land. Through this notion, those who ate their yams before the yam ceremony were branded evildoers; a tag no sensible Igbo would like to be associated with. Suffice to say that this notion is not limited to yam or agriculture but applies to every sector of the economy. For instance, C. C. Opata and A. A. Apeh ([2012a](#)) noted that in Lejja, one of the monuments in Otobo Uwgu Dunoka, an iron-smelting site called *Oya Ogwuu*, is associated with celestial bodies and the people believe that the monument uses the powers provided by celestial bodies to victimize any on who cheats his/her neighbor during any economic transaction. It is equally assumed that since the monument is anti-poison, it has the potency to neutralize any charm that a cheat might use to defraud the society during collection of levies. This informs the choice of the monument as the venue for collecting all traditional levies in the community.

In educating themselves (both the old and young), the Igbo as espoused by A. A. Monye ([1995](#)) made good use of proverbs as they used same to make elegant as well as bolster arguments during their conversation and other speech events. Their proverbs capture everything about their society. Referencing Chinua Achebe works, one of Africa's masterful users of proverbs, he avers that a proverb is both a functional means of communication and also a very elegant and artistic performance. In short, proverb according to him is a shorthand in communication. The Igbo view the world within their cultural environment and coin proverbs that appropriately explain all aspects of their traditional life and worldview. Some areas where the use of proverbs is employed by the Igbo in educating and sustaining their belief systems include marriage and taking care of old ones. Among the Igbo, there is the belief that for a marriage to be considered as appropriately contracted there must be an intermediary or go-between, who acts as the leader during the early stages of attempts at consummating the marriage. Notwithstanding the importance of the intermediary, there is a limitation on his job as encapsulated in their proverb which holds that *Ngwa ngwa di matara nwuye ya, onye aka ebe ezelie* (as soon as the husband understands his fiancée, the

go-between steps aside) (see Ukaegbu 2006). This proverb harps on ways the Igbo kept their marriages intact. First, the intermediary as an outsider and the central person that negotiated the marriage is reminded by this proverb that after executing the contract, he should give way; he is not to meddle in the affairs of the couples, especially unsolicited. In an interview with Martin Okwa (2018), he explains however, as is usual with proverbs, the "mediator" in essence is not referring to the actual mediator, but all those who may perchance be involved in making peace among estranged couples. The central message is "know your limits."[3]

The Igbo are convinced that a society with a large population of gray-haired people stands the chance of preserving their cherished heritage more than those with young people in the majority. Consequent on this notion, they educate the young one on how to conduct him/her before elders, respect and take care of elders and the gains therein. Hence, they say that *Nwata kwocha aka Osoro Ogaranya rii nri* (If a child washes his/her hands clean he/she eats with the elders). Washing of hands and dinning with elders should not be taken literally. In fact, what it means is that the way a child conducts him/herself determines her identity with the society. Such identities are determined by the elders. The euphemistic roles of proverbs in education make it an imperative for it to be re-examined due to their pedagogical values in socializing the youth to the norms and values of the society and re-positioning them for the challenges of the global world. As proverbs are bearers of history, they help in creating room for easy adaptation, promotes knowledge that are auto-centric and autochthonous, the type of knowledge the Igbo value as made evident in another proverb that a tree that has no root will definitely bow to the wind (see Opata and Apeh 2012b). "Rootedness" as implied in "root" connotes a firm grasp of the past. From this, one can deduce the rational for the high emphasis traditional Igbo society placed on the study of their history. They believe that history as "the root" is the lantern that lit their dark path to the present and the future.

In terms of taking care of the old, the Igbo teach that this as a social obligation that has a reward. This is aptly captured by the proverb *Onye fee Eze, Eze eru ya* which translates as "if one respects the King, he too will become a king." Another proverb has it that *Onye leru Ogerenyi nka n'aka Ogbaya amamife*. This when rendered in English reads, "he who took care of an elder is more knowledgeable than his age mates." Implicit in the latter statement is the belief that staying close to the elders, serving, and respecting them makes one very knowledgeable. To buttress this assertion, there is an anecdote about a young man and a very elderly man who was contesting who among them knew the tradition of their community more. The elderly man never lived with an elder as he was a retired school teacher who had lived outside the community for the greater part of his life. The young man, on the other hand, was the son of the village head and lived, served, and worked with his father until the father died. To know who was more knowledgeable among

the two, another very senior elder gave them a kola nut seed to break and share it according to their tradition. The elderly man failed the test while the younger passed the test, based on his lived experience which he acquired during his stay with his father.[4]

On the part of the elders' role was to ensure they had children before old age. This is made succinct by the proverb *Oguru kaa nka, o ṅuwa ara umu ya*. This means that "when the bush rat grows old, it is breast-fed by its children" (Ukaegbu 2006, 165). Here the emphasis is on reciprocity; the parents have to take care of the children very well so that when they grow old, they would be taken care of by their children. This is captured by another proverb which states that *Ọkpukpu kpajaru nzọgu, nzọgu kpagide Ọkpukpu* (if the old takes care of the young, the young would later take care of the old).[5]

The Igbo believe that a tree cannot make a forest. Hence, they teach their young ones to imbibe communal spirit early and in the precolonial times, the Igbo society was communalistic. Among the Igbo, life, with its joys and sorrows, was shared in common. The problem of the community, as described by Onah et al. (2016), was the problem of every member of the community, and the problem of any member of the community was the problem of the community. Individualism, if it existed, was at the barest minimum. This is aptly implied in one of their witticisms that states, *Otekuru Okwu Agbugba, nee Otekuru nne ya* (if the cover of the calabash plate is stained, the calabash plate is equally stained). In the pristine customary Igbo society, mutual care and concern were the foundation of existence. The African idea of a community includes within it the idea of sharing a common life as a result of a common heritage. In the Igbo community, what concerned one concerned the other, directly or indirectly. Hence the mutual show of concern could be as a result of feeling for the other or just the knowledge that what happens to one member of the community would eventually affect me. This is attested to by K. C. Anyanwu as cited by Ezedike, "there is nothing like a solitary individual in the African (Igbo) cultural scheme of reality owing to the belief that all forces are perpetually in interaction with one another and interpenetrating each other" (2009, 246).

Another area where there is a strong connection between Igbo traditional Indigenous education and their cultural belief system is in the area of entertainment. Granted that the display of their incarnate beings, otherwise termed masquerades, is strictly speaking not for entertainment but serves the purpose of re-enacting very crucial aspects of the people's past, their display serves some dramatic purposes. The masquerade is assumed to be one of the departed ancestors of each community. This connection informed I. U. Nwankwo (2015) research findings that among the Igbo of Southeast Nigeria, masquerades (*Mmonwu*) were regarded as ancestral spirits whose interest in the affairs of their living descendants compel them to visit the community during festivals, funerals and when things are not normal in the community. Since the traditional setting till contemporary times, such

masquerades discharge very important social roles which include governance and social control in character among others. Their costume is an industry of its own that is sustained by training of special craftsmen and women. In some cases, the knowledge of the craft is restricted to specific families who build a cult around the craft. Through their antics, they made others believe that they were chosen by some ontological forces specifically for such jobs and unless one is so chosen, he/she could not be proficient in the art. Through such assumptions, people were restricted from learning the craft. The logic of this restriction is to create a market for those who are in the craft by limiting competition and also creating some air of importance around themselves and their various crafts. For instance, the blacksmiths developed a saying that is very popular among the Igbo that states, *agulu a noro, Igbo ataa aja* (without smiths the Igbo would eat sand). This saying means the Igbo would starve in the absence of smiths. Granted that the masks are not food, items produced by the blacksmiths are very prominent in the Igbo masking tradition. Items like metal gongs, short metal bells, iron staff with triangular patches (*Ojii*), and *Otii* (*big* metal bell) are prominent in the costume and paraphernalia of Igbo masks (see Njoku 1989). In grading their masks, the Igbo use the proverb *Oke mma etugu izere n'ukwu maka Oke Maa n'evu Otti*.[6] This translates as big masquerades otherwise called spirit beings do not have itself adorned in the waist with small rattle bell, its waist is adorned with big metal bells. The latter statement not only teach the younger ones the class distinction in the society, but also teach them how their fashion could be a reflection of what image they society create of them, even though with some reservation.

Traditional Igbo society made elaborate provisions for games as part of their education and cultural belief systems. One of such games, *Echa* plays many functions in modeling the economic and moral senses of its players. This game is played by two persons and the rule is that each player had a total of thirty-five seeds (which could be *ukeh*, black mucuna bean seed- *ekpuru egbara*- or even very little stones). The rule of the games is that the superior player is determined by his ability to dispossess his counterpart of his own seeds in a very transparent and open completion based on his power of determining which set of seeds that he lifts to play at a given time either as a response to the one played by an opponent or as a way to lay snare for his co-contender. Through this game, the Igbo taught their young ones the art of risk-taking, strategic thinking in mental warfare, investment and re-investment based on basic mathematical tools of addition, subtraction, and division.

The play board is made of a rectangular wood on which twenty square holes are created even as they made sure the holes do not get so deep as to cause leakage of the seeds used in the game. As a rule, each contestant has the advantage of keeping the first ten holes on his left in his own side of the play board secure at the beginning of the game. The other ten holes were the preliminary battleground from where one could advance to the holes that

were initially reserved. Based on extant rules of the game, in an interview Osmond Ozota (2018) explains when the seed used in the game is observed to be one or three in any of the holes, an opponent targeted it and could *eat* same. However, if the seeds are two or more than three, they serve as fortification, reinforcement, or reserve bank from which the contestant could plan how to launch an attack on the opponent. When the seeds of one of the contestants dwindle to an extent that he could not comfortably compete in the game, he surrenders, and his counterpart is assumed to have won the completion.[7] These proverbs and games demonstrate an Igbo philosophical strategy to catch them young in order to transfer cultural and society expectations and knowledge to the next generation.

Conclusion

Education is a lifetime experience that shapes and drives culture. Culture on its part is a unifying factor in every society which must be inculcated in the people within a polity through the process of education since education is a process of enculturation. Among the Igbo, the units of socialization are the family, the village elders, the town council, age grades, and guilds. However, as these great cornerstones of Igbo traditional education and cultural belief systems have lost their way into the heart and minds of the Igbo consequent of Western values that forced the Igbo to be, as they say, more Catholic than the Pope; there is need for the Igbo to reacquaint themselves with and embrace those aspects of their traditional education that reinforce their traditional belief systems and perforce give them an identity. This need is representative of current miseducation, as observed by Chinweizu that:

> It was a miseducation which, under the mystique of "Modernizing" me into some "civilized" condition, had worked to infect me with intellectual meningitis that would twist my cultural spine, and rivet my admiring gaze upon Europe and the West. It was a miseducation which sought to withhold from me the memory of our true African past and to substitute instead an ignorant shame for whatever travesties Europe chose to present as the African past. It was a miseducation which sought to quarantine me from all influences, ancient as well as contemporary, which did not emanate from, or meet with the imperial approval of, western "civilization." (1978, xiv–xv)

Since the world is going global and globalism confronts one with the challenge of identity construction, Africans in general, and the Igbo in particular, should modernize without Westernizing their traditional Indigenous education and cultural belief system. Recourse should be made to some of the positive values of formal education but the negative ones, like it bearing a barrier to employment should be jettisoned, for example, the continued resort to paper qualifications as opposed to assesses the skills one effectively possesses not help Africa's development (Faloyan 1986). The Igbo should

embrace their Indigenous education that promoted the use, preservation and knowledge of their language, achievement orientation, rewards for hard and genuine labor. The issue of language is imperative as Asonye (2013) reports Igbo language is listed among one of the endangered languages that may go extinct. Since language according to Chumbow, "is the indispensable medium for the education and training of skilled manpower" (1990, 63), the Igbo should emphasize language education.

As mentioned previously, becoming more "Catholic than the Pope" or "more white than the West" remains a major problem of African traditional or Indigenous education and cultural belief system among the Igbo. There is no gainsaying that the Igbo educated elite are extroverted from their roots making them not only hybrid and homeless, but also converting them to beasts of no nation; a people without an instantly recognizable identity. Promoting and sustaining Igbo traditional education that encourages Igbo pristine core values would be an advantage in an increasing globalizing world. This is anchored on the conviction that each player in the global arena needs to have a distinct and unique identity to be recognized. Critics of traditional or Indigenous education often use alien religion, in most cases Christianity, to bamboozle people as they condemn human sacrifice in an attempt to villainize Traditional religion and with it traditional or Indigenous education. Yes, human sacrifice is inhuman and is not legally practiced by any Traditional religions in contemporary times. Yet, even with this said, their critique is contrary to their practice, as the same critics would ignore that Jesus Christ was human and was equally sacrificed and that became the foundation of Christianity the religion they profess and from whose teachings they condemn human sacrifice; a case of the kettle calling the pot black. Whatever should affect how the Igbo interpret human and social institutions, their existentialist thought and axiology should not be discarded; while it is agreed that all educations that promote class distinction based on ex-slave and master relations, unnecessary gender disparity and male chauvinism should be abhorred.

Notes

1. Dieke, Anthony. March 13, 2018. Interview with Author. Diviner, age 51, at Uzo Uwani LGA, Enugu state, Nigeria.
2. Ujumadu, Vincent, Chidi Nkwopara, Nwabueze Okonkwo, and Dennis Agbo. August 23, 2017. "New Yam: A Phenomenal Festival in Igboland." *Vanguard Newspaper.* https://www.vanguardngr.com/2017/08/new-yam-phenomenal-festival-igboland.
3. Okwa, Martin. February 21, 2018. Interview with Author. Professional wine tapper, age 56, at Orie Egu market, Lejja, Nigeria.
4. Ọgwọ, Odo. April 2, 2018. Interview with Author. Lineage head of Umualum lineage, age 86, at Umuoda-Eze village, Lejja, Nigeria.
5. Asogwa, Ozorja. April 7, 2018. Village head of Ujoma village, age 93, at Ujoma village, Ozalla, Enugu State, Nigeria.

6. Ugwu, Chukwudu alias "Mmanevumma". February 23, 2017. Interview with Author. Chief Priest of Ọnyanwụnyanwụ mask of Amaeaze Ani village, Nsukka, age 42, at Ugwu Achara, Nsukka LGA, Nigeria.
7. Osmond Ozota, 73, linage head of Umuoyeru, Umuoda-Eze village, Lejja and an expert in teaching young ones the game, interview conducted at Maduja Njogo,s compound Umungwoke quarters of Lejja on April 25, 2018.

References

Afigbo, Adiele E. 1981. *Ropes of Sand: Studies in Igbo Peoples and Culture*. Ibadan: Oxford University Press.

Asaju, K. 2015. "Effective Educational Management: A Trend in the Nigerian Educational System." *Journal of Liberal Studies* 16 (1 & 2): 133–144.

Asonye, F. 2013. "UNESCO Prediction of the Igbo Language Death: Facts and Fables." *Journal of the Linguistic Association of Nigeria* 16 (1 & 2): 91–98. http://www.academix.ng/documents/papers/1463491669_1870.pdf.

Bussia, K. A. 1964. *Purposeful Education for Africa*. The Hague, The Netherlands: Monton & Co.

Chinweizu, 1978. *The West and the Rest of Us*. Lagos: Nok Publisher.

Chumbow, B. S. 1990. "The Place of the Mother Tongue in the National Policy on Education." In *Multilingualism, Minority Language and Language Policy in Nigeria*, edited by E. N. Emenanjo, 61–72. Agbor: Central Books.

Ezedike, E. U. 2009. "The Individual in an African Communal Universe." In *From Footprints to Landmarks on African Philosophy*. 2 ed., edited by A. F. Uduigwomen and Emele Mba Uka, 246–280. Calabar, Nigeria: Obaroh & Ogbinaka Publishers.

Fafunwa, A. Babs. 1974. *History of Education in Nigeria*. Ibadan: NPS Educational Publishers.

Faloyan, O. 1986. "Education and Manpower Planning in Nigeria." In *Manpower Development and Utilization in Nigeria: Problems and Policies*, edited by O. Faloyan, A. Adeyemo, and F. Tayo, 73–98. Lagos: Lagos University Press.

Igwe, S. O. 1987. *Education in Eastern Nigeria, 1847–1975: Development and Management (Church, State and Community)*. Ibadan, Nigeria: Evans Brothers.

Monye, Ambrose A. 1995. "The Use of Proverbs in Ola Rotimi's *The Gods Are Not to Blame*." *Proverbium* 12: 251–261.

Nasidi, A. A., and A. Iliya. 2016. "The Contribution of Scholars to the Development of Islamic Education in Nigeria: A Kaleidoscopic View of Sheikh Ja'afar Mahmud Adam in Kano, 1988– 2007." *Nsukka Journal of History* 3: 59–70.

Njoku, O. N. 1989. "Agbaja Udi: Unsung Pioneers of Traditional Iron Working in Igboland." *Nsukka Journal of History* 1 (1): 28–43.

Nwala, T. U. 2010. *Igbo Philosophy: The Philosophy of the Igbo-Speaking Peoples of Nigeria*. 2 ed. New York: Triatlantic Books.

Nwankwo, I. U. 2015. "Governance and Associated Social Roles of Masquerade Among the Igbo of Southeast Nigeria in an Era of Globalisation: A Critical Appraisal." *Mgbakoigba: Journal of African Studies* 4: 1–12. https://www.ajol.info/index.php/mjas/article/download/118509/108038.

O'Connor, D. J. 1957. *An Introduction to Philosophy of Education*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Okoro, S. I. 2016. "The Igbo and Western Education in Nigeria, 1900–2010." In *Studies in Igbo History*, edited by Dan Chukwu, Sylvanus I. Okoro, Egodi Uchendu, and Justin G. Nkem-Onyekpe. Enugu: Nolik Educational Publications Nigeria.

Onah, Oliver, Hyginus Ezebuilo, and Theodora Ojiakor. 2016. "The Place of the Individual in the Traditional African Society: A Philosophical Appraisal." *International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Review* 6 (3): 225–229.

Onumajuru, E. M. 2017. "The Role of Mother Tongue in Education: The Nigerian Example." *MURUAKO: Journal of Igbo Language and Culture* 1: 97–108.

Onwuka, U. 1992. "Indigenous African Education and Its Humanistic Functions." In *African Humanities*, edited by J. O. Ijoma, 179–195. Awka: Mekslink Publishers.

Opata, C. C., and A. A. Apeh. 2012a. "Monuments as Evidence of Indigenous Knowledge in Africa: An Inquiry into Dunoka, Lejja Traditional Economy." *Ikenga: International Journal of the Institute of African Studies* 12 (2): 32–45.

Opata, C. C., and A. A. Apeh. 2012b. "Proverbs as Knowledge Bearers: Towards a Reconstruction of the Knowledge of Traditional Medicine Among Preliterate Igbo Society of Nigeria." *Asian Journal of Natural & Applied Sciences* 1 (2): 59–63.

Ozota, Osmond. April 25, 2018. Interview with Author. Linage head of Umuoyeru, Umuoda-Eze village, Lejja and expert in teaching young ones the game, age 73, at Maduja Njogo's compound, Umungwoke quarters, Lejja, Nigeria.

Ranson, K. A. 1983. "Divination." In *Academic American Encyclopaedia*, 202. USA: Grolier.

Ukaegbu, N. F. 2006. "Igbo Aesthetics: The Case of Proverbs as Key to Igbo Worldview and Culture." *Journal of Igbo Studies* 1: 164–167.

Ukeje, B. O. 1966. *Education and Social Reconstruction*. Lagos, Nigeria: Macmillan and Company.

CHAPTER 12

African Theatre as Indigenous Education

Peter Ukpokodu

Let me begin the discussion of African theatre as Indigenous education with a truism cogently stated by Ali Mazrui (1986a, b) in both the documentary and its companion book titled *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*, that Africa is "the cradle of Man" and "the birth of humanity and culture" (42). It is the latter—Africa's origins of human culture—that is germane to African theatre. Mazrui points out that before the earliest Africans painted on rocks, they had painted on themselves. Here, then, was prehistoric art and the emergence of cosmetics ("make-up" in theatrical language) at the beginning of basic human intellection. At the dawn of writing as experienced in Africa through Ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics, we see a language being built around pictures (drawings) and symbols. Along with this are drawings of performers in their costumes and make-up. The ingredients of theatre were there at the dawn of culture, keeping pace with nascent art. Their survival has become a form of education about the beginnings of African theatre and of the cultural lives of our ancestors. In bequeathing this to theatre, the descendants would be left to add to, and continue, the stories and histories in African languages.

In educating audiences about human prehistorical experiences, African theatre acted the stories with exaggerated gestures and vocal alterations, with the storyteller mimicking multiple characters that included humans, animals, birds, trees, rain, moon, sun, stars, water bodies, sky, and the earth, in essence all living things. This was a fundamental teaching about the interaction of things in nature and the mutual understanding of the place of each thing in

P. Ukpokodu (✉)
University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS, USA
e-mail: ukpokodu@ku.edu

245

nature that made the environment and life wholesome. When sacred performances took place along with the enactment of rituals related to water spirits or to the spirits of a bountiful harvest as in a new yam festival, it bore this understanding and teaching that each living thing serves a purpose on earth that is beneficial to humanity and to creation in general. Humanity then is expected to play its part to keep this relationship healthy for it is the human being that suffers the most when nature is harmed by wanton humans. When the behavior of a person or a group is perceived to have brought harm to a community, the Jattu-Uzairue people of Etsako in Edo State of Nigeria call on the performance of Iyabana. Iyabana is performed at night by initiates of the guild, and their terrifying performance most often is to frighten away evil through their esoteric language, purify the land of evil and curses, and restore the environment to its pristine wholesomeness. As the chorus of the story of Ikheledu goes in Jattu-Uzairue, "Ikheledu eme rere ge re ye" (Ikheledu, may what brought you take you away), the community is expected to be rid of the evil or misfortune that it has experienced because of the unseemly act of known or unknown persons. People at an early age then know to refrain from acts that could ruin communal peace. No household wants to be visited by an Iyabana performance because of the presence or act of Ikheledu—a metaphor for a most undisciplined and evil person that brings harm and disgrace to the family and the community as to warrant exile and excommunication. Without exorcising Ikheledu from the community, the chain of being that unites the people with nature cannot be fully restored. There is always a moral at the end of the performance as we see in the Efa of the same Jattu-Uzairue people. In Efa performance, seasoned raconteurs perform in the open to an appreciative and participating audience that surrounds the entire performance area. They listen and watch rapturously as the performers, with utmost artistry, lead them on a story that expands their creative, intellectual, rhetorical, and emotional horizons to a land and events that are at one and the same time familiar and unfamiliar, and inviting them in the familiar areas peppered with songs to join them as a participating chorus. Afterall, some aspects of the performance are in the public domain. Always, at the right time, the performers give the moral lesson of the story that has unfolded as a conclusion of the performance in a formulaic manner: "This is why…" or "This is the reason that…." Thus, the audience is educated in the ways of the world, in both the visible and invisible ways of the rhythm of the world. For a long time after the performance, people would be discussing various aspects of the Efa performance that appealed to them. In those discussions, they would expatiate on the lessons learned from Efa.

One can readily draw an example of the African actor impersonating so many characters from humans to trees, mountains, animals, and natural phenomena in educating people of their relationship to nature in Cesar Paes and Marie Clemence Paes' storytelling documentary, *Angano…Angano: Tales from Madagascar* (1989), where, in a cosmic clash between the Sky Divinity and the Earth Divinity, the latter formed mountains reaching to the skies to

confront the Sky Divinity's weapons of rain, wind, lightning, and thunder. Because the Earth could absorb the pains the Sky inflicted on it and then fought back with mountains that spewed volcanic ash, rocks, and lava to and at the Sky, a true victor could not emerge. The conflict could have gone on forever but for a truce between them that led to the creation of the human being. As a pact, the Earth Divinity used its clay to mold the body of the first human being on earth, a man. The Sky Divinity gave the body the air as its life force or spirit. A feud arose again when the human being died, but this was quickly resolved before another war started; Earth Divinity would retain on earth what it gave to man (the body), and Sky Divinity reclaimed the air/spirit that had energized man's physical ability.

As the Malagasy people act out this story and people laugh, the function of the performance is indubitably didactic. The story becomes one that teaches the Indigenous people where they come from, their origins. It becomes the enactment of the creation story, the sacred origins of humanity as a child of two deities—the Earth and Sky Divinities. When a human being dies then, the person is simply returning home to the parents. This is a great teaching about the importance and sacredness of the human being. In an age of violence by people on people, the devaluation of humanity, and the wanton destruction of human life that comes in its wake, African drama repurposes our life by teaching us the worthy origins of humanity. It is also a veritable lesson on the value of reconciliation after a tumultuous relationship that may occur in a family or among enemies. Such reconciliation brings peace and development.

It is noteworthy that in acting out the indigenous story of creation in these tales from Madagascar, the narrator does not forget to balance the story of the creation of man with that of woman. Woman, it turns out, is "God's daughter" (Paes and Paes 1989), given to man to calm his tempestuous spirit and mitigate the loneliness that was making him set fires indiscriminately on earth, the smoke of which threatened the heavens. Not only does this teach the Indigenous people the "superiority" of woman to man—superiority arising from woman's divine and celestial progeny—but also about the fabled female stubborn character. God's daughter refuses to eat earthly food because she had been spoiled by heavenly food, rice, which then did not exist on earth. On a planned visit to her father (God), she had her fill of rice, and then requested from her father to take rice to her home on earth. God adamantly refused. She and her husband planned a ruse to bring heavenly food to earth. They fed rice to the geese and chickens and brought them to earth. When they killed the birds, they retrieved the rice from their gizzards. They planted this, and rice became an earthly food.

The performance of this story shares an Indigenous knowledge of the origin of rice, a staple food among the Malagasy, in the same manner that the Maasai of Kenya believes that "God gave them cattle from the very beginning" (Mbiti 1990, 50). This mythical origin of rice, through its enactment in *Angano…Angano: Tales from Madagascar*, teaches the Malagasy people

about divine sustenance. God did not just create human beings; he sustains them through divine providence. Through these enactments of indigenous stories, the people are linked with their past, a knowledge that is then passed on from one generation to another, and thus vividly preserved in the minds and oral culture of the people. As Duma Ndlovu has pointed out in *Woza Afrika! An Anthology of South African Plays*, "grandmothers and grandfathers [were] telling their stories to families by the fireside. This was theater at its most natural, its most creative. This is the trend that has influenced our [African] drama and has set it apart from western theater" (1986, xix). When one witnesses a performance of *Angano…Angano: Tales from Madagascar* and sees how the storytellers vividly imitate by word and action mythic and cultural origins, the person is reminded of the storytelling genesis of African theatre and its educational function.

African theatre, in its origin, was not a financial, capitalist venture. It was a "community-oriented" (Ndlovu 1986, xx) activity that taught people the importance of communal solidarity, values, and origins. In its manifestation and purest state, it educated people on what Mbiti has referred to as the point of convergence of communal relationship and solidarity: "I am, because we are; and since we are, therefore I am" (1990, 106). African theatre, as a vehicle of information transfer between generations, usually from an older generation to a younger audience, is, epistemically, value-laden. What is intriguing about this is that in the hands of Indigenous and traditional Africans, theatre fosters, among other things, the propagation, promotion, and preservation of Indigenous languages and the vernacular. There are certain expressions in Indigenous African languages that defy proper and accurate translation in foreign languages. Such vivid expressions, the ultimate in traditional rhetorical exchanges and dialogue, and which carry mnemonic devices and cultural referents of orature and are purveyors of oratorical skills, are lost when translated. At an age and in a world in which African Indigenous languages must contend with global languages, mostly European and Asian languages, African theatre has helped to sustain Indigenous languages in some African nations and among ethnic groups. Because a language is a principal purveyor and protector of an indigenous culture, African theatre produced in an African language preserves the boundaries of that culture and extends its frontiers of knowledge. The importance of preserving a people's language, as is done by African theatre, is linked to ancestral knowledge. Indigenous and traditional cultures worldwide seem to unanimously affirm this and to connect it to the spiritual and mental health of a people. According to Onowa McIvor et al. (2009):

> Without the language of one's ancestors, individual and collective identity gets weakened and …the culture would die out within a few generations […]. [N]o new songs could be written in our languages, ancient songs would no longer be understood, we would no longer be able to communicate with the spirit world in our language and no one would be able to understand our sacred prayers. (7–8)

The sacred ground that McIvor et al. are traversing here has been addressed in the Nigerian dramatist Wole Soyinka's play, *Death and the King's Horseman* (2002). In it, readers and audiences receive what is fundamentally a cosmological education on the complex relationship between the living (the present), the dead (the past), and the unborn (the future). In the drama, the main character, Elesin (the King's Horseman), is about to embark on a mystical journey of following the deceased king to be reunited in the ancestral world. He allows himself to be distracted by the pleasures of the flesh as he casts aside corporal mortification for which he has been trained and which is required at the particular historical moment of his rendezvous with destiny. He makes love to a girl betrothed to the son of Iyaloja (the powerful leader of the market women), thus implanting the seed of birth and new life (the unborn) in a woman (the living) as he makes his seemingly reluctant journey to join the ancestors and the king (the dead). Elesin thus sends the traditional world topsy-turvy since this is an act that had never occurred. The Praise Singer (and the people) can only say in bewilderment: "What the end will be, we are not gods to tell" (Soyinka, 176). The language of incantation by Olohun Iyo, the mystical communication between natural phenomenon (the moon) and human beings, and the willful and esoteric language of the journey of transition between the living and the ancestors that only an initiate like Elesin understands—all these interactions and connections between the living and the dead are in suspension and, hopefully, not permanently severed. How would the people thenceforth "be able to communicate with the spirit world" and "understand…sacred prayers?" (McIvor et al. 2009, 8). African theatre thus educates the people on the relationship between the living, the dead, and the unborn, the role that language and culture play in maintaining that complex relationship, and the importance of restoring that relationship when fractured. To heal spiritually inflicted wounds that bring fractures to the physical world, diviners, medicine persons, mediums, priests and priestesses, rainmakers, and traditional rulers exist. Adebayo Williams (2002) believes that Soyinka is "engaged in […] a sublime cultural offensive" against the "cynicism and cultural dessications of the colonists" whose misguided intervention helped to derail the traditional world (561).

If *Death and the King's Horseman* gives us an education on the complex relationship between the living, the dead, and the unborn, Femi Osofisan's *Esu and the Vagabond Minstrels* (2002) instructs audiences on the relationship between the deities and humans as an aspect of African traditional religion. In the face of an assault on traditional belief systems by proselytizing monotheistic religions such as Christianity and Islam, Osofisan boldly upholds the values of belief in African deities and spiritual beings as a necessary education for a healthy relationship among human beings and between humans and spiritual beings. Again, the importance of an African Indigenous language in furthering that relationship is affirmed. As a morality play, *Esu and the Vagabond Minstrels* is intentionally didactic—that compassion for the

destitute and the afflicted is cherished over selfish accumulation of wealth and disregard to the well-being of suffering citizens. Chants Omele, the altruistic character, as he leads the other characters in a call-and-response manner in the play:

> If the time comes
> When sympathy's wrong
> And to help a friend can kill,
> …
> When others run:
> Omele takes the risk
> Dares to fight leprosy
> Fear never lets some men
> Feel compassion when they can. (398)

The audience is invited, indeed encouraged, to debate the play's injunctions on morality (407).

Because the play features the interaction of some Yoruba (Nigeria) divinities and humans as a trampoline to leap toward the discussion of a people's moral education, audiences receive an introductory Indigenous education on the gods and goddesses in the play. The deities revealed in the play move unobtrusively and unhindered between their heavenly abode and earth. This education through theatre helps in the affirmation of the people's common culture. Since the culture has expanded worldwide beyond its area of origin, Osofisan writes some of the dialogue, mostly the songs, in Yoruba with English translation. By naming the gods and goddesses—Esu, Orunmila, Osun (fondly referred to as Yeye Osun), and Obaluaye—Osofisan creates a forum for the Yoruba and its descendants in Africa, Europe, and the Americas to learn and enquire about the Yoruba foundations of their spiritual and cultural origins. From reading the play, one readily gains the knowledge that Obaluaye is the god of smallpox, Yeye Osun the goddess of rivers and of fertility, Esu the trickster god and lord of the crossroads (408) and, for the inquisitive mind, that Orunmila is the omnilingual deity, the god of divination, the one "who understands 'every language spoken on earth'" (Mbiti 1990, 75). As a morality play involving deities and human beings, the audience is led to witness what happens to people with contumelious attitude. It is universally accepted in dramatic appreciation and criticism that hubris leads a person to irreparable ruin and downfall. The gods and goddesses hasten the downfall of the haughty one, especially in the final resolution of the fight between good and evil, where the good eventually triumphs, even if that victory takes a long time to come. When it does come, the paean and panegyric that come in its wake are unique, indubitable, gratifying, genuine, and beyond duplication.

In this vein of cultural affirmation, one must also look at Efua Sutherland's creation of "Anansegoro" in *The Marriage of Anansewa* (1987), a play in

which the art of storytelling and performance of the Akan people (Ghana) is brought into prominence. Anansegoro offers a theatrical forum for the education of society through self-criticism. Thus, an active audience participation is intentionally built into the performance for all to learn from. Says Sutherland:

> Anansesem [Ananse stories from which Anansegoro is created] is a community art. All the people present [actors and audiences] are performers in one way or another, either actively or potentially. Though the specialists control the main flow of the action, their performance requires the participation of the audience. (1987, 5)

This performance format allows people to share knowledge of what is current and topical and to link it with the past as necessary. It could also be to discuss some idea or experience that could be a truism, such as "life is a struggle" (9), or to directly prod the audience for "somebody who thinks he [she] has discovered the simple solution for living this life [to] kindly step forward and help out the rest of [the people]" (10). Because people begin to share so much knowledge about life in this form of theatre, the onus for limiting or extending audience active participation is on the narrator or the director who must "sustain his [or her] artistry" (5).

Perhaps, the most dominant Indigenous theatrical manifestation in Africa is festival drama. This form of theatrical activity is often seen in masquerades in which the main characters are heavily costumed to conceal their individual human identity. This concealment is a required aspect of the theatrical production because the performers are believed to be, or to impersonate, the ancestors, the dead who have come back, at the specific period of the production, to visit their family, clan and ethnic members, and become again at least, earthly sojourners. It is a festive atmosphere because the visitors are no ordinary beings; they are "heavenly" visitors or visitors from the spiritual world, and they only are the ones who know how to navigate the numinous, verbally ineffable, opaque passage of transition between the spirit world and the mundane world. An ordinary human, a mortal, who attempts such a feat as to seek the passage to return a visit to the ancestors would be eternally lost in space and may never return as a human being to earth. The person would be like an astronaut floating forever in the unreachable, invisible, and irredeemable blackhole of the cosmos.

In a world of flux and incessant migration, searching for one's roots has been codified into the science of the DNA. DNA links us to our origins, to our lineage, to our genealogy. Festival theatre is an African traditional and popular way of connecting people with their ancestry and direct descent and bestowing that knowledge on individuals. Thus, when the "Egungun masqueraders of the Yoruba people of Nigeria [become] spirits of the dead who come from heaven annually to visit the human community, especially their children and grandchildren" (Ogunba 1978, 16), they are educating

members that their roots are real and powerful by connecting them with their spiritual ancestry. In an Egungun performance, the actors and audiences have a theatrical representation of the link their families have with their immediate community and with the Yoruba "nation" at large traceable to Oduduwa and "Ile-Ife, the Holy City and cradle of the Yoruba people" (Ogunba 1978, 3).

A festival theatre of this nature or the *Alagba Masquerade* of the Kalabari people of Southeastern Nigeria serves also as an education on the oral history of the people, even if that history has its foundation in mythology. The annual cycle of these traditional theatrical events, accompanied in some instances by other cultural activities such as sacred rituals, rites of passage, or communal harvests, do evoke "much of the history of the community" (Ogunba 1978, 5). While plays such as Wole Soyinka's *Death and the King's Horseman*, Ola Rotimi's *Oba Ovonramwen Nogbaisi* (1974), and Ngugi wa' Thiongo and Micere Githae Mugo's *The Trial of Dedan Kimathi* (1977) educate audiences on the relatively recent history of Africa's encounter with colonialism, performances such as *The Ozidi Saga* (1977) of the Ijo (Ijaw) people (Nigeria) and most of the plays in *The Pyramid Text* (circa 4000 BC) of Ancient Egypt sufficiently acquaint people with prehistory or the history of a people that is linked to its mythopoeic past.

The most ancient of these is *The Pyramid Text*, a group of fifty-five plays written in hieroglyphics in the interior walls of the pyramid. These and other dramatic performances such as the *Ramesseum Drama* (circa 1970 BC), *Edfu Drama* (circa 2000 BC), *Memphite Drama* (circa 3300 BC), now preserved in the eighth-century BC "Shabaka Stone" at the British Museum in Great Britain, and *Abydos Drama*, also variously called *Osirian Passion Play* or *Abydos Passion Play* (circa 2500 BC, whose principal acts are outlined in the Ikhernofret Stone now at the Berlin Museum in Germany), are based on the same mythology that linked the reigning Pharaoh with his divine progenitors. Whether performed at a pharaoh's coronation or at a Heb Sed (thirtieth coronation anniversary of the ruling pharaoh), all the dramas have the basic storyline—that Osiris (the first pharaoh to whom all other pharaohs are linked genealogically) was the royal son of Nut (Sky) and Geb (Earth) and succeeded his father as ruler of Egypt. He had a brother (Seth) and a sister (Isis) who became Osiris' wife and gave birth to their son (Horus). Seth, envious of Osiris' kingly powers, murdered his brother, dismembering him and burying his parts in different areas of Egypt, and usurped the throne. The inconsolable Isis shed copious tears that flooded the Nile River annually. When Horus became a man, he engaged Seth in a war to end the usurpation and to restore his father's throne. He was victorious. He reunited Upper and Lower Egypt under his reign and rightfully succeeded Osiris. Meanwhile, Isis had gathered together the dismembered body of her brother-husband, Osiris, to be embalmed by Anubis. The resurrected Osiris was too weary of earthly life and descended to the lower world to be the judge of the dead and "lord of the nether world" (Breasted 1909, 58). So impressive were these Osirian plays, especially that of *Abydos Drama*, that it became customary for

the nobility to write on "their tomb-stones the prayer that in the future they may be able to come forth from the tomb and view these festal presentations" (Breasted 1909, 172).

It is this reverence evoked by the divine origins of their kings that motivated ancient Egyptians to build the inimitable pyramids as tombs for their kings and royalty. Of the three Great Pyramids at Giza, the biggest of which is the Pyramid of Khufu, there is an opening at the top, positioned to face the constellation Orion (perhaps, also other stars) to which the dead king would ascend in his resurrection to join his divine ancestors. The mythopoeia is complete—human royal dynasty ascribes its power, authority, and birth to an unquestionable all-powerful prehistoric origin and to which it returns at death, even as that dynasty is bequeathed to another one in real history through an established process of succession. Thus, the traditional rulers (kings and queens) in some parts of Africa are revered as "divine or sacral" (Mbiti 1990, 177) or as "God's earthly viceroys" (Mbiti 1990, 178). Mbiti writes that "People […] link [kings, queens, rulers] with God as divine incarnation or as originally coming from heaven. They regard their office as having been instituted by God in the Zamani period" (1990, 178). The Zamani period is the unfathomable mythological past, the cauldron of creation, the very beginning of things. It is the "period of myth, giving a sense of foundation or 'security'" to our earthly time period (1990, 22). It is important here to interject that the divinities of Egypt before Arabization and Islamization have much in orientation with the divinities and sacred beings that still exist in the traditional belief system of some African countries south of the Sahara.

African theatre is well-placed then to link the current era with its historical and prehistorical past, thereby extending the frontiers of human knowledge. In that pursuit, the mythical and the mystical merge in a collision with the historical reality that Ebrahim N. Hussein, the Tanzanian playwright, presents in the play, *Kinjeketile* (1970). In the effort to unite Tanzania (then Tanganyika and Zanzibar) in an uprising against German colonialism, Kinjeketile, the protagonist and leader of the insurrection, creates the myth of the spirit of the Hugo River whose imbibed waters and mystical powers could make the native warriors invulnerable to German bullets and military superiority. This promise of invulnerability and invincibility energizes the natives to initial, surprised victories so much so that they could no longer wait for their leader to give the military order for an attack. Thinking that the "maji" (water)—hence "Maji, Maji Revolt"—would provide them the magical, invisible but powerful shield of protection, the natives rush against the German soldiers who mowed them down with their guns. Thus, the myth of the spirit of the Hugo River whose waters have mystical powers to protect all those warriors who drank it proves ineffective in the historical, material, and realistic time of colonial warfare. The Germans capture Kinjeketile and demand that he recants the claims of the mystical powers of the waters of the Hugo River. Kinjeketile refuses because the "word" that he has given birth to would continue the spirit of revolt and thus challenge Germany's own myth

of colonial insuperability. Not only does this teach us that the colonized did not sit idly by while the colonizers forcibly ruled them; it shows actual resistance and revolt against colonialism by the Indigenous people. In that fight, Africans deployed both physical and mysterious forces. A similar lesson on the coalition of spiritual and material forces by natives against colonial powers is seen in Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Micere Githae Mugo's *The Trial of Dedan Kimathi* (1977) during the Mau Mau rebellion against British colonialism. The history that theatre teaches stays vivid in the mind because of its form of representation. It is partly because of this instructional quality that European theatre history is rife with historical plays such as William Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (1949) and T. S. Elliott's *Murder in the Cathedral* (1963). No matter how history-bent and secular these Western examples seemingly are, there is always the element of mystical or spiritual forces at work: Julius Caesar and the ides of March, Thomas Moore and the place of worship, and both are murdered in otherwise safe havens of their work environment.

Lurking behind the element of sorcery that we have in the Maji Maji and Mau Mau rebellions is the African experience of witchcraft. Witchcraft, perhaps because it is imbued with elements of wonder, fear, and mysticism that baffle our quotidian sensory knowledge of the ways that the world works, could be the stuff for good creative theatre. Who could forget the three witches of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* (1951) or the Good and Wicked witches in *The Wizard of Oz* (2000)? However, it is to the Ijaw community of the Niger Delta of Nigeria we must go to see how magical and mystical powers, in the form of witchcraft are dramatized. In *The Ozidi Saga* (1977), as translated and captured in its dramatic form by J. P. Clark-Bekederemo, audiences are taken into the esoteric world of witchcraft. Witchcraft, as a real practice, is believed by people in many traditional African societies to be a powerful force that operates in the world. It is this knowledge that is dramatized in *The Ozidi Saga*. The presence of belief in witchcraft is proven by the people who are accused of witchcraft and the "confessions" of those so accused. It is this phenomenon that African drama draws attention to. By staging the hardships and horrors that the belief in witchcraft inflicts on the psyche of the accused and by opening up the practices of so-called witch doctors, African dramatists pose question to, and seek to persuade, a more enlightened and sympathetic indigenous audiences to interrogate the concept of witchcraft. Nigeria's Zulu Sofola's *Wedlock of the Gods* (1972) and Ghana's Efua Theodora Sutherland's *Edufa* (1987) examine witchcraft and sorcery and draw people's awareness to the profundity of human loss and the baseness of actions attributed to the belief and practice. In a way, both playwrights dramatize the development of human consciousness and the clash of conscience in the wake of the death of one victimized by witchcraft or regarded a witch. Says the chorus in Sutherland's *Edufa*, "One's [one person's] death is the death of all mankind [humanity]" (1987, 120). It is important that these West African female playwrights are the ones educating the audiences about the horrors of witchcraft as a belief and practice because women are the ones mostly accused of, and associated with, witchcraft both as victims and as perpetrators.

It is in *The Ozidi Saga* that the Ijo people perform theatrically their Indigenous knowledge of witchcraft as a common knowledge in the public domain. Using mime, music, dance, and ritual, the play is a four-hour nightly performance for seven days consecutively. With six acts and eighty scenes, each performance is a continuation of the story, not a repetition. The Ijo people have two styles of presenting it to audiences—the narrative and the dramatic. The difference is that in the narrative production, the storyteller impersonates all the characters in the play, similar to the performance of *Angano…Angano: Tales from Madagascar*. In the more theatrical rendition, the storyteller is the protagonist supported by a cast of other characters in the story. In either style, the plot of the drama is maintained but the dialogue is flexible, thus allowing many versions, each depending on the artistic and dramatic prowess of the characters, especially the protagonist. It is perhaps in imitation of these possibilities that Clark-Bekederemo has two published versions of the Ozidi story, one published in 1966 as *Ozidi* in London by Oxford University Press, and the other as *The Ozidi Saga* in Ibadan by Ibadan University Press in association with Oxford University Press, 1977. The former is rendered in Western dramatic structure; the latter is a faithful recording of the indigenous performance and is written in Ijo with English translation. There is a decade between the publications.

Even though the focus here is witchcraft, *The Ozidi Saga* is also an Indigenous education on the history of a people. It is the history of Orua, a city-state plagued by royal deaths in quick succession that it became a requirement for each of the seven districts to provide a king to occupy the throne in turns. Foolish Temugedege, Ozidi's brother, is persuaded by the council of lords to accept the crown, ignoring the raging declaration of Ozidi that his family lineage would rather decline the honor. After Temugedege is installed king, he is denied royal homage, especially that of presenting him a human head. Ozidi's implacable insistence that the perquisites of his brother's position be met led to his murder by the military leaders and his severed head is brought to Temugedege. Horrified by this dastardly act, Temugedege abandons his throne and flees, leaving Ozidi's pregnant and mournful widow, Orea, alone and unprotected against the pernicious acts of the villains who murdered her husband. Overwhelmed and depressed, she contemplates suicide, but her mother, Oreame, an omnipotent witch, flees with her to Ododama after performing burial rites for Ozidi's head.

Orea gives birth to Ozidi's posthumous son during a week of stormy weather. Given the name of his deceased father and fortified with supernatural powers by his inimitable grandmother, Ozidi (junior) grows to be a man of immense strength. He returns to Orua to rebuild the Ozidi family compound that had laid desolate since the murder of his father and the exilic abdication of the royal throne by his disgraced uncle. Seething with rage that his mother almost died and that she never had the opportunity for a deuterogamy, Ozidi goes to battle against each of his father's murderers. He vanquishes all of them, including their allied humans, strange beings, and

monsters. How would he lose when he has the unmitigated active support of his powerful grandmother, Oreame the witch? Having avenged his father's death and attained the height of military superiority in Orua, Ozidi falls sick with a bout of smallpox through the visitation by the smallpox king and his retinue, just to humble Ozidi and teach him a lesson that he is still a human being, and that whatever his accomplishment and power, he is still capable of death. This is a lesson that is meant for the audience as well, including witches, if they exist, for as long as their primary form is the human flesh, they, too, are mortals.

The characters in the play that Ozidi must fight for justice, vengeance, and for control of Orua are beings of unusual proportions and uncommon abilities. Ozidi would be no match for them without the support of Oreame's witchcraft. Among the characters with terrifying descriptions are Agbogidi the Nude, Agonodi the Sorceress, Azema the Cannibal Queen, Azezabife or Kemepara the Half Man, Bouakarakarabiri the Wizard of the Forest, Engbesibeowei the Scrotum King, Frigrinfin or Sigirisi the Net-man, Ogueren the Giant of Twenty Limbs, Tebekadein or Engarando the Smallpox King, Tebekawene the Head-Walker, and Tebesonoma of the Seven heads—these characters help to establish the play and the conflicts in it as truly epic. Both the names and the inevitable fight that Ozidi must engage them in instill terror. Perhaps the greatest lesson from *The Ozidi Saga* is its affirmation of esoteric knowledge, that supernatural powers exist that specialists can tap into for good or evil use, and that these powers are neither good nor evil of themselves. It is the human being who can manipulate these powers and use them to help or hurt humanity. These mystical powers are "part of the invisible force of nature in the universe" (Mbiti 1990, 193–194) that sorcerers, evil magicians, witches, medicine persons, diviners, and rainmakers have access to. The meaning is that the "universe is not static or 'dead': it is a dynamic, 'living' and powerful universe" (Mbiti 1990, 97). So pervasive is this belief that even "some of the independent Churches […] have men and women who specialize in dealing with this power" (Mbiti 1990, 194).

African theatre has also played a significant role in educating the society on politics. By so doing, it has extended their knowledge and participation in the democratic process. This involvement in politics and government is neither new nor entirely borrowed from the West, even though some contemporary dramatists have used Western dramatic structure or a mixture of Western and African indigenous dramatic forms to express a people's attitude and disposition toward politics and the government. It is in this vein that one may look at the Alarinjo Theatre of Nigeria, the Ogunde Theatre of Nigeria, the Kamirithu Theatre of Kenya, and Zambuko-Izibuko Theatre of Zimbabwe.

When Hugh Clapperton and Richard Lander visited Old Oyo in 1826, they were entertained by the Alarinjo Theatre, a secular derivation of the more sacred Egungun Masquerade. The Alarinjo Theatre emerged as a form of protest against the king, Alaafin Ogbolu, who wanted to move his people

from their exile in Oyo Igboho back to the original seat of government in Old Oyo (Katunga). Because most of his subjects had been born while in exile, they held no serious affiliation to Old Oyo and planned how to thwart the dictatorial move by the king. The king's council sent "masked actors… secretly to Old Oyo to precede the king's emissaries" who had been sent to inspect the former capital as the first move to returning there (Adedeji 1978, 28). The masked actors who represented deformed persons such as the hunchback, the leper, and the cripple—"caricatures of humanity believed to have been created by Orisa-nla (Obatala), the Yoruba arch-divinity, under the influence of wine" (Adedeji 1978, 50)—succeeded in scaring off the inspectors, much to the great distress of the king. A member of the king's council eventually revealed the secret to the king, who then sent hunters to arrest the actors. These actors became the founders of the Alarinjo—a traditional Yoruba traveling theatre—a theatre born out of a people's protest against a king's dictatorial move.

In Hubert Ogunde and Wole Soyinka, we see a continuation of that tradition of using theatre to educate the people on the excesses or shortcomings of politics and governments and to protest against such in the hope of bringing a change. In his play, *Towards Liberty*, often referred to as "the greatest political play ever produced by Hubert Ogunde" (Clark 1979, 85), the dramatist educates audiences on the power of unity and calls on the various movements to unite in the fight for freedom from colonialism. In his *Bread and Bullet*, the depiction of coal miners who were killed by government police when they protested for pay raises was thought powerful enough to incite Nigerians against the British colonial administration that the play was banned in some major cities. At independence, when prominent Yoruba regional political leaders (Obafemi Awolowo and Samuel Akintola) fought bitterly against each other and brought unrest and chaos, Ogunde produced *Yoruba Ronu* (Yoruba Think). Though the play calls for unity among the Yoruba people in order to achieve power and prosperity, the Premier (Governor) of the region who was in the audience left the play before it was over because he saw it as an attack on him and his government. He banned Ogunde's Theatre, declaring it an "unlawful society" whose intentions were "dangerous to the good government of Western Nigeria" (Ukpokodu 1992b, 36–37; Clark 1979, 79).

Like Ogunde, Wole Soyinka's theatre has been political. By exposing, and in some cases satirizing, the "dark deeds" of politics and politicians (Ukpokodu 1992b, 50), Soyinka provides an education that is meant to instruct people of what to avoid in politics. Ultimately, it is meant to show that the good aspects of politics and politicians that are absent in his drama should be reflected upon and made the end of good governance. We find this attitude to politics and politicians in his collection of satirical sketches, *Before the Blackout* (n.d.). Ukpokodu has referred to the sketches in *Before the Blackout* as "a salad of sour taste that serves both as an antidote and an

indicator to everything volatile, ambivalent, angst-ridden and schizophrenic in the Nigerian political situation of the First [Nigerian] Republic" (1992a, 44). It presents alarming scenarios for disaster that people should prevent or avoid.

The readiness of Ogunde and Soyinka to go to prison for their belligerent stance against political impropriety, in itself a form of education on political activism, is also seen in Ngugi wa Thiong'o, a Kenyan dramatist. When Ngugi and Micere Githae Mugo wrote *The Trial of Dedan Kimathi* (1977), they had called for a radical sociopolitical theatre that would give the people courage in their struggle for total liberation. Such theatre would depict the people in their heroic history. It was in pursuit of such theatre that Ngugi (wa Thiong'o) and Ngugi wa Mirii developed the Kamiriithu Theatre as a collective effort and wrote *Ngaahika Ndeenda* (I Will Marry When I Want) in 1982 using Gikuyu. Kamiriithu Theatre educated the people to adopt a critical attitude toward the Kenyan government and the society in general. It created dramatic situations that linked the people's history to their current experiences in society and politics. It was a didactic theatre that served both as entertainment and "collective self-education" (wa Thiong'o 1981, 76):

> When *I Will Marry When I Want* opened to a paying audience, it was an immediate success. People came from afar in busses and taxis; it was like a collective festival. Audience members called themselves by the names of their favorite characters and the language of the play became part of the people's daily usage and frame of reference. (Ukpokodu 1992a, 33)

In 1982, the Kenyan government revoked Kamiriithu's license on the accusation that the theatre was misleading people into activities that had nothing to do with development. A day after the ban, armed policemen destroyed the Kamiriithu Theatre. The government's response to widespread criticism of this act was that the destruction and ban were necessary because the theatre was "teaching politics under the cover of culture" (wa Thiong'o 1983, 47).

The Kamiriithu Theatre may very well fall under the various theatrical experiments dubbed together as "Theatre for Development" (TfD) that have risen over the years in several African countries. They have one thing in common—the use of theatre as a tool for finding solutions to developmental problems facing a community. TfD may have started in 1974 in Botswana when international aid workers, university teachers, and theatre practitioners formed the Laedza Batanani Group to create plays relevant to the development needs of any community they went to. TfD consciously teaches people how to initiate action for developing rural communities. It is the conscious use of theatre and the performing arts in general to bring about or reinforce a process of social and development change. It involves a process of information research, analysis, playmaking, discussion, and follow-up. Ideas that emerge from the theatre production lead to post-production evaluation and concrete action. Repeated visits and reminders by theatre organizers keep the momentum going for concrete action. "Community organizers and age

groups are also entrusted with keeping the momentum going. If there is no resultant action, the project is not considered a success" (Ukpokodu 1992a, 38). This is because, as Jule Koch (2008) points out in discussing TfD in Tanzania, the overarching aim is "the improvement of life for the participants [community]" (11). Theatre thus becomes "an educational tool" that carries "practical information (e.g. sexual education during initiation) as well as… idealistic values that are essential for the survival of the community" (Koch 2008, 14–15). In Cameroon, for example, theatre has been used for environmental education. According to John Tiku Takem:

> The worsening environmental crisis in Cameroon in recent decades prompted environmentalists to begin educating people on the need to adopt sustainable ways of managing natural resources…. Theatre is a popular method employed to appeal to the environmental sensibilities of the public, to sensitize people about the growing dangers of the environmental scourge, and to galvanize communities into action. (2005, 11)

If there is one play that captures the essence of wisdom that comes with education, it is Wale Ogunyemi's *Langbodo* (1979). I call the play (which should be read and discussed parallel to its source of adaptation) an African theatre's book of wisdom. In 1977, at the Second World Black and Africa Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC 77) that was held in Lagos, Nigeria, the host country staged Wale Ogunyemi's *Langbodo* to a world audience. It was a fitting performance because of the didactic nature of the play and the traditional source from which it was adapted, D. O. Fagunwa's *Ogboju Ode Ninu Igbo Irunmale*, translated by Wole Soyinka as *The Forest of a Thousand Daemons* (1968). As Soyinka points out, Fagunwa is "both the enthusiastic raconteur and pious moralist" (1968, 4), and though much is lost in translating it, it is "not reason enough to limit [the work] to the readership of Yoruba speakers only" (4). This is proven true in the adaptation of the book to a play and the success of the play when performed in Lagos to a world audience in 1977. In the original story, the didactic nature is clear, for Iragbeje who lives on Mount Langbodo possesses clear knowledge of "the wisdom of earth" (100), and wants to "tell the world…this story as a mine of wisdom that [people's] lives may be good" (139). Because the wisdom and knowledge from *Langbodo* as a play and *The Forest of a Thousand Daemons* as a novel are delivered on Mount Langbodo, one might also compare the impact on people as that of Christ's "Sermon on the Mount" found in the Bible:

> Seeing the crowds, he [Jesus] went onto the mountain. And when he was seated his disciples came to him. Then he began to speak. This is what he taught them: (Matthew 5:1–2)

> After he had come down from the mountain large crowds followed him. (Matthew 8:1)

My point of emphasis here is "mountain." It is from the mountain then that wisdom is delivered—the mountain as a metaphor for the highest point where one is put on a pedestal to be seen and listened to by a multitude (by "the whole world") in a traditional pre-TV, pre-Internet era. What wisdom does *Langbodo* give to the world during FESTAC 77? The wisdom is that of unity and love of family that translates to that of a community, a country, a race and "to mankind in general" (Fagunwa 1968, 101).

Fagunwa's book addresses parental and filial responsibilities. Parents are advised to bring up their children properly, show children the proper way of doing things, correct their errors and rebuke them when necessary. "If you are poor, cut your coat according to your size…A man lives according to his means" (102). Parents are advised to prevent their children from keeping bad company, pub-crawling and "insulting women all over town," doing dirty dancing publicly and boasting (102). The idea is to look after and train a child so that the child does not become a "worthless person in the world," the impact of which could lead a parent to die broken-hearted (104).

The wisdom on Mount Langbodo also addresses the responsibilities of a child to the parents. I cannot resist quoting the passage because of the sheer beauty of the traditional expression in which age plays a role. An adult may address a child as the adult deems fit for the occasion, and it is not seen as child abuse or child-shaming. Here is Iragbeje addressing the child:

> When you were little, hardly bigger than a mouse, it was your mother who wiped the mucus from your nose, her breasts you sucked and pulled at anyhow, even biting them, and it was on her clothes you defecated and pissed upon. It was your father who took up his cutlass [machete] and went after the bark of trees from which he made your potions, and your parents who ran hither and thither when you were taken ill. (104)

Children are told to remember and respect their parents, even if the parents are poor; to always consult with their parents, to remain silent when parents rebuke them, and never to raise their hands against their parents. They are told to remember that at some point, their parents' thinking, because of advanced age, may resemble that of a very young child whose mind has not fully developed. During that period of parental mental regression, the child should exercise patience and be careful not to draw the curse of the parent, for the "curse of the parents when the child is guilty never fails to hunt down the child" (106). Why are children so advised to take good care of their parents? The answer is direct and simple—because they gave birth to the child, and the day that the parents die, the child "will understand that there is no concern as true as a mother's," and that a step-father or guardian is "never like" the child's deceased father (105).

Langbodo also depicts a lot of problems that a country goes through when forging national unity. It also points out, however, that no matter the divisive nature, the problems can be surmounted because of the power of a shared

culture. As the playwright asserts in the preface to the play, "[A]ll black people of the world have a common culture" (n.p.). It is not my place here to argue this assertion that may have arisen from the euphoria of FESTAC 77.

Let me point out in conclusion that this paper in no way exhausts the educational import of African theatre. Tewfik al-Hakim's *The Song of Death* (1980) interrogates and condemns Egyptian and Arab vendetta in which a mother is so consumed with avenging the death of her husband that she kills her son for teaching modern ways of life that oppose the tit-for-tat vision of the world. The play, in a way, is about education, and how it changes us in so many ways and, in most instances, for the better. From *Sizwe Bansi Is Dead* (1986) and *The Island* (1986) co-devised by Athol Fugard, John Kani, and Winston Ntshona to teach South Africans and the world the horrors of apartheid as a system of governance, and teach us that Black and White, as exemplified in the racial composition of the co-playwrights themselves, can, and do work together amicably and successfully, to the Refugee Theatre of Tanzania that was inspired by the African National Congress (ANC) to teach historical and cultural facts to young Black South Africans driven into, or born in, exile, and to Peter Ukpokodu's *The Migrants: Part One* (2017) that brings attention to the plight of African and Middle-Eastern migrants in their treacherous journey to Europe through the Mediterranean and Aegean seas that have become waters of death and whose beds have become unhallowed and unmarked mass graveyards, African theatre, whether in its traditional form or Western dramatic structure, is imbued with didacticism. Because theatre is relatively inexpensive, "mobile, simple to present, and difficult to supervise, censor, or outlaw," it is the one medium that readily lends itself to "conscientize, educate, unify, and mobilize" people (Mshengu 1979, 31, 38). Through its function as Indigenous education, African theatre demonstrates relevance and service to the community beyond giving pleasure. Says Soyinka in an interview with John Agetua (1975), "The artist has always functioned in African society as the record of mores and experience of his [her] society and as the voice of vision in his [her] own time" (30). Even when some critics label some dramatic activities such as Soyinka's *Before the Blackout* or Ngugi and Ngugi's Kamiriithu Theatre as agitprop, their veritable educational quality and power remain inviolate, unassailable.

References

Adedeji, Joel. 1978. "'Alarinjo': The Traditional Yoruba Travelling Theatre." In *Theatre in Africa*, edited by Oyin Ogunba and Abiola Irele, 27–51. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.

Al-Hakim, Tewfik. 1980. "The Song of Death." In *Fate of a Cockroach and Other Plays*. Washington, DC: Three Continents Press.

Baum, L. Frank. 2000. *The Annotated Wizard of Oz: The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*. Edited by Michael Patrick Hearn. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Breasted, James Henry. 1909. *A History of Egypt*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Clark-Bekederemo, John Pepper. 1977. *The Ozidi Saga*. Ibadan: Oxford University Press and Ibadan University Press.

Clark, Ebun. 1979. *Hubert Ogunde: The Making of Nigerian Theatre*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Clark, John Pepper. 1966. *Ozidi*. Ibadan: Oxford University Press.

Eliot, T. S. 1963. *Murder in the Cathedral*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.

Fagunwa, D. O. 1968. *The Forest of a Thousand Daemons: A Hunter's Saga*. Translated by Wole Soyinka. London: Thomas Nelson & Sons.

Fugard, Athol, John Kani, and Winston Ntshona. 1986a. "Sizwe Bansi Is Dead." *Statements*. New York: Theatre Communications Group.

Fugard, Athol, John Kani, and Winston Ntshona. 1986b. "The Island." *Statements*. New York: Theatre Communications Group.

Hussein, Ebrahim N. 1970. *Kinjeketile*. Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press.

Koch, Jule. 2008. *Karibuni Wananchi Theatre for Development in Tanzania: Variations and Tendencies*. Bayreuth, Germany: Bayreuth African Studies Series.

Mazrui, Ali. 1986a. Narrator. "The Nature of a Continent." In *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*. PBS Documentary Series. Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown & Company.

Mazrui, Ali. 1986b. *The Africans: A Triple Heritage*. Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown & Company.

McIvor, Onowa, Art Napoleon, and Kevissa M. Dickie. 2009. "Language and Culture as Protective Factors for At-Risk Communities." *Journal of Aboriginal Health* 5 (1): 6–25.

Mshengu. 1979. "After Soweto: People's Theatre and the Political Struggle in South Africa." *Theatre Quarterly* 9 (33): 31–38.

Ndlovu, Duma, ed. 1986. *Woza Afrika! An Anthology of South African Plays*. New York: George Brazille.

Ogunba, Oyin. 1978. "Traditional African Festival Drama." In *Theatre in Africa*, edited by Oyin Ogunba and Abiola Irele, 3–26. Ibadan: Ibadan University Press.

Ogunyemi, Wale. 1979. *Langbodo*. Lagos: Thomas Nelson (Nigeria) Limited.

Osofisan, Femi. 2002. "Esu and the Vagabond Minstrels." In *Modern African Drama*, edited by Biodun Jeyifo, 362–411. New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company.

Paes, Cesar, and Marie Clemence Paes. 1989. Directors, *Angano…Angano: Tales from Madagascar*. Documentary Film.

Rotimi, Ola. 1974. *Ovonramwen Nogbaisi*. Ibadan: Oxford University Press.

Shakespeare, William. 1949. *Julius Caesar*. Edited by J. D. Wilson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shakespeare, William. 1951. *Macbeth*. Edited by J. D. Wilson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sofola, Zulu. 1972. *Wedlock of the Gods*. Ibadan: Evans Brothers.

Soyinka, Wole. 1975. "The Writer in a Modern African State." In *When the Man Died*, edited by John Agetua, 25–30. Benin City: Bendel Newspapers Corporation.

Soyinka, Wole. (n.d.). *Before the Blackout*. Ibadan: Orisun.

Soyinka, Wole. 2002. "Death and the King's Horseman." In *Modern African Drama*, edited by Biodun Jeyifo, 126–177. New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company.

Sutherland, Efua T. 1987. *Two Plays: The Marriage of Anansewa and Edufa*. Essex: Longman Group.

Takem, John Tiku. 2005. *Theatre and Environmental Education in Cameroon*. Bayreuth, Germany: Bayreuth African Studies Series.

The Bible. 1990. *The New Jerusalem Bible*. Reader's Edition. New York: Doubleday.

Ukpokodu, I. Peter. 1992a. "Plays, Possession, and Rock-and-Roll: Political Theatre in Africa." *The Drama Review: A Journal of Performance Studies* 36 (1): 28–53.

Ukpokodu, I. Peter. 1992b. *Socio-Political Theatre in Nigeria*. San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press.

Ukpokodu, I. Peter. 2017. "The Migrants." In *NAAAS Monograph Series*, edited by Jr. Lemuel Berry. Dallas, TX: National Association of African American Studies.

wa Thiong'o, Ngugi. 1981. *Detained: A Writer's Prison Diary*. London: Heinemann Educational Books.

wa Thiong'o, Ngugi. 1983. *Barrel of a Pen*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

wa Thiong'o, Ngugi, and Micere Githae Mugo. 1977. *The Trial of Dedan Kimathi*. London: Heinemann Educational Books.

wa Thiong'o, Ngugi, and Ngugi wa Mirii. 2002. "I Will Marry When I Want." In *Modern African Drama*, edited by Biodun Jeyifo, 276–361. New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company.

Williams, Adebayo. 2002. "Cultural Death and the King's Horseman." In *Modern Drama*, edited by Biodun Jeyifo, 561–569. New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company.

North Africa Nomadic Indigenous Knowledge: Ayt Khabach Nomads Urban Challenges in Southeastern Morocco

Mokhtar Bouba

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will examine the sociocultural dynamics of sedentarization and its direct effects on *Ire'halen* (nomads)[1] of the southeastern Sahara deserts of Morocco, with a focus on Ayt Khabach, an Indigenous Amazigh tribe that is part of Ayt Atta,[2] the largest confederation of tribes in the region (Hart 1981). This chapter discusses how these communities try to maintain their Indigenous educational traditions and nomadic ways of knowing and learning in their contemporary urban context, where Indigenous educational practices are not understood nor valued. In the few pages that follow, strategies are discussed that the Ayt Khabach developed to negotiate urban environments and their effect on the way they teach their culture and language. Their movement in recent times to urban areas necessitated this negotiation and revision of Indigenous education methodologies, to include new or revised pedagogies used to secure a healthy transfer of their Amazigh language, culture and ways of knowing to future generations—their own offspring. Increased awareness of the Amazigh Indigenous education structures and methods may also increase the potential for civic support within the urban and national contexts.

M. Bouba (✉)
Middle Eastern Studies, Dartmouth College, Hanover, NH, USA
e-mail: Mokhtar.Bouba@dartmouth.edu

Research behind this chapter is the result of a longitudinal process of observation and ethnographic research methods of Ayt Khabach communities in two Moroccan cities, Erfoud and Rissani.[3] The protocols for this research and its findings come from my training as an Indigenous researcher and from cultural knowledge as a member of Ayt Khabach community, belonging to the first generation of settlers. Both Indigenous (relational) methodologies and reflective observation methods were applied to generate meanings from the experience of nomads as they navigate their way through the sedentarization process and the challenges it created for their ways of knowing and learning (Smith 1999; Ismail and Cazden 2005).

What makes the Ayt Khabach experience with education unique is that they had not had any exposure to state-run educational systems until the 1960s and 1970s, when they started to settle in villages and towns in east of the Tafilalet Valley (Bouba 2015). Nomads who moved to smaller and remote villages did not see any schools until they became adults in the 1970s and later. However, all nomadic community members went through *assegmi* (Indigenous education) that used Indigenous methods and pedagogies we will discuss in detail in this chapter.

The importance of Indigenous pedagogies lies in their ability to maintain a sustainable generational balance while securing the continuation of ways of knowing and learning into the future. Before Ayt Khabach *Irehalen* were forced into settlement, they relied solely on Indigenous pedagogies. They defined these as traditional Indigenous teaching and learning methods, including tools and structures that were embedded in language, ceremonies, and rituals. They also used land-based approaches in learning that used vocabularies, hydronyms, and toponyms derived from their own relationship with the land where they lived.[4] Based on this education, Ayt Khabach elders recognize and locate rivers, sand dunes, mountains, and *hamadas* by name in the territories that stretch along the Sahara deserts. They easily recite these names and their geographic characteristics and spatial relationships when giving advice to younger fellow *Irehalen* members about desert routes and water wells.

At the core of Indigenous pedagogies are language expressions and imageries used that create learning experiences where Indigenous children and young adults (learners) acquire knowledge about the land where they live and the spaces where their *Irehalen* ancestors historically interacted with each other and with their natural and supernatural environments.

Conceptualizing Territoriality, Nomadism, and Settlement

At the northwestern side of the grand Sahara Desert[5] is the land of Ayt Khabach, enclaved along the Morocco-Algerian borders and stretching for hundreds of miles. It is surrounded by an arid desert plateau enclosing a dozen villages and small towns. Ayt Khabach is a fraction of the greater Ayt

Atta,[6] historically known as one of the largest Amazigh (Berber) confedera-tion of tribes in Morocco (Hart 1981; Ilahiane 2017). Ayt Atta established themselves as an autonomous super-tribe that looked and functioned like an independent state since the seventeenth century CE, when they declared their autonomy from the Moroccan central government. At that time, they imposed themselves as the guardians of the Sahara Desert caravan routes (Hart 1981). By the turn of the twentieth century, the Sahara Desert trade routes and caravan-based economies had already declined in favor of other transportation alternatives. The 1912 Treaty of Fes imposed a French occupa-tion with the consent of the central government, despite Ayt Atta leadership's refusal to accept its terms. French colonial authorities forced Ayt Khabach nomads to settle down in villages so men would work in the lead mines run by French companies or be conscripted to the French Army (Keenan 2016; McDougall and Scheele 2012).

By 1933, the French colonial administration effectively destroyed the dom-inance of Ayt Atta political and social structures that thrived in the area for centuries. Thereby, putting an end to decades of armed resistance and centu-ries of self-rule, "*Fixation*" (sedentarization) was an essential component of French efforts to demilitarize and politically disenfranchise the Ayt Khabach.

When most of the tribespeople of Ayt Khabach found themselves in vil-lages with their tents packed and their livestock shrinking, they became vul-nerable and therefore susceptible to accepting work in construction, mines and as military conscripts for the *Goumi* paramilitary regiments that were to fight later in World War II and in Indo-China. French colonial authori-ties redesigned administrative territories of southeastern Morocco, convert-ing the lands of pastoral nomads into military zones. The military posts on the borders of Algeria functioned as checkpoints restricting the movement of the Ayt Khabach nomads and their pastoral lifestyle. Collecting taxes was not the only reason the French colonial administration wanted nomads set-tled. It also allowed the French colonial forces to restrict movements of the *Muqawama* (armed resistance). The French colonials referred to this military policing as "*pacification des tribus berbères*" (pacification of Berber tribes). After Morocco's independence in 1956, the newly independent central gov-ernment continued implementing similar policies of sedentarization, whereby thousands of nomads in the Southeast were forced to settle in fixed locations or in villages and towns (Skounti 1995).

Indigenous Education and Experiences of Space

Despite harsh political and ecological conditions, *Irehalen*[7] (nomads) lived in the Sahara Desert for many centuries and practiced *tarehalt* (nomadism) as a culture and way of life. They learned to negotiate the Sahara's harsh geog-raphies. The twentieth century brought with it the most serious threats to *tarehalt* with French occupation and the militarization of the Sahara, both of which forced them to accept the process of sedentarization and displacement.

The majority of Ayt Khabach nomads experienced two kinds of sedentarization. The first was the direct result of the French colonial policies, when they had to move to small villages, such as Taouz, Merzouga, Khamlia, or establish new villages on tribal land in the years leading to World War II (Gélard 2008). The independent Moroccan government continued to practice these initial sedentarization policies. The second sedentarization occurred due to recurrences of severe draft that hit the Sahara in the 1970s and 1980s, forcing the Ayt Khabach nomads to move *again* to bigger towns. Nomads who settled in villages round Taouz in 1933–1965 moved again after the drafts in the 1970s. By the 1980s, nomads who managed to remain in the Sahara during these first waves of sedentarization found themselves during this drought period forced to relocate and live in cities, such as Erfoud, Rissani, and Zagora.

Each wave of nomadic migration brought their own spatial practices into the urban environment where they built their homes on the peripheries of towns, such as the Douar neighborhood in Erfoud and Bni-Jdid and Douar in Rissani. These peripheral neighborhoods provided proximity to the much needed "outside space," where nomadic communities were accustomed to spending most of their time. For these new urban environments to be acceptable and livable, many alterations and additions were made to dwellings themselves to reflect habitual practices of nomadic space. For instance, many structures were redesigned to secure not only "inside" spaces, but "outside" spaces needed for gatherings, ceremonies, prayers, community bread ovens, as well as enclosures for sheep and goats. The Amazigh concept of *taddart* (house) or *takhamt* (home)[8] encompassed a territory containing both types of spaces (the inside and the outside) (Ngugi 1993). When neighborhoods became more crowded as a result of urban zoning and construction, Ayt Khabach nomads were further confined to the limited inside spaces of their houses. The "outside" was overtaken by more buildings, parking lots, apartment buildings, and big hotels which created another layer of disenfranchisement of these communities which further altered or restricted their education practices.

Urbanization has impacted not only Ayt Khabach movement as they practiced space, but also the way they conceptualized it. They observed the changes that were occurring as a result of the rapid urbanization and the sudden disappearance of the outside with a mounting anxiety about the possible loss of their very ways of knowing (Abidogun 2007), their identity and the spatial practices that represented them.

Irehalen were forced to shift their efforts from explicit space negotiations in an urban environment to pedagogical and educational processes by which they hoped to encourage younger generations to accept *tarehalt* as a useful source of knowledge. Elder community members are making efforts to re-create traditional methods and structures to teach their stories to younger generations at times uninterested in nomadic knowledge.

Education, Indigeneity, and Urban Challenges

The nomadic ways of knowing and learning that *Irehalen* continue to try to pass on to their children are not restricted to practical nomadic skills, such as how to handle camels and livestock. Rather, this knowledge is about the qualities of being a nomad and Indigenous Amazigh. These concepts are known among Indigenous peoples of North Africa as *Timuzgha*, that is the quality of being a human that respects the land and the beings that live in it. It also refers to the pride held by Amazigh people about being Amazigh which is traditionally understood to be equated to freedom (*tilelli*) and nobility. Teaching *tarehalt* and *timuzgha* to younger generations poses many challenges to all participants in the teaching/learning process. Some, younger people who are already students in formal schools lack enough exposure to Indigenous education to think positively about their Amazigh nomadic knowledge. Therefore, they have difficulty accepting Indigenous ways of learning. However, a few young adults are aware that they had exposure to two different systems of education/learning that helped in widening their perspectives and gave them the power to understand and negotiate both pedagogies. The importance of Indigenous ways of knowing resides in their ability to interpret and stay in direct relation with the present and the world outside, that is the open space where life and knowledge interface. One barrier to effective transfer of Indigenous knowledge is that too often the Indigenous ways of knowing are portrayed as passive forms of folklore that belong to the past (Bouba 2015).

Now that urban spaces became restricted as a result of population growth and urban sprawl, people adjusted by learning how to stay (and function) inside their homes and behind closed doors. In order to understand the conditions of sedentarization of Ayt Khabach, it is useful to state the ways in which *Irehalen* negotiate interactions with their own children over space, identity, memory, and knowledge upkeep. Understanding these interactions assists in understanding how they revise and build new strategies to teach them about these interactions as methods to teach, but also to earn their familial and cultural commitment and support.

State-run education systems consistently excluded Indigenous education and their ways of knowing as is the case in many other African Indigenous communities. Additionally, the urban Moroccan society continues to disregard all forms of knowing and learning that are not expressed in Arabic or French. Discrimination is a powerful factor that works to discredit the value of indigeneity in the eyes of young children who do not want to be seen as *Irehalen* or Amazigh especially by their peers at school for fear of being bullied or scolded.

Schools are managed by the Moroccan central government through the Ministry of National Education (MNE) through twelve regional administrative offices. The MNE decides the national curriculum, including its

structure, content, and methods. The education systems that managed these schools to date have yet to establish ways to reflect the needs of communities or the wisdom to include some Indigenous approaches in the school curreculum which makes it void of any Indigenous content and educational praxis. Nevertheless, Amazigh *Irehalen* already have advanced pedagogies and ways of learning that are paradigmatically different than what is used in Moroccan schools. Before sedentarization, nomadic Ayt Khabach camps had spaces designated for the *Fqih* (Imam) to teach young children about the Qur'an and Muslim prayers. The rest of the *curriculum* was taught at home and in the open spaces outside through modeling and mentoring of parents and elders. When they grow older, young people are walked through rituals of "initiation" to prepare them for their transition to adulthood with responsibilities toward their families and the wider community.

Ayt Khabach nomads are traditionally taught the skills of weaving, tent maintenance, herding, water management among other skills (Becker 2014). They also learn poetry, song, and tales (literature) at a very young age to strengthen their abilities to function as adults. This *curriculum* also included advanced skills in language, art and literature, music, history, management, and the education of their own children. Mothers were trained to coach children through all phases of their education, punctuated by ceremonies of completion and initiation.

Education for *Irehalen* transcends the formal and institutionalized forms of teaching and learning to include what Linda Smith (2005) calls the "Dynamics of cultural systems in which learning, teaching, socialization, and cultural transformation occur" (93). For instance, in many Touareg communities of Mali and Niger, young people (especially girls) learn how to read and write Tifinagh (Amazigh writing system) from their mothers as part of their Indigenous education. As a result, in these societies the majority of women regularly read, write, and speak in Tamazight. If *literacy* means mastering the skills of reading and writing, most Kel Tamasheq women are undoubtedly intellectuals in the real sense of the word. However, Mali's and Algeria's Western-style educational curriculum recognizes literacy only as related to mastery of French. Therefore, Amazigh women who read and write their own language will still be illiterate in the eyes of their national education systems (Bouba 2015).

Amazigh people in Morocco, unlike Mali and Niger, have not used Tifinagh script for many centuries; this makes their language "oral" and therefore of a lesser status. Like many African languages, it is labeled "local" or "dialect" by Western literature and by the national education systems which make it less likely to be taught at school. However, *Irehalen* made the focus of their language the power of the spoken word rather than on its written forms. For a long time now, the Tifinagh alphabet was lost in northern Amazigh communities. As stated above it is more commonly used among the Touareg communities of Mali, Algeria (primarily in the southern region) and

in Niger. Amazigh people who do not attend state-run schools in Morocco are still considered "illiterate" even when their language is considered an oral language that should be identified as "nonliterate" or as an oral tradition language that is wholly transmitted and transferred via oral Indigenous education methodology. Even though Ayt Khabach are among the Amazigh communities that have not made use of the Tifinagh alphabet in the traditions of education they provided for children, they use graphic systems of representation that are used in crafts and in construction. These symbolic systems are used in learning in combination with Tifinagh language as they preserve and transmit their ways of knowing.

As Morocco's national education system limits the meaning of literacy and renders it to directly conform to Western language scripted literacy, the ability to speak Tamazight is not enough to "gain the privilege" of being literate. Consequently, only those who are exposed to French and classical Arabic in formal schools are literate. This omission of oral languages that are non-scripted is reflected in official numbers of illiteracy in Morocco that are consistently high with overall illiteracy estimated at 37.5% based on French in 2016 with female illiteracy comparatively higher at 41.2% (US Central Intelligence Agency 2019). This definition of literacy as exclusively French omits highly skilled Tifinagh speakers. French only policies mean that Amazigh communities, who at most use French as a second language if at all, in the mountains and the Sahara Desert are labeled illiterate at higher rates.

Education and the Indigenous Amazigh Paradigm

It is well known among Indigenous peoples of the Sahara that language, in its visual and spoken forms, is the most important container and conduit of knowledge expression. Indigenous education works in close proximity with societal and linguistic environments that it represents. When Indigenous people lose the ability to speak their mother tongue, in this case Tamazight people, the gap between them and their knowledge and identity becomes wider. This chapter argues that some young sedentarized Ayt Khabach who are reluctant or in some circumstances not allowed or provided access to learn the Amazigh language and knowledge have become illiterate in these ways of knowing. This resulted in a dramatic diminishing in their Indigenous cultural vocabularies and knowledge. They became easily assimilated into the dominant paradigms through school, media, and urbanization which made it difficult for them to maintain any links with their own indigeneity.

Although debates about identity and Amazigh Indigenous rights intensified within universities and civil society organizations at the national and international levels, in the last few decades, only a small percentage of young people have full understanding or access to discover the importance of their ancestral knowledge. This marginalization of Amazigh knowledge is a result of the long processes of Arabization and Westernization of education and the

public space. By contrast, many young university students who were educated in both Indigenous and non-Indigenous education systems have the advantage to understand both paradigms. Slowly some of these university students, as well as the current generation of tourism providers, discovered the benefits of the Indigenous knowledge as important to their education and to their economic well-being, respectively.[9] Others have learned a renewed appreciation of their Indigenous ways of learning and knowing to manage identity issues they often face as adults in Moroccan society.[10]

Language and life skills necessary for daily life that parents passed on to their children are referred to in dominant non-Indigenous discourse as "upbringing"; in contrast to "education" defined as what they receive at school. In such a discourse education is a constructed knowledge gained through a westernized education system via a largely written curriculum provided separate from home "upbringing" that does not included classical Arabic and French. In this context "upbringing" or the oral traditions of Amazigh Indigenous education is viewed as a simplistic practice that reduces Indigenous education to a naïve and rudimentary training for survival (Bouba 2017, 7). This Western education structure contrasts sharply with Amazigh Indigenous education (*asegmi*) where "upbringing" is synonymous with "education" as it is passed on through an oral tradition where most Ayt Khabach families have retained their ability to teach within their living environments. This Indigenous system includes many subjects that are taught effectively to children orally without using any formal orthography (alphabet). Many of their methods are based on advanced teaching skills that have yet to be documented by Western-educated observers or researchers. Examples of these teaching skills are the use of narratives of Irehalen to teach content through the genres of folktales or fables, children stories, poems, songs, and dance. When put together, they tell the story of the Amazigh philosophy of morals, applied psychology, history, sciences, arts, and literature that support *Timuzgha*. It is evident in the survival of Amazigh societies that all the disciplines required to support human survival and their ability to maintain social and environmental harmony are effectively taught and developed over generations in ever changing sociopolitical environments.

The Amazigh mythology is very fragmented, but there are still references to ancient gods and goddesses in songs and tales as well as in daily language interactions (idioms, proverbs, and poems). Although Amazigh people in southeastern Morocco are Muslims and believe in *al-tawhid* (the oneness of God), there are numerous instances where Tamazight show references to polytheism and old Amazigh gods. *Aàri* and *Wiha*[11] are examples of these ancient gods that remain in the daily language, although they may have completely disappeared from the Amazigh religious and spiritual realms as practiced religion. To express happiness in Tamazight, people today say "*A ya aàri nw!*" Literally, "O my aàri" (aàri, being the god of happiness) which is also a thanksgiving prayer. In modern times, people think of it just as an expression of happiness. To express sadness and sorrow, people say, "*A wiha*

nw." Literally, "O my wiha." Evoking Wiha, the god of sorrow and sadness in this utterance is also read as a prayer.

Additionally, Tamazight holds a rich repertoire of names that *Irehalen* use as geographic and deictic markers. More importantly, most Sahara Desert places in the Ayt Khabach land have toponymical or hydronymical references. Examples of these nomination strategies are the use of *erg* (sand dune), *ighir* (mountain), *tanut* or *anu* (water well), and *assif* (river) in labeling places in the Sahara Desert to help people find their way in the Sahara while learning the memory or histories as they travel to and learn about each space. When taught to younger generations, stories of place help them build vocabularies of orientation and survival in the Sahara. They learn patterns and relationships of names and places in order to understand the knowledge that sits behind them.

When Ayt Khabach elders share stories from their times in the desert that they had learned from their parents, they also share an epistemology and an ontology that is unique to them. At times, they also share the regrets and feelings of nostalgia and loss of the desert as a space. Urbanization might have deprived them of the ability to concretely show the spaces they teach about; but through the wisdom of elders, they are able to create forms and descriptions of desert images that are completely oral. Furthermore, they effectively use their rich and ancient Tamazight language to re-craft stories used for both entertainment and education.

As the author observing Indigenous Ayt Khabach for many decades in social and tribal gatherings of different sizes, it is noteworthy that all conversations are story based. When an elder speaks, they are telling a story that is most of the time related to lived experiences. Far from styles of debate and argumentation, they intentionally leave so much room for positive listening and reflection. Hence, listeners are reminded of the power of their oral culture and the worldviews it carries as well as the weight of their own words.

Orality and literacy do not have the distinct relationship understood by Western academicians. Literacy is irrelevant to peoples' abilities to maintain a grounded understanding of their cultural spaces and worldviews. In fact, Ayt Khabach educated and continue to educate many generations without reference to any given orthography. For them meaning is presented in different layers, one of which relies heavily on the power of narratives and alternative graphic representation. If the alphabet helps to scribe and transcribe units of language to facilitate a certain level of communication, then for the Ayt Khabach similarly symbols and the imageries provide a wider window to ancestral clusters of meaning and knowledge that help to explain both signs and symbols as the realm of sacred interactions with the world.

A further instance of these imageries and symbolism resides in stories that center on water, given its importance in the desert. In Tamazight, the word water is *aman* but it is a plural word that does not have a singular form. *Aman* and *their* availability are related to the agreement of three worlds:

the visible, the invisible, and the celestial. When these worlds line up, they can stop *Amanar*. Amanar is a star in the Orion constellation portraying the power of thirst as god of thirst and god of death. Elders will refer to someone who died of thirst in the Sahara as: "*Yiwit umanar*" (was taken by *amanar*).

Nomads have a system of symbols that they preserve, use, and hold dear. These symbols are at times visual, but most of the time they are attained by way of listening. That is why Indigenous ways of knowing are important for young generations to learn. When stories are used for teaching, they are also given longer lives because younger generations are expected to care for them and pass them down to future generations.

Amazigh ways of learning have strong ties to established methods of teaching, mentoring, and training young people to carry on social and leadership responsibilities. One of the most used methods is the ritualization of learning where older community members teach through modeling and repetition. They also provide mentoring to younger people that is understood to be a responsibility rather than a favor. It is another way of securing continuity for the ancestral knowledge they are holding.

In the Ayt Khabach community, *tameghra* (marriage) ceremonies are considered the most significant cluster of rituals that are held for the sake of celebration of the passage of youth to the world of adulthood. They start from the home of the bride following *asqimu*, where ceremonies are initiated and performed by women of the community, following steps detailed in the ritual chants called *warru*. These women maintain and transfer cultural and family care knowledge via oral tradition through cross-generational settings such as weddings. A delegation from the bridegroom's house is entrusted with escorting the bridal tent set to the outside of her future home. After three days of activities together, the community organizes *umidul* ceremony where the bride is escorted to her new home in a parade.

During the three days of the wedding, the community holds many *ahaidus* (highly ritualized Amazigh line dance) sessions in and around a bridal tent erected for the occasion outside in the open air. It is an opportunity for poets and drummers to get together and exchange rhymes and beats while younger boys and girls listen to learn. Unlike *warru*, this dance is initiated by men and begins with a leader (a poet) reciting or improvising *tagezzumt* (an initial poem) after which women are invited to the floor to join the session.[12] Poems that support *ahaidus* ceremonies carry an understanding of the cosmos. They talk about love and life and tell stories of nostalgia and displacement. Young men and women also learn the poetry, the rhythms as well the vocabularies and rules that regulate the ritual.

The community continues to perform these ceremonies despite the constraints and limitations of space in urban environments where contemporary Ayt Khabach communities live. To negotiate these new conditions, organizers adapt new spaces to fit the need for these rituals to be performed. One of these adaptations was to organize rituals on the terrace of houses rather than in the outside. The presence of cameras and décor are accepted as

new additions to the ceremonies. However, the essence of Tameghra rituals remains the same. The belief among Ayt Khabach is that these rituals are important because they can define the future of those for whom they are performed. Through cross-generational interactions with space, poetry and music custom, and social expectations are transferred, developed, and maintained.

What makes these experiences teachable is the Indigenous pedagogical opportunities they offer to expose younger people to stories and linguistic environments that carry memories, representations, and interpretations of the universe, that is Indigenous ways of knowing which are dynamic and inclusive. Ahaidus, the old Amazigh line-dance performed in gatherings and celebrations, continues to carry rich meanings and Indigenous worldviews that formal Western-styled schools are not able to teach.

Conclusion

Indigenous communities of North Africa like the Ayt Khabach Amazigh nomads of the southeastern Sahara have integrated education (*assegmi*) with daily activities where younger people (students) are introduced to social skills, responsibilities, history, geography, science, literature, and ethics through very rigorous programs based on Indigenous knowledge and praxis.

Before their sedentarization, which started many decades ago, nomadic Amazigh communities practiced traditional or Indigenous ways of teaching and learning that combine upbringing education (*assegmi*) as part of a wholistic education system. Unlike Western-styled modern urban Moroccan education systems, Indigenous education was not confined to the classroom or a school building. It was practiced based on mentoring, modeling, and advising where older community members and parents coach younger people through the learning process.

However, this form of education faced many obstacles when nomads were forced to settle down in villages and towns in the last four decades. The wave of draft in the 1970s and 1980s was devastating for nomadic livelihoods. Additionally, the conflict between Morocco and Algeria over the borders increased the scope of militarization and prevented nomads from moving in the spaces that were their traditional home. These historical moments are important for Ayt Khabach because these events marked how they negotiated new conditions of urbanization and the effects on their teaching–learning practices. In fact, nomads, now city dwellers, had to join together in a community effort to continue teaching ceremonies, rituals, and their language to younger generations in an environment that is not sensitive to these Indigenous practices. The current challenge is younger community members' decreased interest in traditions and Indigenous knowledge and practices due to the growing urbanized Moroccan mainstream environment and culture.

The anxiety that the Indigenous community senses when their younger members lose touch with their ancestral knowledge comes from the fact

that many younger people do not consider Indigenous education relevant to their present lives. In fact, Western education has influenced not just their identity awareness as Amazigh people, but it redefined how some of them understand the meaning and the purpose of Indigenous education itself. They are socialized, in fact taught through Western-style education to think that Indigenous education is not real education or has no value for their futures. Such a perspective is a reproduction of a Western colonial paradigms and as such is a manifestation of internal colonialism within the national education system. The stakes for Indigenous education in Africa are very high now that both Indigenous scholars and tribal elders are concerned about its survival. However, it should be noted that the strategies some Amazigh people created to sustain a learning environment are still valid as long as Amazigh education and its pedagogies are still embedded in rituals and ceremonies that everyone continues to enjoy and wants to preserve. Moreover, there is a rising wave of reclaiming African knowledge and its representative forms in art and languages, that is Indigenous education as ways of knowing and learning. Activists and scholars are joining hands to create a better understanding of the Indigenous world.

NOTES

1. I use the Amazigh word Irehalen to refer to Amazigh nomadic communities of Ayt Khabach tribe in the south east of Morocco. When these communities moved to bigger town, they still refer to themselves as Ayt Khabach or *Irehalem Iqdimen* (old/former nomads).
2. Indigenous peoples of North Africa. They are known in Western literature as Berbers; see Hsain Ilahiane (2017), *Historical Dictionary of the Berbers* (*Imazighen*), second edition, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
3. Major towns in the Tafilalet Valley that are only 12 miles apart. They both grew to be major urban centers in the last 30 years. Rissani is about 22 thousand inhabitants. Erfoud exceeded 23 thousand.
4. Approaches that use land a methodology in instruction. For instance, a combination of geography, biology, and linguistics from the perspective of Indigenous peoples.
5. The surface of the Sahara Desert spreads for over nine million square kilometers—nearly the size of the United States. It links ten countries and covers a third of the African continent which makes it the largest and the hottest desert in the world. It is also the driest as the amount of rain fall is less than seven centimeters a year.
6. See Hsain Ilahiane (2017), *Historical Dictionary*.
7. Irehalen, singular; Arehal (Tamazight): nomad.
8. Taddart (house) is sometimes substituted with the word Takhamt (home) which stands for both tent and outside living area as a more inclusive representation of home.
9. Tourism is one of the main occupations of Ayt Khabach former nomads.
10. See Mokhtar Bouba (2015), "Dynamics of Image and Image Negotiation in Moroccan Sahara Desert Tourism." 26–28.

11. *Aàri* is the god of happiness; *Wiha* is the god of Sorrow and sadness in old Amazigh Mythology.
12. *Ahaidus* sessions cannot stand without women participations in the ritual. The English translation "Amazigh line dance" is visually descriptive but does not capture the essence of the word Ahaidus or Ahaidus because it not just a dance.

REFERENCES

Abidogun, Jamaine. 2007. "Western Education's Impact on Northern Igbo Gender Roles in Nsukka, Nigeria." *Africa Today* 54 (1): 29–51.

Becker, Cynthia. 2014. *Amazigh Arts in Morocco: Women Shaping Berber Identity.* Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Bouba, Mokhtar. 2015. *Dynamics of Image and Image Negotiation in Moroccan Sahara Desert Tourism.* Manchester, NH: Franklin Pierce University.

Bouba, Mokhtar. 2017. "Al-Ghalqa' wa Sinaāat al Aura fi al Siyyaha al Sahrawiya bi-Almaghrib." *Al Alam.* August 26.

Hart, David. 1981. *Dadda 'Atta and His Forty Grandsons: The Socio-Political Organisation of the Ait 'Atta of Southern Morocco.* Cambridge, UK: Middle East & North African Studies Press.

Gélard, Marie-Luce. 2008. "De la Tente à la Terre, de la Terre au Ciment/From the Tent to the Earth, from the Earth to Cement (Merzouga, Morocco)." *Socio-Anthropologie* 22: 123–143.

Ilahiane, Hsain. 2017. *Historical Dictionary of the Berbers (Imazighen)*, 2nd ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Ismail, S. Masturah, and Courtney B. Cazden. 2005. "Struggles for Indigenous Education and Self-Determination: Culture, Context, and Collaboration." *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 36 (1): 88–92.

Keenan, Jeremy (ed.). 2016. *The Sahara: Past Present and Future.* London and New York: Routledge.

McDougall, James, and Judith Scheele (eds.). 2012. *Saharan Frontiers: Space and Mobility in Northwest Africa.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Ngugi, Wa Thiong'o. 1993. *Moving the Centre.* London, UK: James Currey.

Skounti, Ahmed. 1995. *Le Sang et Le Sol: Les Implications Socioculturelles de La Sédentarisation: Cas Des Nomades Ayt Merghad (Maroc)/Blood and Soil: The Sociocultural implications of Sedentarization: The Case of Nomads Ayt Merghad (Morocco).* Unpublished doctoral thesis. Paris: EHESS. http://www.theses.fr/1995EHES0010.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. 1999. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples.* London and New York: Zed Books and Dunedin, NZ: University of Otago Press.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. 2005. "Building a Research Agenda for Indigenous Epistemologies and Education." *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 36 (1): 93–95.

US Central Intelligence Agency. 2019. *The World Factbook: Morocco.* Washington, DC: US Central Intelligence Agency. https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mo.html.

Elders' Cultural Knowledges and African Indigeneity

George J. Sefa Dei

Introduction

When I was invited to contribute to this important book project, some earlier observations I have made elsewhere came back to me with different interpretations. Specifically, I recall upon reading a reviewer's comment on a forthcoming book chapter I had authored. I was very upset and wondered why is it that African scholars stand the risk of being repeatedly asked to reference "other writers" who have made similar points in our papers. Never mind the fact that the African scholar may be a leading thinker in the field and, in fact, the "other writers" being referenced by the reviewer have more often than not actually picked up on the African scholar's earlier writings! As I reasoned, we [African scholars] never get the credit deserved as thinkers or theorists in our subject fields of inquiry! Writing on Indigenous knowledge presents a different challenge. We stand on the shoulders of many theorists and Indigenous knowledge systems even if we have made a name in the area. My own writings on African Indigenous knowledges date back to my graduate school days in the 1980s. Over the years, I have been influenced by a number of key works (Abdi 2005; Agrawal 1995; Akena 2012; Brokensha 1996; Chilisa 2011a, b; Emeagwali and Dei 2014; Emeagwali and Shizha 2016; Gumbo 2016, 2017; Mavhunga and Spierenburg 2007; Mpofu et al. 2014; Ngulube 2017; Odora Hoppers 2001, 2002; Otulaja and Ogunniyi 2017; Purcell 1998; Wane 2014; Warren 1996). That is the essence of

G. J. Sefa Dei (✉)
Social Justice Education, University of Toronto, ON, Canada
e-mail: george.dei@utoronto.ca

scholarship. Our knowledges are accumulative, and we build on others' ideas and broach new terrains.

I come to this discussion to affirm African Indigeneity. African Indigeneity at this time must move beyond contestation. The politics of affirming African Indigeneity is framed in the desire for "epistemologies in dialogue." I see our respective intellectual engagements as contributing to an important knowing with the emergence of sub-intern scholarship. Such scholarship is helpful for counter-visioning, challenging and subverting traditional/conventional academic knowledge. I see my work as forming part of the new academic/intellectual lineages where Indigenous peoples and representatives of minoritized communities are upending conventional and hegemonic discursive, theoretical, methodological, and research practices (see Chilisa 2011a, b; Ngulube 2017). This inquisition is helping shed new lights on the processes of subjectivization and knowledge making. I am interested in contributing to and bringing forth counter Indigenous epistemological traditions to show and acknowledge the legitimacy of Indigenous knowledge systems, as sources of truth and epistemic value in the academy. African and Indigenous peoples also think! This reiteration is significant in allowing us to question the universality of Western science and philosophy and interrogate it with the help of anti-colonial and anti-racist prisms (see Dei 2017a). I see my on-going work as assisting to represent "the substantive vindication of African subjectivities on the map of Indigeneity – whose silencing has gone long unchallenged in general colonial discourses and particularly in [educational] discourses" (Martinez 2017, 56). I am hoping to recover the idea of African Indigenous peoples as holders and custodians of territorial and cultural rights and not subjects of Euro-colonial knowledges (see also Dei et al. 2018).

In writing on Indigenous peoples and Western historical discourses and practices of environmentalism, Martinez makes an excellent point worthy of quote:

> In [the] complex construction of meaning [of Indigenous peoples], peoples from Africa have been repeatedly left out, although international legislation (UN, ILO, and other agencies) acknowledges them also as such. Usually, Indigenous Peoples from Africa are regarded as tribal. This category explains a particular social political stance in relation to Land and other dominant groups. This has meant their continual (self) marginalization by modern nation-states. In the case of African Indigenous Peoples, this detachment from the nation-state is a more generalized condition, therefore, in academic and international legal literature, there is a tendency to classify the Indigenous condition of specific societies of Africa as tribal rather than Indigenous, which is not exclusionary terminology but sometimes brings some confusion. (2017, 27)

I share these words because Martinez (2017) observation speak to on-going struggles to prove oneself when we write about African Indigeneity, as if African peoples lost Indigenousness as a result of Euro-colonization (see also Dei 2017b).

We must ask: How do systems of knowledges get globalized? We must think about structures and systems of knowledge relationally and historically. Historically all knowledges inform each other. Structurally, knowledge systems are mediated through existing power frameworks which create the trap of hierarchies of knowledge. Such hierarchies privilege some thought systems while negating, devaluing, and sometimes outright erasing other ways of knowing. The processes of interrogating and validating knowledges are structured in the colonial gaze, as well as with relations of ruling and power. This is, to say, the power of ideas and contestations over knowledge to see which knowledge counts and which is deemed worthy of being accorded "serious undertakings." These developments continue to be masked in the political economy of knowledge production in institutions of higher learning globally. There is nowhere on the global landscape today that the effects of White colonial violence have not been felt. In direct response, we are seeing a growing chorus of subaltern and sub-intern voices calling for the recuperation and uncovering of local cultural knowledges, (e.g., Elders' teachings) about our environments, Land, and Indigenous social justice, equity, youth leadership, and the social good. This to me is the very essence of decolonization (see Assié-Lumumba 2016b; Biraimah 2016; Brock-Utne 2003, 2015; Ndlovu-Gathsheni 2015).

CONCEPTUALIZING AFRICAN INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS

Indigenous African knowledge can be conceptualized as home-grown knowledge associated with "long-term occupancy" of the African soil. Such knowledges are about the ways local peoples have understood their presence on the Land and how they have functioned for centuries including everyday interactions and observations of the social, and physical environments (see also Gumbo 2017; Odora Hoppers 2002; Emeagwali and Dei 2014). This knowledge while not static has never been imposed from elsewhere but has been dynamic enough to move with the times. These are knowledges used in everyday living and are expressed in local folktales, myths and mythologies, songs, stories, and reflect knowledges about local agroforestry, pharmacology, farming technologies, soils, climate, and vegetation patterns (see Mpofu et al. 2014; Ngulube 2017). Such knowledges are also revealed in aspects of technologies of culture, including the arts, music, literatures, and folkloric productions. The absence of colonial and imperial imposition is significant not because such local knowledges are deemed static or fixed, but because they originate from local place and understandings of surrounding environments. It is place-based knowledge. They are knowledges that formal school systems sought to disregard or dismiss as "unscientific," "primitive," "backward," and "mysterious" and therefore not on the same footing as "science." These cultural [folk] knowledges were not verifiable and seen never commanding any degree of certainty of "knowing." The revival and reclaiming of such knowledge is not a return to a mythic past as it is a pragmatic and political

realization that such knowledges had their relevance and utility within local cultural ecologies and cosmologies (see also Emeagwali and Dei 2014; Otulaja and Ogunniyi 2017; Shizha 2005, 2014; Wane 2008, 2014).

It is important to reiterate that the push toward a revitalization of African Indigenous knowledges is to challenge and resist the contemporary sway of neoliberalism and Euro-modernity. My goal is not to show that African peoples have a monopoly on particular knowledge systems. The basic principles of Indigenous knowledge systems are shared across geographical spaces. Knowledges can be different in terms of the ways their underlying principles are practiced in local contexts and yet be shared. The concept of "origins of place" and "sacred learning spaces" (Dei 2012; Garcia and Shirley 2012, 77) is about Land as a source of knowing and Earthly teachings that bring some specificity to a given context. The current resurgence in African cultural knowledges speaks to the ways such reclamations mark a rebirth of African intellectual power and agency in the context of the domination of Western hegemonic knowledge systems. African cultural knowledges, like all forms of Indigenous knowing, express ideas about sharing, reciprocity, interdependence, connections, respect, and humility. Claims to such knowledges are about bringing responsibility to knowledge rather than seeking its commodification.

African Indigeneity expressed as an Indigenous cultural way of knowing is spelt out in spiritual ontologies and belief systems of local peoples. These ontologies espouse an understanding of the relations between society, culture, and Nature. Cosmological beliefs taken up as Indigenous epistemologies of knowing acknowledge the power of the universe as populated by spirits and living beings and non-living objects. These living and non-living objects, as well as spirits, have social meanings attributed to them to ensure a peaceful co-existence between the material and non-material, physical, and metaphysical worlds. Knowledge is seen as whole when attempts are made to offer interpretations that connect the two worlds. Similarly, there is a sense of wholeness of existence which insists on connecting the economic, political, cultural, social, and physical realms of life. No one dimension of life can be understood outside the contexts of others' aspects of our existence.

Citizenship on Earth in its true sense was granted to plants, animals, and humans alike on the Land on which we co-habited. Citizenship on Land is about developing relations with the social, natural, physical, and metaphysical worlds. Most African cultural group identities with a totem usually an animal and Elders are seen as custodians of knowledge. There is the spiritual understanding of life. The South African Ubuntu philosophy (connections, relations, reciprocity, sharing) is a spiritual underlying principle of most African cultural and social values (see Assié-Lumumba 2016a; Biraimah 2016; Letseka 2012, 2013, 2014). To ensure peaceful co-existence with Nature and the forces of the universe, local knowledge systems imbue onto living forces that may threaten humans with supernatural forces. There is an understanding of the continuity of the world, of the living, and of the dead. Life and death are

twin aspects of human existence. The veneration of ancestors (as in ancestor worship) is a deeply held spiritual belief in most African communities. This is expressed in the pouring of libation onto the Land/Earth to convey messages to dead ancestors. Such remembrance and veneration of dead ancestors are to ensure that the dead continue to guide and guard over the living and offer material, emotional, and spiritual support to ensure success in everyday living and social practice. In effect, within African Indigenous knowledge systems there are particular ontological beliefs that govern the way material and non-material culture is expressed and understood. For example, there is spiritual meaning and cultural expression behind every cultural practice and folkloric productions, which contain rich sources of knowledge. These knowledges make not separation between the physical and metaphysical worlds, and further seek to connect social, material, political, economic, psychological, and cosmological realms of life and human existence.

Community social values about respect, sharing, reciprocity, mutual interdependence, community, ethics, and social responsibility are contained in local sages, proverbs, riddles, folktales, mythologies, cultural songs, and stories (Adaye 1947; Baffoe and Asimeng-Boahene 2013; Dei et al. 2018; Dzobo 1992; Okpewho 1990; Okrah 2003; Opoku 1975). These knowledges are transmitted from older generations on to the young. These teachings constitute a socialization of education that insists on learning beyond the four-walled classroom to the wider community (Baffoe and Asimeng-Boahene 2018; Boateng 1990; Dei 2014, 2015a, b). Education is defined broadly as more than schooling. Education happens everywhere (Busia 1969; Fafunwa 1982; Fafunwa and Aisiku 1982; Sifuna 1990). School knowledge must be complement to cultural wisdom and the understanding of the intricate relations between society, culture, and Nature. The separation of the material and non-material is not entertained in Indigenous knowledge systems. Neither is the binary between objectivity and emotions recognized. Such separation and binaries are seen as non-productive and not solution oriented. Local African knowledge is about agroforestry, traditional farming practices, vegetation and climate patterns, soil classification, and plant pharmacology should be seen as complementary with Western science.

As argued in Dei et al. (2018), Indigenous stories are told for their educational and communicative lessons. Stories have always been a powerful medium of communication to this day. Stories have attained increased social and political importance as a way to challenge and posit counter-narratives. Stories give birth to local voices, particularly, oppressed voices. Cultural stories told about resistance is intended to convey the telling from the African perspective to bring home the fact that African peoples had their ways of knowing embedded in local cultural and spiritual practices. Such knowledge epitomizes the African intellectual agency reinforcing the idea that African peoples have always existed and have never waited to be discovered by the colonizer. In fact, simply put, there was Africa before the colonial naming of Africa.

It is important that critical education moves beyond rhetorical performances of African Indigenous knowledges. Significantly, I want to articulate and push for a critical understanding of an Indigenous African and Black intellectual thought that draws from a Pan African vision of education, the dialectics of complex and multiple readings of African worldviews and philosophies, as well as an exploration of Indigenous African literary criticisms. As long been noted (see Bates et al. 1993; Fafunwa 1974; Wiredu and Gyekye 1992), African knowledges have always shaped academic theorizing. I reiterate that the study of African Indigenous knowledge systems is itself a disruption of conventional knowledge. African systems of thought have historically constituted critical literacies for challenging imperial, Eurocentric knowledges that have long devalued, denigrated, and even denied African peoples' intellectual agencies as cultural knowers.

Our histories did not start with Atlantic chattel slavery. There was a place, Land, and knowledge base before Euro-colonial naming of "Africa." Our knowledges have always embodied the complexities of our African identities and the intersections with culture, history, politics, and spirituality. Negotiating the question of African identities has included different and varying conceptions of Indigenous sexuality, gender, class, age, ethnicity, as well as spiritual relations (Ibrahim 1999; Okeke-Ihejirika and Spitzer 2005; Tettey and Puplampu 2005; Wright 2012; Zeleza 2006). For example, contrary to commonly held understandings sexuality has always been a factor in the constitution of the African identity. The queerness of an Africanness and Blackness has been expressed in Indigenous African knowledge system (Asanti 2010; Mkasi 2016; Parpart 2010). Similarly, there are conceptions of Indigenous African masculinities as about resistance.

In the discursive realms of African Indigeneity, we cannot rely solely on the cartographies of race, space, and politics. As noted earlier, Indigenous African conceptions of the cosmos and our spiritual ontologies are foundational knowledges. Clearly, there are the different geographies of African knowledges each rooted on the particularity of the Land and soils. The legacies of colonial and settler colonial violence that accompanied African migrations into the diaspora did not disturb our Indigenous knowledge systems as place-based knowledge. In fact, even within Diasporic contexts, transnational narratives and struggles to dismantle White dominance and to respond to the "necropolitics" of the African body have always claimed a legitimate knowledge base rooted in Indigenous systems of thought.

Today Black and African political and intellectual allegories point to the importance of the Land as a site of knowing. Black political thought engages the carceral geographies of Land and space and the intersections of the physical and metaphysical worlds. Political resistance narratives and practices are constructed on relations to Land as offering spiritual and moral guidance. It is on the basis of an understanding of the interface between the physical and metaphysical worlds that African and Black peoples globally have mobilized their resistance, agencies, and dissent.

Elders' Cultural Knowledge

I turn now to a particular aspect of African Indigenous knowledge, one that validates Elders as cultural knowers. An examination of Elders' cultural knowledge allows us the dynamics and vitality of African Indigenous knowledges. As argued, there is a body of knowledge that comes with living on a particular Land for an appreciable length of time. This knowledge has been developed to demonstrate how a given community understands the interface of society, culture, and Nature. This knowledge is embedded in the Indigene as a subject knower. It is passed down from generation to generation with modifications through time. But the knowledge maintains its core integrity because it has served the community well over the years. In most African and Indigenous communities, age is associated with experience, wisdom, maturity, and knowledge. These are treasured and valued qualities. Hence, the aged and the Elderly are highly respected and treasured especially if they have done good deeds. Youth is read as the emergence of promise, hope, and possibilities of new futures. So, the young are celebrated and the birth of a new child is an occasion for hope and optimism. We may contrast this with other communities where youth and young life has been more associated with rebellion and disdain for the past, old age, and their ideas and practices. Ideas are mercilessly criticized and easily dismissed because they are seen as functioning in the past and not particularly relevant for or conducive to contemporary times. While no society is static nor immune to criticism, it is important that we develop a conscious awareness and appreciation of the changing times and moments when ideas were propagated. We need to welcome the new and young, but it must not mean a disregard, contempt, disdain, or hostility for old age, history, and all that which has preceded us.

The term "Elder" is a generative concept. It describes the identity and status of a particular community adult—one who is revered and respected, as having lead good and exemplary lives, an embodiment of local wisdom and knowledge, and having the role and responsibility to transmit their accumulated wisdom and knowledge through teachings, and mentorship of young learners. In most traditional African contexts, adults seen as worthy of emulated lives and experiences become "community Elders" endowed with wisdom and knowledge. Elders are generally looked upon with respect and are at times revered with old age. Elders are not simply guardians of culture and tradition. They also pass on privileged traditional social and community values and teachings, and help guide the young to responsible citizenship.

There is much to learn from our Elders about African Indigenous knowledges. The links of African Indigeneity and education can be explored further by looking at the ways local communities utilize Elders' cultural knowledge in the socialization of youth. Within these communities, it is widely assumed that Elders possess specific knowledge acquired on the basis of their long-term occupancy of the place/Land, and by experiencing the daily intricate interactions or nexus of society, culture, and Nature. Elders' knowledge

as embodied wisdom can be and have been engaged to inform schooling and education in mutually beneficial ways to young learners and adults. Elders' specific teachings relating to Land, environment, youth leadership, community, responsibility, respect, and mutual interdependence have been deployed in communities to ensure youth's educational and social success (see also Dei and McDermott 2018). The Elder status is very much related to one's identity. By framing "Elders," as educators' local communities have traditionally passed on relevant knowledge inter-generationally to reflect communities' histories, cultural, and spiritual memories, as well as social identities.

Recognizing this cultural knowledge and understanding Elders' hold are vital for the integration and sustenance of Indigenous communities and social settings in varied contexts (Abubakre and Reichmuth 1997; Akporobaro and Emovon 1994; Boateng 1990; Burns-Ross 2016; Christensen and Poupart 2013; Hansen and Antsanen 2016; Kan and Henrikson 2015; Kenny and Fraser 2012; Moore 2017; O'Brien 2004; Snowball 2014). Elders and their knowledges seek to revive what once has been lost. Elders' knowledges seek to teach the importance of responsibility and relationships within family and communities, reinforcing ideas of belonging and a sense of place. Elders play a key role as facilitators of lifelong and life place learning in Indigenous communities (Bennett and Moriarty 2016; Boateng 1990; Carew 2014; Gatium 2014; Hansen and Antsanen 2016; Mustonen and Lehtinen 2013; Onyango et al. 2010; Wane 2000). Elders encourage principles of "lifeplace" and "lifelong" learning by encouraging learners to utilize their lived, material, and embodied knowledges as sites of knowing. Lifelong learning is the idea that knowledge production begins before birth and continues through old age, and involves the inter-generational transfer of knowledge, hence highlighting the vitality of Elders and their role as "cultural custodians," in order to sustain the continuity of Indigenous knowledge production. Wanjohi (2001, 2008), Yankah (1989, 1995), Harris and Chisholm (2010), Bennet and Moriarty (2016), and Cordoba (2006) among many others have vouched for the importance of Elders in educational settings, arguing that Elders create spaces for students and community members to learn outside dominant structural narratives, making this type of learning and knowledge production accessible to all.

In effect, a close examination of the knowledge of Elders reveals some aspects about African Indigenous knowledges. Elders' cultural knowledges are holistic and are meant to heighten individual consciousness, developing all aspects of emotional, spiritual, intellectual, and physical well-being. Elders' teachings promote the interconnectedness of all life and call for the understanding of mutuality, interdependence, and biodiversity (Crate 2006; Ilmi 2014; Verdon et al. 2015; Wexler 2011). Elders' knowledges are experiential, connected to lived experiences, storytelling, traditional ceremonies, meditation, and most importantly lived experiences (Burns-Ross 2016; Cordoba 2006; Kudadjie 1996; Opoku 1975, 1997; Saskatchewan Learning 2001). Elders' knowledge is rooted in Indigenous languages and cultures; it is with

the sustenance of Indigenous languages that Elders can ensure cultural continuity. Elders transmit culture through parables, allegories, lessons, and poetry (Burns-Ross 2016; Crate 2006). Elders play a vital role in fostering culturally affirming and responsive school environments, which link students, staff, families, and community to Indigenous cultural traditions (Boateng 1990; Carew 2014; Charleston 1988; Kudadjie 1996; Onyango et al. 2010; Opoku 1975, 1997). Elders are important teachers that use non-dominant teaching methods, such as oral traditions, as a tool to share knowledge in communities.

African Indigenous Knowledges and Decolonization

In this section, I argue that affirming African Indigenous knowledges is an exercise of intellectual decolonization. The stories we tell matter a lot in contesting knowledge. Decolonization is fundamentally a battle of ideas. Let me share a story. In October 2017, I was invited to give a keynote address at a Conference on "Decolonizing Design Education." The building in which the conference was held at had what to me seemed like a very interesting name. So, I asked: Why are we having these conversations in a place called "Sanctuary"? I thought about the word sanctuary and how in all its meanings it meant to protect and/or provide protection. So, the question becomes why do we want to "protect" those trying to decolonize? Later I realized it was the solemn part of "Freedom Part" in Pretoria, South Africa where a "Wall of Names" has been erected for all those who lost their lives fighting for social justice. Therefore, yes, if there is any solemn place to have a conference on decolonization this was it!

I ask: What is the context within which we push for decoloniality today? How do contemporary events inform debates about decolonization and the urgency of thinking through the possibilities of new futures? Decolonization is a heavy, loaded, and arguably contested term. Yet certain things are not ambiguous. There is clearly the epistemic dimension of decolonization, as well as its political and economic expressions (see Andreotti and de Souza 2012; Grosfuguel 2007; Mignolo 2000, 2002, 2007). Contested discussions about decoloniality simply speak to the ideological liturgies of conversations. We often talk of history as contested, written from multiple perspectives and that usually the vanquished get their histories told for them. It is through decolonial resistance that we subvert the stories told about our past.

Granting epistemological access for all to join in critical dialogues of decolonization can only benefit the cause of and search for a truly just and more humane world. We pursue knowledge production as something we are all immersed both physically and emotionally. Knowledge production must be pursued in a climate of humility. Such humility provides us with an open mind to appreciate human diversity and how such diversity impacts the processes of knowledge production.

Disturbingly, a good number of African educators have refused to grasp the power of our cultural knowledges. But, as has already been alluded to, African cultures convey authentic expressions of our diverse human experiences developed on the basis of a "long term occupancy of the place [Land]" (see also Fals Borda 1980). Broaching knowledge from "our own home grown cultural perspectives" (Yankah 2004, 25) is not "searching for knowledge without much effort"! It is an affirmation of the discursive power of African cultural ideas that speak of holism. It challenges the "reductionism of the 'material'." It is more than arguing that what counts most is how African peoples address the contemporary scientific, technological, and material questions of global modernity.

We have repeatedly been told that decolonization is not an arrival (i.e., it has not taken roots yet). Decolonization rather speaks of a continual process beginning with asking new questions and writing back to imperial narrative and practice (Benita 1995; Ashcroft et al. 1995; Fanon 1963, 1967; Cesaire 1972). But what knowledge helps us to "write back" to the imperial narrative? It cannot simply mimic Western intellectual tropes. We must search for Indigenous concepts and analytical perspectives that also make sense in our cultural contexts (see Dei 2012). The decolonial and anti-colonial stance has never been about a hatred of Europe. It is a discursive stance alluded to political resistance to on-going colonizing relations, understood as anything imposed and dominating and not just "foreign and alien."

I would argue that Africanization has not been fully pursued in African schools and the educational system in general. The process of Africanization is beyond the curriculum (see Gumbo 2016; Mpofu et al. 2014; Odora-Hoppers 2001). It touches on a critical examination of the environment, climate, culture, and the social-organizational lives of schools (see also Abdi 2005, 2015). Clearly, the construction of a decolonial, Africanized curriculum is about power, context, and knowledge use. An African schooling curriculum informed by Indigenous perspectives is an important starting point. Knowledge is power and with such knowledge we are able to define and set our own educational agenda as African peoples. An authentic read of Africanization must seek the integration of African-centered perspectives, eschewing the centrality of Africa, its cultures and social values, as well as the African human agency. It is not about a return to a nostalgic past.

There is the urgency of questioning the push for universalization and the hegemony of Europe and the West. We must question the construction of Euro-colonial modernity that excludes Africa and African modernity, and the prevailing restrictive definitions of "science," "reason," "objectivity," and "knowledge." This is more poignant given the existing unequal relations of power and knowledge production, the privileging of Western science over Indigenous science and the splitting of objectivity and subjectivity; emotion and rationality and reason.

We seek to articulate African Indigenous knowledges to open the orbit of what constitutes knowledge so as to engage multiple ways of knowing. But

this exercise is not for the fun of it. We want learning to happen for all learners and thus be able to connect education with their cultures, histories, identities, and communities. We want knowledge to be relevant to help learners understand themselves and their communities and to be able to define their rights and responsibilities to each other and to transform their communities and themselves.

We often speak of the need for equitable learning outcomes and how this must be tied to equitable learning opportunities for our learners. There is a collective responsibility for us all. Cultivating a plural, multi-centric learning space is one avenue to meet some of these responsibilities of education. A plurality of thought is mutually rewarding to the learner and the educator. Every learner whose mind is open to multiple ideas stands to benefit from relations of respect, humility, reciprocity, sharing, and mutual interdependence of knowledges. If we are to uphold the idea of "schooling as community," then we must practice community acknowledging not only the possibilities, but also, our limitations, failing also our strengths and privileges.

I have always been drawn to the idea of "making a difference" in whatever way (no matter how small) we can. This is important if our teaching and learning is to be built on the epistemological foundation that "standing together is better than standing alone." This is the essence of a proverbial African and Indigenous saying that "out of many we are one." The challenge to empower self, others, and communities begins with amplifying our own voices. The discursive alliances we make is only meaningful if they help disrupt teaching and subvert the cannons and break down walls.

Nyamnjoh's (2012) notion of "potted plants" means as educators we should continually ask what knowledges are we feeding our own minds and to those of our young learners (see also Mamdani 2002). Our knowledges must be affirming and subversive, affirming our own identities, cultures, histories, and challenging the power of domination and privilege. As an African educator, I often confront the question of how do we subvert the sub-alterning and inferiorizing of African knowledge and the African human condition (see also Ndlovu-Gathsheni 2015). The tools for subversion lay in claims of our Indigeneity. But in order to have a sense of place, we must acknowledge there is a community to begin with. Communities do not exist by themselves; we help create them. We create our communities with the power of the people. We can create communities while paying attention to the past, present, and the future. The African proverbial saying "it takes a village to raise a child" has a reading that insists on community-centeredness and community-mindedness. But there is often an important reading that is not fully grasped when we recite this saying: It is that we must insist on creating communities in the first place to be able to raise a child collectively. We do not have communities when the knowledge, dignity, self, and collective worth of peoples are denied or denigrated.

We must create new imaginaries. We can use our individual and collective experiences and realities as well as complex ontologies as starting points

of knowledge creation. We must engage Indigenous ways of knowing that emphasize community connections to be able to move our institutions from their entrenched hierarchical roles and promote and support shared common goals. We must employ African Indigenous methodologies of teaching and learning such as group work and shared space to achieve social justice aims and goals.

In our decolonial work, we cannot afford to compromise on any of our myriad identities, be it race, class, gender, sexuality, [dis]ability, spiritual, etc. We must continually look for complex and refreshing ways to express and reinforce our cultural identity. We must interrogate the academic realm and the intellectual landscape for producing knowledge in its varied forms. Decolonization requires that our scholarship be pursed as activism. Decolonization as about cultural and political expressions conveyed in language and other discursive practices mean knowledge matters. There is the importance of developing African concepts, and how African spiritual ontologies, fables, riddles, folktales, and material cultures such as technologies, textiles and costumes, and other forms of folkloric productions speak of Indigeneity. Engaging a decolonized thinking process that subverts the European canon of knowledge also means to identify new knowledge useful for the present and projected future needs of African peoples.

Elders' Cultural Knowledges and African Education Futurity

Some questions I have been reflecting deeply on are: What are the possibilities of our decolonial scholarship and practice in African contexts? Is the African academy (a colonial satellite of the Western academy) ready for decolonization? Doesn't decolonization require a new space, in effect a new academy? It is important for us to be aware of the limitations of decolonial practice in the academy. This brings to mind my former student (and now faculty colleague), Arlo Kempf's (2010) exhortation in a personal conversation that rather than "transform the academy we should be looking or a new academy." It is serious thinking to ask: The idea of a decolonial academy as an oxymoron? Is our task a search for transformation or a replacement of the academy? While these are significant consideration, I would hope for a prism of "and/with" not "either/or" situation. We need a thinking that upholds "and/with" positions. Then, the question becomes what to do then?

It is here that I would insist on the centering of African Indigenous knowledges in our school systems as extremely critical. Recently, I learnt that sleeping in class is a form of protest by students who may not see themselves in the curriculum and in the teacher's pedagogy. If we are to decolonize our schools and classroom, we must use knowledge and education practices that students identify with [contextualized in their cultures, histories, identities,

and experiences] as important building blocks. When we engage learners in our classrooms, sleeping in class is no longer an option.

One of the many sites for decolonizing conventional education in Africa is for schools (defined broadly to include, basic/elementary, secondary and tertiary institutions in Africa) to engage the cultural custodians of local cultural knowledge. In fact, as noted earlier, there exists work theorizing Elders' knowledge and the link to Indigeneity. What still needs to be fleshed out is the practical implications for new educational futurity, for the literature to enhance learning outcomes for contemporary learners. In counter-visioning African schooling and education, centering Elder knowledges allows for the revival of intergenerational connections and identities that have been silenced by the legacies of colonialism, capitalism, and neoliberalism in varying contexts (see also Abubakre and Reichmuth 1997; Akporobaro and Emovon 1994; Boateng 1990; Burns-Ross 2016; Cordoba 2006; Glasson and Evans 2007; Kithi 2004). In response to the disembodying, disempowering, and dislocating of Indigenous peoples, the integration of Elders' knowledges in colonial spaces, like that of education, can help "center" and locate Indigenous bodies within their own cultural specificities (Christensen and Poupart 2013; Faris 2012; Martinez-Novo 2016).

The understanding is that a community-based approach to learning and teaching involves the inclusion of Elders, and family members (Boateng 1990; Charleston 1988). Having Elders present in youth schooling is subversive to the mass de-culturing of student that takes place in education. Elders promote "centeredness" and "culture," which creates a holistic environment that encourages spirituality. It is essential to understand that Elders and their knowledges provide a framework that encourages new educational futurities, promoting multiple ways of learning and enhancing individual relationships to self and the community at large (Battiste and Henderson 2009; Kudadjie 1996; Opoku 1975, 1997).

In the broader politics of new educational futurity, we must be able to place certain ideas on the table informed by the teachings of African Indigeneity and Indigenous knowledges: First, there is a need for a critical reflection on our practice as educators, both individually and collectively. For example, the urgency of engaging in subversive pedagogies, asking new decolonial questions, thinking through classroom teaching practices that center (not merely include) counter texts, books, and discourses. The curriculum must embrace the idea of co-creation of knowledge where we work with our students and their off-school, street, and community knowledges, as well as cultivating a place for Elders and their cultural knowledges in the school system (see also Kanu 2005, 2011).

Second, Tuck and Yang (2012) speak of "Decolonization is not a Metaphor." It is about the question of the Land, understanding the sense of place, our physical, emotional, and spiritual presence and what this entails

byways of addressing complicities and responsibilities. The Earthly teachings of the Land are about respect, sharing, reciprocity, humility, connectedness, and balance with Nature working with these cultural values start us off on our decolonial journey. But more importantly, the question of the Land gestures to the on-going severe impacts of colonialism and settler colonialism. This means a recognition of the Land is also coming to terms implication and complicities with colonialism and settler colonialism. Which brings me back again to my recent visit to South Africa. On this visit, I came to learn of the words of Helen Joseph, a White anti-racist crusader against South African apartheid. She had some poignant words: "When this country [South Africa] is free, I want to be here to know that I have earned my place in it." This is so powerful as it speaks about complicity and responsibility in one breadth. We can only embark upon the road of meeting our responsibilities in fighting for justice if we simultaneously acknowledge our implication and complicities in privilege. Helen's words are significant in other ways as well. As an African living in the Black Diaspora in North America, I must fight settler colonialism as much as colonialism in general so as to be able to justify my place and existence on Indigenous Turtle Island's Lands. This also requires that we look at how the Land is conceptualized. Land is about Indigeneity everywhere, and how Indigenous peoples conceptualize and see the Land and its teachings in different geographies is significant. This knowledge must inform decolonial solidarity work and avoid the unnecessary pitting of Indigenous peoples against each other. Relations to the Land are not just about physical occupation here and now, but also, how people who have come into new places still keep to their knowledges and relations to the Land. This emerges from a new thinking of seeing "Indigeneity as an international category" (see Dei 2017a, b). The significance and importance of the Land should be more than simply reading a "Land Acknowledgement." We also know how colonialism and Indigeneity across Lands have impacted peoples globally and implicated different bodies.

Third, we must be able to define decolonization broadly to include the small and big acts, as well as moving beyond the strict concerns of curriculum, pedagogy, and classroom instruction to focus on the climate, environments, and socio-organizational lives of schools. We must be fully aware of the entire system of schooling and education as the sites and focus of any decolonial practice. With this focus, we begin to recognize the importance of activist scholarship that centers questions of power, equity, and social justice as fundamental engagements of decolonial politics. Decolonization must also be from the inside and outside, meaning acknowledging the multiple layers of impositions and domination structured along lines of race, class, gender, sexuality, and other forms of imperial practices. In taking such broader meaning of decolonization we ensure that we don't flatten power hierarchies even as we acknowledge the diversity of views, ideas, practices, and experiences within our epistemic and political communities.

Fourth, African Indigenous knowledges are about a search for holism, inter-connections, and relations. In our education, we must be ready and able to cross and break down borders, boundaries, and walls of separation. This calls for comparative and transdisciplinarity, learner collaborations, as well as learning beyond our comfort zones. For example, transdisciplinarity allows us to learn from scholarship in other disciplines and from national, regional, and international contexts. We seek collaborations and supporting networks for our works as decolonial and anti-colonial activists and scholars and begin to create a "community of learners." Such approach to learning helps foster community building and healing. It also creates space for us to talk about intergenerational transmission of knowledge and the importance of mentorship of our young colleagues who may take up the torch of decolonization long after we are gone.

Lastly, we must "return the gaze" and ask, what might have been had colonization not happened. Many times we speak as if African has no future outside of colonization. Knowledges help us think through, create, build, and sustain new and collective futures. There is always the potential for communities to grow with their own knowledges. Colonization was a choice and the question of what might have been for colonized communities of African, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean cannot be dismissed lightly. What the question does is to locate colonialism as an interrupter. By constantly questioning what might have been we continue to search and seek new answers and questions. This is the bedrock of any decolonial project, asking new questions. I do believe this is what is meant when it is argued that there is no end to decolonization and that decolonization is an on-going process that continues to engage with "imperialism and colonialism at multiple levels" (Smith 2012, 21).

Decolonization should be about producing knowledge for problem-solving and not just knowledge generation for others to engage as they deem fit. There is a political commitment to knowledge production as an exercise of decolonial expression and cultural criticism. The issue of relevance of a given knowledge is context bound. Any discursive engagement must appreciate our human diversity and the implications for knowledge. We must rethink the university's curriculum in the context of African and Indigenous traditions with deep roots in culture, history, and resistance. As we seek to reshape the school curriculum to respond to sociopolitical and economic realities of global modernity, we must not lose sight on contestations over knowledge. Long ago, it was insisted that we see the educational curriculum as about power and a particular "ordering of society" (Apple 1986, 1993; Apple and Weiss 1983). In such contexts helping our students to develop a level of criticality that appreciates societal tensions, contradictions and ambivalences contained in existing sociopolitical structures can itself be part of a subversive pedagogy. In such struggles and contestations over knowledge we must

be looking to theory that foregrounds process rather than simply heralding concepts. It is through a study of the process of knowledge production that we can begin to embody a mobility of thought (see also Di Ruvo and Cronje 2017).

<div align="center">CONCLUSION</div>

Democratic education is often touted for espousing individual freedoms, rights, choice, and the dignity of learners. In conclusion, let me note the tension and a degree of incompatibility between Indigenous and African philosophical values and Western liberal democratic values, particularly, when "tradition" is viewed as antithetical to "modernity." While I agree with Letseka (2016) that Indigenous philosophies of education as counter-visioning schooling and education must seek to "amalgamate Indigenous [African] values and [Western] liberal democratic values …and ideas of politics" (11), we also need to acknowledge the incongruity at times. No doubt, African philosophy is part of "the intellectually and historically complex, globally dispersed enterprises of philosophy" (Letseka 2016, 69; van Wyk and Higgs 2007). On this score, I maintain that the intellectual project worth pursuing is twofold.

First, we need counter visions of schooling and education as it allows educators and learners to respond to the contemporary challenges of global knowledge production through integrating multiple ways of knowing. This will mean working with Indigenous concepts, beliefs, and values that African and Indigenous peoples "hold, use, and live by, through [sustained] critical discussion and dialogue" for young learners of today (Letseka 2016, 62; see also Letseka 2012, 2014). Clearly, counter visions of education using Indigenous philosophies must be re-visioned and rearticulated through the embodiment of different peoples and through different geographies. As expressed in "African Elders" cultural knowledges, the values of critical teachings of social responsibility, community building, social justice, equity, and fairness are what African education needs for social development besides traditional literacy education.

Second, we engage African cultural knowledge for subversion of conventional knowledge and school education, to paraphrase Dabashi (2013) we are all entitled to a "degree of self-centrism." However, the question is not whether non-dominant thinking [bodies of knowledge] "can reach a self-consciousness and evident neutrality," but rather, engaging such knowledge as intellectual resistance and subversion for the main purpose of "offering alternative [complementary or contradictory] visions of reality more rooted in the lived experiences" of African peoples (3–4).

References

Abdi, Ali A. 2005. "African Philosophies of Education: Counter-Colonial Criticisms." In *Issues in African Education: Sociological Perspectives*, edited by Ali A. Abdi and Ailie Cleghorn, 25–41. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Abdi, Ali A. 2015. "Re-Culturing De-Cultured Education for Inclusive Social Development in Africa." In *Indigenous Discourses on Knowledge and Development in Africa*, edited by E. Shiza and Ali Abdi, 63–77. New York, NY: Routledge.

Abubakre, R. D., and S. Reichmuth. 1997. "Arabic Writing Between Global and Local Culture: Scholars and Poets in Yorubaland." *Research in African Literatures* 28 (3): 183–209.

Adaye, J. J. 1947. *Twi Mmebusem Ahannum Mmoano*. Kumasi, Ghana: Presbyterian Book Depot.

Agrawal, A. 1995. "Indigenous and Scientific Knowledge: Some Critical Comments." *Indigenous Knowledge and Development Monitor* 3 (3): 3–5.

Akena, F. A. 2012. "Critical Analysis of the Production of Western Knowledge and Its Implications for Indigenous Knowledge and Decolonization." *Journal of Black Studies* 43 (6): 599–619.

Akporobaro, F. B. O., and J. A. Emovon. 1994. *Nigerian Proverbs: Meanings and Relevance Today*. Lagos, Nigeria: Department of Culture, Federal Ministry of Information and Culture.

Andreotti, V., and L. M. de Souza, eds. 2012. *Postcolonial Perspectives on Global Citizenship Education*. London: Routledge.

Apple, M. 1986. *Teachers and Texts: A Political Economy of Class and Gender Relations in Education*. New York, NY: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Apple, M. 1993. *Official knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Apple, M., and L. Weiss. 1983. "Ideology and Practice in Schooling: A Political and Conceptual Introduction." In *Ideology and Practice in Schooling*, edited by M. Apple and L. Weiss, 3–33. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Asanti, I. T. 2010. "Living with Dual Spirits: Spirituality, Sexuality and Healing in the African Diaspora." *Journal of Bisexuality* 10 (1–2): 22–30.

Ashcroft, B., G. Griffiths, and H. Tiffin (eds.). 1995. *The Post-colonial Reader*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Assié-Lumumba, N. T. 2016a. "Evolving African Attitudes to European Education: Resistance, Pervert Effects of the Single System Paradox, and the *Ubuntu* Framework for Renewal." *International Review of Education-Journal of Lifelong Learning* 62 (1): 11–27.

Assié-Lumumba, N. T. 2016b. "Harnessing the Empowerment Nexus of Afropolitanism and Higher Education: Purposeful Fusion for Africa's Social Progress in the 21st Century." *Journal of African Transformation* 1 (2): 51–76.

Baffoe, M., and L. Asimeng-Boahene. 2013. *African Traditional and Oral Literature as Pedagogical Tools in Content Area Classroom, K-12*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

Baffoe, M., and L. Asimeng-Boahene. 2018. *African Traditional Oral Literature and Visual Cultures as Pedagogical Tools in Diverse Classroom Contexts*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.

Bates, R. H., V. Y. Mudimbe, and J. O'Barr, J. 1993. *African and the Disciplines*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Battiste, M., and J. Henderson. 2009. "Naturalizing Indigenous Knowledge in Eurocentric Education." *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 32 (1): 5–18.

Benita, P. 1995. "*Problems in Current Theories of Colonial discourse.*" In *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, edited by B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths, and H. Thiophene, 36–44. New York, NY: Routledge.

Bennet, M., and B. Moriarty. 2016. "Lifelong Learning Theory and Pre-service Teachers Development of Knowledge and Dispositions to Work with Australian Aboriginal Students." *International Journal of Pedagogies and Learning* 11 (1): 1–9.

Biraimah, K. L. 2016. "Moving Beyond a Destructive Past to a Decolonized and Inclusive Future: The Role of Ubuntu in Providing Culturally Relevant Pedagogy for Namibia." *International Review of Education* 62: 45–62.

Boateng, F. 1990. "African Traditional Education: A Tool for Intergenerational Communication." In *African Culture: The Rhythms of Unity*, edited by M. K. Asante and K. W. Asante, 109–122. Trenton, NJ: African World Press.

Brock-Utne, Birgit. 2003. "The Language Question in Africa in the Light of Globalisation, Social Justice and Democracy." *International Journal of Peace Studies* 8 (2): 67–87.

Brock-Utne, Birgit. 2015. "Language, Literacy, Power and Democracy in Africa." *Education and Society* 33 (2): 5–24.

Brokensha, D. 1996. "Comments on Article by Arun Agrawal." *Indigenous Knowledge and Development Monitor* 4 (1): 12–19.

Burns-Ross, J. 2016. "Indigenous Intergenerational Teachings: The Transfer of Culture, Language, and Knowledge in an Intergenerational Summer Camp." *American Indian Quarterly* 40 (30): 216–250.

Busia, K. A. 1969. *Purposeful Education for Africa*. The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton & Co.

Carew, J. G. 2014. "Celebrating Our Elders: Pan-African Studies Looks Back with Elders, Professor Jan Carew, Dr. Robert Douglas, Dr. Susan Herlin, Dean J. Blaine Hudson, and Dr. Yvonne Jones." *Journal of Pan-African Studies* 7 (1): 4–21.

Cesaire, A. 1972. *Discourse on Colonialism*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Christensen, R. A., and L. M. Poupart. 2013. *Connective Pedagogy: Elder Epistemology, Oral Tradition, and Community*. Winnipeg, MB: Aboriginal Issues Press.

Charleston, Mike G. 1988. *Tradition and Education: Towards a Vision of our Future—A Declaration of First Nations Jurisdiction Over Education*. Ottawa, ON: National Indian Brotherhood, Assembly of First Nations.

Chilisa, B. 2011a. *Indigenous Research Methodologies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Chilisa, B. 2011b. "Resisting Dominant Discourses: Implications of Indigenous, African Feminist Theory and Methods for Gender and Education Research." *Gender and Education* 22 (6): 617–632.

Cordoba, T. 2006. "Aboriginal Literacy and Education: A Wholistic Perspective that Embraces Intergenerational Knowledge." Unpublished paper. 2005 Conference. University of Edinburgh, UK: Centre for Research on Families and Relations.

Crate, S. A. 2006. "Elder Knowledge and Sustainable Livelihood in Post-soviet Russia: Finding Dialogue Across the Generations." *Arctic Anthropology* 43 (1): 40–51.

Dabashi, H. 2013. "Can Non-Europeans Think?" *Al Jazeera News*. https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/01/2013114142638797542.html.

Dei, G. J. S. 2012. "Suahunu: The Trialectic Space." *Journal of Black Studies* 43 (8): 823–846.

Dei, G. J. S. 2014. "African Indigenous Proverbs and the Instructional and Pedagogic Relevance for Youth Education: Lessons from the Kiembu of Kenya and Igbo of Nigeria." *Journal of Education and Training* 1 (1): 1–28.

Dei, G. J. S. 2015a. "African Indigenous Proverbs and the Question of Youth Violence: Making the Case for the Use of the Teachings of Akan Proverbs for Canadian Youth Character and Moral Education." *Alberta Journal of Educational Research* 59 (3): 1–19.

Dei, G. J. S. 2015b. "Integrating African Proverbs in the Education of Young Learners: The Challenge of Knowledge Synthesis." In *Indigenous Studies and Engaged Anthropology: The Collaborative Moment*, edited by Paul Sillitoe, 181–200. London: Ashgate.

Dei, G. J. S. 2017a. *Reframing Blackness and Black Solidarities Through Anti-colonial and Decolonial Prisms.* New York, NY: Springer.

Dei, G. J. S. 2017b. "Black Like Me: Reframing Blackness and Decolonial Politics." *2017 R. Freeman Butts Distinguished Lecture.* Annual meeting of the American Educational Studies Association (AESA), Omni William Penn Hotel, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. November 1–5.

Dei, G. J. S., I. N. Darko, J. McDonell, S. M. Suleyman Demi, and H. Akanmori. 2018. *African Proverbs as Epistemologies of Decolonization.* New York: Peter Lang.

Dei, G. J. S., and Mairi McDermott. 2018. *Teaching African Proverbs in Canadian Schools: Lesson Plans and Curriculum Units. Volumes 1 & 2.* Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press.

Di Ruvo, M., and J. Cronje. 2017. "It Matters What Design Designs Design Education." Unpublished paper, 14th Annual National Design Education Conference. Freedom Park, City of Tshwane, South Africa, September 27–29.

Dzobo, N. K. 1992. "African Symbols and Proverbs as Sources of Knowledge and Truth." In *Person and Community: Ghanaian Philosophy Studies*, edited by K. Wiredu and K. Gyekye, 85–98. Washington DC: Council for Research in Values and Philosophy.

Emeagwali, G., and E. Shizha. 2016. *African Indigenous Knowledges and the Science: Journey's into the Past and Present.* Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers.

Emeagwali, G. and G. J. S. Dei, eds. 2014. *African Indigenous Knowledge and the Disciplines.* Rotterdam and New York: Sense Publishers.

Fals Borda, O. 1980. "Science and the Common People." In *Research for the People– Research by the People. Selected Papers from the International Forum on Participatory Research*, edited by F. Dubell, T. Erasmie, and J. de Vries, N. P. Ljubljana, Yugoslavia.

Fafunwa, A. B. 1974. *History of Education in Nigeria.* London, UK: Allen and Unwin.

Fafunwa, A. B. 1982. "African Education in Perspective." In *Education in Africa: A Comparative Study*, edited by A. Babs Fafunwa and J. Aisiku, 14–22. London, UK: George Allen and Unwin.

Fafunwa, A. B., and J. Aisiku, eds. 1982. *Education in Africa: A Comparative Study.* London, UK and Boston, USA: George Allen & Unwin.

Fanon, F. 1963. *The Wretched of the Earth.* New York, NY: Grove Press.

Fanon, F. 1967. *Black Skin, White Masks.* New York, NY: Grove Press.

Faris, S. B. 2012. *Restoring Local Spiritual and Cultural Values in Science Education: The Case of Ethiopia*. Unpublished PhD diss., University of Toronto, Canada.

Garcia, J. and V. Shirley. 2012. "Performing Decolonization: Lessons Learned from Indigenous Youth, Teachers and Leaders' Engagement with Critical Indigenous Pedagogy." *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing* 28 (2): 76–91.

Gatium, M. W. 2014. "Locating Wisdom from the Past: How Indigenous Knowledges Could Engage Education and Pedagogy in a Kenyan Community." *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education* 8 (4): 237–251.

Glasson, G. E., and M. A. Evans. 2007. "Connecting Community Elders and Schools in Malawi Using Mobile Phones and Web 2.0 Technologies." Paper presented at the Mid-Atlantic Association for Science Teacher Education, Hawk's Nest, West Virginia. Mobile Malawi Project, Virginia Tech University. https://www.mmp.soe.vt.edu/resources.htm.

Grosfuguel, R. 2007. "The Epistemic Colonial Turn: Beyond Political Economy Paradigms." *Cultural Studies* 21 (2): 211–223.

Gumbo, M. T. 2016. "A Model for Indigenising the University Curriculum: A Quest for Educational Relevance." In *Africanising the Curriculum: Indigenous Perspectives and Theories*, edited by V. Msila and M. Gumbo, 33–56. Stellenbosch: Sun Media.

Gumbo, M. T. 2017. "Alternative Knowledge Systems." In *Contemporary Issues in Technology Education: Critique in Design and Technology Education*, edited by J. Williams and K. Stables, 87–105. Singapore: Springer.

Hansen, J. G. and R. Antsanen. 2016. "Elders' Teachings About Resilience and Its Implications for Education in Dene and Cree Communities." *International Indigenous Policy Journal* 7 (1): 1–17.

Harris, Margaret, and Colin Chisholm. 2010. "Beyond the Workplace: Learning in the Lifeplace." In *The SAGE Handbook of Workplace Learning*, edited by M. Margaret Malloch, Len Cairns, Karen Evans, and Bridget N. O'Connor, N.P. London, UK: Sage.

Ibrahim, A. 1999. "Becoming Black: Rap and Hip Hop, Race, Gender, Identity and the Politics of ESL Learning." *TESOL Quarterly* 33 (3): 349–369.

Ilmi, A. A. 2014. *The History of Social Movements in Somalia Through the eyes of Our Elders Within a Diasporic Context*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Department of Social Justice Education, OISE, University of Toronto, Canada.

Kan, S., and S. Henrikson. 2015. *Sharing Our Knowledge: The Tlingit and Their Coastal Neighbours*. Omaha, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Kanu, Y., ed. 2005. *Curriculum/Cultural Contexts in Curriculum as Cultural Practice: Post Colonial Imaginations*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Kanu, Y. 2011. *Integrating Aboriginal Perspectives Into the School Curriculum: Purposes, Possibilities and Challenges*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Kempf, A. 2010. "Personal Communication". Department of Sociology and Equity Studies in Education, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto [OISE/UT]. Toronto, Canada.

Kenny, C., and T. N. Fraser. 2012. *Living Indigenous Leadership: Native Narratives on Building Strong Communities*. Vancouver: University of British Colombia Press.

Kithi, N. 2004. "Elders Warn of Mijikenda Identity Crisis." *Daily Nation*, 6 September. http://www.nationmedia.com/dailynation/nmgindex.asp.

Kudadjie, J. N. 1996. *Ga and Dangme Proverbs: For Preaching and Teaching*. Accra: Asempa Publishers.

Learning, Saskatchewan. 2001. *Aboriginal Elders and Community Workers in Schools: A Guide for School Divisions and Their Partners*. Saskatchewan Learning: Community Education.

Letseka, M. 2012. "In defence of *Ubuntu*." *Studies in Philosophy and Education* 31 (1): 47–60.

Letseka, M. 2013. "Anchoring *Ubuntu* Morality." *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 4 (3): 351–359.

Letseka, M. 2014. "*Ubuntu* and Justice as Fairness." *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 5 (9): 544–551.

Letseka, M. 2016. *The Amalgamation of Traditional African Values and Liberal Democratic Values in South Africa: Implications for Conceptions of Education*. Unpublished EdD diss., University of South Africa, UNISA.

Mamdani, M. 2002. "African States, Citizenship and War: A Case Study." *International Affairs* 78 (3): 493–506.

Martinez-Novo, C. 2016. "Western and Indigenous Knowledges in Intercultural Bilingual Education in Ecuador." *Alteridad: Revista de Educion* 11 (2): 206–220.

Martinez, Ximena. 2017. "From 'Noble Savage' to 'Ecological Indian' Representations of Indigenous Peoples in the Evolution of the (Neo) Coloniality of Environmental Imaginaries." Unpublished comprehensive paper, Department of Social Justice Education, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto. Toronto, Canada.

Mavhunga, C., and M. Spierenburg. 2007. "A Finger on the Pulse of the Fly: Hidden Voices of Colonial Anti-Tsetse Science on the Rhodesian and Mozambican Borderlands, 1945–1956." *South African Historical Journal* 58 (1): 117–141.

Mignolo, W. 2000. *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Mignolo, W. 2002. "The Geopolitics of Knowledge and the Colonial Difference." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 101 (1): 57–96.

Mignolo, W. 2007. "Delinking: The Rhetoric of Modernity, the Logic of Coloniality and the Grammar of De-coloniality." *Cultural Studies* 21 (2–3): 449–514.

Mkasi, L. P. 2016. "African Same-Sexualities and Indigenous Knowledge: Creating a Space for Dialogue within Patriarchy: Original Research." *Verbum Et Ecclesia* 37 (2): 1–6.

Moore, S. 2017. *Trickster Chase the Tale of Education*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Mpofu, V., F. S. Otulaja, and E. Mushayikwa. 2014. "Towards Culturally Relevant Classroom Science: A Theoretical Framework focusing on Traditional Plant Healing." *Cultural Studies of Science Education* 9 (1): 221–242.

Mustonen, T., and A. Lehtinen, A. 2013. "Arctic Earthviews: Cyclic Passing of Knowledge Among the Indigenous Communities of the Eurasian North." *Sibirica: The Journal of Siberian Studies* 16 (3): 39–55.

Ndlovu-Gathsheni, S. J. 2015. "Decolonization as the Future of Africa." *History Compass* 13 (10): 485–496.

Ngulube, P., ed. 2017. *Handbook of Research on Indigenous Knowledge Systems in Developing Countries*. Hershey, PA: IGI.

Nyamnjoh, F. B. 2012. "Potted Plants in Greenhouses': A Critical Reflection on the Resilience of Colonial Education in Africa." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 47 (2). https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909611417240.

O'Brien, S. 2004. *Perspectives on Schooling in Their Communities: Indigenous Knowledge and Western Models of Education*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Odora-Hoppers, C. A. 2001. "Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Academic Institutions in South Africa." *Perspectives in Education* 19 (1): 73–86.

Odora Hoppers, C. A., ed. 2002. *Indigenous Knowledge and Integration of Knowledge Systems Towards Philosophy of Articulation*. South Africa: New African Books Limited.

Okeke-Ihejirika, P., and D. Spitzer. 2005. "In Search of Identity: Intergenerational Experiences of African Youth in a Canadian Contexts." In *The African Diaspora in Canada: Negotiating Identity and Belonging*, edited by W. Tettey and K. Puplampu, 205–224. Calgary: University of Calgary Press.

Okpewho, I. 1990. *The Oral Performance in Africa*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Okrah, K. A. 2003. *Nyansapo (The Wisdom Knot): Towards an African philosophy of Education*. New York, NY and London, UK: Routledge.

Otulaja, F. S., and M. B. Ogunniyi. 2017. *The World of Science Education Handbook of Research in Science Education in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Onyango, M., G. Ouma, and L. Ogallo. 2010. "Science of Elders." *Alternative Journals* 36 (4): 11–13.

Opoku, K. A. 1975. *Speak to the Winds: Proverbs from Africa*. New York, NY: Northrop, Lee & Shepard Co.

Opoku, K. A. 1997. *Hearing and Keeping. Akan Proverbs*. Accra: Asempa Publishers.

Parpart, J. L. 2010. "African Womanhood in Colonial Kenya 1900–50, by Tabitha Kanogo." *African Affairs* 109 (435): 346–348.

Purcell, T. W. 1998. "Indigenous Knowledge and Applied Anthropology: Question of Definition and Direction." *Human Organization* 57 (3): 258–272.

Shizha, E. 2005. "Reclaiming Our Memories: The Education Dilemma in Postcolonial African School Curricula." In *Issues in African Education: Sociological Perspectives*, edited by A. Abdi and A. Cleghorn, 65–84. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Shizha, E. 2014. "Counter Visioning Contemporary African Education: Indigenous Science as a Tool for African Development." In *Indigenous Discourses on Knowledge and Development in Africa*, edited by Edward Shizha and Ali A. Abdi, 78–93. London, UK and New York, NY: Routledge.

Sifuna, D. N. 1990. *Development of Education in Africa: The Kenyan Experience*. Nairobi: Initiatives.

Smith, L. T. 2012. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London, UK and New York, NY: Zed Books.

Snowball, A. 2014. *Aboriginal Education for Non-Aboriginal Learners: Engaging Teacher Candidates in an Immersive Cultural Experience*. Unpublished Thesis Submitted to the Department of Social Justice Education, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, Canada.

Tettey, W., and K. Puplampu (eds.). 2005. *The African Diaspora in Canada: Negotiating Identity and Belonging*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press.

Tuck, E., and K. W. Yang. 2012. "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1 (1): 1–40.

van Wyk, B., and P. Higgs. 2007. "The Call for an African University: A Critical Reflection." *Higher Education Policy* 20: 61–71.

Verdon, Sarah, Sandie Wong, and S. McLeod. 2015. "Shared Knowledge and Mutual Respect: Enhancing Culturally Competent Practice Through Collaboration

with Families and Communities." *Child Language Teaching and Therapy* 32 (2): 205–222.

Wane, N. N. 2000. "Indigenous Knowledge: Lessons from the Elders—A Kenyan Case Study." In *Indigenous Knowledges in Global Contexts: Multiple Readers of Our World*, edited by G. J. S. Dei, B. Hall, and D. Goldin Rosenberg, 54–69. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

Wane, N. N. 2008. "Mapping the Field of Indigenous Knowledges in Anti-colonial Discourses: A Transformative Journey in Education." *Race, Ethnicity, and Education* 11 (2): 183–197.

Wane, N. N. 2014. *African Women's Voices on Indigenous Knowledge of Food Processing Practices among Kenyan Rural Women: A Kenyan Perspective*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

Wanjohi, G. J. 2001. *Under One Roof: Gikuyu Proverbs Consolidated*. Kenya: Paulines Publications.

Wanjohi, G. J. 2008. *The Wisdom and Philosophy of African Proverbs: The Gikuyu World-View*. Kenya: Nyaturima Publications.

Warren, D. 1996. "Comments on Article by Arun Agrawal." *Indigenous Knowledge and Development Monitor* 4 (1): N.P.

Wexler, L. 2011. "Intergenerational Dialogue Exchange and Action: Introducing a Community-Based Participatory Approach to Connect Youth, Adults and Elders in an Alaskan Native Community." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 10 (3): 238–224.

Wiredu, K., and K. Gyekye (eds.). 1992. *Person and Community: Ghanaian Philosophy Studies*. Washington DC: Council for Research in Values and Philosophy.

Wright, H. K. 2012. "Is This an African I See Before Me? Black/African Identity and the Politics of (Western) Academic Knowledge." In *The Dialectics of African Education and Western Discourses: Appropriation, Ambivalence and Alternatives*, edited by H. Wright and A. Abdi, 180–192. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Yankah, K. 1989. *The Proverb in the Content of Akan Rhetoric: A Theory Proverb Praxis*. Bern, Frankfurt au Main: Peter Lang.

Yankah, K. 1995. *Speaking for the Chief: Okyeame and the Politics of Akan Oratory*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Yankah, K. 2004. *Globalization and the African Scholar*. Legon, Ghana: Faculty of Arts University of Ghana.

Zeleza, P. T. 2006. "The Inventions of African Identities and Languages: The Discursive and Developmental implications". In *Selected Proceedings of the 36th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*, edited by Arasanyin Olaoba and Michael Pemberton, 14–26. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

East Africa and Indigenous Knowledge: Its Nature, Contents, Aims, Contemporary Structures, and Vitality

Solomon Ochwo-Oburu

Introduction

For a long time, Western scholars have believed Africa is so dark that nothing good can come from it. This image is changing rapidly because Western science has discovered that local communities have developed useful and sophisticated knowledge systems over thousands of years Boulding (2000). This chapter is about East Africa and Indigenous knowledge (IK). The region is composed of five states (Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, and Burundi) with over one hundred ethnic groupings. Due to ethnic diversity, only few ethnic groups in Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania have been referred to in this study. Uganda and Kenya were colonized by Britain, Tanzania by Germany, and later by Britain in 1946 as Trust Territory under the United Nations. Therefore, this region under study as it is elsewhere in Africa bears scars of colonialism and imperialism in all aspects of life. However, the focus of this chapter is on Indigenous education and knowledge.

The aims of this chapter are to explore the nature/characteristics of Indigenous knowledge of the people; examine contents; discuss aims of imparting IK through generations; analyze its contemporary structures; discuss vitality amidst modern challenges; and make some recommendations.

S. Ochwo-Oburu (✉)
Lecturer in African History and Religious Studies, Faculty of Education, University of Kisubi, Entebbe, Uganda

It is hoped this chapter will provide new insights and stimulate new debates about the place of IK and its enduring existence within the hostile environment of formal education and other policies.

Contextual Issues: Toward Definition of Indigenous Knowledge

Various scholars have attempted to define what African Indigenous knowledge is. Amanda, (2008) and another thinker (Thaman 2001) writing from different backgrounds, and admitting that Indigenous knowledge (IK) is difficult to define due to its great variations perceive it as referring to a complete body of knowledge, know-how, and practices maintained and developed by peoples generally in rural areas who have historically interacted for a long time with the natural environment. In other words, IK is local, holistic, and belonging to unwritten tradition—an outcome of interaction with nature in a common territory. Yoong and Slade (2014) understand IK as a unique cumulative body of knowledge generated overtime and possessed by a people belonging to a particular geographic area to enable them to benefit from natural resources.

There are as many definitions as there are scholars, but there is one thing in common among many of them. They all perceive IK basing on what can be called, "The Bat Hypothesis" of Indigenous Knowledge" (the term is coined by the author). A bat does not see the whole universe but only the landscape and its contents. It sees the horizon only in passing. Even when it is resting its eyes look only toward the ground below. IK is not limited to interaction with the social and natural environment as it is with the flying mammal.

In this chapter, a panoramic definition is suggested. It states that, "Indigenous Knowledge is creative form of knowing and awareness of the cosmos by natives over time. Intellectual facts are acquired and imparted, practical skills instilled and used, behavior and attitudes shaped and applied within the terrestrial, celestial, visible and invisible realities of their life experiences." Intellectual knowledge is transmitted orally, practical skills passed on by chain activity across generations, and value systems/attitudes perpetually lived in a chain from earliest generations to posterity. This definition embraces the ontological and teleological aspects of African existence as fundamentals of being. Imafidon Elvis (2012) is right in noting that African concept of reality is holistic as it interlocks both material and immaterial realities. So knowing cannot be fixed only on the surface of the material earth. African universe is religious and onto-theological Maduabuchi (2010).

Epistemological Issues

What are the sources of Indigenous knowledge? How do Indigenous East Africans come to know what they claim to know? To answer this inquiry, I would like to use the concepts of one writer to give response. Lajul (2014) points out that in Africa IK is acquired through the senses, the intellect,

rational processes, empirical sources, and mystical powers associated with divination. However, Lajul downgrades IK to three types of knowledge, namely sense, intellectual, and mystical—probably without putting emphasis on the sources. Owuor (2007) points out that African sources of knowing (especially among Kenyan communities) are as diverse as the forty-two Indigenous communities. Indeed, the sources are universally diverse. Using the experiences of three societies in East Africa, namely the *Jopadhola*,[1] *Baganda*,[2] and *Kikuyu*,[3] this chapter answers these epistemological questions. Distinctively, there are probably four sources of IK. There are authoritative sources; rational sources; practical/experimentations sources; and divine sources of knowledge. However, the sources are not clear-cut but integrated and complimentary.

Authoritative sources of IK have sages/elders experts and specialists and herbalists. These are professors who command powers of factual knowledge and skills. A sage is someone regarded as wise, experienced, and full of knowledge capable of guiding society. Among *Jopadhola* and *Baganda* of Uganda, elders (grandparents, chiefs) fall in this category. They tell stories, myths, and legends and mentor the young with power and pomp of the powerful persons.

The rational sources of knowledge depend on the reasoning, critical thinking process, and speculation. Among the Baganda, a bright person who is capable of intricate reasoning is called *Mugezi Ng'Enkusu* (meaning as clever as a Parrot). In Buganda, parrots are believed to speak complicated English. The Jopadhola call such a person *Kudho* (a metaphor that means, a thorn or as sharp as a thorn). The African uses earthly symbols to convey sophisticated ideas about life. This is metaphysics from where knowledge is generated. This is grounded on the belief that everything that exists has life force; but events are determined by the wills of spiritual beings Kanu (2014).

Empirical sources of knowledge give knowledge through trial and error, trainings and personal search for knowledge in the natural setting. Mawere (2015) confirms this view when he says IK is generated by societal members through trial and errors as they seek solutions to their daily problems. Hanson (2010) gives evidence that in Bunyoro there were surprising advances in science and technology. Cesarean births were performed on pregnant mothers, crops, and seeds were crossbred to limit scientific disasters and generated knowledge through observations and experimentations. Throughout life the African lives as a practical scientist erring without fear; studying and interpreting terrestrial and celestial forces without favor because learning is a lifelong process.

Divine/Revelation sources have to do with divination, intuition, dreams, visions, and direct experience with Supreme Being, apparitions of departed ancestors all of which happen in mystical ways. Nearly every source of knowledge—whether it is cognitive, rational, practical, or normative—comes from the divine and close agents. Some are silent while a few are very loud and affect generations to come. For example, in the times before colonialism, two Seers one in Nandi land (Koitalel Arap Samoei) and another in Kikuyu

(Mugo wa Kibiro) foresaw and warned their people about the coming of foreigners. Jomo Kenyatta (1978) acknowledges this when he narrates that in the period before 1890s a medicine man called *Mugo wa Kibiro* told the Kikuyu that strangers would come to Kikuyuland from the big waters. The color of their body would resemble a light-colored frog (*Kiengere*) which lives in water. Their clothes would be like wings of butterflies and would carry sticks that could spit fire (the gun), and they would travel in iron snakes (trains) with as many legs as *Munyongoro* (centipedes). It happened as revealed to the prophet.

The Nature of Indigenous Knowledge

IK originates and finds meaning within culture, is experiential and relational. The spirit of African worldview includes wholeness, community, and harmony Owusu-Ansah and Mji (2013). This is true but it should also be noted that IK is not only relational but also relative. For example, in East Africa, the Jopadhola, Kikuyu, Baganda, and Chagga all have concept of God. Kikuyu name for Go is *Ngai*[4] but He is God of the mountains while Baganda and Jopadhola conceive God as of the skies. The idea of IK knitting community into wholeness is relative because wholeness here refers to specific community. For example, the *Turkana*[5] and *Maasai*[6] (both of Kenya) believe in raiding and bringing back cattle from those who own them believing it is their birthright to own cattle. So IK operates and finds meaning in context of cultural relativity. Man finds meaning in life within the sociological structure of being.

Methodology for acquisition of IK is practical. There is direct participation by learners as they listen and reason about what they see and do, including oral literature. Zulu (2006) observes that African learners participate actively in ceremonies, rituals, recitation, and demonstrations. They sport, dance, sing, reason about stories, epic, poetry presented, take part in puzzles, tongue-twisters, riddles, and even in plant biology activities. What is true about the Baganda and Jopadhola and many other ethnic groups in East Africa is that whenever they have taken part in an oral and practical learning sessions during day or evenings they apply immediately. No learning is theoretical and meaningless. From birth a child learns to value elders as teachers who teach them practical knowledge, Semali Ladilaus and Stambach Amy (1997). Whatever is learned is applied within ontological principles of community and individual living, survival, and duty.

IK is all-embracing and holistic. Segregation or compartmentalization does not exist. The African understands life as one entity. A man who takes youth to the bush to hunt with him teaches the youth a lot of integrated knowledge—having learned both practically and theoretically. Types of plants, fruits, insects, terrain, and behavior of games hunted, how to handle and throw weapons as well as teamwork. There are disciplines as biology, botany,

forestry, geography, ecology, physics, chemistry, administration, psychology, ethics, sociology, biodiversity, zoology, and many others (natural and social sciences) learned and applied in one hunting trip. Yet today IK has become fragmented and specialized as scientists and humanitarians pick at the bits and pieces that fit with their interests and disciplines.

Another characteristic of IK is that it is functional, pragmatic, and dynamic. It is founded on the educational philosophy of productivity and functionalism Okoro (2010). Akullo (2007) reiterates the same point when she points out that IK is dynamic and changes through creativity and innovativeness especially when it comes in contact with foreign forms of knowledge. IK has been constructed, deconstructed, and reconstructed over time to remain relevant in solving effectively the needs, challenges, problems, and aspirations of the community in question. Africans do not live theoretically but practically. It is not enough to hear animal stories but one must know how and where they live. Names of trees are learned but they have to know how to exploit them for herbs and other uses as well Lajul (2014).

Whatever is cherished as knowledge is of great value to the community. IK is knowledge that can be tested and proved to cohere or correspond with reality. The contrary is not an African perception or praxis. Knowledge is not gained for fun or pride. The question is, "does it work in context of the needs of the community?" For example, Jopadhola, Baganda, and some other ethnic groups in East Africa used to hold annual festivals of *Kigwo* (wrestling competition) and *Abilo* (stick fighting). These were not simply for leisure and fun. They trained the population to acquire self-defense skills and knowledge, resilience, endurance, and combat technics needed for survival in hostile environments. Meanwhile *Maasai* youth are taught behavior of predators such as lions, leopards, and hyenas and how to track and kill them to defend themselves and herds. The perception of Malinowski (1936) that the Maasai in his conservative material culture still clings to his tribal ways and remains at heart a gentle-man robber, cattle lifter, and warrior is gross misperception.

Teachers that impart IK are several, namely mother, father, grandmother, uncle, aunt, peers, and members of the extended family; depending on stage of growth and development, each teacher may emphasize different aspects in life White (1996). In all cases, examinations are not formally given. Apprentices, experts in various fields, and the elders are professors who design the curricular based on the needs, pressure, and aspirations of the people. Elders are accepted as sages of knowledge because the African worldview of personhood is that the more a person lives on earth the more he becomes excellent in wisdom, intelligence, and ethical values. It is believed the sages can intertwine in close relationship with young learners mainly for their education programs (Nafukho 2006). This does not mean that contents of the curriculum are old and static. It is progressive because according to Owuor (2007) while sharing the ideas of Wane (2007) in the process of learning new knowledge is created. There is interactive learning from the community,

environment, and the cosmos that bear unwritten contents of all forms of knowledge.

IK is deeply rooted in the community of the people who enjoy it having been generated from time immemorial Yoong and Slade (2014). The form of Indigenous knowledge is deeply rooted in the sociological phenomena of blood, soil, and community. That is the reason IK and education system varies from one group to another. What peasantry people emphasize is quite different from the curriculum of pastoral communities.

It is universal, compulsory, and democratic. Acquisition of IK is a birthright. Once born into community, a child begins to enjoy learning and teaching free of charge. Parents and community are teachers and natural environment the laboratory. Some aspects of IK are released to the learners according to age and status in the family. For example, knowledge about sex is taught to the teenage girls after puberty by *Senga* (meaning Aunt or woman expert in marriage issues among Baganda) to prepare them for marriage Namulondo and Perez (2011). They acquire knowledge about ethical and practical aspects of sex. The ages below puberty are restricted and the young learn through accidents, peers, and trial and error. IK is democratic because all categories of members of the community have right to knowledge for personal and community welfare and harmony. However, some kinds of knowledge are censored from public. Herbal medicines and secret knowledge of diviners/seers are not for all members of the community.

Curriculum Content

Although IK is denied by Eurocentric thinkers as unsystematic and opposite to scientific knowledge, Indigenous knowledge was and still exists Battiste (2002). The subject matter and methodology for imparting are not abstract as Levi-Strauss (1962) claims. Yoong and Slade (2014) who attempt to categorize contents of IK curriculum into two, namely explicit and tacit contents, need to re-examine their perceptions.

Whatever the argument, for the purpose of this work contents of IK are arranged into three broad groups, namely practical, intellectual, and aesthetic/normative (values and beliefs) knowledge. It is systemic covering what can be observed and what can be thought Battiste (2002). However, in the process of engaging with the learner, there is no distinction between the practical, intellective, and normative. For example, when a Japadhola tells a young person *Koth goyo widero* literally translated as "the rain is pattering on the head of granary," it does not mean the real rain is pouring on the granary cover. In abstract way through wise saying the person is being told that he/she is poorly dressed/seated and the vital organs are exposed to public eyes (rain). This is an ordinary norm being imparted to a member of community for practical and immediate application. To understand it he/she has to reason. Any cognitive or practical knowledge has belief and value packages wrapping it. Sefa Dei (2002) agrees that Indigenous epistemologies are grounded

in an awareness and deep appreciation of the cosmos; and self/selves, spiritual, known, unknown worlds are interconnected in the learning process.

Furthermore, practical knowledge contains technology and crafts subject matters. Training for skills acquisition such as building houses, weaving mats or baskets, agriculture, sanitation, hunting, singing and dancing, child upbringing, and pottery are cross-cutting contents. Tools and weapons making as well as simple industrial and manufacturing are also major skills contents. Ndofirepi and Ndofirepi (2012) observe that traditional education is pragmatic and practical preparing the individual for life and to pass on similar values to successive generations.

It is important to observe here that learners (both young and adults) are educated to recognize and interpret natural forces (weather, movement of wind, stars, the sun, moon) and to make sense of the ecological systems of the environment among others. Before colonial penetration into East Africa there were many advances in science and technology but today there seems to be complete vacuum. This view is reiterated by Grange (2000) when he points out that Non-Westerners have been generally kept ignorant about their science and technological advances because of hegemony of Western science and technology.

Practical, empirical knowledge and critical reasoning are noted in learning about climate, weather patterns, behavior, types and movement of clouds, ecological phenomena. These aspects are also taught to the young members of the community. In this content practical learning, reasoning and belief systems are incorporated. In East Africa, according to the author's cumulative observational knowledge, farmers plant crops just before new moon appears believing in very high chances of rainfall. But when fog appears in morning hours, it symbolizes dry weather pattern. Folke et al. (2000) strengthen this point when they argue that learning about natural phenomena operates in a knowledge-practice-belief complex.

Intellectual knowledge contents are associated with oral literature. Myths legends, poems, riddles, epics, and folklore contain subject matters sweet to the ear but demanding on the brain. They are vehicles of knowledge but also of beliefs and values. Perhaps it is right to note that in every activity of learning and life in Africa there is rational process going on because education entails ways of knowing, perceiving, and interpreting the world Shizha (2013).

Within IK contain normative/aesthetic values as subject matter that all members of the community must learn to fit into the life of the community. Mawere (2015) describes intangible heritage as aesthetic, spiritual, symbolic, and social. The social aspects include language, oral tradition, taboos, rituals, music, dance, art, folklores, riddles, and idioms among others. These form part and parcel of IK in East African Indigenous knowledge system. Among the Baganda, family values require both girls and boys to kneel while greeting visitors. Amanda (2008) observes that storytelling, experiential instructions as well as apprenticeships engage both expert/sage and learner.

Indigenous knowledge also involves philosophy and theology. In African, context philosophy is used here to mean African concern with traditional African universal or worldviews about life Higgs (2011). There are no people without worldviews because this shapes consciousness Owusu-Ansah and Mji (2013) and collective ethical values. They are transcultural and interdisciplinary. Learners are trained to speculate and also reason about meaning in the cosmos. For example, among the Baganda and Kikuyu as it is with other ethnic groups, adults may not explain meaning of proverbs or eclipses to the young. They have to search for meaning in actions and life situations as they grow. For example, the wise saying *Jafuoch a'mayeng* (meaning a disobedient child is always satisfied) does not imply exactly what it denotes. Belief in Supreme Being as the Master of life is common. Jopadhola altars of sacrifice at *Nyakiriga* Namono (2008) are not a subject for common talk. Learners speculate as the worshipper performs rituals. Through acts of worship, the worshipper also searches for meaning of life and nature of the cosmos.

Lastly, one would think IK does not have extracurricular activities. Indigenous knowledge is designed to contain cognitive, psychomotor, and affective domains. It is holistic, lifelong, and utilitarian covering all aspects of knowledge and life. Extracurricular subjects are submerged and intertwined into core subjects. The process was intimately integrated with social, cultural, artistic, religious, and recreational life Marah (2006). This is what the author terms as intra-curricular structure of Indigenous knowledge within the Indigenous education system. They promote a balanced growth of body, mind, and soul. The idea that African tradition education (and its knowledge) is non-progressive Loram (2017) deserves thorough counterchecking.

Aims of Indigenous Knowledge

There could be a thin line between Indigenous education and Indigenous knowledge. In this respect the two are used here interchangeably. One aim of Indigenous knowledge is to socialize young members into the community. Every community has sets of regulations, beliefs, taboos, customs, traditions, norms, values, behavioral patterns and practices as law syllabus. Education becomes a process of cultural transmission and renewal Funteh (2015). Before the 1960s many East Africans were socialized into cultural contexts Semali Ladilaus and Stambach Amy (1997). These laws are self-regulating and peace creating geared toward maintaining peace, harmony, solidarity, and co-existence in community. Akeredolu (2016) applauds African criminal justice that works for unity, love for one another, transparency, peaceful co-existence due to the good traditional laws and education. The focus was on the human person not the crime.

The African system of education is to empower the young to learn how to survive in life through the experiences and instructions from elders. They do this by adapting to the social and physical environment. As all Indigenous peoples have tradition of unity with environment and their cultural values Durie (2004)

they develop lasting relations with terrestrial environments and the biosphere. In this regard, education for life provides knowledge for survival. There is no idler because each member is expected to contribute to the welfare of the community through hard work and productivity Olaoluwa (2014).

Equipping learners with concepts, skills, and competences to exploit natural environment is another motive. Learners acquire knowledge of the rock properties and nature of soils (geomorphology). By observation and tracking of animals or their trails (experiments in natural settings), they study plants (Botany) and animal life (zoology). They learn not only their names, characteristics, values or usefulness, behavior, and medicinal uses (Pharmacology) but also how to conserve them. Study of animals (Zoology) is equally significant. Every child in the community endeavors to learn and master the names and behavior of birds, animals, and insects and their values or dangers. That is the reason [1] (1992) observes that African Indigenous knowledge of ecological zones, agriculture, aquaculture, and game management is more sophisticated than it was thought.

Indigenous knowledge is imparted to function as basis for problem-solving strategies in the local communities Gorjestani (2000). It can be used to empower the locals for development in many aspects (ibid). Drawing from Malaysian experiences DeWalt (1994) argues that ideas and guidance can be drawn from IK to improve agricultural output. Every day, pastoralists, peasants in East Africa use IK to interpret and understand weather patterns. The Indigenous person who has not attended formal schooling is a good geographer.

Critical thinking abilities, imaginativeness, creativity (through crafts, arts, and oral literature), and ability to reflect on what is observed, heard, or encountered in the social, natural, and political situations is equally important aim of IK. Elders use riddles and proverbs to entertain youngsters through creative powers of the mind Mapara Jocab (2009). *Michungwa ochiek mito achama*, in Dhopadhola,[7] meaning "oranges are ripe for eating" is a wise saying that means, "the girl is grown up and ready for marriage." This is creative use of natural environment to teach and to entertain.

IK enables learners to gain industrial skills for self-reliance and service to the community. The young learn these through apprenticeship—by observing and doing what they observe. Girls pick skills from expert weavers of mats and baskets to enable them to provide for the needs of their families in marriage life.

IK fosters knowledge of heavenly bodies (astronomy). Mastery of the motions, positions, and sizes of heavenly objects such as moon, sun, stars, and comets is vital part of IK. The locals observe and interpret clouds that bear rain and the ones that signify coming storms or dry season. The cumulative experiences in such matters have taught them to be scientifically accurate and predictive. That is the reason many traditional ecological knowledge narratives are being accepted by many agricultural scientists as useful Alexander et al (2011).

Structure and Position of Indigenous Knowledge Within Contemporary Knowledge Systems

Since the onset of Islamic culture and colonialism in East Africa, volleys of negative criticisms are used to punch IK. Mapara Jacob (2009) describes IKS as knowledge forms that have failed to die despite racial and colonial onslaught they suffered under imperialism and arrogance. Indeed, IK has been subjected to a lot of criticism. Boehmer (1995) and Mapara Jacob (2009) explain that in the eyes of the West natives remain simple children and subtle savages. Levi-Strauss (2001) argues that those labeled as primitive would better be called people without writing. Brown (1983) quoting Sir Charles Elliot (first Governor of British East Africa—now Kenya) argues that Maasai and many other tribes in East Africa must go under. Maasai-dom was a beastly and bloody system founded on raiding and immorality. Surely if Maasai are beasts, they cannot possess any knowledge even if it is local one. Brown (1983) also references excerpts from *The Manchester Courier* that pictured the Savage (San) as half human, half brute scarcely capable of the same improvement which the horse or dog exhibits under training of civilized man. To him, such a creature is surely un-teachable. The theory of social progress was also developed to describe nature of the colonized. It argued that the primitive colonized persons could not progress because they were child-like and childish Nandy Ashis (1989). It is common lamentation that formal education is heavily westernized and theoretical in content.

In view of criticisms by the West and some academics, the question is, where is IK found applied in contemporary sector structures? One sector is examined in this chapter to provide a response, namely education and school curriculum. In all nations in East Africa, IK is hardly incorporated in school curriculum. Owuor (2007) notes that in the Kenyan education system, there must be endogenous approach to education by among others, incorporating authentic and Indigenous knowledge and pedagogues. Ng'Asike (2011) observes that Turkana children in Kenya are among Indigenous communities in the world that suffer from an education system that does not recognize their cultural values and the resources of the people essential for self-determination. However, Vavrus and Bartlett (2012) point out that knowledge production occurs from within and is shaped by context. Epistemology is local not omniscient. Hence even those thought to be primitive generate their own knowledge that makes them to survive thousands of years.

Therefore, absence of IK in modern education system is a big error. In Uganda, the author made a simple survey to find out students "knowledge about local ways of treating diseases". There was a focused group discussion with Senior Four class (15–19 years of age).[8] It was noted that many of them are treated locally at home using herbal medicines before going to health centers. The commonest herbal medicines were; *Amaanda* (burnt charcoal) for diarrhea; *Mayembe* (mango) tree products for cancer and cough; *Jjobyo*

(vegetable with bitter taste for reducing pregnancy pains). Others were distilled ashes for treating cough and paw tree roots for snake bites.[9]

Though knowledge of herbal medicine is not included in the curriculum learners are aware. This gap calls for making the curriculum relevant as it is estimated that in Sub Saharan Africa, there is one traditional healer to every 500 people whereas there is only one doctor to every 400,000 people Falodun (2010). With these examples, it can be argued that Indigenous Knowledge occupies only a hidden but significant place in society. The basic problem is alienation of the curriculum. Kaya and Seleti (2013) note that modern education structures are inherited from colonialism but are based on values inimical to most African societies. They add that even institutions of higher learning cherish partnering with foreign institutions that do not recognize the role of IK in African societies.

Vitality of Indigenous Knowledge

Despite attack by Western culture and marginalization, IK has survived and still defines lives of the once colonized East Africans. For example, periwinkle, cashew gum, and mango are used by many people to treat hypoglycemic diabetic patients Balde (2006). Indigenous knowledge is still being used by the people of Teso (in Eastern Uganda) to interpret climatic phenomena. As agro-pastoralists they know that unlike in the past when reddish clouds were warnings for coming hailstorms, now hailstorms come without warning. Some trees have changed their leaf shading patterns but the people still use IK to explain the climatic changes Egeru (2012). Orlove et al. (2010) comment that people of Southern Uganda continue to use Indigenous knowledge climate indicators to predict rain, namely hot nights, shift in direction of prevailing winds, flowering of trees especially coffee, particular moon shape, blowing of whirlwinds, and arrival of migratory birds especially Hornbill from Ethiopia. This happens despite presence of meteorological stations nearby. Modi (2004) appreciates IK and methods of seed storage for planting and for food supplies after studying traditional methods of seed preservation of maize and taro in Southern Africa. Despite advanced methods of use of chemicals in Uganda, seeds are still preserved using IK in Uganda. Mafongoya and Ajayi (2017) observe that IK should not be ignored but used because it can promote poverty alleviation, traditional food production, and preservation.

The foregoing evidences show that despite prejudices against IK it is alive and active in East African region. The following metaphor can be used to summarize vitality of IK in African situation. In schools and contemporary education systems, it operates as hidden curriculum. In public sector, it functions as Prodigal Son *Good News Bible* (1876) (confer Luke: 15, 11–32) and in Western science and thought it is described as the Barren Fig Tree (ibid) (confer Matthew 21, 18–22; Mark 11, 12–25)[10]; yet IK is the taproot of all forms of knowledge. The pleasant thing is that though hidden IK

cannot be deleted because it is written in the hearts of Africans. It cannot repent because it is sinless, and it cannot be cursed because it bears juicy fruits of life. Instead discrimination should be eliminated because all knowledge aspects (African or Western) are rooted in culture and all share the same nature of localness Shizha (2010).

Conclusion and Recommendations

In the foregoing pages, the author has shown that IK is loaded with useful contents, the nature has not changed much though tortured and the aim of IK yesterday, today, and tomorrow is for life. IK has enduring presence in African communities despite odds. Let it be reiterated that useful discoveries and new insights have been got by researches. In addition to the studies already made by scholars more should be done to encourage Africans to re-define and re-discover themselves—and think new strategies to re-civilize and conquer themselves. As Semali Ladilaus and Stambach Amy (1997) observe, the outcomes of research in IK should be re-conceptualized into curriculum practices that are (exotic),[11] inclusive, and democratic—one that acknowledges individual African's heritage, experience, and identities. The Indigenous African ways of knowing, thinking, and being should undergo a new renaissance and upsurge due to their utilitarian importance Adeyemi and Augustus (2003)—aware that this age of Information and Communication Technology (ICT)[12] brings even worse threats to its vitality than before. Perhaps Julius Nyerere's recommendations for an education system that enables the learner to know, appreciate and develop a culture that preserves national tradition, individual freedom, responsibility, tolerance, and respect should be designed in the modern curriculum for the East African region Sanga (2016) and the rest of Africa. The Westernized IK should be re-Africanized and insulated against contemporary dangers.

Notes

1. A Luo-speaking ethnic group related to the Luo of Nyanza Province in Kenya and Langi and Acholi of Northern Uganda. They live in Eastern Uganda.
2. A Bantu-speaking ethnic group living on the northern shores of Lake Victoria in Uganda
3. They live on the slopes of Mt. Kenya and are the largest ethnic group of people in Kenya.
4. Name of Supreme Being believed to live on top of Mt. Kenya by Kikuyu who worship Him as Creator.
5. These are a nomadic pastoral people. They live in northwestern Kenya. Their main source of livelihood is cattle.
6. A pastoral community that live astride Kenya–Tanzania borders. They are popular in Western scholarship as hostile and war-like people.
7. A Luo language spoken by Jopadhola. See Appendix 1 above.
8. The survey was done in a rural-based Secondary School in Buganda called Nakanyonyi Secondary School.

9. The author has firsthand experience of being administered with paw tree roots crushed and mixed with warm water in 1987. A poisonous snake bit me in the evening and after the first aid hospital found that the poison was present but not active.

10. In *Good News Bible* (Second Edition) it appears as "The Lost Son."

11. The curriculum included contents of selected IK foreign ideas that matter in Africa including ICT.

12. As new phenomenon in science and technology it is a threat if it is not given appropriate attention. If ICT is overemphasized, it can delete many aspects of IK that is fundamentally not digital but depends mainly on active human memory.

References

Adeyemi, Michael B., and A. Adeyinka Augustus. 2003. "Principles and Contents of African Traditional Education." *Journal of Educational Philosophy and Theory* 35 (4): 425–440.

Akeredolu, Olusina. 2016. *The Indigenous African Criminal Justice System for Modern World*. In *African World Series*. Durban, SC: Carolina Academic Press.

Akullo, Diana. 2007. "Indigenous Knowledge in Agriculture: A Case Study of Challenges in Sharing Knowledge of Past Generations in a Globalized Context in Uganda". World Library and Information Congress, 73rd IFLA general Conference and Council. Durban, South Africa, 19–23, August.

Alexander, C., et al. 2011. "Linking Indigenous and Scientific Knowledge in Climate Change." *Bioscience Forum* 61 (6): 477–484. www.biosciencemag.org.

Amanda, S. 2008. "A different Way of Knowing: Tools and Strategies of Managing Indigenous Knowledge." *Libri* 58 (1): 25–33.

Balde, M. N., et al. 2006. "Herbal Medicine and Treatment of Diabetes: An Example from Guinea." *Diabetes Metabolism* 32 (2): 171–175.

Battiste, Marie. 2002. "Indigenous Knowledge and Pedagogue in First Nations Education: A Literature Review with Recommendations." National Working Paper on Education and the Minster of India, India and Northern affairs, Canada (INAC), Ottawa, October 31.

Boehmer, E. 1995. *Colonial and Post-colonial Literature*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Boulding, Elise. 2000. *Cultures of Peace: The Hidden Side of History*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 170.

Brown, D. M. 1983. *Africa, Manchester Courier* 10 (2).

DeWalt, Bullie, R. 1994. "Using Indigenous Knowledge to Improve Agriculture and Natural Resource Management." *Society for Applied Anthropology* 53 (2) (Summer): 123–131.

Durie, Mason. 2004. "Exploring the Interface Between Science and Indigenous Knowledge: Capturing Value from Science." In 5th APEC Research and Development Leaders' Forum, Christchurch, New Zealand, March 11.

Egeru, Anthony. 2012. "Role of Indigenous Knowledge in Climate Change and Adaptation: A Case Study of the Teso Sub Region, Eastern Uganda." *Indian Journal of Traditional Knowledge* 11 (2) (April): 217–224.

Falodun, A. 2010. "Herbal Medicine of Africa-Distribution, Standardization and Prospects." *Research Journal of Phytochemistry* 4 (3): 154–167.

Folke, C., et al. 2000. "Rediscovering Traditional Ecological Knowledge as Adaptive Management." *Ecological applications* 10 (5) (October): 1251–1262.

Funteh, Mark Bolak. 2015. "Dimensioning Indigenous African Systems: A Critical Theory Divide Discourse." *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 5 (4) (April): 139–150.

Gorjestani, Nicolas. 2000. "Indigenous Knowledge for Development." Paper Presented in, UNCTAD Conference on Traditional Knowledge, Geneva, November 1: 1–2.

Grange, Le Lesley. 2000. "Is There Space for Enabling Disparate Knowledge Traditions to Work Together? Challenges for Science Education in African Context." *South African Journal of Education* 20 (2): 114–117.

Hanson, Holly Elizabeth. 2010. "Indigenous Adaptations: Uganda's Village Schools (1880–1937)." *Comparative Education Review* 54 (2) (May): 155–174.

Hassan, Kaya O., and Yonah N. Seleti. 2013. "African Indigenous Knowledge Systems of Higher Education in South Africa." *International Journal of Education: Comparative Perspectives* 21 (1): 30–44.

Higgs, Philips. 2011. "African Philosophy and Decolonization of Education in Africa: Some Critical Reflections." *Educational Philosophy and Theory*. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-5812.2011.00794.x.

Imafidon, Elvis. 2012. "The Concept of Person in African Culture, and Its Implications for Social Order." *LUMINA* 23 (2): 1–19.

Kanu, Ikechukwu Anthony. 2014. "Casualty in African Ontology." *African Journal of Humanities and Social Science (AJHSS)* 2 (1) (February): 54–60.

Kenyatta, J. 1978. *Facing Mountain Kenya*, 29–30. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.

Ladilaus, Semali, and Amy Stambach. 1997. "Cultural Identity in African Context." *Folklore Forum* 28 (1): 3–27.

Lajul, Wilfred. 2014. *African Philosophy: Critical Dimensions*, 132–133. Kampala: Fountain Publishers Ltd.

Levi-Strauss, C. 1962. *Myth and Meaning: Primitive Thinking and Civilized Mind*, 269. London and New York: University of Toronto Press.

Levi-Strauss, C. 2001. *Myth and Meaning: Primitive Thinking and Civilized Mind*. London and New York: University of Toronto Press.

Loram, C. T. 2017. Principles of African Education, Conference Paper, Yale, Yale University, September 11.

Maduabuchi, D. 2010. "Comparison of African Concept of Person, Man and Destiny: A Cross-Cultural Study of Ghana, Nigeria and Togo." *An International Journal of Psychology and Allied Professional* (February).

Mafongoya, P. L., and O. Ajayi. 2017. *Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Climate Change Management in Africa*, 316. Wageningen, The Netherlands: CTA.

Malinowski, B. 1936. "Culture as Determinant of Behavior." *The Scientific Monthly-American Association of Advanced Science* 43 (5): 440–449.

Mapara, Jacob. 2009. "Indigenous Knowledge Systems in Zimbabwe: Juxtaposing Post-colonial Theory." *Journal of Pan African Studies* 3 (1): 139–155.

Marah, John K. 2006. "The Virtues and Challenges in Traditional African Education." *Journal of Pan African Studies* 1 (4) (June): 15–24.

Mawere, Munyaradzi. 2015. "Indigenous Knowledge and Public Education in Sub-Saharan Africa." *African Spectrum* 50 (2): 57–71.

Modi, A. T. 2004. "Short-Term Preservation of Maize Landrace Seed and Taro Propagules Using Indigenous Storage Methods." *South African Journal of Botany* 70 (1): 16–23.

Nafukho, Fredrick Muyia. 2006. "Ubuntu Worldview: A Traditional African View of Adult Learning in the Workplace." *Advances in Development of Human resource* 8 (3) (August): 408–415.

Namono, Catherine. 2008. "Rock Art Myth and Landscapes: The Case of Rock Site in Tororo District." *South African Humanities* 20 (1): 317–331.

Namulondo, N., and G. M. Perez. 2011. "Elongation of Labia Minora in Uganda: Including Buganda Men in Risk Reduction Education Program." *Culture, Health and Society* 13 (1) (January): 45–57.

Nandy, Ashis. 1989. *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism.* Delhi: Oxford university Press.

Ndofirepi, Amasa Philip, and Elizabeth Spiwe Ndofirepi. 2012. "(E)ducation or (e)ducation in Traditional Societies? A Philosophical Insight." *Stud Tribes Tribals* 10 (1): 13–28.

Ng'Asike, John Teria. 2011. "Turkana Children's Rights to Education and Indigenous Knowledge in Science Teaching in Kenya." *New Zealand Journal of Teacher's Work* 8 (1): 55–57.

Okoro, Kingsley N. 2010. "African Traditional Education: A Viable Alternative to Peace Building Process in Modern Africa." *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in Social Science* 2 (1): 136–159.

Olaoluwa, Senayon. 2014. "Rights of Self-Birth and Palaver Tears: Achebe Cultural Novels and Attitudes of the West Towards Africa on Global justice." *African Journal of New Writing* 52, (November 1).

Orlove, Ben, Carla Roncoli, Merit Kabugo, and Abushen Majugu. 2010. "Indigenous Climate Knowledge in Southern Uganda: The Multiple Components of a Dynamic Regional System." *Climate Change* 100: 243–265. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10584-009-9586-2.

Owuor, A. Jennifer. 2007. "Integrating African Indigenous Knowledge in Kenya's Formal Education System: The Potential for Sustainable Development." *Journal of Contemporary Issues in Education* 2 (2): 21–37.

Owusu-Ansah, F. E., and G. Mji. 2013. "African Indigenous Knowledge and Research." *African Journal of Disability* 2 (1): 305. Available at http://dx.doi.org/10.4012/ajodv2i1.30.

Sanga, Innocent. 2016. "Education for Self-Reliance: Nyerere's Recommendations in the Context of Tanzania." *African Research Journal of Education and Social Sciences* 3 (2). ISSN 2312–0134. Available at www.arjess.org.

Sefa Dei, George J. 2002. "Rethinking the Role of Indigenous Knowledge in the Academy." The Research Network for New Approaches to Life Long Learning, NALL Working Paper 58.

Shizha, Edward. 2010. "The Interface of Neoliberal Globalization, Science Education and Indigenous African Knowledges in Africa." *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Science* 2 (1): 27–58.

Shizha, Edward. 2013. "Redeeming Our Indigenous Voices: The Problem with Postcolonial Sub-Saharan African Curriculum."*Journal of Indigenous Social Development* 2 (2) (September): 1–18. http://hawai.edu/sswork/jisd.

Thaman, Konai Helu. 2001. "Towards Culturally Inclusive Teacher Education with Specific Reference to Oceania." *International Journal of Education* 2 (5): 1–8. WCCE 6 Commission, Special Congress.

United Bible Societies. 1994. *Good News Bible.* 2nd ed.

Vavrus, Frances, and Lesley Bartlett. 2012. "Comparative Pedagogies and Epistemological Diversity: Social and Material Contexts of Teaching in Tanzania." *Comparative Education Review* 56 (4) (November): 634–658.

Wane, N. N. 2007. "African Women and Spirituality: Connection Between Thought and Education." In *Expanding the Boundaries of Transformative Learning, Essay on Theory and Practice*, edited by E. O. Sullivan and M. O'Connor, 135–150.

Warren, D. Michael. 1992. "Indigenous Knowledge, Biodiversity Conservation and Development." Keynote address at International Conference on Conservation of Biodiversity in Africa: Local Initiatives and Institutional Roles, Nairobi, Kenya, August 30–September 3.

White, Bob. 1996. "Talk About School: Education and the Colonial Project in French and British Africa (1860–1960)." *Journal of Comparative Education* 32 (1): 9–25.

Yoong, Pak, and Jessica Slade. 2014. "The Type of Indigenous Knowledge to Be Retained for Young New Zealanders Based in Samoa: A Samoan Grand parents' Perspective." Association for Information Systems, PACIS Proceedings. http://aisel.aisnet.org/pacis2014/161.

Zulu, Hibari. 2006. "Critical African Education and Knowledge." *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 1 (3): 32–49.

Gendered Sphere of Traditional Knowledge in Morocco

Bernadette Montanari

Introduction

Indigenous knowledge (IK) and its various definitions—Indigenous and Local Knowledge (ILK), Traditional Knowledge (TK), Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK), Indigenous Ecological Knowledge (IEK), Local Ecological Knowledge (LEK)—is an adaptive, cumulative body of knowledge, practice, and believes, culturally transmitted through generations and constantly evolving (Davis and Wagner 2003; Ellen and Harris 2000; Ellen 2011). In many places, it is vital for the maintenance of the land, water, and biological resources upon which people depend, and enters into decision-making chains at every stage of production, management, distribution, and consumption (Berkes et al. 2000; Folkes 2004; Grenier 1998; Turner and Garibaldi 2004).

Traditional knowledge and traditional skills have also permitted rural communities in many parts of the world to manage and sustain livelihoods, to buffer for extreme climatic conditions and secure food. For all its virtues, traditional knowledge has attracted attention and has been recognized as a key component in climate change adaptation strategies, sustainable resource management, food security and conservation strategies and ecosystem services (Armitage 2005; Berkes et al. 2000; Gómez-Baggethun et al. 2013; IFAD 2016). Moreover, the focus of the international agenda and particularly policies related to the SDG (SDG 2018) increasingly focuses on the socio-economic development of the poor for which the current global trend is the

B. Montanari (✉)
Centre for Biocultural Diversity, University of Kent, Canterbury, UK

319

enrollment of poor communities in development schemes based on natural resources. Overall, the policies advocate that including the most vulnerable into market economies creates employment and socioeconomic development and supports the general issues of gender equality, empowerment and the improvement and the well-being of communities. Many women in rural areas, however, are not able to enroll in these opportunities.

What the policies so far have not explored is the added value of women's traditional knowledge in community-based educational programs to gain confidence toward product development. Because the natural resources to be developed in the initiatives are an integral part of the communities' activities and landscapes, and which mostly contribute to the communities' daily food production, ethnomedicinal treatment, or any other subsistence needs, they are inevitably associated with some form of traditional knowledge skills. The resources which used to be banal, ordinary, and without interest have now become central to the economic development of communities since it is believed that conditioning these resources into products will create a commercial added value. Therefore, the women's traditional knowledge and skills are increasingly incorporated in the development of natural products, hosted under structures like cooperatives, cottage industries, or small-scale enterprise; in many cases, however, the traditional knowledge and the skills that contributed to the product development have not yet been acknowledged or recognized. This chapter positions the women's traditional knowledge in the context of social enterprise to show the added value of traditional knowledge that can transform the agenda with the support of educational programs. It aims to fill the gap by showing the women's traditional knowledge in the domains of agricultural, culinary, and ethnobotanical knowledge and for which value can be added at the heart of communities.

Women's Employment in Developing Countries

The Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and the latest Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) in particular seek to achieve inclusion for all, focusing on the balance of economic, social, and environmental dimensions of sustainable development (SDG 2017). They emphasize that the reduction of poverty ultimately transits through sustainable and inclusive economic growth whereby all social needs including education, health, gender equality, reduction of inequalities, and job opportunities are met, resolving the issues of climate change and environmental protection as the same time. For the achievement of the goals, the World Bank for instance foresees that the "smart economics" of the future cannot do without the women's labor and participation; women's contribution will not only foster economic development but will further contribute to the prosperity of future generations (World Bank 2010).

Current figures, however, suggest differently and the International Labour Organization (ILO) (2018) highlights that the gap in labor participation

between men and women worldwide is still significant; 71.3% of men compared to 45.8% of women. Particularly in Africa, the production gap is wide: 68.5% of men working compared to 50.4% of women, especially when compared to the economy of Northern Europe, for instance, which stands at 64% for men and 54.4% for women. Figures in North Africa are even more unequal when comparing men's labor to women's (71.9%) and (21.9%); however, women seem to be more actively working on Sub Saharan Africa at 64.7% compared to men 74% (ILO 2018). Mostly, the women's contribution to activities is primarily witnessed in informal forms of labor like agriculture, domestic duties, and in the textile industry and agro-food sectors and other services. For many African countries, agriculture seems to be an important sector for informal employment. In Burkina Faso, for instance, the highest employment in agriculture for women is 83% compared to 87.6% for men. Similarly, in Chad, 82.1% of women work in agriculture, a close gap to the employment of men, 82.3%. Regarding employment in other sectors, 72.6% of women work in services whereas only 58.1% of men in Angola and in Burkina Faso, and only 14% of women work in services compared to 10.3% of men (World Bank 2018). The employment of rural women in developing countries and the lack of recognition for the work they provide remain an important obstacle for securing sustainable socioeconomic development and long-term prosperity for the well-being of their families.

Traditional Knowledge and Social Enterprise

In the last few decades, Indigenous-traditional knowledge has gained worldwide recognition as a key component in development strategies that seek to respond to the issues of climate change, food security, natural resource management, sustainable agriculture, conservation endeavors and ecosystem maintenance. More recently, traditional knowledge has become vital for the transformation of raw resource material into natural products, as witnessed in the current trend of product development issued from natural resources increasingly at the heart of economic development strategies. The policies advocate that these strategies will contribute to poverty alleviation, ensure socioeconomic development and gender equality. However, policy makers have barely looked into the integration of Indigenous-traditional knowledge in social enterprise and how it could contribute to prosperity.

The subject of Indigenous-traditional knowledge in the development paradigm is not new and has been largely covered (Ahmed and Mc Quaid 2005; Orozco-Quintero and Davidson-Hunt 2010; Peredo et al. 2004; Schwartzman and Zimmerman 2005; Uphoff and Buck 2006). Grenier (1998) and Peredo et al. (2004) for instance recommended the integration of traditional knowledge into enterprise schemes as early as the 1990s. The authors emphasized that integrating Indigenous-traditional knowledge into social enterprise not only revolves around a common goal for the common

good of the people but also enables the community to pursue a new kind of enterprise, one that focuses on the community's existing social structure. The authors assert that restoring self-determination and heritage preservation are central to re-affirming identity; local entrepreneurship has the potential to achieve this (Hindle and Lansdowne 2005; Lindsay 2005; Perodo et al. 2004; Peredo and Anderson 2006). Communities however are seldom able to lever these attributes within their direct environment due to illiteracy, isolation, and marginalization. Community's education based on the recognition of traditional knowledge can raise the confidence of women toward social entrepreneurship and ultimately reverse this process. This chapter aims to fill this gap by showing the role and value of traditional knowledge for educating women toward social enterprise in Morocco.

Traditional Knowledge in Africa

The continent of Africa abounds in cultural diversity and folklore. Most African countries hold some form of official legislation for the safeguard and protection of cultural expression but to a lesser extent of traditional knowledge. Overall, what tends to be primarily considered under the banner of cultural, folkloric, and traditional knowledge are products destined to the souvenir markets, local clothing industry, food products, toys, musical production and performances, and the occasional use of Indigenous names or phrases as trademarks often used without authorization (WIPO 2017). Besides UNESCO and the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) who work actively to enforce the protection of TK worldwide, African countries have limited forms of legislative protection for folklore and traditional knowledge for their respective culture. With the exception of Namibia who has granted Indigenous communities the indefinite rights to control the adaptation, the transformation and translations of expressions of folklore, Rwanda, which under Art. 3 of the Copyright Law (1983) provides generous protection to folklore traditions and literary productions (tales, legends, myths, proverbs, accounts, and poems), artistic works (dances and spectacles of any kind, musical works of any kind, styles and works of decorative art, and architectural styles), religious works (ritual rites, objects, clothing, and places of worships), scientific and technological knowledge (practices and products of medicine and pharmacology, theoretical and practical fields of the natural science and anthropology), and Uganda who benefits from some form of legislation in the field of literature, traditional folklore and knowledge, science and art under a "Copyright and Neighboring Rights Act," passed in 2006, and conducts capacity building workshops on Intellectual Property and Traditional Knowledge for empowering local communities and supporting their economic development, African countries have a limited legislation that protects the traditional knowledge. Overall, other countries have some form of legislation that has been implemented to protect what is considered "*traditional*

knowledge": In Cameroon, for instance, this legislation relates to works derived from folklore and request for permission for public performance and reproduction; in Congo, permission is required to adapt folklore for commercial values; Ghana on the other hand provides legislation only to protect literature, artistic and musical works, and sound recording, cinematographic and choreographic works. In Mali, any use or reproduction of works derived from folklore requires authorization from the Ministry of Arts and Culture; in Nigeria, a copyright law protects against adaptations, translations, and other transformations of such folklore, either for commercial purposes or outside their traditional customary context, and any expressions of reproduction, communication to the public by performance, broadcasting even distributed by cable (Copyright Decree 1999); in Senegal, folklore is covered and protected by Article 1 of the Senegalese Copyright for any "direct or indirect" fixation of material intended for "profit-making purposes". This is in turn subject to prior authorization by the Copyright Office of Senegal under Article 9. As we are primarily concerned with Morocco in this chapter, the country has several law texts that intend to protect copyrights and related rights under the Law No. 2-00 (promulgated by Dahir No. 1-00-20 of 9 Kaada 1420-February 15, 2000). These include several legislations related to copyright and related rights (Neighboring Rights), enforcement of IP and related laws, and traditional cultural expressions. In addition, the government has ratified the 2005 UNESCO Convention for the Protection of Cultural Expression (https://en.unesco.org/creativity/convention/texts); cultural expressions refer to cultural diversity, cultural content, cultural expressions, cultural activities, goods and services, cultural industries, cultural policies and measures, protection, and inter-culturality. However, a clear definition of what exactly constitutes traditional knowledge does not exist nor does a mention on how traditional knowledge should be protected. The country does not have any provision for the protection of its folklore and traditional knowledge. As natural resources are increasingly developed into natural products, the issues of protection and of access to benefit sharing (ABS) of the Nagoya Protocol under the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) are inevitably raised; equally the issue of whose knowledge should be protected.

Overview of the Social Context in Morocco

As stipulated by the World Bank (2010), women are increasingly seen as the actors of the smart economies for the benefits of future generations. However, the integration in Moroccan society of rural women and the rural communities more generally has been a central issue for the authorities for decades. Illiteracy, embedded social-cultural norms, lack of financial opportunities, poor infrastructures, and the geographical isolation where many communities live (mountains, oasis, and desert location) away from the urban centers largely contribute to the socioeconomic exclusion.

Illiteracy, in particular, is a major obstacle for the national authorities and for supporting sustainable development. Although levels of education have considerably improved for girls to attend primary school, 81.20% in 2000 to 98.30% in 2015, enrollment in secondary school remains low (53.10%). Illiteracy remains high for young women aged between 15 and 24 (93.50%) (World Bank 2018), particularly in the rural areas (61%) (Haut Commissariat au Plan 2018). Women and young girls remain responsible for the daily subsistence of the household; more often than not, the young girls are called back into the village to participate in the household chores and labor in the fields and gardens rather than attending secondary schools (Montanari 2012).

Past politico-historical account has reinforced the economic isolation as the government has mostly privileged the Atlantic coasts, open to trade with external partners and former colonies (Gellner 1961). While the government has made several attempts to address these issues in the past, it has not succeeded. Therefore, to address the persistent obstacle of sustainable economic growth, food security, sustainable natural resource development, poverty alleviation, gender equality, and climate change in the rural areas, the most recent endeavor is the Green Morocco Plan (GMP) (2008–2020) and its two pillars of development. They have been designed to overcome these obstacles and to promote the socioeconomic development of the poor and to support gender equality, autonomy, and decision-making. While the main goal of Pillar I is to intensify agriculture toward international markets through technical means, Pillar II addresses small-scale projects to transit from small traditional family farming toward a more lucrative development of natural resources (see Montanari and Bergh 2019a). Pillar II, in particular, emphasizes the creation of income generating activities (IGA) derived from natural resources hosted under cooperatives for the commoditization of natural resources and for which commercial value can be added. The creation of IGA derived from natural resources is therefore portrayed as a major economic opportunity for women to enroll in the initiatives. However, many women remain excluded from the opportunities.

DIVERSITY OF WOMEN'S TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE

Worldwide, rural women possess extensive traditional knowledge when it comes to natural resources; as such, they are considered as the gatekeepers of TK linked to natural resource management (Howard 2003). Because the responsibilities of rural women mainly lie in providing the daily subsistence for their families, they possess a strong traditional ecological knowledge and interest in environmental protection and management. The relationship that they nurture with the environment is special, as they tend to be more concerned about the availability and access to natural resources (Gutierrez-Montes et al. 2012; Howard 2003). Their knowledge extends

to wild plant gathering, home gardens, plant domestication, herbalism, and seed storing. For instance, women's medicinal plant knowledge tends to be more extensive than men's because they are responsible for maintaining the healthcare of their families (Howard 2003; Montanari and Teixidor-Toneu 2020; Teixidor-Toneu et al. 2017; Voeks 2007; Wayland 2004). In Africa, women possess a lot of traditional knowledge when it comes to home gardens (Zobolo and Mkabela 2009); in agrobiodiversity for securing food and the exchange of seeds (Idohou et al. 2014; Momsen 2007; Osemeobo 2005); culinary traditions (Misihairabgwi and Cheikhyoussef 2017; Ormanci and Colakoglu 2015); for health and child care (De Boer and Lamxay 2009; Malan and Neuba 2011); and traditional use of natural resources as cosmetics (Elansary et al. 2015; Elias and Carney 2007; Goreja 2004).

Throughout the regions of Morocco, women's culinary, ethnomedicinal, agricultural, and animal husbandry, traditional knowledge is widespread both within the household and in external surroundings. It is within these settings that the vital transmission to the younger generations occurs (Montanari 2013, 2014). In the domain of agriculture in the High Atlas, for instance, agricultural activities are a major contribution to the provision of food security. Although the terrain is difficult and space limited, people have managed to shape the landscape in terraces from which they grow sufficient food to feed their families. The land is plowed traditionally with a mule and wooden plow and it is usually the men who proceed with this activity. As no chemical pesticides are added, cow and chicken manure provide nourishment to the land. Women proceed with the sowing and collection of vegetables and weeding, often working in groups. Because of the limited space in the terraces, crops are usually companion planted in groups of two or three cultigens, for example, tomatoes with maize and peas to increase the yield. This is usually supported by a structure made with reeds and the land is furrowed to retain irrigation. The main crops that are grown in the gardens closer to the river are wheat and barley, harvested once a year during the summer. Alfalfa (*Medicago sativa*) is also planted and collected mainly for cow fodder.

Women's traditional knowledge then irrefutably contributes to the daily subsistence and maintenance of the household. It is vital for ensuring food availability and for managing natural resources sustainably. Moreover, the women contribute indirectly to the household budget, as they do not need to buy many foodstuffs which would otherwise inflict a cost on the household budget. Their contributions, however, have been largely undermined and the traditional knowledge associated with these practices undervalued and unrecognised. In addition, the rural women do not see the value of their traditional skills; rather, they have a poor image of the work they do, lack confidence, and perceive their activities as backward practices (Sengupta 2015). Overall, they envy women who have moved to urban areas and who do not need to pursue tedious chores like attending gardens, fodder, water and wood collection, and

all other activities that contribute to maintaining the household. The question therefore is: Can education alter these perceptions so that social enterprise can be triggered at community level?

Women's Traditional Skills with Added Value

With the income generating activities (IGA) of the GMP, cooperatives are proliferating at an exponential rate throughout the country. Many cooperatives currently proceed with the transformation of natural resources into natural products destined for the internal and international markets. These cooperatives are usually run by educated people; the high illiteracy in the villages prevents the women from fulfilling the administrative tasks. In addition, due to the high level of activities to maintaining the household, women do not have the time. Hence, many women remain excluded from the initiatives; those who are involved however represent a labor force, often working without remuneration or merit (Montanari and Bergh 2019a). An outstanding example of resource widely commercialized in the last few decades and that stand as a success and model for economic development on the international scene is Argan from which oil is extracted for cosmetic and culinary purposes. The nuts are collected from the endemic Argan tree, widely found in the Souss-Massa-Draa region in the southern part of the country. Within the scope of this study however, I will describe the traditional knowledge associated with several natural resources, which involve culinary and ethnobotanical skills.

Culinary Ingredients and Traditional Skills

Unlike the limited space found in the High Atlas, the flat terrain in the Province of Rhamna allows for a more spacious and extensive cultivation, and, in particular of *coriander, cumin, fenugreek, nigella and poppy seeds, colza, coriander* and *millet* seeds. These are the natural culinary ingredients widely used in Moroccan cuisine. All the seeds are grown locally and women harvest them once they are ripe in season. Collecting the seeds in the field is a non-mechanized process and is done manually and collectively. Because the collected seeds contain a lot of small wooden debris and small dust particles, women use their traditional skills. Traditionally, women proceed to the cleaning of seeds by hand using handwoven baskets or trays when baskets are not available. As the debris needs to be shifted to the bottom or side of the baskets, the seeds are tossed in the basket up and down, rolled forward and backward, and from side to side to separate the seeds from the dust and other small particles. The result is a clean separation of the seeds from the odd dust which is then removed by hand. This whole process requires agility and dexterity and a keen eye for details, a process that a machine cannot achieve (Montanari and Bergh 2019b).

Ready to use packaged seeds have become widely popular and available in local shops and supermarkets and several cooperatives now proceed to the

conditioning of these products. In these cooperatives, the cleaning of seeds is done mechanically. The first cleansing is done mechanically to rid the seeds of the main dust; this is followed by a second sieving performed by a machine to refine the first one; the third one is to dry the seeds in a ventilating apparatus, the fourth process is to refine the seeds' caliber using a grading machine. However, women are recruited to proceed with the last aspect of cleaning the seeds by hand which refines the last two processes. As with the other seeds mentioned previously, this is done traditionally with baskets just as it is done at home. It does not however mean that the women are recruited for this particular knowledge; rather, they need the work because of different family circumstances (divorced, widowed, or a sick husband).

Similarly, to the seeds mentioned above, *Quinoa* is widespread in the region of Rhamna. Quinoa is an herbaceous annual flowering plant from the amaranth family originally from Bolivia and Peru and grown for its edible seeds. It has become popular for its high nutritive value worldwide and also in Morocco. The quinoa is grown traditionally and does not involve any mechanized processes. Once it has been harvested manually, it is left to dry in the sun, stirred occasionally by hand. Once dried, a similar process to the one described above for the seeds takes place, using the same traditional techniques with baskets. The cleaning process of the grain is time consuming and painstaking; however, it is the only way to ensure a thorough cleaning so that the quinoa is free from debris, dust, and other particles; this traditional method gives the best result. Under Pillar II on the GMP, many people are keen to grow quinoa, and the Institut Agronomique et Veterinaire Hassan II in Rabat can provide the seeds.

Traditional Couscous

Traditional couscous comes from a long culinary tradition in Morocco. *Couscous* or "*kuskusu*" is a traditional popular dish found widely in Morocco and throughout the Maghreb region; it is now recognized as a healthy food, easy to prepare especially when bought prepacked. Couscous is the produced grain and not the whole dish. Typically, in the Maghreb and in other Arab countries, it is served on Fridays after prayer at the mosque in both rural and urban settings. In the Province of Rhamna as in the High Atlas, women in villages gather at someone's house and work together. This is an occasion for gossip and catching up on the news and a major opportunity for traditional culinary knowledge transmission to the children. While a group of women peel and prepare the vegetables, others prepare the couscous grain. The traditional homemade couscous involve the mixing of flour and water in large bowls, and women move their hands in a circular motion so that the small couscous lumps can shape up. The process is repeated until the couscous grain is formed and until it becomes more refined. It is then passed through a sieve to ensure that the right caliber of the couscous grain is obtained.

Nowadays various flavors are added to couscous and the addition of cactus flour and quinoa has become popular. In cooperatives that process couscous, the couscous mixtures are put through a dryer before packaging. The finished products are either sold locally and occasionally on the international market.

Honey Production

Traditional activities like beekeeping and the production of honey are common in the High Atlas and in the Province of Rhamna. In the past, the hives were made of handwoven baskets shaped as a cylinder where the bees gather to produce honey. The bees usually feed on cactus, orange and pomegranate flowers, and other flowering plants that are available within a given location. However, in both locations, bee owners have to move their hives to other places because the increasing lack of rain affects the availability of flowers. The gathering in the hives, the quality control of the product is done in a traditional way. In the particular case of a small family cooperative who produces honey, an elderly woman controls this process. She holds in-depth knowledge of beekeeping since she has done the collection and production of honey from the hives all her life, a traditional knowledge that her father transmitted. As an experienced honey producer, she knows exactly when the time to collect is right, and if the honey is a good or poor quality. As the gatekeeper of this valuable traditional knowledge, she is also transmitting it as she advises other people throughout all the stages of production. Nowadays, she processes the honey using a mechanized centrifuge provided by the local authorities. As it is quite lumpy, the honey needs to be further refined. The ancient practice associated with this activity, however, has evolved from traditional to technical with the provided equipment.

Ethnobotanical Knowledge in the High Atlas and in Rhamna

Medicinal plants are found profusely throughout the country. The High Atlas, in particular, is a region that abounds in aromatic and medicinal plants. Moreover, traditional herbal medicine is the only source of treatment in these isolated locations as close proximity dispensaries or other medical facilities do not always exist. With the IGA, many medicinal plants that are normally used in traditional medicine are conditioned and packaged as dried herbal mixtures. In some cases, the aromatic plants are further exploited for essential oil distillation. Although the list of medicinal plants is extensive, the most common plants used in this part of the High Atlas are thyme (*Thymus satureioides*, L.) and a lavender species *Lavandula dentata*, L. These two plants in particular have a high added value especially as essential oils that are used in the pharmaceutical and sanitary industries. In the High Atlas, women have extensive knowledge of the plants' therapeutic properties, and

the dosage and the combinations of plants for the ailments to be relieved. After collecting and drying the plants, they are usually stored in jars in dry, dust free cupboards. Most women have plants in the house readily available to use. Women use thyme regularly as a fresh herbal tea-infusion during the harvest season or in the dried form to relieve gastric disorders (stomach ache, gallbladder complaints, indigestion, and intestinal problems), respiratory disorders -colds, coughs, chills, headaches, menstrual problems and painful menses for women. Similar to thyme, women use lavender flowers extensively with other herbs in tea, coffee, and in infusion. Its main applications are for headaches, stomach ache, including painful menses and gynecological problems, stomach acidity, bile problems, vomiting, loss of appetite, colds, chills, coughs, rheumatism, dampness in the body, high blood pressure. Women also add lavender flowers to henna hair coloring mixtures for fragrance or for tattooing. Lavender tends to be extensively collected for cow fodder. This herbal knowledge is passed on to the younger generations, in various settings both within the household and in traditional external activities (gardens, mountains, and river).

Cactus is widespread throughout the country. Although it also grows naturally in the High Atlas, it is found on a much smaller scale. However, it is widespread in the Province of Rhamna. *Cactus* also commonly known as "*Barbary Fig*" originates from Mexico and has been introduced in Africa in the sixteenth century by the Spanish. While several species are available, the cactus described in this chapter is *Opuntia ficus-indica*. Cactus can be used for its culinary aspects and also for its medicinal properties. The fruit is widely consumed and well known for their fiber, and vitamin C content and their laxative properties (Fernandez et al. 2010; Shetty et al. 2012). The women proceed to the collection of the Barbary fruit by hand, because the delicate fruit and young cactus leaves are prickly. They prepare the young rackets in a traditional manner as a pickled condiment that can be eaten either a side dish or on its own. More recently, cactus jam made from the flowers has become popular in certain regions of the country. The use of the cactus also extends to animals and has been widely planted in arid zones to provide animal fodder. From an ethnobotanical perspective, the women use the dried cactus flowers to prepare a traditional tea for the relief of gastrointestinal and sleeping disorders, for its anti-inflammatory properties, and as a diuretic. The young cactus leaves (rackets) can also be applied as a cataplasm for sores, bruises, and eczema. A traditional home remedy to decrease cholesterol and diabetes is the preparation of the dried young tender leaves rendered into a power like flour (Bellakhdar 1996; Sijelmassi 1993). With the increasing interest in cactus products and oil extraction which has gained a lucrative place on the market due to its pharmacological properties, particularly for the cosmetic industry, cactus has been planted extensively throughout the region. Many women therefore clean the seeds and supply them for oil extraction. In addition, several cooperatives have developed a range

of cosmetic products (shampoo and shower gel with the addition of cactus oil) using mechanized processes; in these places, women are employed for the collection and cleaning of the fruit and the young leaves. A cooperative now processes the anti-inflammatory and anti-diabetic powder formula that women typically prepare for home treatment. This traditional ethnobotanical knowledge therefore is undergoing a transfer of technology, replicating the traditional home use to a commercial product. However, the ethnobotanical knowledge associated with the product does not receive any recognition.

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I have shown that many women's traditional practices are available in Morocco and in other countries of Africa. I have also shown that throughout the continent of Africa, women are not recognized for their contribution, whether in agricultural activities or other services. In Morocco, although the model of cooperatives has been widely developed and is expanding rapidly throughout the country, women are not always able to benefit from these opportunities, and those who do are merely a labor force. In addition, several traditional knowledge practices are replicated in the cooperatives for the commercialization of products; yet women do not receive any acknowledgment or recognition; it is the most educated people who manage the cooperatives who are granted the merit.

Traditional knowledge is vital for the maintenance of the land, water, and biological resources upon which people depend; its survival depends on its transmission to the younger generations. Women are increasingly drawn to economic incentives in the pursuit of financial gain. Whether they are or not able to join and earn income, there is more at stake than just receiving monetary incentives as a greater threat is looming over the communities; that is the erosion of traditional knowledge for which women are essential gatekeepers. Should not the traditional knowledge that women hold within communities be cherished to trigger incentives?

As development strategies often do not benefit the local level, the policies related to the integration of rural women in the current economic development agenda needs to be closely scrutinized. There is a need to rethink the approach to develop economic incentives in communities. Traditional knowledge is not only central to this but auspicious. Developing educational programs that foster awareness of traditional knowledge and its valuable contribution to product development is timely to resolve the issues of isolation, poverty, and social exclusion. Rethinking development that fosters a new approach focusing on the value of women's traditional knowledge offers huge possibilities; it holds the promise to boost the women's confidence, shift the perception and trigger incentives at community level. With increasing pressure from international organizations to comply with access to benefit sharing (ABS) under the Nagoya Protocol of the Convention of Biological Diversity

(CBD) for the equitable share of genetic resources, the need to recognize the traditional knowledge gatekeepers that contribute to the economic prosperity of cooperatives is overdue. Only then, the ABS can be aligned with traditional values and true social enterprise can be achieved.

References

Ahmed, A., and R. W. Mc Quaid. 2005. "Entrepreneurship, Management and Sustainable Development." *World Review of Entrepreneurship, Management and Sustainable Development* 1 (1): 6–30.

Armitage, D. R. 2005. "Adaptive Capacity and Community-Based Natural Resource Management Environmental Management." July 2005. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00267-004-0076-z.

Bellakhdar, J. 1996. *La Pharmacopée Marocaine Traditionnelle*. Casablanca: Ibiss Press.

Berkes, F., J. Colding, and C. Folke. 2000. "Rediscovery of Traditional Knowledge as Adaptive Management Ecological Applications." https://doi.org/10.1890/1051-0761(2000)010[1251:ROTEKA]2.0.CO;2.

Davis, A., and J. R. Wagner. 2003. "Who Knows? On the Importance of Identifying 'Experts' When Researching Local Ecological Knowledge." *Human Ecology* 31 (3): 463–489.

De Boer, H., and V. Lamxay. 2009. "Plants Used During Pregnancy, Childbirth and Postpartum Healthcare in Lao PDR: A Comparative Study of the Brou, Saek and Kry Ethnic Groups." *Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine* 25 (5). https://doi.org/10.1186/1746-4269-5-25.

Elansary, H. O., E. A. Mahmoud, S. Shokokralla, and K. Yessoufou. 2015. "Diversity of Plants, Traditional Knowledge, and Practices in Local Cosmetics: A Case Study from Alexandria, Egypt." *Economic Botany* 69 (2): 114–126.

Elias, M., and J. Carney. 2007. "Africa Shea Butter: A Feminized Subsidy from Nature." *Africa* 77 (1): 37–62.

Ellen, R. 2011. "'Indigenous knowledge' and the Understanding of Cultural Cognition: Contribution of Studies of Environmental Knowledge Systems." In *A Companion to Cognitive Anthropology*, edited by D. B. Kronenfeld, G. Benardo, and U. C. Fisher, 290–313. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Ellen, R., and H. Harris. 2000. "Introduction." In *Indigenous Environmental Knowledge and Its Transformations*, edited by R. F. Ellen, P. Parkes, and A. Bicker, 1–34. Harwood: Amsterdam.

Fernández-López, J. A., L. Almela, J. M. Obón, and R. Castella. 2010. "Determination of Antioxidant Constituents in Cactus Pear Fruits." *Plant Foods Human Nutrition* 65: 253–259. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11130-010-0189-x.

Folkes, C. 2004. "Traditional Knowledge in Social-Ecological Systems." *Ecology and Society* 9 (3): 7. http://www.ecologyandsociety.org/vol9/iss3/art7/. Accessed 26 April 2010.

Gellner, E. 1961. "The Struggle for Morocco's Past." *Middle East Journal* 15 (1): 79–90.

Gómez-Baggethun, E., E. Corbera, and V. Reyes-García. 2013. "Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Global Environmental Change: Research Findings

and Policy Implications." *Ecology and Society* 18 (4). https://doi.org/10.5751/es-06288-180472.

Goreja, W. G. 2004. *Shea Butter: The Nourishing Properties of Africa's Best Kept Natural Beauty Secret*. New York, NY: Amazing Herbs Press.

Grenier, L. 1998. *Working with Indigenous Knowledge: A Guide for Researchers*. Ottawa, Canada: International Development Research Centre.

Gutierrez-Montes, I., M. Emery, and E. Fernandes-Baca. 2012. "Why Gender Matters for Ecological Management and Poverty Reduction." In *Integrating Ecology and Poverty Reduction: The Application of Ecology in Development Solutions*, edited by J. C. Ingram et al., 39–59. New York, NY: Springer.

HCP. 2018. https://www.hcp.ma/. Retrieved 14 July 2018.

Hindle, K., and M. Lansdowne. 2005. "Brave Spirits on New Paths: Toward a Globally Relevant Paradigm of Indigenous Entrepreneurship Research." *Journal of Small Business and Entrepreneurship* 18 (2): 131–142.

Howard, P. 2003. *The Major Importance of "Minor" Resources: Women and Plant Biodiversity*. London: International Institute for Environment and Development.

Idohou, R., B. Fandohan, V. Kolawolé Salako, B. Kassa, R. Castro Gbèdomon, H. Yédomonhan, R. L. Glèlè Kakaï, and A. Ephrem Assogbadjo. 2014. "Biodiversity Conservation in Home Gardens: Traditional Knowledge, Use Patterns and Implications for Management." *International Journal of Biodiversity Science, Ecosystem Services & Management* 10 (2): 89–100. https://doi.org/10.1080/21513732.2014.910554.

IFAD. 2016. "Rural Development Report. Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment." https://www.ifad.org/documents/30600024/9cc7a558-a038-4630-a5fc-bdf00c881a33. Accessed 15 March 2018.

ILO. 2018. https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_615594.pdf. Retrieved 10 June 2018.

Lindsay, N. J. 2005. "Toward A Cultural Model of Indigenous Entrepreneurial Attitude." *Academy of Marketing Science Review* 5: 1–15.

Malan, D. F., and D. F. R. Neuba. 2011. "Traditional Practices and Medicinal Plants Use During Pregnancy by Anyi-Ndenye Women (Eastern Côte d'Ivoire)." *African Journal of Reproductive Health / La Revue Africaine de la Santé Reproductive* 15 (1): 85–93.

Misihairabgwi, J., and A. Cheikhyoussef. 2017. "Traditional Fermented Foods and Beverages of Namibia." *Journal of Ethnic Foods* 4 (3): 145–153. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jef.2017.08.001.

Momsen, H. 2007. "Gender and Agrobiodiversity: Introduction to the Special Issue." *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 28 (1): 1–6.

Montanari, B. 2012. "A Critical Analysis of the Introduction of Essential Oil Distillation in the High Atlas of Morocco with Reference to the Role of Gendered Traditional Knowledge" (PhD thesis, School of Anthropology and Conservation, University of Kent, UK).

Montanari, B. 2013. "The Future of Agriculture in the High Atlas Mountains of Morocco: The Need to Integrate Traditional Ecological Knowledge." In *The Future of Mountain Agriculture*, edited by S. Mann, 51–72. Berlin and Heidelberg: Springer Geography, Springer-Verlag.

Montanari, B. 2014. "Aromatic, Medicinal Plant and Vulnerability of Traditional Herbal Knowledge in a Berber Community of the High Atlas Mountains of Morocco." *Plant Diversity and Resources* 36 (3): 388–402.

Montanari, B., and S. I. Bergh. 2019a. "A Gendered Analysis of the Income Generating Activities under the Green Morocco Plan: Who Profits?" *Human Ecology* 47 (3): 409–417. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10745-019-00086-8.

Montanari, B., and S. I. Bergh. 2019b. "Why Women's Traditional Knowledge Matters in the Initiatives of the Green Morocco Plan." *Women's Studies International Forum* 77. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2019.102275.

Montanari, B., and I. Teixidor-Toneu. 2020. "Mountain Isolation and the Retention of Traditional Knowledge: Case Study in the High Atlas of Morocco." (Forthcoming).

Ormanci, H. B, and F. Colakoglu. (2015). "Nutritional and Sensory Properties of Salted Fish Product, *lakerda*." *Cogent Food & Agriculture* 1 (1). https://doi.org/10.1080/23311932.2015.1008348.

Orozco-Quinter, A., and I. J. Davidson-Hunt. 2010. "Community-Based Enterprises and the Commons: The Case of San Juan Nuevo Parangaricutiro, Mexico." International *Journal of the Commons* 4(1): 8–35.

Osemeobo, G. J. 2005. "Living on the Forests: Women and Household Security in Nigeria." *Small-Scale Forest Economics, Management and Policy* 4 (3): 343–358.

Peredo, A. M., and R. B. Anderson. 2006. "Indigenous Entrepreneurship Research: Themes and Variations." In *Developmental Entrepreneurship: Adversity, Risk, and Isolation*, edited by C. S. Galbraith and C. H. Stiles, 253–273. Oxford, UK: Elsevier.

Peredo, A. M., R. B. Anderson, C. S. Galbraith, B. Honing, and P. Dana. 2004. "Towards a Theory of Indigenous Entrepreneurship." *International Journal of Entrepreneurship and Small Business* 1 (1/2): 1–20.

Schwartzman, S., and B. Zimmerman. 2005. "Conservation Alliances with Indigenous people of the Amazon." *Conservation Biology* 19 (3): 721–727.

SDG. 2017. Supporting the Sustainable Development Goals. A Guide for Merit-Based Academies. InterAcademy Partnership.http://www.interacademies.org/IAP_SDG_Guide.aspx.

SDG. 2018. The Sustainable Development Goals Report 2018. https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/files/report/2018/TheSustainableDevelopmentGoalsReport2018-EN.pdf.

Sengupta, M. 2015. "Obstacles to the Use of Indigenous Knowledge." *Development in Practice* 25 (6). https://doi.org/10.1080/09614524.2015.1064861.

Shetty, A. A., M. K. Rana, and S. P. Preetham. 2012. "Cactus: A Medicinal Food." *Journal of Food Science Technology* 49 (5): 530–536. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13197-011-0462-5.

Sijelmassi, A. 1993. *Les plantes médicinales du Maroc*. Casablanca: Editions Le Fennec.

Teixidor-Toneu, I., G. J. Martin, R. K. Puri, A. Ouhammou, and J. A. Hawkins. 2017. "Treating Infants with *Frigg*: Linking Disease Aetiologies, Medicinal Plant Use and Care-Seeking Behaviour in Southern Morocco." *Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine* 13 (4). https://doi.org/10.1186/s13002-016-0129-4.

Turner, N., and A. Garibaldi. 2004. "Cultural Keystone Species: Implications for Ecological Conservation and Restoration." *Ecology and Society* 9 (3): 1.

Uphoff, N., and L. Buck. 2006. "Strengthening Rural Local Institutional Capacities for Sustainable Livelihoods and Equitable Development." Paper prepared for the Social Development Department of the World Bank, Mimeo.

Voeks, R. A. 2007. "Are Women Reservoirs of traditional Plant Knowledge? Gender, Ethnobotany and Globalization in Northeast Brazil." *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 28: 7–20.

Wayland, C. 2004. "The Failure of Pharmaceuticals and the Power of Plants: Medicinal Discourse as a Critique of Modernity in the Amazon." *Social Science & Medicine* 58: 2409–2419.

WIPO. 2017. http://www.wipo.int/tk/en/. Retrieved May 2017.

World Bank. 2010. http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/125221468 175766844/pdf/605830NEWS0Gen10Box358323B01PUBLIC1.pdf. Retrieved 2 July 2018.

World Bank. 2018. http://datatopics.worldbank.org/gender/country/morocco. Retrieved 5 June 2018.

Zobolo, M., and Q. N. Mkabela. 2009. "Traditional Knowledge Transfer of Activities Practiced by Zulu Women to Manage Medicinal and food Plant Gardens." *African Journal of Range & Forage Science* 23: 77–80.

African Indigenous Knowledges and the Decolonization of Education in Africa

Gloria Emeagwali

In this chapter, we propose that the decolonization of education, in Africa, necessitates Africanization and Indigenization through the extensive integration, in the curriculum, of African Indigenous Knowledge Systems. We reflect on the epistemological context, values, goals, and objectives of a decolonized educational system with respect to curriculum content, evaluation methodologies, and resources. We also explore the goals of decolonization and the various ways by which strategies of domination, disinformation, and hegemony have compromised the existing system. In the course of analysis, we support the view that Indigenous Knowledges should constitute the bedrock of the postcolonial curriculum along with appropriate pedagogical tools and instructional strategies in teaching and learning. We draw from the works of several scholars, in this discourse about Indigenous Knowledges and decolonization. The discussion begins with a focus on some of the conceptual underpinnings and defining features of African Indigenous Knowledge Systems.

Conceptual Underpinnings of African Indigenous Knowledges

We use the term African Indigenous Knowledges (AIK) and African Indigenous Knowledge Systems (AIKS) interchangeably in this discourse and posit that there are some core concepts central to the interdisciplinary teaching and learning activities associated with this field of research. For example, methodological pluralism

G. Emeagwali (✉)
Central Connecticut State University, New Britain, CT, USA

and multipolarity are of crucial importance in the acquisition, accumulation, retention, and utilization of Indigenous Knowledges (Emeagwali and Dei 2014). Knowledge is not confined to a racial group nor is it the destiny of a specific ethno-regional entity claiming its own knowledge to be universal. Toyin Falola points out that "Eurocentrism has equated Euro-particularism with universalism," a universalism that sees itself as "superior" (Falola 2018, 889).

As pointed out by Budd Hall and Rajesh Tandon, we need to find ways to facilitate the growth of various "epistemologies, ontologies, theories, methodologies, objects and questions other than those that have long been hegemonic" and contribute to constructing "new academic cultures and, more widely, new inclusive institutional cultures that genuinely respect and appreciate difference and diversity" (Hall and Tandon 2017, 18). The latter remind us that such differences may be based on difference related to epistemology or methodology, class, gender, nationality, language, or religion and should be embraced in a positive way. They also point out that we now work with "a fraction of the global knowledge system" and that Western knowledge "has killed off" most other knowledges (Hall and Tandon 2017, 18). Indeed, some are on their death bed and we have to resuscitate them with the greatest urgency (Kapoor and Shizha 2010).

Falola's "pluriversalist" model correlates with the basic philosophy underpinning AIKS in that it calls for an African epistemology that is distinctive in terms of "protocol, methodologies and provenance," that would "deconceptualize and reconceptualize" all received ideas in the context of Africa-centered knowledge systems (Falola 2018, 892).

AIKS may be associated with intuition, problem-solving, trial and error experimentation, orality, written text, cross-pollination of ideas in a regional context, pragmatic solutions to the environment, and related situations. Its multipolar dimensions are crucial for educators. Central to the exercise of African Indigenous Knowledge, is a keen recognition of the various historical forces at play in knowledge production. AIKS may be experiential, holistic, integrative, relatively inclusive, and less prone to commercialization and commodification with respect to land, intellectual property, and ideas, historically. Colonial attempts to privatize land for the purpose of resource extraction and profiteering destabilized communities and undermined AIKS in various ways, but did not completely destroy them. As pointed out by Dei, claiming IKS is in itself "an anti-colonial struggle for independence from exploitative relations of schooling and knowledge production" (Dei 2012, 90; Corntassel 2012, 86–101).

It should also be recognized that Indigeneity and modernity are neither antithetical nor mutually exclusive to one or the other concept. Embedded in the epistemological framework of a decolonized educational system that is guided by IKS are prime values such as awareness of one's historical background and culture; a willingness to adapt, improve on, innovate, and consolidate inter-regional and intra-regional solidarity across Africa and its diaspora; and a readiness to accept challenges and offer solutions to crises and problems of regional, intra-regional, and inter-regional significance (Emeagwali and Shizha 2016; Kapoor 2007; Mbembe 2016).

Goals and Objectives of Decolonization

Africans have been active in the production of knowledge, historically. A decolonized education system, guided by AIKS, asserts and reinforces this reality, so that Africans contribute and participate as equal partners and stakeholders in the production of knowledge and the epistemological evaluation and assessment process (Langdon 2009). Among the many goals of a decolonized education system is the graduation of students who have a keen sense of the historical context and consciousness of Africa and its diaspora, with the ability to identify commonalities and uniqueness wherever they exist in the continent and in its diaspora. The development of Pan African awareness and critical understanding serves as an antidote to the systematic marginalization, dismissiveness, and Eurocentricity of colonial and postcolonial education, whereby African civilizations and legacies are appropriated, and the de-Africanization of texts, a routine endeavor (Emeagwali 2006, 1–29). Epistemological decolonization is a counter to disinformation and the deployment of double standards of assessment with respect to past and present activities related to Africa. It challenges the silence with respect to Black inventions, science, technology, and innovation in general, and the tendency whereby what counts for science, technology, and innovation in one system is referred to differently in another, a form of discrimination that we highlighted directly and indirectly in earlier works (Emeagwali 1992a, b, 1993).

One of the notable goals of IKS is the search for omitted information, to write back into history that which has been deleted, ignored, or excluded, in the history of Africa. In the process, in a decolonized education curriculum, the known gaps must be filled, and teams of researchers deployed with the aim of providing authentic narratives where relevant (Shizha 2010). We must reverse the process whereby settler colonists and their activities, no matter how outrageous, become the focal point of reference, and Indigenous Africans and their epistemologies, and philosophies of value, become a footnote, even in the postcolonial political context of Black leadership. The reconceptualization of names, processes, dates, references, and timelines is one important aspect of the Africanization and decolonization process in teaching, learning, and knowledge production. The decolonization of education, in general, and the curriculum, is a challenge to the perpetuation of Eurocentric biases in concepts, choice of terminology, and modes of evaluation as well as neocolonial hegemonic narratives of power and privilege (Shizha and Abdi 2014, 3). It entails the restoration of authenticity and agency in the naming process, and the celebration of Indigenous names for topography, botanical resources, procedures, and processes, where applicable. Opportunistic denialism, and the systematic demeaning of all things African, a typical characteristic in the neocolonial curriculum, come under scrutiny—and are rejected (Emeagwali 2006.)

The decolonization of the curriculum at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels, in terms of high schools, colleges, and universities, is a fundamental goal

(Gumbo 2016, 13–32). The decolonized curriculum challenges eugenics and other harmful manifestations of racist philosophy. An essential goal of such a curriculum is the graduation of students who have a keen sense of the self-worth and value of themselves and their ancestral communities. Also important is the validation of Indigenous practitioners and their involvement in various branches of research where feasible. By putting Africa and African communities at the center of research, the goal of authentic decolonized knowledge production can be achieved. With respect to African education (Dei 1996). This entails a challenge to Eurocentricity (Asante 2003). It is also a challenge to methodological monism and "the exclusion of other traditions of knowledge by reductionist science" (Shiva 2016, 30).

Pedagogical and Instructional Strategies

The decolonized curriculum necessitates new methodologies and pedagogical strategies.

Essential for decolonization and the decolonized curriculum are inquiry-based teaching and contextual-based learning for understanding self, community, nation-state, and the complicated global power systems. Understanding how these came into being, and why, their achievements and modalities are crucial for both student and instructor. Critical thinking methods are necessary for developing social activist policies, programs, and networks in the empowerment of individuals and groups, and community-based, interactive, instructional strategies should constitute an important focal point (Dei 2005).

Interactive Learning with the Community

Interactive learning involves local knowledge production experts and practitioners, marginalized from the colonial and neocolonial curricula and education system but often competent and informed about the specific environment from which they emerged. This applies specifically to the teams of practitioners who have discovered the efficacy of a wide range of botanical resources, in curative and therapeutic contexts.

It is hardly coincidental that some of the prime therapies and medicinal products of African Indigenous practitioners for coping with hypertension, hypotension, diabetes, cardiovascular diseases and other recurrent illnesses, when analyzed in the Western-based laboratory, turn out to be appropriate, effective, and scientifically relevant.

It is often stated that Africans have a relatively low rate of Western-based practitioners per capita—often considered to be one of the symptoms of maldevelopment. Few have asked the million-dollar question, however, namely: How have Africans been able to survive and reproduce their populations despite this "dismal" per capita ratio of Westernized medical expert to

patient? How come did Africans not succumb completely to harmful diseases and illnesses before and during colonialism? How did *homo africanus* elude extinction prior to colonial occupation, during colonialism and after—so to speak? The answer lies in the simple fact that the traditional practitioners succeeded in their own way, in meeting the healthcare needs of their patients. Some failed along the way but the success stories should not be ignored. The present writer has witnessed the brilliance of African Indigenous therapy for certain forms of psoriasis, orthopedic disabilities, and mental disorders.

We should note as well that Western-based pharmaceutical industries derived a great deal of their products from synthesized versions of Indigenous botanical resources that were not simply "natural plant products"—devoid of human intervention and African intellectual activity, as the terminology implies, but plant-based products that were the embodiment of centuries of accumulated knowledges and experimentation, associated not only with the domestication of these plants, their identification, local classification, and random and systematic testing, but also the feedback contributed by patients. For years I have been suspicious of the classification of these medicinal plants as "natural plant products." The designation of these resources as merely "natural products" enables the pharmaceutical industries and Western researchers, directly or indirectly, to preempt claims for intellectual property rights and dismiss the intellectual contributions and capabilities of Indigenous Knowledges and practitioners in botanical research. This is another mechanism for perpetuating the tradition of marginalization in Western discourse. Any medicinal plant that was domesticated, protected, pruned, a basis of local experiment or locally classified should be removed from that designation.

Marula—a plant of the mango family, identified as Sclerocarya birrea, in the Euro-botanical classification system—has been used extensively by Indigenous practitioners for hypertension, dysentery, stomachache, and gastro-enteritis (Prinsloo and Street 2013). Its hypertensive, anti-bacterial, and anti-inflammatory features would be recognized in Western-based scientific laboratory experiments. Its leaf extracts would be acknowledged as effective against Staphylococcus aureus, Escherichia coli, and other such organisms. Traditional practitioners in South Africa preferred to use the bark of Marula, as opposed to the twigs and leaves. It turns out that the bark was actually about ten times more active than the leaves so the practitioners apparently got it right (Prinsloo and Street 2013, 23).

In their discussion of black pepper, whose Euro-botanical classification is *Piper guineense*, Juliani et al. (2013) concluded that "the chemical components and biological activities of the different plant parts support many of the traditional uses" (43). Traditional practitioners used the roots, stem, leaves, and fruits of the plant, in the form of decoctions, powders, and tinctures, for treating infectious diseases, bronchitis, catarrh, uterine fibroid, stomachache, male infertility and as insecticide against, parasites, and pests such as termites, millipedes, and mosquitoes. Western-based laboratory analysis at Rutgers

University identified antifungal, anti-microbial, antioxidant, and bio-pesticidal properties in the product.

Another interesting example is the plant classified as *Croton membranaceus* in Euro-botanical accounts. Ghanaian traditional medical practitioners did not use this plant for the treatment of diabetes, hypertension, cardiovascular ailments, or dysentery, but for prostate issues such as benign prostatic hyperplasia (BPH). A decoction of the roots was administered to patients.

Appiah et al. (2013) concluded that the phytochemical constituents and pharmacological properties of the plant "provide some scientific bases for its use in the treatment of BPH and prostate cancer" (90). The bioactive compounds such as 5 alpha-reductase are among its active ingredients.

Interactive learning involving community practitioners, researchers, and students is therefore a positive pedagogical and research methodology that a decolonized curriculum would build on.

Apprenticeship and Internship

Local apprenticeship and internship methodologies were crucial in the evolution of metallurgical and textile industries in diverse parts of Africa. Apprentices served for periods that could be as long as ten years and less depending on the field, whereby students learned from the masters, before creating their own workshops and businesses. Indigenous education in the African context was centered around job creation and entrepreneurship although placing emphasis on "social responsibility, political participation as well as spiritual and moral values" (Dei 2014, 171–174). At the center of African entrepreneurial activities were internship systems of training that facilitated manufacturing and food processing activities (Emeagwali 1992a, 1993). Localized systems of self-funding and capital formation, through rotating savings and mobile banking schemes like the Yoruba-based *esusu*, often accompanied such activities, and investible funds would be provided by their former teachers, trainers, supervisors, or the community (Emeagwali 2018, 139–152). Apprenticeship systems were concluded with lavish graduation ceremonies. The Poro society of the Senufo of present-day Ivory Coast had a fifteen-year apprenticeship program for training, and some of the inductees became traditional medical practitioners. There were variations in terms of the length of internship and apprenticeship in other West African societies such as Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Guinea.

In textile production, similar apprenticeship and internship programs emerged, and so, too, in the case of metallurgy. In *Entrepreneurship in Africa: A Historical Approach* (2018), Moses Ochonu points out that the Dangotes, Motsepes, Elumelus, and Matsiyiwas of today "stand on the unheralded shoulders of generations of African entrepreneurs" that go back to non-colonial times (1). Ochonu points to "the displacement from the canons and epistemologies of economic thought" of African economic experiences, another example of the marginalization of AIK (2018, 6).

Resources and Curriculum Content

Multimedia resources are crucial to the Africanization of the curriculum through IKS. These include interviews, epics, narratives, and various types of poetic, theatrical, theological, and musical reenactments and performances, old and new. Indigenous methodology may involve structured conversations, interviews, research-sharing circles, focus groups, random and planned sampling of population clusters and groups, and oral tradition and should supplement various repositories of culture and local knowledge (Kovach 2009, 124). In the context of Africa and the Americas, oral documentation should be recognized as intellectually equivalent to other sources of information. No society has succeeded in providing accurate sociological and historical information about itself without tapping into the rich oral archives that the people of the society have produced, informally or otherwise and as pointed out by Mavhunga, the various providers of information should be recognized in their own right as experts, and not simply providers of stories from which the experts would construct their narrative (2014, 39). They should be given the option of giving their own names and be encouraged to do so, rather than be concealed under a blanket of anonymity. Decolonization of education necessitates the decolonization of research methodologies as well and the constant evaluation of ethical standards in research, in keeping with changing research agents and agencies. It is also important to remember that all efforts should be taken "to mitigate power differentials" in the context of Indigenous research (Kovach 2009, 125). Moreover, these formats associated with written and oral documentation are not rivals and competitors but rather should be seen as parallel and supplementary contributions to knowledge production, one being no more significant than the other. A false statement that has been committed to a written format is still false and the written word should not be automatically privileged over the oral. Oral history is communitarian based and captures a wide spectrum of the society, with a focus on history from the ground up. History is brought alive and may be associated with instrumental maestros and theatrical reenactment, reflecting talent not only in historical memory but also in ancestral and contemporary creativity. African oral history is not a history of last resort but should be seen as a powerful avenue for assembling information, based on an active interpretive model of engagement by Indigenous custodians of culture whose point of view should not be ignored. The viewpoint put forward by the various segments of the community should always be acknowledged, for professional historians to incorporate in their narratives. After all, several of the world's most cherished texts in the Mesopotamian, Hindu, and Judeo-Christian tradition were originally in oral format.

In today's world, a wide range of social media interventions and accumulated databases have become accessible to researchers, depending on their area of focus. Written forms of information such as journal articles, textbooks, travel reports, archival notes, and even fictional works such as novels, plays,

and skits, may be useful, depending on the kind of information pursued, its purpose, and ultimate usage. Over-reliance on a single source is detrimental to comprehensive research and the holistic understanding of phenomena. We should note as well that in various African societies a wide range of cultural and religious festivals have occurred in the past, many of which embody cultural, sociological, and historical traditions. Some of these have been documented and provide insights into aspects of community life. We should add to this list the numerous evolving films and film festivals in West Africa and elsewhere that provide new avenues of research. Field trips of various types, carried out by diverse means, are also important for information gathering and scholarly research. To rely exclusively on a single source of information, such as written documentation, exclusively, excludes a large percentage of Africa-centered resources.

In order to identify, understand, and conduct research in the area of botany, for example, the consultation of herbal experts is crucial. Many of these local experts are custodians of culture who have inherited and expanded on a corpus of well-preserved oral data related to the understanding and utilization of local flora and fauna. Agricultural science should take into full view the various observations and findings of local farmers, their methods, failures, and successes, recognizing the expertise that they have accumulated through trial and error experimentation and accumulated knowledges about various aspects of the environment. Many are also experts about the geography of their local areas and the ongoing impact of climate change. In a recent visit to the Lake Tana region in northern Ethiopia, local inhabitants provided a wide range of information about the lacustrine region. Fishermen who ply this river in their papyrus boats daily are necessarily informed of minutiae dimensions of lacustrine habitation, including fisheries and the socioeconomic context of the people and regions around the lake.

Skillful interviewing, accompanied with respect to intellectual property rights, has often proven to be successful in information gathering for instructional and learning purposes. "Epistemicide" occurs when we fail to adequately recognize and document the rich body of information that local farmers, fishermen, and other occupational groups have accumulated in the context of daily habitation in their ancestral lands (de Sousa Santos 2007).

African Indigenous Knowledge Systems cut across multiple disciplines and a wide range of research activity, encompassing African intellectual and activist agency, from antiquity to the present. Diverse methodologies have evolved over this long period, including theologically based explanatory models and empirically derived holistic paradigms. Curriculum content must be cognizant of the sociocultural and historical context of its constituencies, namely its teachers and learners, and epistemologically speaking, be driven by the readiness to adopt and adapt useful modes of knowing from various Africa-centered theoretical and practical knowledges. The affirmation of African agency and presence is crucial for such intellectual activity and so, too, values

such as awareness, confidence building, understanding, and pride in one's cultural and psychological milieu. The willingness and readiness to innovate, adapt, improve, and accept challenges, and offer solutions to problems of inter-regional, intra-regional, and international significance, are also crucial for an Africanized, decolonized curriculum. The courses and modules associated with such a curriculum should be based on innovative and holistic models of analysis, with full recognition of past and ongoing struggles for freedom from colonialism, poverty, discrimination, gender inequality, chauvinism, sexism, and prejudice.

Curricula are never value-free, neither is science. Embedded in curricula are specific ideological aspirations and philosophical understandings about the world. Sarah Radcliffe laments "the unbearable whiteness of Geography" and the need for change in course content, curriculum design, resource allocation, and research priorities (Radcliffe 2017).

An African decolonized education system, and its accompanying curricula, must necessarily abandon inherited, residual notions of Eurocentricity and intellectual superiority. It should also encourage the de-masculinization and democratization of knowledge production and knowledges, and encourage collaborative work among various intellectuals and scholars, practitioners and scholar-activists, in various communities and locations, within and outside of the Academy.

"Epistemicide" and the erasure and loss of vital parts of the global corpus of knowledges also took place during colonial occupation (de Sousa Santos 2007). Church and state were equally implicated in this process of obliteration of information and knowledge. For Islam, any form of imagery and spiritual worship that did not bow down to the monotheistic principle was anathema, and in the context of Christianity and Judeo-Christian devotees, similar conclusions were drawn, laying in their wake diverse campaigns against Indigenous theologies, the spiritual entities worshipped by their followers, and the followers themselves. In the process of voluntary and involuntary mass conversion, a great deal of ancestral cultural symbolism and philosophies was obliterated. The restoration of marginalized knowledge systems to their rightful place and stature facilitates the movement toward a more tolerant view of the universe and the attainment of "global cognitive justice." Decolonizing education implies also the application of ethical standards in research at various levels (Hall and Tandon 2017).

Indigenous Methodologies and the Decolonization of Research

Numerous contemporary scholars have contributed to discourse about Indigenous research methodologies. The contributions of Dei (1999, 2005, 2008, 2009, 2012, 2014), Shizha (2010, 2014, 2016), Gumbo and Williams (2012), Gumbo (2016), and Mavhunga (2014, 2017) straddle

across African Indigenous methodologies, anti-Racist Studies, and Science and Technology in Society (STS). Dei identifies the ontological and epistemological assumptions of Western epistemic research and methods, and the accompanying relations of domination and subjugation. He calls for the systematic decolonization of methodologies, in such a way as to engage local and community knowledges, and to free scholarship and research from the "tentacles" of Eurocentric knowledge production. He argues that IK can no longer be ignored or misapplied, and that the Africanization of the school curriculum necessitates the introduction of "de-colonial pedagogies" (Dei 2014). For Dei, the decolonization of research requires the comprehensive recognition, analysis, and interrogation of the Eurocentric paradigm and the introduction of pedagogical skills, purged of racist epistemological assumptions (Dei 1996). In *Teaching Africa*, Dei makes the point that critical teaching is a form of decolonization and that "a critical indigenous discursive framework" is anti-colonial (Dei 2012, 101).

Dei's reference point is the African diaspora and continental Africa, as is the case for Shizha and Gumbo, whose focus is occasionally directed at Southern Africa. For Shizha, decolonization entails "the reclaiming, rethinking, reconstituting rewriting and validating, the Indigenous knowledges and languages" and is a process that is intertwined with the recovery of Indigenous Knowledge Systems (Shizha 2010, 116). The academy has been "the epicenter of colonial hegemony and mental colonization," he argues, and it is essential to strategically reposition IK and Indigenous languages to counter colonial hegemony and indoctrination (2010, 115)—a point also discussed by Dei et al. (2008 is a reprint of the 2000 text). For Dei, the de-privileging and marginalizing of subordinate voices in the conventional processes of knowledge production were accompanied by "a profound silence" about the achievements of African peoples and "their contributions to academic knowledge and world civilization" (Dei et al. (2008) is a reprint of the 2000 text). Indigenous Knowledge is a means of "epistemological recuperation" (Dei et al. (2008) is a reprint of the 2000 text). In their focus on technology, Gumbo and Mavhunga examine, respectively, the various ways through which such recuperation should take place in the curriculum in terms of technology education (Gumbo 2016) and technology innovation discourse (Mavhunga 2014, 2017).

We shall now focus on the contributions of Vandana Shiva (2000, 2005, 2015, 2016), Margaret Kovach (2009), and Bagele Chilisa (2012) to the discourse on Indigenous methodologies—scholars who challenge Eurocentric hegemonic discourse and recognize the power of Indigenous research methodologies in bringing forth a more authentic understanding of the world, through decolonized curricula and educational systems. With Kovach (2009), the focus is largely on Indigenous peoples of the Americas, with emphasis on the challenges and opportunities at stake in constructing a corpus of principles, obligations, and expectations for decolonized research procedures that involve Native America, while for Chilisa the focus is Africa. Interestingly enough, Kovach and Chilisa constructed their methodological masterpieces

independent of each other. Shiva's focus is partly on the global hegemonic system and its impact on South Asia. Collectively, the research methodologies of Shiva, Kovach, and Chiliza are of direct relevance for researchers on Indigenous Knowledges in Africa and elsewhere.

Sharing Knowledges

Researchers on Indigenous Knowledges around the world have much to learn from each other. Africans developed iconic knowledge systems to deal with economic, environmental, and philosophical matters and fought with their lives to protect their land, resources, and epistemic systems from the onslaught of colonial aggrandizement, banditry, and plunder. They won some battles and lost others to insidious, hypocritical, and arrogant deceptions. There are some commonalities in Native American, South Asian, and Indigenous Australian experiences that imply mutually beneficial possibilities in the exchange of ideas about knowledge production and the search for "cognitive justice."

For Vandana Shiva, Indigenous research methodology entails a focus on the consequences for the local communities of policies imposed by the globalized industrialized economy and external agencies such as the IMF and corporations engaged in bio-piracy, disruptive water usage, irresponsible emissions of greenhouse gases, controversial use of biofuels, and "eco-imperialism" that transforms the resources and ecosystems of the world "into feedstock for an industrialized global economy"—a philosophy based on the hypothesis of unlimited, unbridled, and unrestrained growth (2015, 15). In *Soil Not Oil*, Shiva pays attention to the impact on local economies of "non-sustainable, chemical intensive, water intensive and capital-intensive agriculture," in itself the product of a mechanistic, reductionist paradigm that abhors self-sustainable, organic, biodiversity, and Indigenous Knowledges (Shiva 2016, 2). The relevance of these insights into African Indigenous Knowledges, with respect to agriculture, can easily be drawn. In *Staying Alive: Women Ecology and Development* (2016), Shiva reminds us of the various manifestations of patriarchal ideology in the mechanistic, Cartesian epistemological construct of Western science and its displacement of more ecologically friendly paradigms and epistemologies.

We conclude this segment with insights from Kovach and Chilisa's approaches to decolonization and Indigenous research methodology. One of the major contributions of Kovach's research is its focus on Indigenous research protocols and ethics. Individualistic researchers usually find it difficult to understand the complexities of communitarian ownership and communal accessibility to resources. Non-individualized property ownership accounts to some extent for infractions in the past and the making of treaties and documents that had no legal standing in the eyes of the community. The assumptions of universal individualized ownership were derived from

misguided perceptions about property rights around the world. The commodification of land, water, air, and knowledge itself in the European context was taken as the norm.

Kovach (2009) in her reference to Native America points out that protocols are most useful when they take into consideration, follow, and work with local, community ethics and value systems in the context of reciprocity and trust (141–155). The 1996 Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) seems to reflect substantial research guidelines and principles (Kovach 2009, 44). Kovach points to other ethical values such as confidentiality, accessibility of the community to the research findings, reports and conclusions, and respect for the sacred knowledge of the community that hosts the research. A failure to give back to the community is an egregious violation because it undermines the principle of reciprocity, one of the key principles associated with Indigenous epistemic research. It is a violation of local ethics not to seek permission from the community, for research that depends on knowledges collectively accumulated, over generations. The gains and insights into research protocol made by Native Americans in Canada in the 1990s and later should be noted, recognized, and replicated elsewhere, where relevant.

In a 2017 interview undertaken at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, Professor Bagele Chilisa explained her motivation for her fascinating work on Indigenous Research Methodologies. Her critique of HIV-AIDS research in Africa was a starting point for her, as she reflected on the stereotyping of Africa and Africans, Western ways of knowing and doing research, and procedures and frameworks that got in the way of research. Her text, *Indigenous Research Methodologies*, was inspired by her earlier text on adult education, and publisher comments that implied that research was a Western phenomenon, and that "Africans did not theorize." Bringing marginalized voices and knowledges into the center of research became a major objective of her work. Chilisa argued that challenging academic imperialism, decolonizing the African university, and liberating African intellectuals who were pressurized into adopting Western models, theories, tools, and ways of knowing, exclusively, continue to be a major concern. In *Indigenous Research Methodologies*, she also touched on the question of ethical violations, pointing out that local interviewees should have the option of being trained to conduct research themselves and have a say on whether they should be written about, what should be written about themselves and their community, and how the research findings should be written (Chilisa 2012, 5).

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have reflected on Indigenous Knowledge Systems and the role they play in the decolonization of the curriculum, in particular, and education, in general. We discussed some of the epistemological and

axiological issues, and paid some attention to pedagogical and instructional strategies, resources, and content. During this discussion, we identified some of the leading scholars in the field and their approaches to the decolonization of research methodology. We also focused on research protocols and ethics as these relate to Indigenous Knowledge Studies and the interviewers, co-researchers, local experts, and custodians of culture, who are central to the research agenda.

References

Appiah, A. A., W. A. Asomaning, I. V. Oppong, G. Duker-Eshun, J. A. Clement, L. K. Okine, G. Achel, O. Gyampo, S. Adjei, and A. K. Nyarko. 2013. "Prospects of Croton *Membranaceus* for Prostate Health." In *African Natural Plant Products. Vol. 11: Discoveries and Challenges in Chemistry, Health and Nutrition*, edited by H. R. Juliani, James Simon, and Chi-Tang Ho, 79–92. Washington, DC: American Chemical Society.

Asante, M. 2003. *Afrocentricity: The Theory of Social Change*. Chicago, IL: African American Images.

Chilisa, B. 2012. *Indigenous Research Methodologies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Chilisa, B. November 3, 2017. Professor at University of Witwatersrand, South Africa. Interviewed by Gloria Emeagwali. MPEG. University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. http://www.vimeo.com/245216628.

Corntassel, J. 2012. "Re-envisioning Resurgence: Indigenous Pathways to Decolonization and Sustainable Self-determination." *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1 (1): 86–101.

Dei, G. Sefa. 1996. *Anti-Racism Education: Theory and Practice*. Halifax, Fernwood Publishing.

Dei, G. Sefa. 1999. *Anti-Racism Education: Theory and Practice*. Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishing.

Dei, G. Sefa. 2005. "Critical Issues in Anti-Racist Methodologies." In *Anti-Racist Research Methodologies*, edited by G. Sefa Dei and Johal Singh, 1–28. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Dei, G. Sefa. 2008. "African Development: The Relevance and Implications of Indigenousness." In *Indigenous Knowledges in Global Contexts: Multiple Readings of Our World*, edited by Dei et al. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Dei, G. Sefa. 2009. "The Indigenous as a Site of Decolonising Knowledge for Conventional Development and the Link with Education." In *Indigenous Knowledges, Development and Education*, edited by J. Langdon. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Dei, G. Sefa. 2012. *Teaching Africa: Towards a Transgressive Pedagogy*. New York, NY: Springer.

Dei, G. Sefa, ed. 2014. *Emerging Perspectives on African Development*. New York: Peter Lang.

Dei, G. Sefa, B. Hall, and D. Rosenberg. 2008. *Indigenous Knowledges in Global Contexts*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Reprint.

de Sousa Santos, B. 2007. "Beyond Abyssal Thinking: From Global Lines to Ecologies of Knowledge." *Eurozine* 33: 45–89.

Emeagwali, Gloria. 1992a. *Science and Technology in African History*. Edited by Thomas-Emeagwali. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen.

Emeagwali, Gloria, ed. 1992b. *The Historical Development of Science and Technology in Nigeria*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen.

Emeagwali, Gloria, ed. 1993. *Systems of Science, Technology and Art in Africa*. London: Karnak House.

Emeagwali, Gloria, ed. 2006. *Africa and the Academy*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Emeagwali, Gloria. 2018. "Interconnections Between Female Entrepreneurship and Technological Innovation in the Nigerian Context." In *Entrepreneurship in Africa: A Historical Approach*, edited by M. Ochonu. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Emeagwali, Gloria, and G. Sefa Dei, eds. 2014. *African Indigenous Knowledge and the Disciplines*. Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers.

Emeagwali, Gloria, and Edward Shizha, eds. 2016. *African Indigenous Knowledge and the Sciences: Journeys into the Past and Present*. Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers.

Falola, Toyin. 2018. *The Toyin Falola Reader on African Culture, Nationalism, Development and Epistemologies*. Austin, TX: Pan African University Press.

Gumbo, M. 2016. "Pedagogical Principles in Technology Education." In *African Indigenous Knowledge and the Sciences: Journeys into the Past and Present*, edited by Gloria Emeagwali and Edward Shizha. Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers.

Gumbo, M., and John Williams. 2012. *Technology Teacher's Pedagogical Content Knowledge: A Monograph*. Saarbrucken, Germany: Lambert Academic Publishing.

Hall, B., and R. Tandon. 2017. "Decolonization of Knowledge, Epistemicide, Participatory Research and Higher Education." *Research for All* 1 (1): 6–19.

Juliani, H. R., James Simon, and Chi-Tang Ho. 2013. *African Natural Plant Products. Vol. 11: Discoveries and Challenges in Chemistry, Health and Nutrition*. Washington, DC: American Chemical Society.

Kapoor, D. 2007. "International Perspectives on Education and Decolonization." *International Education* 37 (1) (Fall): 2.

Kapoor, D., and E. Shizha, eds. 2010. *Indigenous Knowledge and Learning in Asia/ Pacific and Africa*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kovach, M. 2009. *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations and Contexts*. Toronto: Toronto University Press.

Langdon, J., ed. 2009. *Indigenous Knowledges, Development and Education*. Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers.

Mavhunga, C. 2014. *Transient Workplaces: Technologies of Everyday Innovation in Zimbabwe*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Mavhunga, C. 2017. *What Do Science, Technology and Innovation Mean from Africa*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Mbembe, A. 2016. "Decolonising the University: New Directions." *Arts & Humanities in Higher Education* 15 (1) (January 19): 29–45.

Prinsloo, G., and Renee Street. 2013. "Marula: A Review of Traditional Uses, Phytochemistry and Pharmacology." In Juliani et al.

Radcliffe, S. 2017. "Decolonising Geographical Knowledge." Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers. Wiley Online Library.

Shiva, Vandana. 2000. *Stolen Harvest*. Cambridge, MA: South end Press.

Shiva, Vandana. 2005. *Earth Democracy*. Cambridge, MA: South end Press.

Shiva, Vandana. 2015. *Soil Not Oil*. Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books.

Shiva, Vandana. 2016. *Staying Alive*. Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books.

Shizha, Edward. 2010. "Rethinking and Reconstituting Indigenous Knowledge and Voices in the Academy in Zimbabwe: A Decolonization Process." In Kapoor and Shizha, eds., op. cit., 115–130.

Shizha, Edward. 2014. "The Indigenous Knowledge Systems and the Curriculum." In Emeagwali and Dei, eds., op. cit.

Shizha, Edward. 2016. "African Indigenous Perspectives on Technology." In Emeagwali and Shizha, eds., op. cit.

Shizha, E., and A. Abdi, ed. 2014. *Indigenous Discourses on Knowledge and Development in Africa*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Islamic or Muslim African Education in Contemporary Africa

Presents African societies who adopted and adapted Islam as their dominant religion by tracing its adoption across regional areas and how Islamic and/or Muslim education's historical contemporary roles inform these African societies. The authors highlight its central role in cultural and religious maintenance and Middle Eastern knowledge bases influenced African Indigenous and later Western-structured national education systems. Islamic and Muslim education's robust intellectual relationship with Indigenous and Western systems is examined across contemporary African education contexts.
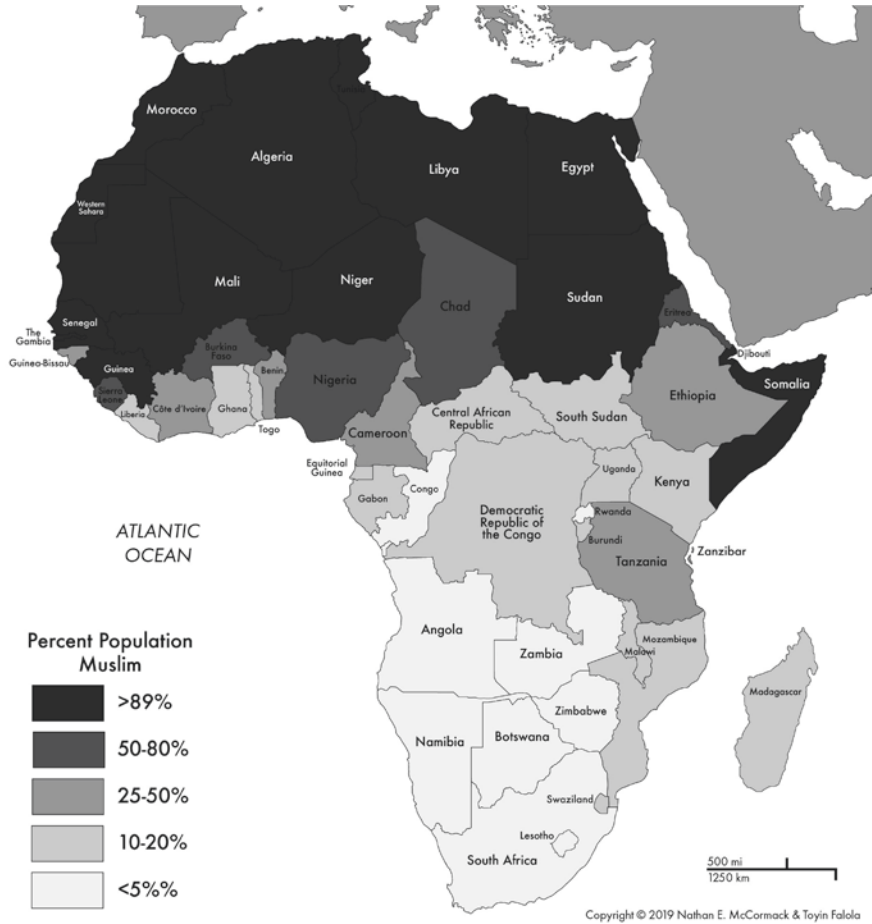
Islamic Education in Contemporary Africa

Émilie Roy

INTRODUCTION

Islamic education in contemporary Africa takes two main forms: non-formal Qur'anic education and formal Islamic education. On the one hand, Qur'anic education refers to the various forms of non-formal education that are essentially aimed at learning the Qur'an and exist since the Islamization of the region. On the other hand, Islamic education refers to the formal schools, often called in non-Arabic-speaking countries madrasa or its French deformation *médersa*, divided into classes and subjects, including the Islamic sciences taught in Arabic. The two forms of education are therefore aimed at the religious education of the child but in a very different way: through the memorization of the sacred text for Qur'anic education, and via the mastery of Islamic sciences and Arabic for Islamic education. Within these two categories, variations also exist.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Traditional Qur'anic schools developed in the Muslim countries of Africa with the progress of Islamization on the continent and focused on a curriculum, at the most elementary level, based on the memorization of the Qur'an. Later, as the pupil progressed at his or her own rhythm and came to have memorized the entire sacred text, and thus became a *hafidh*, other subjects are added, for example, the study of Islamic law treatises, Arabic grammar,

É. Roy (✉)
UNICEF, Bamako, Mali

       353

literature, etc. The pupil can eventually earn an *ijaza*, certification received from his master allowing him to teach the subject for which it is obtained, in each of the topics he, more rarely she, masters.

In the nineteenth century, "modern education," as it is still often referred to, made its appearance with the arrival of the colonizer in Sub Saharan Muslim communities. These schools targeted a narrow sliver of the indigenous population and served to educate an elite destined to be integrated into the colonial administration. It was the only official form of education according to the laws of the time in all colonies. Colonial languages also become the only legitimate languages to be learned in these formal schools (to the exclusion of vernaculars and Arabic).

From the late 1940s, so-called madrasas or modern Islamic schools, developed in much of Sub Saharan Africa. The term is derived from the Arabic word for school but designates specifically confessional Islamic schools in most French, English, and Portuguese, non-Arabic-speaking colonies in Sub Saharan Africa. This is a Muslim-led modernization of the local educational offer. Indeed, Sub Saharan students who had gone to study in the Middle East (Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Sudan, etc.) came back with a changed perception of the place of Islam in society based on their experience in the Middle East, and new educational and pedagogical methods which were lacking in traditional Qur'anic education in their countries of origin. These included the division into classes, the diversification of subjects taught, and the standardization of testing children's acquisition of knowledge, while keeping the socio-centered religious ideal of educating a pious Muslim, member of the community, rather than an individual. Often, these modern Islamic schools taught completely in Arabic, but some gradually integrated the dominant colonial language, hence the terminology of Franco-Arabe, Luso-Arabic, or English-Arabic school often found today.

At the independence of most Sub Saharan African countries, despite the de facto diversity of the educational offer, national education systems were set up on the colonial model and tended to recognize only public secular schools and private secular or Christian schools. Only slowly, in the 1970s and 1980s, will some independent Sub Saharan Africa States start recognizing modern Islamic schools and integrating them, as private schools, in the national education system. This process is still underway in many countries.

In the years 2000, a new impetus for modernization within the Qur'anic schools is instilled by the technical and financial partners of Sub Saharan Africa States, governments, and sometimes Qur'anic teachers' associations themselves, that leaned toward the inclusion of new subjects in traditional Qur'anic schools, often locally designated as modernized Qur'anic schools as opposed to a modern Islamic school (*madrasa*). For further discussion of the diversity of national experiences in Qur'anic and Islamic education in Sub Saharan Africa, see Launay (2016), Dia et al. (2016), and Roy and Humeau (2018).

Diversity of Qur'anic and Islamic Educational Offer in Contemporary Africa

As previously mentioned, two main categories or schools that have Islam as their main educational objective must be distinguished, namely Qur'anic Education and Islamic Education, in contemporary Sub Saharan Africa. These two categories are meant to highlight the differences in the organizational forms and educational objectives of the schools in question but not their religious educational aim. On the one hand, Qur'anic education refers in most Sub Saharan Africa countries to the various forms of non-formal education that are essentially aimed at memorizing the Qur'an. Thus, a Qur'anic teacher can receive, in a fixed place or not, an indeterminate number of children who will memorize the Qur'an at their own pace, under his supervision and that of older students. On the other hand, Islamic teaching refers here to the formal schools, divided into age groups and subjects, which emerged from the late 1940s, aiming to provide children with an education in Islamic sciences taught in Arabic. The two forms of education are therefore aimed at the religious education of the child, but in very different ways: through the memorization of the sacred text for Qur'anic education for the first ones, and through the mastery of Islamic sciences and Arabic for Islamic education for the second. For a thorough discussion of the types of knowledge offered by Qur'anic and Islamic schools, see Brenner (2001). The two broad categories distinguished above are composed of differentiated models of schools, which themselves vary from one country to another.

Qur'anic Education

Traditional Qur'anic schools (including home schools and itinerant schools) are distinguished by their educational purpose and teaching method. The traditional Qur'anic school is widespread in all Muslim areas of Sub Saharan Africa and presents very similar characteristics in all communities. On the other hand, these schools are difficult to locate or enumerate, since they often have no formal physical structure: they are located in the center of the village, at the corner of a street, in a private courtyard, some are even constantly in motion (itinerant). A Qur'anic school is above all a Qur'anic teacher who teaches a group of children, the place or building being of little importance. The types presented here first serve to demonstrate the diversity of the organization of Qur'anic schools, rather than constituting fixed categories in which each school could be classified in an incontestable and definitive way (Fig. 18.1).

In a Qur'anic school, the main educational project is the memorization of the Qur'an (see Tamari 2016). The teaching is done by means of a traditional multi-secular pedagogical method where the Arabic alphabet letters are learned as they appear in the Qur'anic text and their knowledge is
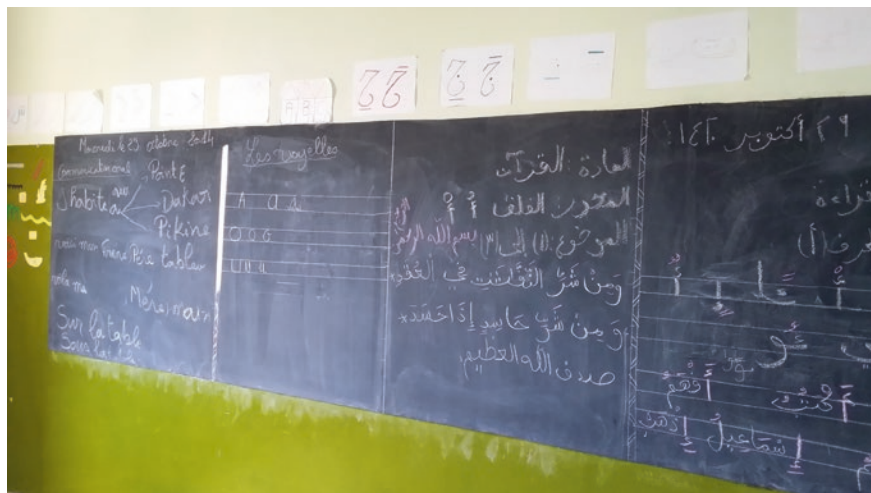
Fig. 18.1 Blackboard, École Franco-Arabe An-Nour, Dakar, Senegal (Photograph by Philippe Humeau)

only necessary to the extent to which they allow an exact transcription of the sacred text. In the same way, the memorization of the text is done in Arabic (exact pronunciation is important) without Arabic being taught as a language, at least until a certain level. Once a child attends a Qur'anic school, he or she will start the long process of tracing the letters and learning their sound through transcribing on a wooden board the first chapter of the Qur'an (*surah Al Fatiha*), in 7 verses. The memorization of this *surah* is an obligatory passage for every Muslim, since the recitation of this *surah* is obligatory in the ritual prayer. Once the *Fatiha* is acquired, the child progresses at his own pace, under the supervision of the teacher, and assisted by the most advanced students in learning. These older and more advanced students will help him to transcribe the shorter *surahs*, those of the last part of the Qur'an (*hizb sabbih*) on his slate until he learns to copy the text by himself. Emphasis is placed on the child's ability to recite the Qur'anic text exactly, without first having to understand its meaning. The progression of the student in the process of memorization is entirely determined by the Qur'anic teacher who will individually appreciate each child, according to his abilities, his pace of learning, but also his moral and spiritual progress. Later, perhaps, if the child continues his Qur'anic training beyond memorization, will he be led to study the meaning of the text as well as interpretations and exegeses. The child will then learn Arabic as a language of communication, since in the early years only the national languages are used by the Qur'anic teacher for explanations to the pupil (Fig. 18.2).

The variety of Qur'anic schools must be situated on a continuum rather than perceived as clear and distinct types. A Qur'anic school in family

Fig. 18.2 Wooden Qur'anic tablets, Mauritania (Photograph by Phillippe Humeau)
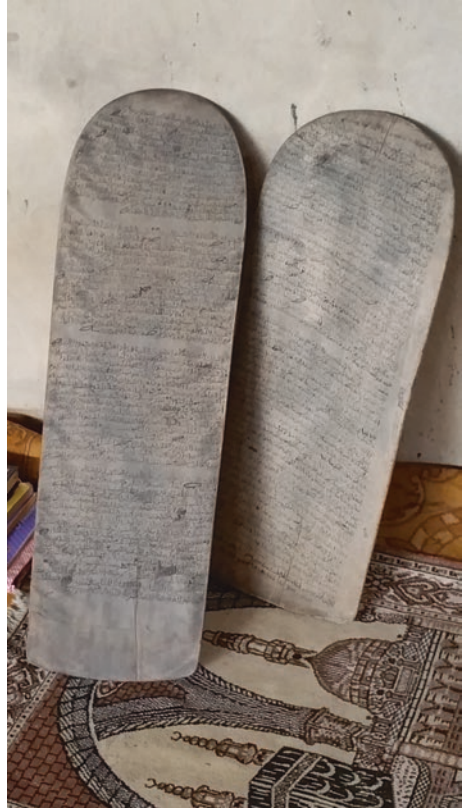
settings usually means that a Qur'anic teacher is employed by a family to provide basic religious education to the children of the household and sometimes, by extension, to the children of the extended family and the neighborhood. This type of Qur'anic education is most often combined with the attendance of another type of school by children as the Qur'anic teacher will often give his lessons in the early morning and late afternoon (out of hours) and during weekends and school holidays. As for itinerant Qur'anic schools, they tend to be exclusive in terms of attendance insofar as the child is entrusted to the Qur'anic teacher on a full-time basis for his education. The Qur'anic teacher's duties include teaching the basics of Qur'anic writing and memorization to the child, but also to house and nurture this child. A variant of the itinerant school sees the teacher moving with his student group from one place to another, often for economic reasons. The itinerant Qur'anic school (but not exclusively) has thus become negatively associated with the work and begging of children who must participate in the economic survival of the teacher, his family, and all students in many Sub Saharan African Muslim communities.

Currently, in many Sub Saharan communities, although not systematically or even in an organized way, some of these traditional Qur'anic schools function as early childhood education centers (see Khamis 2012). That is to say, many parents start sending their children to Qur'anic teachers from the age of three. These children are then integrated into the larger group of children of all ages and begin learning at a level that reflects their ability: they learn, for example, some verses of the Qur'an and letters of the Arabic alphabet. It is not uncommon for children who have attended Qur'anic school to be sent to another type of formal school. Some children will alternate between Qur'anic and the formal school or attend both simultaneously (often formal schools during regular school days and year and Qur'anic school in the early morning, on weekends and/or during the long vacations).

As Qur'anic education stands in most Sub Saharan countries at present, most children attending a Qur'anic school will only partially memorize the Qur'an, but a minority of them will memorize the complete text, in which case they will attain the status of *hafidh*, meaning "bearer of the Qur'an." This child having memorized the whole Qur'an then enjoys an important social status in Sub Saharan Muslim communities; he is respected because he is then the bearer of the sacred text (see Ware 2014).

Islamic Education

Formal Islamic schools, often called madrasas in non-Arabic-speaking Muslim communities and sometimes officially named as such by governments, have educational objectives that combine secular subjects (mathematics, history, geography, etc.) and Islamic sciences (interpretation of the Qur'an, life of the Prophet, jurisprudence, Arabic language, etc.). The integral memorization of the Qur'an, as is the aim in Qur'anic schools, is not part of the educational objectives of the madrasas, which are more focused on the understanding of the Qur'anic text through acquiring reading and writing skills in Arabic and through a wider curriculum of Islamic sciences. In the madrasa, the understanding of the text should lead the student to realize his or her potential as a Muslim. To do this, it is necessary for this student to acquire a good knowledge of written Arabic to be able to refer directly to the Qur'anic text as well as to the writings related to its interpretation. The study of other Islamic sciences such as grammar, the life story of the Prophet, the prophetic traditions, jurisprudence, etc. aims toward this educational goal of understanding one's own religious obligations.

Formal Islamic schools also give themselves, more and more frequently, the clearly stated objective and educational purpose of teaching secular subjects, thus allowing the insertion of students in their socioeconomic environment. Madrasas therefore generally teach the official language of the country, either as a living language or as a language of instruction (in part at least), in addition to Arabic, which remains essential for the study of religious subjects.

These formal schools use a modern pedagogy where the teacher gives a lecture in a class consisting of students having more or less the same age and having attained more or less the same educational level, and this for all subjects, secular or Islamic. In all these subjects, the acquired knowledge is tested through examinations that the pupil must pass in order to move to the higher level. These schools are characterized both by the standardization of knowledge, including religious, and by the formalization of the pupils' progression in the acquisition of knowledge (passage to the higher grade, diploma). They are also different from Qur'anic schools by not taking into account the individual capacities and rhythms of children in the educational progression; in the formal school, the teacher does not adapt to the specificities of the pupil, it is up to the pupil to adapt to the rhythm of the class of which he is a part at the risk of having to repeat a grade level.

Formal schools providing Islamic education can be divided into two groups, which like for Qur'anic schools, can prove hard to distinguish in practice: the Arab-Islamic madrasas on the one hand and the madrasas or Franco/Anglo/Luso-Arabic school on the other hand. The former are not accredited by the Ministry of Education of the countries where they are and do not follow its official curriculum, although this situation is evolving. These schools may have created their own curriculum of study or use one that has been developed in another country (often a country where the owner of the school will have studied himself or where funding for the school comes from). The latter, on the other hand, are recognized by the Ministry of Education of their respective country and follow the official teaching curriculum, often with some leeway for inclusion of religious topics into the school schedule.

A New Model: The Modernized Qur'anic School

A third type of education has recently emerged in many Sub Saharan Muslim communities. It has various names depending on location but is usually referred to as "modern," "modernized," "renovated," "integrated," or "improved" Qur'anic school, all of which have the downside of stigmatizing traditional Qur'anic schools as somewhat incomplete or lagging behind. For practical purposes, they will be referred to here as modernized Qur'anic schools. They are generally meant to be a compromise between traditional Qur'anic schools and the secular education of public schools; they share attributes of both non-formal and formal schools. Like the traditional Qur'anic schools, they retain the memorization of the Qur'an as their main vocation, as oppose to an Islamic school, but they seek to integrate secular topics, such as literacy in Arabic or a national language and/or the official language into their curriculum, as well as other secular subjects such as that basic math and life skills, as opposed to traditional Qur'anic schools.

Because of their different educational objectives, teaching methods are also mixed: memorization of the Qur'an will be done in a traditional way comparable to Qur'anic schools while other subjects can be taught according to the modern magisterial method. The same goes for physical structures; some modernized Qur'anic schools are non-formal while others will have formal structures (classrooms, buildings, etc.). The variation within these types of schools is immense since these schools can be considered as permanently "in transition." They change, formalize, develop, adopt, and/or adapt curriculum at the initiative of the Qur'anic teachers themselves or at the instigation of governments. Some Qur'anic teachers recognize the importance of education for inclusion in the labor market, while also emphasizing the need for a solid religious education. They aim to prepare children for mundane life, giving them tools for professional integration, as well as life in the hereafter. Some Qur'anic teachers are also beginning the process of modernizing their schools with a view to possible recognition by the State, giving them access to grants and subsidies, for example, in countries where the State allows for paths to official recognition.

Institutional and Legal Framework for Regulating Qur'anic and Islamic Education

Qur'anic and Islamic schools throughout Sub Saharan Africa have a vast diversity of legal statuses and levels of institutionalization within the country's educational system. As such, it is extremely difficult to generalize on the legal framework governing these schools throughout the continent, but some general statement can nevertheless be put forth with the caveat of not applying to every single country. In Sub Saharan countries where they exist, Qur'anic schools are not considered as educational institutions by the ministries in charge of education (though a notable exception is Mauritania, for example). Arab-Islamic schools teaching their own curriculum are in the same situation. However, some form of private Islamic education (madrasa, Franco/Anglo/Luso-Arabic schools) has legal status as educational institutions in most countries (more restrictive in the creation of such schools would be Côte d'Ivoire, and fully supportive with a clear legal framework and partnership with the Ministry of Education would be the neighboring country of Ghana). The mention or not of Qur'anic or Islamic education in the legal texts organizing the educational system, or the educational policy orientation letters produced by Ministries of Education, with clear parameters for opening a school, policy for implementation of curriculum and standardized testing of knowledge, are an indicator of what is to be understood here by "recognition by the State" of these schools. The administrative tutelage under which the different types of schools are placed is also indicative of the classification made by the States of these schools as educational institutions or not.

Qur'anic Education

With regard to non-formal Qur'anic education, and as previously mentioned, the general rule is that they do not benefit from effective tutelage by the State, which would organize the authorization of opening, the registration of the schools and ensure an administrative and pedagogical follow-up of the school. This is the case of almost all French-speaking Sub Saharan African countries where tutelage for Qur'anic education is loosely attributed to various ministries of Interior or of Territory, and sometimes, when they exist, ministries or sections in charge of religious cults and affairs, in accordance with the French model in this area. This tutelage, purely administrative and having no educational component, remains theoretical and without real effectiveness, whether in terms of control or monitoring (administrative, statistical, or pedagogical).

In some countries, because of current projects to support and eventually integrate Qur'anic schools, technical directorates of the ministries in charge of education partially exercise or claim a form of effective trusteeship on Qur'anic schools. In a few other countries such as the Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Nigeria, and Senegal, non-formal Qur'anic schools are under the authority of the Ministry of Education which have effective authority over much of them.

Modernized Qur'anic Education

Modernized Qur'anic schools are very rarely under the supervision of the ministry in charge of education with the notable exceptions of Senegal and Nigeria. In most Sub Saharan Africa countries, modernized Qur'anic schools have remained, like all traditional Qur'anic schools, under the jurisdiction of the ministries in charge of the territory, interior, or religious affairs. Most often, this supervision is purely nominative and does not imply any effective oversight. As a result, no harmonized curriculum is developed by those bodies that do not consider Qur'anic schools as educational institutions.

However, this situation is evolving as ministries of education are increasingly involved or called upon in the process of modernizing Qur'anic schools. A number of countries are thus in a situation where the administrative supervision of these schools still sits in the Ministry of Interior (or equivalent) but where the technical directorates of the Ministry of Education (promotion of bilingualism or basic education or formal education) are de facto involved in modernization policies.

In case where the State is engaged in a process of integration of modernized Qur'anic schools, it necessarily implies the development of a standardized curriculum for at least some subjects (usually, basic literacy, numeracy, and some life skills). This process of developing a harmonized curriculum is often difficult, supported by some and rejected by others.

Islamic Education

With regard to formal Islamic education, it is generally necessary to distinguish between schools recognized by the State, that is madrasas according to previous distinctions, and those that are not, Arab-Islamic madrasas. As previously mentioned, this distinction is for convenience only as, in legal text, madrasas of all types are either recognize or not, but some schools (classified here as Arab-Islamic) refuse or escape the control of the State. Unlike Arab-Islamic madrasas, the Franco/Anglo/Luso-Arabic madrasas are subject to regular inspections according to the capacity of the State, and when they are private, receive in some cases support from the State (subsidies, teacher training, etc.). In some countries, there are public Franco/Anglo/Luso-Arabic madrasas that operate according to the same rules as secular public institutions.

Madrasas are officially recognized when they are explicitly mentioned either in the laws organizing the educational system in a given country, in the sectoral orientation and policy texts, or even in the strategic plans for education. The official recognition of the different types of schools by the States, and by the Ministries in charge of education in particular, is to be the main determinant for the existence of harmonized curricula and gateways between types of schools. In most Sub Saharan African countries where madrasas exist, they are recognized by the States and placed under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, within which a dedicated technical directorate often exists to provide administrative and pedagogical follow-up for these schools. Organizational and budgetary constraints in many countries mean that this monitoring may, however, prove to be of variable materiality and quality.

Harmonization of Curricula and Official Diplomas

One of the key issues emerging in Qur'anic and Islamic education in Sub Saharan Africa is that of the employability and active participation in the job market of children having been through these schools. These concerns are directly linked to the recognition of the schools by the State insofar as with recognition comes, theoretically, monitoring of the schools' curriculum by a branch of the Ministry of Education, standardized testing, and delivery of State-recognized diplomas. However, as recognition is not systematic, concerns are widespread throughout Sub Saharan Africa regarding the knowledge and skills that are indeed acquired by children through these schools and therefore about their eventual access to the formal job market. In order to control and thus evaluate in a uniform way the learning outcomes of the children of the Qur'anic and Islamic educational sectors, some States undertook the harmonization of the curricula for these schools, starting usually with the Islamic schools insofar as the model is much closer to the national system of education. This harmonization remains marginal for traditional Qur'anic schools with Mauritania and Nigeria being notable exceptions (Fig. 18.3).

Fig. 18.3   Classroom, Mhadra Rawdhatou at-tibiyane li ta'lim al-Qur'an, Nouakchott, Mauritania (Photograph by Phillippe Humeau)

Also linked to the recognition of the schools, the monitoring of them by State institutions and the testing of a standardized curriculum, are the gateways available for students to pass from one type of school to another during their academic career. The gateways are based on the possibility of evaluating the skills and learning outcomes, through standardized exams or certification, that attests that the child has reached the end of the curriculum. Therefore, gateways cannot be envisaged by the ministry in charge of education without minimum prior harmonization of curricula.

Qur'anic Education: A Difficult Access to the Formal Sector

Traditional Qur'anic schools are completely independent from one another, and independent of the State in their curriculum. That being said, variations from one school to another remain minimal as traditional Qur'anic schools are based on contents and pedagogy well established by centuries of tradition. The Qur'anic teaching is calibrated according to the skills of the teacher, in relation to the evolution of the child's age and learning abilities. Progression within the process is directly related to the level of intellectual and spiritual awakening of the learner as assessed by the Qur'anic teacher. The States do not intervene in the content of the teachings of traditional Qur'anic schools and, as a result, no country in Sub Saharan Africa has yet established an institutionalized and effective gateway for students from traditional Qur'anic schools to enter the formal system (Islamic or non-Islamic private schools,

public schools). Even in the odd case where traditional Qur'anic education is indeed recognized by the State (but not organized by that State) such as in Mauritania, students of the Qur'anic schools ("éducation originelle" as it is locally known) are unable to transfer to other types of schools in the course of their academic career.

In all countries where Qur'anic schools do not have official recognition by the State, there is also no gateway for students who attend them exclusively to access formal education, obtain recognized diplomas, and integrate the formal job market. Indeed, without the States capacity to test the knowledge and skills acquired by the student, access cannot be granted, at any level, to the formal sector which is dependent on specific acquisition made by the pupil at each level. This applies to gateways toward public secular schools as well as formal Islamic education where it exists.

Modernized Qur'anic Schools: Attempts at Bridging the Gap

However, with the development of modernized Qur'anic education, some countries (Benin, Gambia, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, and Chad among others) have experimented with them serving as gateways between the non-formal system or Qur'anic schools and the formal system, although in most cases this type of school remains embryonic and deserves to be developed. The modernized Qur'anic schools, which in those case integrate basic literacy and numeracy, then serve as a transition school and occasion to assess the pupils' level in order to properly orient them within the formal education system. Alternatively, the end of studies in modernized Qur'anic schools can be marked by the opportunity for pupils to sit for a national state certificate via an option of this diploma qualified as "Arabic," which allows the transition to public schools or private schools (Islamic or not). In modernized Qur'anic schools, curricula concerning secular subjects are generally formalized and are most often developed by the ministry in charge of education or in a less structured and centralized way. Thus, in Benin, Gambia, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, and Chad among others, there are modernized Qur'anic schools that follow one or more partially harmonized curricula. In Nigeria for example, many curricula for modernized Qur'anic schools coexist. It should be added that attempts to harmonize curricula have sometimes been resisted, as in Nigeria, by Qur'anic teachers and the population.

Modernized Qur'anic school can provide access to an equivalence diploma opening the doors of public education. In Nigeria, for example, this device is called mainstreaming and is accessible in all States with the Federal Ministry of Education encouraging such a practice. A complete set of gateways is therefore institutionalized for modernized Qur'anic schools in some countries but their effectiveness remaining largely theoretical because of the very small number of modernized Qur'anic schools actually operating according to these guidelines.

In other countries, such as Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, and Mali among others, there is no harmonized curriculum for modernized Qur'anic schools. Indeed, these schools are modernized to the extent that the Qur'anic teacher chooses, on his own initiative and according to his personal ideas, his financial means, and the social demands that reach him, what additional lessons he will integrate in his school. In those cases, the modernization of schools is occurring outside of any State-sponsored policy. It follows that no formalized gateways allow pupils from these modernized Qur'anic schools to join the formal educational sector.

ISLAMIC EDUCATION: GATEWAYS AND OPPORTUNITIES

As for traditional and modernized Qur'anic education, gateways from madrasas to recognized private schools (Islamic or not) and public schools are strongly linked to harmonization of the curriculum. As already mentioned, in several Sub Saharan countries, madrasas are recognized in educational policies and the national curriculum, as is or developed specifically for madrasas, is intended to be taught in them. As such, these madrasas that apply the State-sanctioned harmonized curriculum allow for their students to be regularly tested on pre-determined and agreed upon skills and knowledge, granting them access to other forms of formal education within the national educational system. For example, pupils of madrasas in countries such as the Gambia and Ghana, which have a national harmonized curriculum for madrasas that is in line with that of the national educational system, also have full access to formal, recognized, institutionalized, and effective formal training in vocational and public institutions. Furthermore, because the curriculum is harmonized and State-sanctioned, pupils from these madrasas can also sit for State-approved national examination and receive diplomas that will grant them access to any type of school or institutions of higher learning. Students in English-Arabic schools in Ghana, for example, are trained according to the curriculum harmonized by Ghana Education Services and are therefore able to submit to the same end-of-cycle exams as other students. As a result, students of English-Arabic schools can easily move from Islamic schools to public or private secular or even Christian schools. They also have access to all universities in the country and others that recognize Ghanaian diplomas.

For pupils of Arab-Islamic madrasas, which are not recognized by the State, gateways to the formal education system exist but are not generalized. Most Sub Saharan Africa countries where unrecognize madrasas exist will allow the passage from an Arab-Islamic madrasa to a State-recognized schools, sometimes only to officially recognized Franco/Anglo/Luso-Arabic madrasas and sometimes to any type of school, if the student can show that he or she has the level. However, these gateways are not

institutionalized, and individual students of Arab-Islamic madrasas may not benefit from the gateways set up unless they stand as free candidates for national exams. This gateway is theoretically open to all but is most often out of reach for students who have attended schools that do not follow the national curriculum. In Nigeria, because of the multiplicity of curricula proposed by different state actors as well as the diversity of madrasas themselves, the gateways have an uncertain effectiveness though they theoretically exist. That is to say that only certain integrated schools can provide access to public schools, depending on the curriculum provided to them (and the state actor providing it).

However, most Arab-Islamic madrasas that are not recognized by their respective States do nevertheless issue certificates, which amount to private diplomas following completion of curriculum and/or standardized examination organized either by each school or by a federation of schools that apply more or less the same curriculum. These diplomas, not recognized by their State's national education system, may nevertheless be recognized by some Islamic universities locally or in the wider Arab-Muslim world, and therefore grant access to Islamic institutions of higher learning to some graduates from these schools.

Conclusion

Qur'anic and Islamic education are diverse and uneven in the opportunities it provides children in Sub Saharan Africa. However, it remains a widely popular form of education in all Muslim communities of the region and such schools, of all types, are to be found throughout the continent. Due to their enduring presence and popularity, more and more States are grappling with ways to integrate them into the formal national educational system in the name of equality of chances and the right to access quality education for all children.

References

Brenner, Louis. 2001. *Controlling Knowledge: Religion, Power and Schooling in a West African Muslim Society*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Dia, Hamidou, Clothilde Hugon, and Rohen d'Aiglepierre. 2016. "États réformateurs et éducation arabo-islamique en Afrique: Vers un compromis historique? Introduction thématique." *Afrique Contemporaine* 257 (1): 11. https://doi.org/10.3917/afco.257.0011.

Khamis, Anil. 2012. "Muslim Pre-schools in the Western and Central African Region: Lessons and Policy Options." Briefing paper. Dakar, Sénégal: UNICEF WCARO.

Launay, Robert (ed.). 2016. *Islamic Education in Africa: Writing Boards and Blackboards*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Roy, Emilie, and Philippe Humeau. 2018. *État Des Lieux Sur l'offre et Les Mécanismes Institutionnels Relatifs à l'éducation Coranique et à l'enseignement Islamique Dans*

Les Pays d'Afrique de l'Ouest et Du Centre. Analyse Régionale. Dakar, Sénégal: UNICEF WCARO.

Tamari, Tal. 2016. "Styles of Islamic Education: Perspectives from Mali, Guinea, and The Gambia." In *Islamic Education in Africa: Writings Board and Blackboards*, edited by Robert Launay, 29–60. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Ware, Rudolph T. 2014. *The Walking Qur'an: Islamic Education, Embodied Knowledge, and History in West Africa*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.

East Africa and Contemporary Muslim Education: The Unholy Triple Alliance Conundrum

Solomon Ochwo-Oburu

INTRODUCTION

African approach to life is a tongue-twisting riddle. For a long time, Islamic education system has been cohabiting with Western education and African traditional education and knowledge in the East African region. The three seem to be poles apart in ideological and theological orientations. Muslims excel to educate their own. Western-Christian activists spur in promoting their ethos. Caught in between, African System of Education (ASE) loyalists live life of survival for the fittest. African context-specific life skills contents seem to be lost on the way from home to school, church, or mosque. Really this triple heritage could be used to build education system tuned for the multicultural realities and needs of Africa Nsamenang and Tchombe (2011). Notwithstanding the contradictions and challenges, African agencies endeavor to create a balanced existence with the two historic civilizations. The whole picture is a conundrum.

This chapter is a theoretical discourse about this triangulated heritage with Islamic education in the forefront. I argue that what is happening in East African region among the three education systems with religion as common denominator do not demonstrate a clash of civilizations in which ideological preferences, blood and belief, faith and family counts Huntington (1993).

S. Ochwo-Oburu (✉)
Lecturer in African History and Religious Education, Faculty of Education, University of Kisubi, Entebbe, Uganda

It's a coalescence of cognitive, spiritual norms, and value systems that births mutually integrated hybrid societies. What counts is Africanity and humanity but not much of Islamicity or Christianity-Westernity. The region is a multicultural, multi-ethic, and multi-religious "archipelago" from historic times. ASE that seems to be a stratified fossil buried years ago under the basement rock of the two civilizations is indeed an active competitor, silent dominator, and denominator. The general picture is that from the surface, what looks a constant conversation and intercourse consists of mutual suspicion Abbas (2018). Collaboration, competition, and conflict without war of religions and education systems it is. Yet the interlocking interfaith actions and inactions, collusions, and confrontational relations of Islamic-Muslim education with other systems are difficult to perceive. Stencel (2010) writing from Sub Saharan context believes religion is more a source of hope than conflict. This is an attractive comment but the finitude of man may not explain perfectly the balanced relations between what is natural and what is transcendental. All bear religious bases yet it is not religious sentiments that unite for hope or threaten to disband them into conflict. This is what is referred to here as unholy "triple alliance conundrum." This identity earns East African population triple heritage. The triple heritage creates triple consciousness, namely Africanity, Islamicity, and Westernity. In the end, the East African who is neither an African, nor Afro-Arab nor hypothetically Western is above all a human being living a life of contradicting and oblivious hopes.

The structure of this chapter consists of a number of items. There is brief history of Islamic education in East Africa followed by conceptual/contextual issues. Efforts toward collaboration and coexistence; foundation for peaceful cohabitation; hidden conflicts, competition, and polemics conundrum follow. The question as to whether Islamic education faces survival for the fittest or it is fitted to survive is of interest. Muslim Women factor and impact of Islamic education on government programs come last.

A Brief History of Islamic Education in East Africa

The Eastern Africa coastal region extends for over one thousand miles from Mogadishu in the north Lamu archipelago in northeastern Kenya to Kilwa Kisiwani in the south. Early historical records show extensive settlement by sixth to eighth centuries CE and over the eleventh to twelfth centuries CE, most if not all coastal regions had been Islamized Fleisher (2010). It was the first region in East Africa to experience the benefits and also demerits of globalization and cosmopolitanism. Islamic and Muslim education patterns tended to follow presence of trading Arab believers. From the very start the most concentrated parts are Zanzibar that has 95% Muslims Heilman and Kaiser (2002) and along the traditional trade routes from Bagamoyo to Tabora and Ujiji.

When Islam and related Islamic education was introduced, many societies adopted or adapted the faith. By doing so, they were subjected to Islamic-Muslim education system. In Uganda, for example, the first Muslim to come was Ahmed bin Ibrahim in 1844 during the reign of *Kabaka Suna*

II.[1] He stayed in the palace preaching and teaching the Kabaka and his sub-jects. After going back to the coast of East Africa, he left Snay Ibn Amir, Ali Nakatukula, and Makwenge as teachers. They set up Qur'anic schools and madrasas within the kingdom teaching Islamic faith in Arabic and Kiswahili.[2] By the time missionaries came to Buganda in 1877 and 1879—Church Missionary Society (CMS) and Roman Catholic Mission (RCM), respectively, Islamic faith and education had deep roots in the region.

To succeed in schools with biased curriculum designs that favored Christians by the colonial government and constant pressure to convert to Christianity, Muslim students who attended secular schools and who managed not to convert formed Uganda Muslim Education Association (UMEA) in 1937.[3] The idea was championed by Prince Badru Kakungulu, who was an Old Boy (alum) of King's College in Budo, an Anglican school. By 2010, according to Dr. Sengendo Ahmad Kawesa, Rector at the Islamic University in Uganda, the Muslim community under UMEA had two Islamic universities with over 20,000 graduates; including 300 Masters degree-holders; and 70 Doctor of Philosophy holders with 10 Muslim professors.[4]

Despite the many challenges by Muslims in the country, Muslims are excelling in education. They have set up one of the best schools for Muslims. Hamdan Girls School and Mariam High School are private Muslim girls' schools of exceptional standards. Government-aided schools, namely Kibuli Secondary School, Nabisunsa Girls and Kawempe Muslim Secondary School, have been among top ten schools in Uganda in performance since 1990 Sekatawa (2006). This is not simply a reaction or bandwagon response but at best it is a contemporary Muslim educational renaissance.

Conceptual and Contextual Issues

Some key concepts were selected for clarification and conceptual explanation. Each of these is briefly reviewed below in order to apply common under-standings of the discussion and analysis in this chapter.

Islamic Education

Islam (derived from Arabic word *salaam*) literally means peace or surren-der of one's will to Allah. This means to be in amity, Islam is the attainment of life of perfect and eternal happiness through complete surrender to the will of God Bello (2018). In this context, Islamic education is a conversa-tion between Islamic religious beliefs and doctrines and education. Panjwani (2004) puts it precisely when he notes that it is "an education derived from an exclusively Islamic vision." Hence, in this article, Islamic educa-tion is equivalence of "Islamic studies." It is the means by which the indi-vidual Muslim is prepared in body and soul to be a perfect servant of Allah. Muhammad (2018) strengthens this concept by describing Islamic studies as

inter-disciplinary program prepared on a diverse range of textual traditions of Islam forming the bedrock of Islamic education. Islam is the blueprint for the curriculum contents, methodology, and worldview. They are pursued in mosques, Qur'anic schools, and madrasas as classrooms. In these Islamic institutions, young Muslims recite and memorize verses in the Qur'an and are taught by instructional rote method the lifestyle of Mohammed the Prophet (PBUH) and the Hadith. Isaack (2018) points out that the purpose of such education is to deepen and enhance growth of the young boys and girls in the faith of Islam and its value systems. This concept is echoed by Douglass and Shaikh when they define Islamic education as efforts by Muslims "to educate their own" (2004, 8).

Muslim Education

"Muslim education" as used in this work means the form of education preferred for Muslims. It is education "for Muslims," not "of Muslims." Dual curriculum (Islamic and secular) is preferred. Constructive or even de-constructive engagement and interactions may be encouraged although conservative Muslims can pursue isolationist praxis. Learning subjects such as economics, geography, biology, physics, and many others without necessarily referring to the Qur'an as blueprint for interpretation prevails. One scholar points out that most deeply Islamized Muslims condemn this form of education as anathema to Islam because it prefers and glorifies human reason over divine revelation Cook (1999).

Islamic Worldview from Education Context

Worldview is society's perception of reality on whose basis they define and defend their beliefs, actions, perception of the world, thinking patterns, and knowledge. Epistemology, metaphysics, axiology, cosmology, teleology, and theology are its contents. It can be defined as a people's philosophy or mindset by which they perceive the world Abdullah and Nadvi (2002). But what is Islamic theory of existence?

The Islamic worldview founded on *tawhid* (oneness) principle believes the universe is of a single origin, reality, and unity because everything was created by Almighty Allah. The creatures of God do not operate as directed by internal order, but God (Allah) directs them. There is universal purpose for all created realities. Man is composite whole of body and soul assigned the duty to keep the body healthy Mansour (2010). "If the soul has to work well, the body in which it dwells must be a good one" Sultana (2012).

Islamic Epistemology

Islamic education scholars view sources and nature of knowledge partly from both realist and pragmatic perspectives. Citing Al-Qardawi (1987), Kamil (2011) points out that Islam teaches that truth is a constant, firm,

unchanging reality in space and time while falsehood (*Batil*) is transient, short-lived suffering constant changes with time. The only reality that does not change is God. Therefore, the ultimate source of knowledge according to Islamic belief is Allah. There is no dichotomy between divine and secular knowledge. The Holy Qur'an and Hadith are the two primary vehicles of knowledge as revealed to Mohammed the Prophet (PBUH). In the Islamic theory of knowledge, the two constitute a strong foundation for education of Muslims. Seeking of knowledge, learning, and education in the temporal existence is a religious obligation for all Muslims Daun Holger and Arjmand (2018).

Furthermore, the purpose of education is to enable one to acquire qualities of Allah according to one's abilities (*rabat*) to be a perfect servant of God. It is a means to help someone to improve gradually in attaining perfection in all aspects of growth Sultana (2012). Yasin and Jani (2013) believe the purpose of Islamic and Muslim education is utilitarian and pragmatic. They observe thus, "the purpose of education in Islam is not merely to produce a good citizen or a good worker, but more than that a good man." This ideology determines the nature, practice, and purpose of Islamic-Muslim education. Keeping the laws and searching for truth as determined by Allah is an obligation.

The above philosophy contrasts with Western-Christian education. Although there are some strands, it bases its philosophy of education on idealist perspectives probably derived from the teachings of secular scholars such as Plato; and the Holy Bible. Man is a form of trinity composed of body, mind, and soul-born naturally sinful (concept of Original sin)—(cf. Gen.3). The purpose of education is ultimately to produce a balanced being in Head, Heart, and Hand (3 H's).

Lastly, many scholars have used the terms *African Indigenous education* or *African traditional education*. In this chapter, I prefer to use the term *Africa System of Education* (ASE). If Western-Christian and Islamic-Muslim education are systems, why not perceive the African counterpart as system as well. The strong reason is that ASE is scientifically structured and operates as an institution submerged into the strata and ethos of society. Though it has various forms according to ethnic groups, it collectively forms hard basement rock on which other structures are constructed. It has goals, aims, curriculum, pedagogy, philosophy, ideological bases, teachers, and worldview. The whole universe is a laboratory and theater of learning, teaching, instructions, and experimentation. It is a system of education that has survived the brutality of foreign civilizations beyond human imagination Moyo (2013). ASE is an enduring caravan of knowledge, skills, attitudes, behavior, and cultural values. Semali and Stambach (1997) observe that the African system of knowledge developed through trial and error and proved flexible enough to cope with change.

Hence in this article, ASE is defined as "the process of construction, reconstruction and de-construction of fundamental human experiences of

existence by the African that proceeds from prenatal to post-terrestrial life." Learning and knowledge start before birth and go beyond the grave. The argument is, the unborn learns psychomotor skills and responds to stimuli. The dead are wiser than the living persons due to upgraded intelligence and abilities they learn by perception after death—the reason they guide and guard the living through dreams, visions, and apparitions using new knowledge forms earned from the spirit world.

ASE should not suffer a quandary of naming as traditional as if it consists of packages of old unchanging rusted data full of cobwebs handed over from age to age. Woolman (2001) has a similar view when he notes that education should function as agency of cultural transformation as well as change and at the same time reflect the dynamic process of nation building that is continually being modified by new experiences. ASE is dynamic and accommodative. That is the reason it has opened up to both Islamic-Muslim and Western-Christian education but paradoxically continues to survive through collaboration, coexistence but not without contradictions and conflicts.

COLLABORATION AND COEXISTENCE

The concept of Muslim collaboration and coexistence is demonstrated in development projects in all the three East African nations. Tanzania with balanced composition of one-third each of Christians, Muslims, and Traditionalists did not form asymmetries but curved out strategic behavior for the common good in education sector. Lodhi and Westerlund (1997) observes that despite this almost balanced population, the three faiths with respective education systems have contributed to national stability and development without glaring discrimination. Muslims have constructed educational institutions in Tanzania and Zanzibar and in collaborative efforts do provide education for development for all citizens without discrimination. For example, the wealthy Muslim families and organizations of Karimjee and Aga Khan Community Foundation donated almost $5 million through Aga Khan Industrial Promotion Services and Ismaili Holdings Companies to build hospitals and schools in Tanzania just before the Arusha Declaration of 1966 Lodhi and Westerlund (1997). This monotonic behavior means history of Arab slave trade is superficial.

Such development projects are in Uganda too thus, Aga Khan Schools and now a new Aga Khan University. In Kenya, the Foundation had built one of the best schools, namely Aga Khan Academy in Nairobi and Mombasa and Aga Khan Hospital in Nairobi. Aga Khan Mzizima in Dar es Salaam is on same scale of excellence. They teach students international curriculum to prepare them for public-mindedness for life in multicultural world. Besides they are concerned about improvement of quality education for the region. These are signs of collaboration and coexistence that benefit all citizens without discrimination.

In Uganda, Islamic University in Uganda (IUIU) was inaugurated in 1988 with 80 students to provide education and specialized training for Muslims

in Eastern Africa and Southern Africa. It arose from the need to provide a strictly Islamic institution of higher learning in Anglophone nations of Eastern African. Initiatives by Muslim communities have mitigated educational, social, and development deficits in the region. This peaceful and interreligious acceptance and hospitality that emerged from the time Islam set its feet on African soil is what Martha (2010) describes as "a matrix for interfaith encounter." It bears elements of harmony and mutual tolerance. Again Martha reflects that the innate African spirituality basing itself on existential matter is the bedrock of African religiosity, cherishes harmony in diversity, and conflict is an exception imported—not home-grown.

In contemporary Uganda, the interreligious squabbles of 1885–1899 in which Anglicans under the command of Captain F. D. Lugard crashed Muslims-Roman Catholics coalition at Mengo Karugire (2010) has not thwarted the efforts to work together on matters of common concern. Both Muslims and Catholics oppose curriculum contents and laws that disrespect family values and human life such as divorce, capital punishment, abortion, and contraception. They converge and tackle issues that threaten humanity. An example is when the 9th Parliament of Uganda introduced bill on Marriage and divorce which sought to criminalize what it calls "marital rape." Muslims and Christian groups vehemently opposed it as un-Islamic, un-Christian, un-African, and anti-human. Writing about Tanzania, Poncian (2015) citing Magesa (2007) and Mwakimako (2007) observes that despite being religiously diverse, Tanzanian citizens have lived together and intermingled in ways that have transcended their religious differences. What is the foundation of tolerance, peaceful coexistence, and harmony despite diverse religious practices and beliefs? Why do East Africans believe that it should not pain but be gainful to be religiously different?

Foundation for Peaceful Coexistence and Collaboration

It is not clear how the triple religious heritage forged propensity for cooperation and tolerance without ferocity. Engelen (2008) proposes the principle of reciprocity saying that friendly action is reciprocated by friendly response. Smith (1976) brings in self-interest and profit. "It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker that we expect our dinner but from their regard to self-interest." Segber, K. et al. (2006) explicate Putman's Two-Level Games by saying that as subjects expect fair relations, leaders work to maximize their own power potentials. Though a complex matter, I believe shared values, shared motives, strong African cultural/humanistic foundation and the interstitial factor promote fair/just cohabitation.

Shared values between Islamic/Muslim education and other faiths are a drive to collaboration. In all there are equivalent efforts to live together despite heterogeneity. This is what Groome (2010) describes as meta-approach in which one brings faith to life and life to faith. Rayan (2012)

explains the same noting that the purpose of Islamic education is to reform, inform, and construct individual human life to achieve a balanced and equitable relationship in society and the world at large. So, Islamic education inculcates shared human values. Rayan buttresses this point by pointing out that *Holy Qur'an* presents life issues as values, but it is the human person to re-configure and implement them according to God's will.

Meanwhile ASE has similar perspectives. Imafidon (2011) observes that African ontology or theory of being is holistic and interlocking. It encompasses both material and immaterial realities into which the individual must strive to fit. But the human person or personhood is not something one is born with. The normative element is what makes a person, human. This is acquired through constant reconstruction and adjustments as one actively lives by these preferred societal values.

The above ontological perspectives are not inconsistent with Western thought grounded in Christian teachings. Man is creature of God and that all human beings are brothers and sisters with the duty to take care of one another to gain eternal life (Matthew 5:1–47). The scriptures summarize the obligation as practical love of God and fellowmen perhaps these shared values and ideals in which religion is brought to life and life is infused into religion enhance collaboration and coexistence without conditionalities.

Another reason is the shared motives. All the three systems of education strive to produce an ideal human being loyal to God's will—one who promotes peace and justice in human society. For Hashim (2005), as servants of Allah, humans are obliged to preserve and safeguard the universe and spread social justice through peace. This is consistent with Western-Christian ideology of promotion of human rights, peace, and social justice as cardinal points of the United Nations, a document that aid reference and interpretation of national constitutions Hannum (1996/1995).

Basing on his rich scholarly experiences, Imafidon (2012) describes the world as a Market Place where each person has something to sell or buy but the most important of these is character. The good man or successful person is one with good name. A rich person who ignores societal mores is a scoundrel to humanity. Ogolla (2014) strengthens this idea when he states that a true African still follows the value systems that guarded people's lives even after the coming of Europeans.

This is demonstrated in East Africa new paradigm of interfaith where humane existence is curved. The challenges of existence created a theater of inter-educational mutual oppression, dialogue, social intercourse, cultural conflicts, collaboration, and cultural syntheses. Jamaine (2015) writing from Nigerian perspectives refers to Amy Stambach (2010), who observes that World Faith Development Dialogue (WFDD) formed in 1998 demonstrates interfaith dialogue. In 2000, hosted by former World Bank President, James D. Wolfensohn, George Carey the Archbishop of Canterbury and His Highness the Aga Khan, Imam of Shia Muslims met in Nairobi to maintain this interfaith dialogue; they identified education as a priority in Sub

Saharan Africa. This process has been replicated in this region for ages. This is described earlier in this chapter as a process of construction, reconstruction, and de-construction of fundamentals of human existence.

Another factor is the strong humanistic foundation of African society. African ontology reflects practices of human brotherhood, respect of the dignity of the human person and doing good for its own sake Lajul (2014). When Arabic culture and Islam were introduced, a solid humanistic foundation of African culture was already built among inhabitants. Foreigners were welcome and given home due to the tradition of hospitality and humaneness. Africans for ages care more about the human person whatever the origin than land. McCormack (2005), writing about Islam in Africa, puts it convincingly when he stated,

> The process can generally be understood as one of gradual diffusion, which had the effect of overlaying Islam on- rather than wholly eliminating- local belief systems. Inhabitants at the coast perhaps readily changed their mindset. They had to de-construct the belief and value systems to adapt Islamic culture. With regard to Christianity's intrusion in the 19th century, those who accepted conversion reflected on existing systems of life and subjected the mindset to a reconstruction.

LaViolette (2008) convincingly argued that, "Swahili was an embracing of worldliness, of a cosmopolitanism asserted eventually in every tier of society." This applies to all cultural setting that encountered Islam in the region.

Although the many forms of interactions are ineffable, there was probably monologue, dialogue, analogue, infusion, and diffusion. Islamic missiology and proselytization to Islamic ethos in East Africa were peaceful and tied with trade and marriages. As Mamdani (2002) observes, political history of Islam promotes coexistence and tolerance. It is possible that adaptations to Islamic norms and values were out of expediency, contiguity, and reflexivity. There is no or little conscious decision or choice of living together in harmony but as Jervis (1988) hints while writing about relations among nations, says cooperation is possible when actors and their enforcers are faced with Prisoners' Dilemma (PD). This situation emerges when the parties have the following preference order; exploitation or taking advantage of the other, mutual cooperation, mutual defection, and being exploited. The response of East Africans to the triple heritage is a cobweb conundrum of Prisoners' Dielmma.

The third factor is the nature and strong foundation African culture provides. One elder deep in the villages of Eastern Uganda, says African societies have survived encounter against modernization due to its primacy of creativity and resilience. It often creates a balanced practice and understanding of social relations. Old traditions interrogate and dialogue with modernity in their own complex context. There is much respect to his opinion. The traditions do so with concept of Ubuntu (reciprocal relations and belief in the humanity of the other person) as intersection set and collectivist cultural virtue of life inherent among the Bantu of Africa (Natifu and Zikusooka 2014). This is what I term as spirito-educational democratic dispensation.

Shared values, shared purpose and strong ground and nature of African tradition are full of efficacy but there's complicated fourth factor. The three education systems riding on the back of respective faiths could render cooperation and coexistence a chimera. Though complicated, the unholy alliance with virtues of brotherly relations, unity, and servant-hood to Almighty, humanitarianism, and much more are nurtured, promoted, and applied in the interstice. Dreyfus and Rabinow (1983) in support of interstitial theory of human coexistence and cooperation point out:

> that the interplay of forces in any particular historical situation is made possible by the space that defines them. To borrow idea from astrophysics, it creates "a Black Hole" but this black hole is not emptiness and meaninglessness. In their asymmetrical encounters, the three traditions create symmetries that usher coherence, unity of action and common purpose. This strange transcendental phenomenon (not necessarily embedded in human laws and spoken words) seems to be the hidden efficacious force that enforces balance in relationships. (109)

This force that they describe operates within many societal relationships, including but not limited to issues in education and religion.

Hidden Conflict, Competition, and Polemic Conundrum

Despite the positive image above, there are cases of overt and covert conflicts, bitter competitions and polemics especially between the Muslim educated and Christian leadership in all nations of East Africa. Lodhi and Westerlund (1997) point out that in Tanzania Muslims have been treated unfairly educationally. Glaring disparities in promotions and appointments in the armed forces are discriminative against Muslims. Heilman and Kaiser (2002) enumerate cases of violence between Muslims and Christians. Most critical were the times when police stormed mosque to arrest a Muslim preacher in August 2001 for insulting Christian religion—an incident that caused chaotic demonstrations.

In *Kenya*, the case is best illustrated in the marginalization of Muslims during President Arap Moi's regime. Chande (2008) makes a lot of comments on Muslim factor in Kenya. To him Moi's regime was predatory. He failed to promote equality and equity among religious and social groups. He points out "Lack of a single university at the coast. All public universities in post-independence Kenya were established in the interior." The only three Islamic Training Teacher Colleges built in Mikindani, Mombasa, and Maragua are not adequate to meet the demands for and of Muslim education. The formation of Islamic Party of Kenya (IPK) by the University of Madina educated businessman Shaykh Khalid Balala marked the ripening of Muslim grievances in Kenya. In the following years, Muslim grievances led to clashes mainly at the coast for example the two days (May 19 and 20, 1992) conflicts at the coast culminated in arrests of young Muslim leaders who were thought to be radicalized terrorist Muslims.

Referring to *Uganda*, Ochieng'Okinda (2016) points out that in Uganda Anti-terrorism Act was passed purposely to victimize opposition leader Kizza Besigye. Anyone seen aiding him including some Radio stations was perceived as promoting terrorism Mazrui (2003). In the period up to 2018, several Islamic learning centers and mosques were raided and suspicious characters arrested in Kenya and Uganda on the ground that they were radicalizing the people under their charge. Whatever the situation it is safe to argue that throughout human history, there are evidences that religion and politics are discordant partners and the state is the predator.

In Tanzania there are similar complaints. Citing other scholars, Ollson (2011) claims that some sections of Muslin community perceive Muslims in Tanzania as victims of a historical marginalization in terms of education, employment, and social economic development Gilsaa (2004), Liviga and Tumbo-Masabo (2006), and Loimeier (2007). Besides when Universal Primary Education was introduced in the 1990s the demand for English as means of curriculum instructions downgraded use of Swahili and Arabic. The Muslim education was doubly negatively affected as majority do not know English and are economically marginalized to afford high level financing schools. The project of building national unity in Tanzania and Pan-African identity also suffered Mbilinyi (2003).

In *Uganda*, according to Kasumba (2015) Muslim identity and opportunities suffered heavy blow under colonial rule which marginalized Muslims and pushed them to the peripheries of all national life. He props up his point by citing Karugire (1980) and Mamdani (1976) who argue that Muslims remain behind in education, political participation, and enjoyment of national cake from colonial times. Kasumba holds a popular view. Soghayroun (1985) also supports this point when he recalls that British colonial administration schemed to forestall Islam in Uganda and thrust it back to Sudan. However, Professor Bisaso Ssali, Director of Graduate School and Research, Islamic University in Uganda (IUIU), disputes such claims, stating in an interview (2019) that, "Muslims participated actively in their own marginalization in Uganda from colonial times."[5] In summary, he explained that many Muslim students preferred to concentrate on learning about and reciting the Holy Qur'an instead of pursuing education in secular subjects, such as economics, management studies, geography, biology, physics, and political science. Today the majority of Muslims in Uganda work in kiosks, transport services, and butcheries. In this same interview, Ssali said in his opinion, that, "No one can appoint a learned Muslim to the post of Director of Medical Services or Permanent Secretary because he speaks Arabic so well and has Doctor of Philosophy in Arabic and Islamic Studies." The good thing is and this is my conviction in line with Ssali's mind, "General Idi Amin gave Muslims in Uganda self-confidence and now their perceptions are changing." Perhaps the education transformation is unprecedented.

Talibani (1996) makes similar comments when he notes that recent Islamic revival desires to imbue all forms of knowledge with traditional Islamic values

and arrest the secularization and modernization. But Fuller and Kurpershoek (2005) are cautionary when they observe that the war on terrorism, the Israel-Palestinian question, the 9/11 bombing of World Trade Center, war in Iraq have created internationally negative feelings about liberal understanding of Islam. This mindset adversely affects Muslim efforts to provide optimal education for Muslim community. The ideological re-orientation could in a way re-invent Islamic worldview about the nature of knowledge. Each society I believe has its regime of truth, its general politics of truth, that the type of discourse it accepts and makes it function as truth becomes indisputable ethos.

Whether in Kenya, Tanzania, or Uganda, once in a while epiphenomenal conflicts manifest. Most of the feelings are endogenous. They could be predominantly religious but also psychological. In matters of education, there is no jihad (struggle) in the region. The mixed-faith primary, secondary, and university institutions informally demonstrate mutual respect for one another. To build on Mamdani (2002) insight, what could metamorphose into either Jihad Akbar (greater jihad) or Jihad Asgar (lesser jihad) are transformed from inception into struggle against personal weaknesses to achieve perfection in a contaminated world and for self-defense and self-preservation, respectively. But it is safe to argue that it is possible to remove man from religion through education but it is hard to extract the religion from him.

Is It Survival of the Fittest or Fitted for Survival?

The Islamic-Muslim education seems to be at crossroads in the contemporary globalization era. The question to ask is, Is Islamic Education in its conservative form facing a race of survival for the fittest or it is fitted to survive? Cook (1999) is pessimistic. He argues that since 1977 when the Islamic conference on Islamic education was held in Mecca, "only a few isolated examples of successful Islamized education system can be cited." Elsewhere in the same work, Cook supports his views by citing Ali (1984) who laments that there is conflict between religion and secularism in the modern world. Mansour (2010) in his research among Egyptian science teachers notes that they disagree with Darwin's theory of evolution and reject exploration and experimentation as sources of knowledge. He summarized that their views were negative, because they identified it as knowledge invented by non-Muslims. It can be argued that these mindsets do not possess sufficient objectivity in considering content in the world of modernity and globalization.

Undeniably Islam in East Africa is fitted to survive. The Kiswahili language is a carrier of culture and it's storehouse of active ancient memories. Besides there are many Kiswahili words borrowed from Arabic language. Some are from Persian times and others from Omani dynasty in the seventeenth century CE (Hinnebusch 1996). Examples include, *Dunia* (world/globe); *Rais* (president); *Waziri* (for minister); Safari (for travel); uhuru (freedom); *Rafiki* (friend); vitabu (books); mashariki (sunset); *Moja* (one) *Saba* (seven); *Hamsini*

(fifty); *Mia* (one hundred); Elfu (one thousand) *Dini* (religion); and *Karatasi* (pieces of paper). Others are Musikiti (Mosque-Arabic); Kanzu (men's garment-Arabic); and *Ngamia* (Camel-Arabic). These words show the enduring power of language. Besides being spoken in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, Mozambique, and Democratic Republic of Congo it is also one of the working languages of African Union and the East African community, business, and economic transaction Otieno (2013).

In addition, modern Western philosophy of education contends that there are five sources of knowledge, namely authority, reason/rationalism, experimentation, intuition, and revelation. The priorities in the education system are the first three cases. Universities cherish production of new knowledge through experimentation and research. One claims to know if the knowledge so claimed is verifiable by higher authority such as professors and experts through reasoning or experimentation—not Allah or what the Qur'an says. Latchem (2015) in support of nineteenth-century philosophers-Marxists and post-modernists says societies can be improved by direct human action through use of science and technology. This contravenes Islamic divine-oriented epistemological tenet.

Another sector of learning that endangers Islamic values is management theory developed by Western philosophers. The new public management perspective rooted in democratic ideology emphasizes accountability to the public. Hardly are public servants urged by policy to be vicegerent of Allah in majority Westernized world—except by implication. Western system of education prepares students as functionaries of the so-called secular state not Islamic ummah. Besides, Western-educated Muslim bureaucrats seem satisfied with Western style of affluence and the gray areas of political behavior of dirty games. Ali (1984) observes that although the creeping influence of secular education has been heavily criticized by contemporary Muslim scholars, secular education with all its attractions vitiates Islamic morals, spiritual and ethical values, culture and heritage. Muslim victims undergo more Islamic identity de-construction than construction. In attempt to re-configure their academic achievements and Islamic values, they become syncretic Muslim functionaries.

Relatedly, exposure of young Muslim students to secular/Western forms of education and environment is a high risk too. Some Muslims are proselytized and cross over to Christianity. Shutz (2013) conducted research in Mbale in Eastern Uganda and discovered that some Muslims had fears to enroll their children in Christian-value infected education systems. The example in which former President of Uganda, Yusuf Lule joined King's College, Budo as a young Muslim but came back a Christian convert has made them to re-configure what would be Muslim problem into personal challenges of living.

Islamic scientific values are in danger too. I witnessed a Muslim student rejecting the scientific explanation of wind system forming either convectional or orographic types of rainfall within lake regions of East Africa and mountain

areas, respectively. "Allah is the sole source of rain received on earth." Another one told me that musical ringtone of my phone was un-Islamic and pagan. This was after a heated argument in rejection of evolutionary theory of origin of material universe. Hosseini and Ramchahi (2014) argues that Muslim scholars may reject evolution theory but Muslim community is part of the changing world. They must accept and participate in the evolutionary process or get forced by it. For example, challenges by information and communication technology raise many ethical questions which cannot leave Islamic community the same. Needless to say, any conservative ideology that locks the mind from receptiveness to new ideas is birth certificate for demise of that system.

Perhaps if Muslims want to change the world, they must jump into it. For decades, they have been looking at the mud but missed the delicious beautiful fish. It is time for them to smear themselves with the contemporary mud of rapid social transformations and globalization in this temporal existence to survive as a new ummah in the twenty-first century. The need for neo-Islamic epistemology could be an urgent agenda. Abdullah and Nadvi (2002) put it precisely thus, "worldview remains in the process of change and reconstruction over time around some unalterable elements."

Impact of Islamic/Muslim Education National Education Systems

The Islamic religion that was introduced into East Africa without jihad promotes its education system without a jihad and has endured without jihad. Church and mosque are not closed off from the rest of society. Both Islamic and Western education systems have been unconsciously undergoing "gene editing" to fit in African organic situation.

In Tanzania, as it is in Kenya and Uganda Muslim community that was conservative and inward-looking had to change their paradigm and practices. They did not allow their children to enroll in Christian founded schools because they would be converted to Christianity. By independence time in 1963 in Tanzania, they had not acquired necessary education to earn substantial appointments in cabinet positions and diplomatic services as compared to Christians.[6] In Uganda similar case arose as mentioned early but with new perspectives. The first prominent Muslim academics were products of church-founded schools. Ugandan Muslim agencies—UMEA and UMSC—have influenced the packaging of curriculum contents. The National Curriculum Development Center (NCDC) has made deliberate efforts to design curriculum contents that meet the needs of a diverse Ugandan community. This is through democratization, universalization, and vocationalization of education system. The aim is to promote all inclusive and peaceful coexistence.

In Kenya, there is inclusive curriculum with many religiously founded schools in charge. However, madrasa schools are not regulated unless and until government feels there is radicalization going on Aggrey et al. (2018).

They also note that Muslim sponsored public schools in Western Kenya are found only in few urban areas.

In the East African country of Tanzania, Muslim influence on education policies and the curriculum is minimal. Former President, Julius Nyerere, spear-headed formation of *Baraza kuu waislaimu Watanzania* (BAKWATA) or Supreme Council of Muslims in Tanzania. Much of its work was to act as political mouthpiece for the presidency Vittori and Bremer (2009). Bondarenko (2004), citing lamentations by an "old Muslim faithful," shows how "divide and rule" policies from colonial time made Muslims second-class citizens in education sector.

Islam, Women, and Education

This is a vast area, so an attempt is made here to highlight the most salient issues. Muslims endear the girl-child and women as mothers. Like African traditional concept of the role of women in society, their perception is that women must be prepared for reproductive functions not public offices. In Uganda, conservative attitude toward girl-child is dominant among parents. This corroborates with Saad (2012) who states that depending on perception of families, both religion and culture are perceived as both barriers and enablers in Muslim Girls education in Uganda. However, this conservative attitude is changing. In IUIU, there are more Muslim women pursuing various courses than men. Muslim educational awaking is demonstrated in setting up an IUIU Women's Campus in Kabojja near Kampala. There are many faces of Muslim women from the East African region and beyond but not without challenges. When they encounter other sociocultural values and spurt of modernization, Muslim female students feel they have no place in the universe to which they belong. The hijab and veil seem to be symbols of oppression in a liberalized and free world of women emancipation.[7] Writing about experiences of Muslim women from Canadian perspective Khosrojerdi (2015) is of the view that Muslim women exposed to liberal and radical feminist theories find it difficult to keep their identities as Muslim women faithful. The ideology of assertiveness compels them to reconstruct their new identities that could contravene Islamic traditions and theological orientation. Zine (1997) observes that incompatibility between Muslim ideology and praxis and secular lifestyles in public schools create dissonance and alienation for young Muslim women. All in all the star of Muslim women's education is brightly rising and surely it will shine at its best.

Conclusion

In this chapter, there is a deliberate decision to ignore or omit the radical activities of Islamists, as they are perceived as exogenous by this author and by most East African Muslims. The relatively tranquil triple heritage described in this chapter did not emerge due to an accident of history or

out of Cleopatra's nose. It is argued here that despite conflicting theological and social-cultural structures of Islamic-Muslim worldview in juxtaposition to the counterparts the three education systems have enduringly configured their interests for individual and group survival. Though in unbridled pursuit of self-interests, it's noted that Islamic-Muslim education as a co-partner of development cooperation with the others is poised to survive, but with it a forging of a neo-Islamic epistemological edifice is ineffable.

The unholy triple alliance is a conundrum and any related situation in human endeavor that is desirous to hold together in symbiosis is a Gordian knot. Human agencies from the triangulation are still searching for truth. But truth can be objective, subjective, or relative depending on who perceives it. Change is brought about by human activity. Reality being a socially defined phenomenon, it is individuals and groups of individuals who define it. People always try to present themselves and their version of events in such a way that it will prevail over other versions. The East African situation pronounces falsehood to this paradigm. This chapter is written as free rider (open discussion of the topic), non-allied in thought with space for readers to add rejoinders. No one is powerful. No one is weak in matters of faith and reason. Sovereignty of the human person whatever the inclination calls for unequivocal regards. Common values, motives, nature of African culture, and the incomprehensive interstice theory seem to hold secret codes of unity, harmony, and coexistence; but how they are operationalized is paradoxical because there are similar regions in Africa where such codes fail. Yet for any of the three stands of education to pursue isolationist or containment policy is a chimera.

At length, the author presents the case that the uniquely African System of Education makes the African, African. Through under-emphasized continuities and exaggerated discontinuities, ASE at times suffers temporary death that periodically necessitates self-renewal. On the other hand, perceptions and misperceptions of Islam have worked for both its progeny and dwarf-hood. Western systems struggle for dominancy but it becomes fads. But let no one make a mistake; as noted, "This world of nations (and systems) has certainly been made by men, and its guise must therefore be found within the modifications of our human mind" Cox (1981). Caught in between two giant cultures in contemporary East Africa, Islamic-Muslim education may continue to function with plethoric stress unless it inhales at least some friendly doses of "Westoxicants" and "Afrotoxicants."[8] It is recommended that future researchers should focus on searching for secret codes that unite polarized systems to enhance human brotherhood/sisterhood whatever their differences in whichever part of the globe.

Notes

1. Title used for the King of Buganda Kingdom in Uganda.
2. The word is etymologically derived from Arabic word—"*sawahili*" which means coast dwellers. It is believed the first Swahili language and culture probably originated, grew, and spread from the Kenyan town of Lamu.

3. Interview by author with The Secretary General of Uganda Muslim Education Association (UMEA) at the headquarters on Kibuli Hill, Kampala on Tuesday (February 26, 2019).
4. Dr. Sengendo Ahmad Kawesa, The Rector, Islamic University in Uganda, Key Note address on Muslim Education in Uganda (undated leaflet).
5. Interview by author with Dr. Bisaso Ssali Mohammed, Director of Graduate School and Research, Islamic University in Uganda (IUIU), Kampala Campus, Kibuli Hill (February 26, 2019).
6. Interview by author with Jose Moshy, Tanzanian Trade unionist, at Kampala International University (March 10, 2019).
7. During a discussion with some Muslim girls in a university campus, I discovered that there is a desire to enjoy free lifestyles of a secular style, while out of home. One girl said, "I want to feel one with classmates, but I don't want to lose my Islamic identity."
8. The term "Westoxication" was first used as by a Muslim scholar, Ahmaed Farhed. He was referring to the regrettable creeping Western/secular influences in Iran and Iraq. I coined this term "Afrotoxicants" to describe possible Africanization of Islam by picking compatible materials and incorporating them into belief systems and praxis of East African Islamic–Muslim education system. Hence, both "Westoxicants" and "Afrotoxicants" do not imply diluting Islamic religion in any way but adapting and adopting it to the East African realities.

References

Abbas, Tahir. 2018. "Traditional and Modern Muslim Education at the Core and Periphery: Enduring Challenges." In *Handbook of Islamic Education: International Handbook of Religion and Education*, edited by H. Daun and R. Arjmand. London, UK: Springer International Publishing.

Abdullah, Muhammad, and Muhammad Jumaid Nadvi. 2002. "Understanding the Principles of Islamic World-View." *The Dialogue* 6 (3): 269–289.

Aggrey, A., et al., eds. 2018. "Origin and Development of Key Religious Organizations in Kenya: Their Influence on Curriculum Implementation in Public Secondary Schools." *International Journal of Academic Research and Social Sciences* 8 (6): 95–108.

Ali, S. 1984. "Conflict Between Religion and Secularism and the Role of Education in Preserving, Transmitting and Promoting Islamic Culture." *Muslim Education Quarterly* 2 (3): 51–57.

Al-Qardawi, Y. 1987. *Human Beings and the Truth*. Cairo: Al-Tadwamu Printing Press.

Bello, Abdulmajeed Hassan. 2018. "Islam and Cultural Changes in Africa." *Arts and Humanities Open Access Journal* (2) 1: 25–32.

Bondarenko, Dmitri M. 2004. "The First of Enlightenments: Education, Politics and Muslim-Christian Relations in Contemporary Tanzania." *Islam and Christian-Muslin Relations* 15 (4): 443–468.

Chande, Abdi. 2008. "Muslim State Relations in East Africa Under Conditions of Military and Civilian or One-Party Dictatorship." *Haol, Historia Actual* 17: 97–111.

Cook, Bradley J. 1999. "Islamic Versus Western Conceptions of Education: Reflections on Egypt." *International Review Education* 45 (3&4): 339–357.

Cox, Robert W. 1981. "Social Forces, States and World Order: Beyond International Relations Theory." *Journal of International Studies* 10 (2): 126–155.

Daun, Holger, and Reza Arjmand, eds. 2018. *Handbook of Islamic Education*. Stockholm: Springer International Publishing.

Douglass, Suzan L., and Munir A. Shaikh. 2004. "Defining Islamic Education: Differentiation and Applications." *Current Issues in Comparative Education* 7 (1): 5–18.

Dreyfus, Hubert L., and Paul Rabinow. 1983. *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermenuetics*, 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago press.

Engelen, Bart. 2008. "Sources of Cooperation: On Strong Reciprocity and Its Theoretical Implications." *Theory and Psychology* 18 (4): 527–544.

Fleisher, Jeffrey. 2010. "Rituals of Consumption and Politics of Feasting on the East African Coast, A. D 700–1500." *Journal of World Prehistory* 23 (4): 195–217.

Fuller, G., and M. Kurpershoek. 2005. "What Future for Political Islam? Dilemma and Opportunities for the Next Generation." Hague, WRR Lecture Scientific Council for Development Policy.

Gilsaa, S. 2004. "Muslim and the State in Tanzania: A Study of the Relations Between Religion and Politics and Muslim-State Relations in Contemporary Tanzania." MA thesis, University of Copenhagen.

Groome, Thomas. 2010. "A Shared Praxis Model for Bible Study." *Review and Exposition* 107 (Spring): 177–196.

Hashim, Abdulkadir. 2005. "Muslim-State Relations in Kenya after the Referendum on Constitution." *African Journal for the Study of Religion Bulletin* 24: 21–27.

Heilman, Bruce E, and Paul J. Kaiser. 2002. "Religious Identity and Politics in Tanzania." *Third World Quarterly* 23 (4) (August): 691–709.

Hinnebusch, Thomas. 1996. "What Kind of Language Is Kiswahili?" AAP Papers, 73–95.

Hosseini, Seyed Ebrahim, and Abdullollatif Ahmadi Ramchahi. 2014. "Impact of Information Technology on Islamic Behavior." *Journal of Multidisciplinary Engineering and Technology* 1 (5): 135–141.

Huntington, P. Samuel. 1993. "Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 70 (3) (Summer): 27–49.

Imafidon, Elvis. 2011. "Rethinking the Individual's Place." In Nicolae Rambu (ed.), *International Journal of Philosophy of Culture and Axiology* 8 (1): 93–110.

Isaack, Muhamed Alio. 2018. "Islamic Education in Kenya from Colonial Times To-Date." *International Academic Journal of Social Sciences and Education* 2 (1): 1–11.

Jamaine, A., ed. 2015. "Creating Havens of Westernization in Nigerian Higher Education." In *The Changing World Religious Map: Sacred Places, Identities, Practices and Politics*, vol. 1–5, edited by A. Jamaine, 955–975. Dordrecht: Springer.

Jervis, R. 1988. "Realism, Game Theory and Cooperation." *World Politics* 40 (3) (April): 317–349.

Kamil, Naail Mohammed. 2011. "Ontology and Epistemology in Management Research: An Islamic Perspective." *Postmodern Openings* 2 (7): 67–74.

Karugire, Samwiri Rubaraza. 2010. *A Political History of Uganda*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers Limited.

Kasumba, Y. 2015. "Attempts at Rejuvenating Muslim Identity in Uganda: The Era of Amin (1971–1979)." *Danubius Supplement* 33 (2): 93–121.

Khosrojerdi, Farzaneh. 2015. *Muslim Female Students and Their Experiences of Higher Education in Canada*, PhD thesis, university of Western Ontario, London, ON, Canada.

Lajul, W. 2014. *African Philosophy: Critical Dimensions*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers Limited.

Latchem, Collins. 2015. Informal Learning and Non-formal Education for Development." *Journal of Learning for Development* 1 (1): 1–13.

LaViolette, D. 2008. "Swahili Cosmopolitanism in Africa and the Indian Ocean World, A.D 600–1500." *Journal of World Archaeological Congress* 4 (1): 24–49.

Liviga, A. J., and Z. Tumbo Masabo. 2006. "Muslims in Tanzania: Quest for Equal Footing." In *Justice, Rights and Worship: Religion and Politics in Tanzania*, edited by R. Mukandala, et al., 129–164. Dar es Salaam: Ed Limited.

Lodhi, Abdulaziz Y., and David Westerlund. 1997. *African Islam in Tanzania*. Stockholm: Curzon Press.

Loimeiers, R. 2007. "Perceptions of Marginalization in Contemporary Tanzania." In *Islam and Muslim Politics in Africa*, edited by B. Soares and R. Otayek, 137–156. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Magesa, Laurenti. 2007. "Contemporary Catholic Perspectives on Christian-Muslim Relations in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 18 (2): 165–173.

Mamdani, M. 2002. "Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: A Political Perspective on Culture and Terrorism." *American Anthropological Association* 103 (3): 766–775.

Mansour, Nasser. 2010. "Science Teachers' Interpretation of Islamic Culture Related to Science Education Versus Islamic Epistemology and Ontology of Science." *Cultural Studies of Science Education* 5 (1) (March): 127–140.

Martha, Frederiks Th. 2010. "Let us Understand our Differences: Current Trends in Muslim-Christian Relations in sub-Saharan Africa." In *World Christianity and Inter-Religious Dialogue Center, II/MO/Department of Theology/Faculty of Humanitites*. Utrecht University, Sage Publications.

Mazrui, Ali A. 2003. "Towards Africanizing African Universities: Who Killed Intellectualism in the Post-colonial Era?" *Alternatives: Turkish Journal of International Relations* 2 (273) (Fall and Winter): 135–163.

Mbilinyi, Marjorie. "Equity, Justice and Transformation in Education: The Challenge of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere Today, Hak Elimu. Working Paper Series, No. 2003.5. Paper Presented During Julius Nyerere's Birthday, 13 April 2000, Karimjee Hall, Dar es Salaam.

McCormack, D. 2005. "African Vortex: Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa, Center for Security Policy." Occasional Paper Series, No. 4 (January): 1–19.

Moyo, Herbert. 2013. "Religion and African Indigenous Knowledge Systems: Healing and Communal Reconstruction in African communities." *Alternative Special Education* 11: 207–236.

Muhammad, Buseri Jamin. 2018. "Problems and Prospects of Teaching and Learning Islamic Studies in Primary and Post-primary Schools in Nigeria: An Overview." *International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications* 8 (3) (March): 230–236.

Mwakimako, Hassan. 2007. "Christian Muslim Relations in Kenya: A Catalogue of Events and Meanings." *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 18 (2): 287–307.

Natifu, B., and A. Zikusooka. 2014. "Ubuntu, Professionalism, Activism and Rise of Public relations in Uganda." In *Pathways to Public Relations: Histories of Practices and Professionalism*, edited by St. B. John, III, M. O. Lamme, and J. L'Etang, 224–238. London and New York: Routledge.

Nsamenang, A. Bame, and Theresa M. S. Tchombe, eds. 2011. *Handbook of African Education Theories and Practices: A Generative Teacher Education Curriculum.* Bamenda: Presses universitaires of Afrique.

Ochieng'Okinda, Albert. 2016. "Security Sector Reforms and Their Implications in Fighting Against Terrorism in Kenya (1998–2015)." *ir-library*. M.A thesis, November.

Ogolla, M. 2014. "The Challenges Facing Religion in the Contemporary World: The Kenyan Situation." *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 4 (3) (February): 322–328.

Ollson, Hans. 2011. "Secularization of Sacred Ideology? Civil Religion and Inter-religious Relations in Contemporary Tanzania," 1–10. Paper Presented at European Conference (ECAS) 4, Uppsala, Sweden.

Otieno, Peris Linet. 2013. "Effects of the Kiswahili Language on East African Economy." Bachelors' degree thesis, Degree Program in International Relations, Tampere University of Applied Sciences, 53–54.

Panjwani, Farid. 2004. "The Islamic in Islamic Education: Assessing the Discourse." *Current Issues in Comparative Education* 7 (1):19–29.

Rayan, S. 2012. "Islamic Philosophy of Education." *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* 2 (19) (Special Issue): 150–156.

Saad, Fatihiya Migdad. 2012. "The Under-Representation of Muslim Women in Higher Education: A Case Study Causes and Opportunities for Change in Uganda." Doctor of Philosophy thesis, University of Leicester, December.

Segber, K., Peter Dyllick-Brenzinger, Katharina Hoffmann, and Christof Mauersberger. 2006. *How to Use and Apply Theories in International Relations.* Berlin: University of Berlin Press.

Sekatawa, Muhammad. 2006. "Reflections on the Situations of Muslims in Uganda During the Turbulent Relations Between Sudan and Uganda: 1986–2003." International Conference on Islam Africa, 2th Book Conference Papers (12th Book-Conference Papers), November 26–27.

Semali, Ladilaus, and Stambach, Amy. 1997. "Cultural Identity in African Context: Indigenous Education and Curriculum in East Africa." *Folklore Forum* 28 (1): 2–25.

Shutz, Dorothea E. 2013. "What Makes a Good Minority Muslim? Education Policy and the Paradoxes of Muslim Schooling in Uganda." *Contemporary Islam* 7 (1) (April): 53–70.

Smith, A. 1976. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of Wealth of Nations.* Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press.

Soghayroun, Ibrahim el-Zein. 1985. "Islam in Uganda: Early Colonial Policy Towards the Infiltration of from Egypt to Sudan (18975–1919)." Journal *d'etudes africaines.*

Stambach, Amy. 2010. *Faith in Schools: Religion, Education and American Evangelicals in East Africa.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Stencel, Sander, ed. 2010. *Tolerance and Tension: Islam and Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington: Raw Research Center.

Sultana, Qazi Nusrat. 2012. "Philosophy of Education: An Islamic Perspective." *Philosophy and Progress* I, II, III (June, July, and December): 1–14.

Talibani, Aziz. 1996. "Pedagogue, Power and Discourse." *Comparative Education Review* 40 (1) (Special Issue on Religion) (February): 66–82.

Vittori, Jodi, and Kristin Bremer. 2009. "Islam in Tanzania and Kenya: Ally or Threat in the War on Terror?" ISS Research Paper, INSS, US Air Force.

Woolman, David C. 2001. "Education Reconstruction and Post-Colonial Curriculum: A Comparative Study of Four African Countries." *International Education Journal* 2 (5): 27–147.

Yasin, Raudlotul Fridaus Binti Fatah, and Mohd Shah Jani. 2013. "Islamic Education: The Philosophy, Aims and Main Features." *International Journal of Education and Research* 1 (10): 1–18.

Zine, Jasmin. 1997. "Muslin Students in Public Schools: Education and Politics of Religious Identity." Master of Arts thesis, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Ontario, National Library of Canada.

Central and Southern Africa: Islamic Education Variations

Muhammed Haron

INTRODUCTION: MUSLIM EDUCATION IN CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

Though Central and Southern Africa[1] (geographically includes 19 countries that stretch from Chad down to South Africa) may be described as a vibrant multicultural, multilingual, multiethnic, and multi-religious regional environment, the same cannot be said about the policy of the region's nation-states toward the notion of "freedom" throughout the postcolonial

Though the researcher retained the essay's subtitle as "Islamic education," he, like Farid Panjwani and others, is of the view that one should replace the phrase with "Muslim education". The basic reason for this is based on the argument that "Islamic" implies that the educational system that is in place is nothing else but "Islamic"; now this understanding is somewhat problematic and debatable to say the least. The descriptive word "Muslim" is considered to be a better word since it conveys the idea that Muslims differ in terms of the definitions, methodologies, and understandings; and as a result, one encounters various systems. If one considers the Qur'anic schools that have been created in Central Africa (e.g., Chad) and compares them to related schools in Southern Africa (e.g., Botswana), one will observe that these types of schools are unique to Central/West Africa and that they are absent in Southern Africa. The factors that contributed to this vary too: One factor is the jurisprudential school

M. Haron (✉)
University of Botswana, Gaborone, Botswana
e-mail: HARONM@mopipi.ub.bw

period (circa 1960–2015). This was expressly illustrated in the Freedom House Report by Arch Puddington who is its general editor; he and his team sketched a bleak picture about these nation-states. They highlighted that only 3 of the region's members experienced freedom; 7 encountered partial freedom; and 9 demonstrated disregard for this policy (2017, 1). While this report painted a depressing scenario regionally, it appears that the Pew Research Center Report[2] reflected a slightly different and a more positive perspective as regards the various nation-states' views toward religion. It indicated that the region's governments fared from low to moderate in terms of the overall state–religion relationship (2015, 22–25 and 51–52). If this is the case, then it bodes generally well for the region and their diverse religious communities since the chance exists that when newly elected governments take over the political reins, they may be inclined to observe universal democratic principles as espoused by the United Nations.

Within this geopolitical and religious context, Muslims form an integral part of the Central and Southern African nation-states and are a recognizable religious minority. The focus of this essay addresses these communities' status with particular reference to their establishment and management of their "Muslim Education" systems.[3] This term should be understood as an all-encompassing concept that brings into purview a cluster of various educational structures that range from pre-school to the post-school phase. Generally, Muslim minorities in this region run their educational institutions independently of those that are state-managed/-controlled or state-aided; in

---

that has been dominant in a particular region and another is the ethnic group that adhered to it; for example, in Central Africa the Maliki school is widespread among the Central Africans whereas the Hanafi school is prevalent among most Southern Africans whose roots are from South Asia where this school remains dominant. On another related note, one observed that some authors deliberately chose to use other compound terms such as "Islamic religious education" see: Che Noraini Hashim, and Hasan Langgulung. 2008. "Islamic Religious Curriculum in Muslim Countries: The Experiences of Indonesia and Malaysia," *Bulletin of Education & Research* 30, no. 1: 1–19. For "Arab-Islamic Education" see: Rohen D'Aiglepierre, Hamidou Dia and Clothilde Hugon, 2018, "Can Arabo-Islamic Education Be Ignored?" *A Question of Development: Syntheses of AFD and Research* 36 (January). Others question these nomenclatures and argue against their use on another occasion, see: Farid Panjwani, 2004, "The 'Islamic' in Islamic Education: Assessing the Discourse," *Current Issues in Comparative Education* 7 (1): 19–29; Sayyid Naquib Al-Attas, 1977, *Aims and Objectives of Islamic Education*, London: Hodder & Stoughton; Yusef Waghid, 2016, "Islamic Education and Contemporary Ethical Dilemmas," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Education*, http://education.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264093.001.0001/acrefore-9780190264093-e-11?print=pdf, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264093.013.11; Amjad Hussein, 2004, "Islamic Education: Is There a Need for It?" *Journal of Beliefs and Values* 25 (3): 217–323. The latter argues for a shift from exclusivity within the UK context to an inter-cultural-oriented Islamic education.

other words, they are separate educational entities where rudimentary aspects of Islam and its primary sources are taught. These aspects would include, inter alia, the understanding of *tawhid* (i.e., God's oneness/unity), the Qur'an's recitation, and teaching basic Muslim jurisprudence alongside other essential beliefs and obligatory practices.[4]

The main purpose why Muslim minorities are fastidiously concerned about their children's religious learning is to ensure that their children and the future generations uncompromisingly hold onto their Muslim identity (Marranci 2009; Hughes 2013; Iner and Yucel 2015; Hardy et al. 2017). For these Muslims, acquiring knowledge about the basic elements of Islam is critical from an early age for it reinforces their unstinting faith in God. So wherever Muslim minorities established themselves, they made certain that these aspects were disseminated in hallowed surroundings such as mosques and related institutions. In addition, they made sure that these sacred spaces were complemented by an array of representative social welfare, humanitarian, and charitable organizations. These social institutions provided structures that further entrenched their Muslim identity in spite of the trying circumstances that they encountered or may encounter in establishing and maintaining their communities.

It is not this chapter's purpose to reflect on Islam's fundamental teachings nor to describe it as Muslim communities' "way of life."[5] The author's primary aim is to discuss their Muslim education systems that are established in some Central and Southern African nation-states. While one would like to deal with the status of these systems in each of them separately, it is well-nigh beyond the scope of this chapter to do so. The main reason for this is because the conditions of these systems vary markedly from one nation-state to the other. Another reason is that since the circumstances differ from one Muslim community to another in each of the 19 Central and Southern African nation-states, it would be naïve and simplistic for one to claim to address, whether briefly or at length, all the factors that gave rise to these Muslim education systems. This chapter provides a brief overview of the Central and Southern Africa educational landscape and discusses the policy of religious freedom and ties it to the important issue of religious education. This opens the way for reflection on the Muslim education systems regionally. It highlights and reflects on selected Central Africa case studies and Southern Africa case studies to demonstrate the vibrancy of this sector with a conclusion to summarize the diversity across Muslim Education systems in Central and Southern Africa.

REGION'S EDUCATIONAL LANDSCAPE: RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Turning to Central and Southern Africa's educational landscape, one notes that it, like other regions on the continent, underwent qualitative changes throughout the fifty years—a period that coincided with the postcolonial era (Mfum-Mensah 2017). When each African state in this region gained its

independence, it faced significant educational challenges that were common across the continent. Consequently, each was forced to deal with, among other related issues, low literacy rates (UNESCO 2017, 1 and 4),[6] deficiency of qualified teaching personnel, the absence of adequate resources for learners and educational centers, and the lack of appropriate school texts. Some of these challenges and others were identified by MacGregor (2017) when she questioned the suitability of Africa's educational landscape.[7] Despite these shortages and especially the financial woes that the region faced, during the era of modernization each of its nation-state Ministries of Education made gains as they strove to deal with their respective educational concerns and obstacles. They did so with the hope of providing basic universal primary education for all of their citizens. A policy that tied in with the United Nations (UN) Millennium Development Goals (MDG) that are a set of strategies that guided much of African education policy until it was replaced in 2015 by the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). The SDG program includes Goal 4: Quality Education, Goal 5: Gender Equality, and Goal 10: Reduced Inequalities among others that impact upon the educational equity should be achieved by 2030.[8] Both UN initiatives were globally adopted to improve, transform, and upgrade the education of developing nation-states in Africa and elsewhere in the world.

Though some, such as South Africa, Botswana, and Namibia, where "freedom" is embedded in the constitutions, succeeded to bring about the necessary educational changes by offering basic primary education to all its citizens, other countries, such as Angola, Chad, Congo, Malawi, Mozambique, and Swaziland, where freedom is partially or fully restricted, continue to encounter many educational challenges as documented by the United Nations Statistical Division for Sustainable Development Goals data by region and country and the Global Partnership for Education (GPE).[9] In fact, during the early part of 2017, as reported by Mark Babatunde, the Swaziland Ministry of Education banned the teaching of religions except Christianity, and as a result, it was heavily criticized for its intolerance toward other religions.[10] This unexpected policy reconstruction tainted Southern Africa's image as a comparatively open and religiously tolerant region. Nonetheless, Swaziland's approach toward religious education in its schools indicated as in some other countries in the region that freedom of religion was restricted (Pew Research Center 2015). In this case, one may also assume that religious education as a field of study that looks at a range of religions, including Muslim/Islamic studies,[11] as argued by a range of scholars has yet to be successfully adopted and implemented as a subject in many of the region's national primary and secondary education systems (Carmody 2003; Matemba 2009; Ndlovu 2014). These scholars point to the cause as a neocolonial policy practice in some nation-states, like Angola, Swaziland, and Zambia, that maintain Christianity as a required religious course and often infuse Christian doctrine as part of the hidden and sometimes

stated curriculum across other subject areas (Kurian and Lamport 2015; Simuchimba 2001).[12]

Despite state restrictions in some of these countries and Christian exclusivism in others, the Muslim minorities in most, if not all these countries, are proactive in maintaining Muslim education within their communities. They and their forebears demonstrated that they spared no efforts to see that their children were and are taught the basics of Muslim education. Being a subset of religious education, it was justifiably tailored and offered as an integral part of the curriculum in many state schools, including South Africa, Botswana, and Malawi, where the Ministries of Education that were in charge of these schools agreed to include it as an optional subject in their current national curriculums (Coertzen 2002; Chidester 2003, 2006; Dreyer 2007; Matemba 2005, 2009; Davies 2007; Nkomazana 2007; Dinama 2010; Raditoaneng 2011; Tayob 2015). These schools' curricula were aligned with each Ministry of Education's policies to include Muslim religious studies. As mentioned previously, other countries, such as Zambia and Zimbabwe, experienced ideological problems in implementing religious studies as a multi-faith subject rather than as a parochial or devotional religious requirement (Matemba 2009; Ndlovu 2014). Though not every nation-state in the region has implemented a balanced religious studies curriculum as desired, efforts continue to be made to address this issue.

Leaving aside religious education in the region, the focus turns to Muslim education as practiced currently; here, one needs to shed some light on its status and to show how the Muslim communities differed in their adopted approaches to education. This is an area that needs to be unpacked in more detail than may be accomplished here due to space constraints. That said, the next section will generally describe Muslim education as an operative system among Muslim minority communities in Africa's Central and Southern regions within a broad historical context that spans from the colonial to the postcolonial era. En passant, it reflects on these communities' opposing stance toward the Western education system that was introduced by the colonial powers. It also describes educational scenarios in selected case studies to provide some insightful understanding and perhaps an appreciation of Muslim educational practice regionally.

Region's Muslim Education Systems: From Colonial Era to Contemporary Period

From the time Muslim education was introduced into predominantly non-Muslim African environments where local ethnic educational institutions were in operation, Reichmuth (2000) observed that Muslim education went through dynamic evolutionary changes in those parts where it was prevalent. Since the Muslim communities' theologically trained leaders guided their communities' religious sensibilities and mores, they creatively used local

languages, such as Fulfulde (Cameroon), Xhosa (South Africa), Emakhuwa (Mozambique), and KiSwahili (Congo) to teach literacy (see Chtatou 1992; Mumin and Versteegh 2014; Ngom 2017). These education leaders also used local languages to pen theological cum jurisprudential texts and to correspond with local/regional authorities as in the cases of Mozambique and Congo (Luffin 2014; Bonate 2008).

By the time the British, French, Belgian, and other European colonial powers competed with each other for Africa's vast tracks of land that was inhabited by diverse ethnic communities, of which the Muslims formed an integral part, sociopolitical, economic, and educational challenges were faced by them all. Since the Muslim education system remained resilient, it powered ahead through processes of reform under the local Muslim leadership that were wary of the new schooling system that was implemented by the colonial administrators and their Christian mission counterparts.[13] As the colonial powers imposed themselves politically, enlarged their coffers economically, and transformed the environments socially, culturally and religiously, Muslim leadership, particularly the Muslim theologians, proactively countered the colonial administrators' moves by convincing their followers not to be lured away from Islam by becoming trapped in the colonial educational network that was underpinned by Christian ideals.

Moumouni and Scanlon (2017) made the point that these traditional Muslim educational systems were deliberately challenged by the colonial powers that not only ignored them, but that went on to replace them with their own educational system. In other words, these political powers introduced the modern European (Western) system as the new status quo. In doing so, these colonialists not only undermined Africa's traditional value system that was in operation, but they too also created socioeconomic classes that were nonexistent at the time they as colonial forces extended their reach into the African hinterlands. For these colonial masters, the formation of these urbanized social classes was a significant shift sociologically as it effectively relegated the traditional value system to the margins. The colonials imposed their European value system that caused much of Africa's rural communities' indigenous institutions to lose socioeconomic power and influence which served to isolate them from urban colonial administrative centers. In addition to these outcomes, Muslim communities were generally very skeptical and wary of the colonial educational systems, so they opted not to send their children to the schools that were run by Christian missionaries. Moumouni and Scanlon (2017) contend, that despite this resistance, the African postcolonial or neocolonial governments gave their full support to these inherited colonial education systems that were inherently Christian in makeup. For these newly independent nation-state government administrations, it was a means of keeping their ties with their former colonial masters to ensure economic and political support as necessary.[14]

It was, more importantly, also a way of not just deepening their ties but it was also a strategy of using it as a defensive technique against those who

opposed their political positions as the rightful rulers of newly "independent" African nation-states. Interestingly, one might argue that within the government educational circles were questions pertaining to decolonizing this educational system; these queries were considered superficial and even nonexistent during the early days of independence. This is an issue that is currently being seriously debated (Heleta 2016; Smith 2016; Battiste 2016; Barongo-Muweke 2016). This being so, one wonders whether those clamoring for the adoption of this process would accommodate Muslim Education, considering its underlying philosophy, as an acceptable "bottom-up" educational structure that provides the foundation of "knowledge production" through its traditional approach. One assumes that theories of decolonization must factor in the Muslim education system, since it continues to exist as part of the continent's non-government educational sectors.

Leaving the debate as regards decolonization of education, one needs to state that during the early post-independence days, though the new political leaders were possibly aware of the tension that arose as a result of the colonial educational system that remained intact without any transformation have taken place, they regrettably ignored the negative impact it posed to Africa's future. Amid this colonial education tension that was on the rise and that continued in the neocolonial era, another interesting development took place. During and after colonial rule, Muslim education systems were managed privately by Muslim Africans for the Muslim Africans. These Muslim communities, whether in the Congo or Mozambique or South Africa, were not so much concerned about obtaining subsidies from the governments. They primarily used their own funds to operate these institutions without any political authorities funding their institutions.

While the majority within the Muslim community held a consistently firm anti-colonial mind-set, there were others that felt otherwise. They expressed the view that their children should be exposed to modernization as reflected in Western education systems with the hope that their children would gain job opportunities to earn reasonable salaries. But overall, the majority of Muslims were led by their traditional theologians who vehemently argued against this position. In fact, this was a general feeling echoed by all the theologians wherever the colonial forces established these schools. These theologians urged the Muslims not to attend these Christian schools because they opined that these institutions' purpose was to lure Muslims away from Islam. Despite this passionate plea, those few families who differed on this issue decided to ignore this call and send their children to the local public schools; interestingly, most of these few families that did so never regretted having made the decision because it bore ample fruit. When they made their decision, they were confident that none of their children would compromise their Muslim identity nor give up their faith in Islam by converting to Christianity.

In addition to these developments, some members of the community transformed the educational setting by establishing independent *madrasas*

and Muslim (mission) schools. The Muslim schools emulated their Christian counterparts, who had founded faith-based schools that incorporated secular subjects focused on modernization, while the madrasas concentrated purely on Muslim education in lieu of nothing being on offer at the secular school. In South Africa's Cape Town and Durban metropolitan areas, for example, Muslim South Africans, after long negotiations with the local authorities, reached agreements by the beginning of the twentieth century to establish state-aided Muslim schools; these were financially supported by the local government and Muslim groups and individuals who provided funding toward its management. In conjunction with these *madrasas*, some financially resourceful communities went so far as to establish libraries that were reminiscent of medieval institutions, such as Baghdad's *Bayt-ul-Hikma* (House of Wisdom). Some Muslim elite even dreamt of sending their children to Cairo's famous Al-Azhar University, an institution that is held in high esteem by its African alumni across the continent.[15]

Their graduates, for example, were instrumental in maintaining these networks. Some alumni taught at Nigerian universities, while others were involved in establishing schools, such as the four Al-Azhar schools established in South Africa (Jimba 2016). These Muslim educational networks and institutional formations have undoubtedly contributed to the development of Central and Southern Africa's Muslim communities' human resources. On the one hand, these networks helped to share ideas and resources, and on the other, the institutions laid the foundation for Islamic studies to be taught in an active educational environment. These types of developments have indeed not only contributed toward educational reform, but they have also advanced Muslim creativity and scholarship within their minority contexts. In fact, the current generation of Muslim professionals and others, who constantly reference the medieval past, were products of these institutions. They harkened back to this honorable past, because it was a period during which Muslim scholarship reached its heights and contributed substantially to both the sciences and the humanities.

In spite of having faced a few problems, the overall outcome of these educational arrangements among the diverse Muslim communities illustrated that the Muslim education system functioned reasonably well along with the nation-states' public education systems. On top of that, one should not overlook the fact that in some of the Muslim communities, there were two systems and not one system that were being managed. In these communities that were generally economically mobile, they had and still have the *madrasa*, whether home-based, mosque-based or independent, that offered religious studies in the afternoons or weekends. Their children attended secular (private or public) schools during the mornings and the *madrasa* in the afternoons or on weekends. This continues as the practice in South Africa as well as in other neighboring states, such as Botswana, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe where such *madrasas* have widespread appeal. Reichmuth pointed out that those who attended these colonial (and postcolonial) schools, which

included the Christian Mission schools, "became increasingly committed to Western forms of education… [and that] Tension between the two systems [invariably] found expression in different [social, educational,] legal and organizational ways" (2000, 422). This particular point remains relevant to this day. As a result of this ongoing tension, Southern and Central Africa's Muslim communities compelled their children to attend the *madrasa* with a twofold objective: first in order to reinforce their identity as Muslims and second to seek beneficial spiritual knowledge about their religion.[16]

QUR'ANIC SCHOOL SYSTEM: DESCRIPTIONS AND TYPES

Muslim minority communities, like their counterparts in the Muslim heartland that is the home of majority societies, have stressed the importance of acquiring knowledge via various means. They, in fact, drew inspiration from the prophetic model presented as early as the seventh century (CE) that "an individual should seek knowledge from the cradle to the grave." One of the prophet's successors, namely Omar ibn Al-Khattab (d.644), was apparently instrumental in having established the *maktab* (pl. *kuttab* and also referred to as *msid* in Northwest Africa, *maktab-khana* in Central Asia, and *pondok/ pesanteran* in Southeast Asia) system.[17] The *maktab* may be viewed in current terms as a particular type of Qur'anic school that functioned as and continue to act as a primary learning platform. Since its introduction, many related schools emerged and developed into the system that is an essential pillar within the Muslim community. As one fast forward to the nineteenth century, one witnessed the British and other colonial powers who embedded themselves on African soil, expanded their economic tentacles benefitting from Africa's rich resources, and exerted their political powers over Africa's diverse societies had taken notice of the influential Qur'anic school systems that dotted Africa's respective East and West environments; these systems rapidly emerged soon after Islam's entrance onto African soil. While the one batch of Muslims arrived in East Africa during the ninth and tenth centuries, those who traveled and settled in West Africa reached there during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The Qur'anic school may be termed, on the one hand, as the foundation of Muslim education system, and on the other, it may be described as an agent of Muslim social change. It, however, evolved over time and reflected the stratification of the system in the nascent African Muslim communities, similar to what had unfolded in Central Asia. Mirbabaev (1996) observed in Central Asia that these early Qur'anic schools, *maktab-khana*, were later complemented by *madrasas* (school), *qari-khanas* (recitation locales), and *dabiristan* ('scribe' academies). Akkari (2004), moreover, underlined that since these schools diversified over time, terminological problems naturally occurred. He thus identified various types and explained each one's linguistic roots; since he gave his attention to Africa unlike Mirbabaev who concentrated on Central Asia, he listed three terms that characterized the African

Muslim setting as a whole and the North, West, and Central Africa in particular. The three that were common across the mentioned regions, but that were also found in other parts of the continent were the *maktab* (pl. *kuttab*), the *madrasa* (pl. *madaris*), and *zawiya* (alternatively known as the *khalwa*).

Apart from having defined and expounded upon these three terms, Akkari argued why it is rather difficult to analyze the Qur'anic school system.[18] Elsewhere he made the point that when one compared this system to the Western hierarchical schooling system, then it was obvious that the Western schools reflected social class values. In Akkari's assessment, this was not the case in evaluating the Qur'anic school. He stated that, "despite the seemingly archaic cognitive system (rote memorization and recitation of the Koran), what is at stake in the Koranic School is the entry into a "community of Islamic believers." The knowledge of the Koran is of interest only if the individual is recognized as being worthy of the confidence of the local community." Akkari, who based his assessment on many earlier publications, stated that the Qur'anic school was a particular pedagogical model. Its uniqueness, he added, consisted of six characteristics, namely openness, ritualization, flexibility, diversity, resistance, and a durability; each of these contributed toward its stability and longevity.

These noteworthy characteristics contributed toward the resilience and creativeness of those institutions that complemented it. Since these remained the system's stable features throughout the subsequent generations, those who steered and directed them brought about innovative changes that were in line with its openness, flexibility, and diversity. In the later periods (post tenth and eleventh centuries CE), the system and its affiliated structures that ranged from home-based *madrasas* to mosque-based *madrasas* to independent *madrasas* demonstrated its vivacity. Akkari further explained to what extent it influenced the communities' educational transformation. One of the system's critical contributions that were most often ignored or overlooked by the colonial powers was its impact on literacy. In fact, many who observed it in action frowned upon it and they even went so far as to question the value of rote learning of primarily religious and historical texts, forgetting its critical dimension in sharpening the memory and empowering the individuals with basic reading and learning tools.

The System's Consequences: Its Literacy and Literatures

Akkari observed that though this was a traditional educational mode, it introduced the boy-child and girl-child to a "culture of literacy" that has by and large been marginalized by Western-educated teachers and often disregarded by public education policy makers in nation-states where Muslims are in a minority. What should be acknowledged, according to Akkari, was that this method of teaching represented "the original form of learning" that should be viewed as a viable alternative to public mass schooling in the

Muslim heartland—a region where these schools have gradually diminished and where they were largely replaced by the Western-style schooling systems. As a spin-off of this inventive method, the seeds of a culture of literacy were planted. With the passage of time, this practice of literacy pedagogy that made use of the pliable and adaptable Arabic script became one of its enduring features that made a substantial sociolinguistic contribution to many of Africa's diverse languages in West, East, Central, and Southern Africa.

Related to this culture, Mohammad Khan underscored that, "Literacy instruction has been shown to be an important product of Qur'anic schooling, but literacy and other aspects of instruction are known to vary substantially across teachers, schools and societies." He further remarked that, "Instruction in traditional Qur'anic schooling has typically included a number of common features of literacy instruction: oral memorization of the Qur'an; emphasis on correct (that is, accurate and aesthetic) oral recitation; training in the Arabic script; and strict authoritarian instruction" (2015, 3). He pointed out when comparing these types of schools to contemporary ones that there were important differences. Now if one scans the educational institutions in Central and Southern Africa where Muslim communities are exposed to the Qur'an's oral and aural transmission, both the boy-child and girl-child were trained to observe a rigorous disciplinary method that exposed them to a process of rote learning and memorization (Boyle 2006).

Despite the negative notions by some critics regarding this system, many have shown a different insights, and based on their understanding, it cannot be denied that this schooling system was and continues to be a distinctive system that literally graduated thousands of "walking Qur'ans," as wonderfully described by Ware (2014), over the centuries in different parts of Africa and elsewhere. Anyone familiar with the traditional and modern Muslim educational institutions, such as the modernized *madrasas* present in Botswana, Cameroon, South Africa, Lesotho, Namibia, and Zimbabwe, is able to observe the differences and commonalities that exist. Now without adopting an ostrich-like approach, being aware that one does come across exceptions to the rule, one finds it difficult to go along with those think tanks and researchers that put forward definitive arguments that all of these traditional institutions have graduated and are still graduating extremists, radicals, and terrorists. Since before the tragic "9/11" events, Muslim communities have come under the West's radar screen (Park and Niyozov 2008; Kadi and Billeh 2006; Izama 2014; Drønen 2013).[19] As a result, many Western researchers have suggested Westernizing ways of re-directing the *madrasas* with an aim, according to their reasoning, to bring about reform (see Villalón and Tidjani-Alou 2012; d'Aiglepierre and Bauer 2018; Dia et al. 2016). Many of these "reforms" by definition would work to impose Westernization, rather than maintain Muslim ideals and educational practices.

Since Muslim communities for generations have been inspired by both Islam's primary sources, the Qur'anic school was and is still seen by Muslim

communities as a significant purveyor of literacy. One of the tangible out-comes of this school was that its graduates, who went on to attain advanced Islamic Studies, pursued a scholarly tradition. As a consequence of their scholarly inputs, some of them inventively employed the pliable Arabic script to produce an exceptional set of literature known as *Ajami* texts that serves as a subset of African literature. They penned an array of theological and juris-prudential works for their diverse communities; some of whom were either adherents of the Maliki School of jurisprudence as was the case in Central Africa or they were Shafi'ite School of jurisprudence members who resided in parts of Southern Africa. In addition to these texts being written and copied by subsequent scribes in various handwritings as demonstrated by Luffin and others, letters and treatises were also found in the script.[20]

In closing this section, one may briefly make mention of the border region between Cameroon and Nigeria where Fulfulde was and remains the *lingua franca*; early Fulfulde scholars that were mentioned by Fallou Ngom (2017) and others prepared these manuscripts using the Arabic script. Van Selms (1952) and Davids (1993, 1994) recorded similar developments that came to the fore during the late nineteenth century among the Afrikaans speaking community at the Cape of Good Hope. Bonate and Mutiua (2011) referred to related developments that took place among Northern Mozambique's mis-cellaneous multilingual speaking communities; these communities' theolo-gians, who made use of the script, made remarkable inputs, and as a result, their works were used as prescribed texts in the Muslim educational institu-tions. In fact, these theologians' extant manuscripts currently form part of the region's rich heritage that scholars should factor in when they re-write the social histories of the region that is inhabited by an assorted number of very innovative Muslim minority communities that helped to shape its iden-tity through the production of knowledge in the form of the *Ajami* litera-ture. Put differently, these unique manuscripts directly impacted Muslim educational systems and indirectly impacted the region's national education systems. Even though these manuscripts might not be considered by some scholars as outputs of robust rigorous scholarship, the evidence counters such critique, as these manuscripts laid the basis for present-day critical Muslim intellectual scholarship that stretches from the tip of Southern Africa to the borders of Chad making connections across the intellectual material of those scholars, whose works are encased in Timbuktu's many libraries.

Central and Southern African Case Studies

The focus of this chapter now turns to selected nation-states (Chad, Central African Republic, and Cameroon) as brief case studies. The rational for this is based on the fact that these countries have relatively long-established Muslim communities that made ample use of Qur'anic schools to reinforce their identities as Muslim.[21] One need only browse through Boyle, Ware, and Hoechner's informative studies that reveal much about this school's vibrancy

and effectiveness in many parts of West Africa. Each of the countries is in the vicinity of regions that are heavily Muslim populated, and as a result, there was and is continuous movement between the minority and majority communities. There was not only a flow of goods via trade and commerce, but a flow of ideas via various Muslim movements and more so via the formation of the Qur'anic schools that played a critical role in the Central and Southern Africa's Muslim communities' identity amid predominant non-Muslim environments. Since the French colonized each of the three countries, the section that follows provides a brief comment overview of the educational system. It is also important to point out that as a result of Britain's control of the northern part of Cameroon, their government's educational system accommodated both French and British systems, respectively.

Central Africa: Chad, Central African Republic, and Cameroon

The three countries, which were colonized by France, inherited the French schooling system. This system consists of primary, secondary, and tertiary levels.[22] At the secondary level, however, the learner can pursue vocational studies as an exit point. At the higher education level, Central African Republic (CAR) has only two universities, and Chad has only three universities. Cameroon has a slightly different structure compared to these two countries. CAR and Chad are economically poorer than Cameroon, so it is not surprising that Cameroon has a comparatively more vibrant educational environment with twenty higher education institutions. Of these, 19 follow the French system, while one follows the British system. An interesting fact is that Cameroon, that is a predominantly Christian country, has at least six universities that aligned to either Catholic or Protest denominations. Returning to Chad, it has one Muslim university, King Faisal University (Moussa 2016; Ness and Lin 2013; Collelo 1988). Leaving aside the tertiary institutions, the focus returns to the Qur'anic school and modern Muslim school, respectively.

Chad. The modern Muslim secondary school began its life with the formation of the Ecole Mohamed Illech during 1918; it was a school that was modeled on the type of Egyptian schools that moved in the direction of modernization. Somewhat later, the Lycee Franco-Arabe was established by the French colonial administrators in Abeche during 1952. This school and its sister institutions provided a mixture of Arabic, Qur'anic, and secular French education. Another, school model, known as Mahamat Bassi Quartier, is also located in Ouaddai's Bandjadid-Abeche area. These schools were set up with the hope that Chadian Muslims would attend these schools. Most Chadian Muslims are Malikis and Tijaniyya followers, who were averse to sending their children to these schools. As a result of their negative attitude toward these modern Muslim schools, the more traditional Qur'anic School continues as the popular educational destination for Chad's Muslim population (Cahill 2010, 213).[23] Therefore, it is not surprising that the Institute of Shaykh

Kouni Al-Tijani School of Qur'anic Memorization, which also offers Islamic and Arabic studies, has a significantly larger enrollment than the modern Muslim institutions.

As indicated previously in this chapter, the concern of these families was and remains safeguarding their beliefs and, hence securing their identity. These schools taught the learners how to read Arabic and recite Qur'an. According to Ekpon, two issues need to be addressed to transform these schools: They should take place on two levels and the first is to see to "effectively governed madrasas" and the "content of education in Qur'anic schools which is the dominant form of education in the conflict affected areas of the Lake Chad Basin countries should be harmonized" (2017, 7–8). As far as he was concerned, the school is at present in disarray as regards its various teachings. Unfortunately, Ekpon's report does not offer insights about these *madrasas* and what exactly he meant that the school was in "disarray." Was he referring to the curriculum or perhaps the method that was applied or was it the way the *madrasa* was managed? Does that mean the teachers need training in how to teach and how to administer the *madrasa*? All of these are unclear. Nonetheless, the existing modern schools remain unattractive to Chadian Muslims as a result of their resistance against modernization cum Westernization.

The Salam Institute for Peace and Development has, however, pursued a project titled "Peace through Development" in three countries of which Chad was one. It completed its second phase that introduced civic education of peace and diversity to Qur'anic schools. Unfortunately, the Institute gave only a general description of what it achieved during the first phase and what it had accomplished during the second since the project ran between 2011 and 2016. Even though it stated that it conducted training for Imams, it only provided the training topics in peace building and conflict resolution, to include:

- Develop messaging platforms on topics such as conflict resolution, coexistence, pluralism, tolerance, and intra-faith dialogue;
- Organize and conduct training workshops that give the imam trainers practical experience on delivering key messages on intra-faith dialogue, conflict resolution, and pluralism;
- Develop a set of guidelines on how to train youth and other religious leaders in Islamic peace education. (Salam Institute for Peace and Development, http://salaminstitute.org/peace-through-development-i/)

It also did not explain what specific civic education content was propagated at these schools beyond stating, "the revised curriculum and training module was designed to focus on the following aspects: citizenship, equality, peaceful coexistence, peace and tolerance and work ethics."[24] One might conclude that these schools in Chad are not in a healthy state, but that they continue to function along traditional lines and that the modern schools do attract students, but in comparison with the Qur'anic schools are fewer in number.

Cameroon. Compared to Chad, Cameroon's Muslim population make up only about 20% of the total population, constituting a sizeable minority in the country's Northwest area adjacent to Nigeria's volatile northeast. Cameroon Muslims lean toward the Qadriyyah Sufi order as opposed to the Tijaniyya order. In this part of the country, the inhabitants are English speakers, whereas the rest of the country is majority French speaking. Hence, the reason for the French schooling system's dominance compared to the Cameroon education.

In Cameroon, there is an array of Muslim schools from a few are presented here to demonstrate what they offer. From among the list is Al-Hadanatou al-Islamiyah that is located in Yaounde's Tsinga district. It consists of a bilingual nursery and primary school that usually starts the day with the recitation of passages from the Qur'an. Next one comes across the Islamic High School that is domiciled in Kumbo's Kumbo-Bui Division. This school, which is a coeducation institution that admits learners of all religious and ethnic backgrounds, offers General Certificate Education courses at both the ordinary and advanced levels. Among its menu of courses, it includes Islamic studies and Arabic language. This school employs highly qualified staff that graduated from, among others, Cameroon's Federal Universities of Yaounde, Bamenda, and Buea, and the country's Ecole Normale Supérieure/Superior Normal Schools (ENS), as well as staff from Egypt's Al-Azhar.

The two examples demonstrate that unlike Qur'anic schools that only touch on Muslim teachings such as *tawhid*, the set of modern Muslim schools has a distinctive feature according to Akkari (2004, 14).[25] First, these schools are somewhat syncretic and, as noted, they provide bilingual instruction. That is the subjects are taught in both Arabic and French. Second, they provide both religious and secular subjects. Via this method, they not only disseminate precepts from the Qur'an but they also expose the students to important elements such as reading and writing French and include secular subjects in French such as mathematics and physical science. According to Akkari, this religious/secular approach opened the path that, "responds to a double necessity, on the one hand placing the child 'on the road to God' and on the other on the road to 'progress and modernity'" (14). Though rather dated, Al-Hajj Abdou, Bornu's Northwest Islamic Education Secretary, commented during November 2009 on the problems that these schools encountered. He stated that the challenges included, "inter alia, the quality of education, the intensification of pedagogic follow-up as well as financial control."[26] These challenges forced him to make a plea to the Cameroon Government to deal with the existence of fake organizations that attempted to stifle Northwest Islamic Education's smooth administration.

Central African Republic. Central African Republic (CAR) has a small Muslim community that has been characterized by Faouzi Kilembe as having a very low level of schooling. He contended that since the colonial period this minority Muslim community had nothing positive to say about the

modern secular school. He stated that they "considered school to be a 'sinful' device deployed by colonists to undermine the Islamic religion" (2015, 95). Kilembe argued that as a result, Muslim parents have always prioritized Qur'anic schools for their children's education. In CAR, traditional education played an important role overall in the lives of the society, while the Qur'anic school held this role for the developing Muslim community. In CAR, according to Kilembe, the Muslim community's circumstances were such that it was fairly common for Muslim parents to encourage their boys to give up their studies in favor of going into business. And as regards to their girls, more obstacles existed. Since they frequently marry young and had few employment options, they had even less access to schooling.

Southern Africa: South Africa, Botswana, Zambia, and Zimbabwe

The Southern African country cases: South Africa, Botswana, Zambia, and Zimbabwe were colonized by Britain and in the case of South Africa, earlier on by the Dutch with the British taking control much later.[27] Like their counterparts in Central Africa, they inherited a British educational system that consists of primary, secondary, and tertiary levels. However, in each of these countries there are slight differences at the primary and secondary levels. But like all other countries, they also have vocational studies as an alternative exit point from secondary education. At the tertiary level, these countries include a range of higher education institutions including universities and technikons or polytechnics. These are described in some detail below to highlight the Muslim education systems found within these countries.

South Africa. South Africa compared to Botswana and Zimbabwe has indeed an extremely vibrant tertiary environment and as a result has made great strides in various fields. Some of its more than 30 higher education institutions are ranked among the continent's premier universities. Interestingly, the South African Ministry of Higher Education recognized the Islamic Peace College of South Africa (IPSA) as one of its higher education institutions. But alongside this specific Muslim institution, South Africa is also the locale of many well-known *Darul-Ulum*, that is the "College of Islamic Sciences" institutions that are also described as *madrasas*. These *Darul-Ulum* schools are often popularly referred to in English as Muslim Theological Seminaries. These institutions are the alma maters for a significant percentage of higher educated South African Muslims who serve their communities in South Africa and in the wider Southern Africa region.

At this point, this chapter turns its attention to the schools in the other three Southern Africa countries where the systems differed markedly from those in Central Africa. While Central Africa is characterized by the presence of Qur'anic schools; in Southern Africa countries, Qur'anic schools are basically nonexistent. *Madrasas* are generally widespread in this region. This may be attributed to the fact that most of this region's Muslim population hails

from South Asia where a different type of *madrasa* proliferated. This South Asian *madrasa* is thus generally replicated in the region.

Botswana. Botswana is the home of a very small Muslim minority whose forebears hailed from South Asia and subsequently from parts of East Africa. Most of them belong to the Hanifite School of jurisprudence with a sprinkling coming from the Maliki, Shafi'ite, and even the Shi'ite schools. As the nascent community evolved, they had no *madrasas*, so families created home-based *madrasas* modeled on South Asian schools. Prior to Botswana's independence in 1966, the first modern Muslim school was set up; this is the Crescent School. It was established in 1961 by Bechuanaland Muslim Association (now known as Botswana Muslim Association or BMA) and was originally named the Lobatse Indian School.

The school was officially opened by the Honorable Sir Peter Fawcus who was the Resident Commissioner and who had served in this capacity during the time of His Excellency, Sir John Maud who was the then High Commissioner of the three territories: Lesotho, Swaziland, and Bechuanaland (Botswana). It started off as a small primary school, but it since developed into a large school with a rich history and an excellent record of results over the years. On July 1, 1966, the newly formed Botswana Ministry of Local Government took over the school, and on January 13, 1970, the Lobatse English Medium School and the Crescent Primary School were amalgamated. During this period, on November 2, 1966, the first group matriculated as they completed their Primary School Leavers' Examination. One may state that the total contribution of the school to the development of the country was immense. Many individuals who are in high positions today either received their education from Crescent School or they were associated in different ways with the school and its administration. Alongside this school independent or private *madrasas* also existed in the city of Gaborone as well as in other Botswana towns.

However, sometime later the BMA saw the formation of Al Nur School founded in 1991. Its premises were originally in makeshift buildings at the main mosque that was located opposite the University of Botswana. It eventually relocated near the Sir Seretse Khama International Airport in 1997, and since then, the school has grown in leaps and bounds offering integrated educational programs from pre-primary, primary, and secondary levels. In addition to offering secular subjects, its courses include subjects, such as Qur'an, *Hadith*, *Fiqh* (Muslim jurisprudence), and Muslim History for those wanting Islamic studies. From the outset, the school catered and continues to cater to both Muslim and non-Muslim children. Al Nur School, through its very able academic leadership and dedicated teachers, has become one of the best schools in the country; so far, it produces consistently excellent results in both academic and co-curricular activities. Subsequent to the success of Al-Nur, another Muslim-centered school was set up in a nearby town outside Gaborone.

This school is Al Haq School in Molepolole as yet another BMA product that promotes quality education. It emerged out of Molepolole's mosque premises that housed their *madrasa*. Like Al Nur School, Al Haq School consists of educational facilities that include a nursery, pre-primary, and primary school. This school also offers subjects in Islamic studies such as *Fiqh*, Muslim History, and *Hadith*. Apart from these modern Muslim schools, the *madrasas*, such as Himayat ul-Islam that is based at the main mosque in Gaborone, continue to operate alongside them. Since many of the Muslim children cannot be accommodated in these modern Muslim schools, they attend the secular state schools and, in the afternoons, they attend the *madrasas*. This shows that like other countries, they follow a dual system: one where a few are able to attend the modern Muslim school that offers both religious and secular subjects, while the majority attends the secular state schools and the *madrasas* that devote its agenda to Muslim teachings only.

Zimbabwe. In Zimbabwe, the Muslims form only 1% of the total population; the rest of the population are mainly Christian and African Traditional religion adherents. Still this small Muslim population has a well-established community that has familial ties with others in the region. For example, some Botswana families have familial connections in Zimbabwe, as well as some South African and Malawian Muslims found homes in this Zimbabwean community. Being an active community like their counterparts in South Africa, they opened many mosques and *madrasas* in the cities and towns. As a result of these developments, they have embedded themselves as a community on Zimbabwean soil.[28] Recently, the Supreme Council of Islamic Affairs in Zimbabwe's national chairperson Sheikh Duwa responded to some of the stereotypical views about Islam and Muslims. In an article in the *Sunday Mail* (2016), Duwa said that, "the Qur'an clearly states that if you are a minority in a county (sic) follow and obey the rules of that country. We know this is not an Islamic state, but we are Zimbabweans hence we must meaningfully contribute to its development. I would like to make an appeal to those who still have a stereotype about our Islam to research or ask before making utterance which can mislead people." He then added that one should, "Remember as Zimbabwean we have traditions for instance as Zezuru or Isindebele to maintain, a religion to worship and above all a country to develop."[29] According to another report during 2015, Muslim organizations exerted themselves to such an extent that, "a government decree was issued, stating that every 50 Muslim families have the right to establish an Islamic school (that teaches curricula in Arabic) in the region where these families live. Accordingly, a number of mosques and schools were established."[30]

One of the well-established Muslim-managed institutions is the Harare-based Crescent College that is located near Ridgeview Islamic Society. The college offers academic and professional education courses that consist of a variety of courses such as electronics, telecommunications, and business courses that are externally examined. Apart from this college, members of the community also established Islamic College. Islamic College was established

in 1985 and offered a few academic courses. Apart from admitting individuals from all backgrounds, it gives deserving students "free of cost education" and this is irrespective of the student's religious tradition. The founders stated that the college's main objective was to offer reasonably inexpensive quality education. As an educational institution, it collaborates closely with the Islamic Society of Zimbabwe that had prominent board members and teaching staff, such as Maulana Musa Menk, Shabbir Menk, Ismail Menk, and Maulana Basheer. Basheer assisted with the college's overall management. Besides these colleagues, the community also manages a few modern Muslim schools. Two schools of note are Mobeena Bashir Ebrahim Primary School that is open to everyone and that is located in Harare and the other is Musani Primary School that is situated in Birchenough Bridge.

Besides these Muslim schools which maintained a Muslim ethos, in 2017, Zimbabwe's then Minister of Education, Lazarus Dokora, approved an Islamic studies course as part of the new state curriculum. As might be expected, he came under fire from various Christian groups that were rather perturbed about this development. At that time, the former president, Mr. Robert Mugabe, supported the decision. According to journalist Simango in a 2016 article, "Minister of Primary and Secondary Education Lazarus Dokora, being in talks with the Muslim society with regards to the erection of more schools."[31] This article pointed to the new constitution's increasing of religious freedom, especially with more freedom of movement for Muslims as one reason for increased support for Muslim schools.

Zambia. The historical record indicates that Muslims reached the territory of present-day Zambia a few centuries ago when the Omani dynasty was dominant along Africa's east coast and its representatives penetrated its hinterlands during that period. According to Phiri (2008), Muslim scholarship highlighted their presence during the colonial period. Nonetheless, the Muslim community like that in Zimbabwe only makes up 1% of the total population. While most of them belong to the Sunni school of thought, a small number are Shi'ite Ismailis, with an even smaller group belonging to the Ahmadiyya. This last group was excommunicated from the Muslim orthodox theological leadership. The Ahmadiyya, despite its numerical weakness, has made its presence felt in the business sector and other areas of Zambian society.

In 1981, the Zambia Muslim community set up Lusaka Islamic Cultural Educational Foundation (LICEF) School that offers a variety of opportunities for learners. Learners may join the school at the nursery, primary, or secondary levels where both secular and religious subjects are offered (Cheyeka 1998). Unlike other modern Muslim schools, it is not a coeducation school and keeps the boy-child and girl-child separate. Along with that policy, it employed male teachers to teach the boys and female teachers to teach the girls. On top of that, it requires learners to follow the school's Muslim dress code. Members of the community also created the Makeni Islamic Society

Trust, established in 1972, in order to care for the community's moral, social, educational, cultural, religious, and physical aspects. Even though it started out functioning as a trust, its founders worked toward the formation of a nursery school, primary and secondary schools as well as teacher and vocational training colleges. In addition to these educational structures, it also oversees a day clinic and a few welfare programs. The Trust via these educational and social activities essentially set for itself the objective of arousing Muslim consciousness across the Muslim community especially in their youth. In another part of the city, the community established Madrasa Answalidiini school, and in the city of Chipata, it maintains the Mahadur-Rasheed-al Islami that is located along the Umodzi Highway in Zambia's Eastern Province. Somali immigrants also set up a school for their community in Zambia called Al-Ummah that provides quality education services at an international level.

CONCLUSION

Africa's Muslim education system is a long-established one that has been central to the formation of Muslim communities across the continent and especially in Central and Southern Africa where most of Muslims, except in Chad, remain as a minority group. While most of them enjoy the freedom of religion as exercised in their respective countries, a few of these communities have encountered difficulties with the lack of support at a national or sometimes local level. Despite these challenging encounters, they managed to adapt and tackle the barriers to providing Muslim education to their communities. Since many of the countries introduced religious education or religious studies course, Islamic studies as part of this Religion Education curriculum benefitted many Muslims and made many non-Muslims more aware of Muslim contributions to their nation and local communities. In some countries, it was pointed out the Christian communities were not too happy with the introduction of Religion Education. Nonetheless, it is now an acceptable part of the region's religious mosaic with the national educational systems generally accommodating Islamic studies as part of this curriculum.

This chapter conceptualized Muslim education and placed it within colonial and postcolonial contexts with the idea of giving an overall understanding of it in Central and Southern Africa. While this was attempted, one realized that to provide a fair overview and an appreciative insight it was rather an impossible task. Having taken this into account, this chapter primarily drew upon a selection of case studies to, at least, share some insights, in a somewhat limited capacity, into the state of Muslim education. What one was able to gather from this work is that the Muslim education system, though complex, made a substantial and consistent contribution over several generations to the formation of the Muslim communities' identity in Central and Southern Africa.

Notes

1. The designation of labels as to which countries belong to Central Africa and belong under Southern Africa is rather debatable; when one scans the map of Africa, one notes that those that should be regarded as part of Middle Africa are classified geopolitically as part of Central Africa and those described as Southern Africa as part of East Africa. In addition, when regional bodies such as the Southern Africa Development Community were constructed, it further confused regional boundaries. While one would like to advocate re-drawing the regions, the essay sticks to the geopolitical designation and categorization. For further discussion of delineating African regions, see Tandeka C. Nkiwane, 1999, "Contested Regionalism: Southern and Central Africa in the Post-Apartheid Era," *African Journal of Political Science* 4, no. 2: 126–142; P. R. Good, B. Derudder, and F. J. Witlox, 2011, "The Regionalization of Africa: Delineating Africa's Sub-regions Using Airline Data," *Journal of Geography* 110, no. 5: 179–190; and Daniel C. Bach, 2017, *Regionalism in Africa: Genealogies, Institutions and Trans-State Networks*, New York: Routledge.

2. Pew Research Center. *Latest Trends in Religious Restrictions and Hostilities.* Washington: Pew Research Center. 2015, pp. 22–25, 51–52.

3. Over the past few years, many scholars have emerged and proffered definitions of the tradition English term 'Islamic education'; since this essay forms part of a set of chapters that deal with the theme, it will avoid making reference to any preferred definition and only list a few references that are useful for further investigation.

4. Many publications have appeared, one useful text further reading is H. G. Koenig and S. A. Shohaib, 2014, *Health and Social Well-Being in Islamic Societies: Background, Research and Application*, Switzerland: Springer; Chapter 2 "Muslim Beliefs, Practices, and Values" highlights aspects of Muslim cultures.

5. One of the publications that inspired many revivalist Muslim organizations and that had been reprinted several times was Maulana Mawdudi's, 1996, *Islamic Way of Life*. Batha: Call of Guidance; Hammuda Abdalati's, 1997, *Islam in Focus*. Washington: Amana Publications was also widely circulated as an informative text on this theme.

6. For more on Muslim school literacy also, see Charles Robertson, 2017, "Why Literacy Rates Should be Taken Seriously by Investors in Africa," in *How We Made it in Africa*, https://www.howwemadeitinafrica.com/literacy-rates-taken-seriously-investors-africa/59331/; Jack Goody, ed., 1968, *Literacy in Traditional Societies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; and Mohammad Israr Khan, 2015, "Islamic Education System: A Complementary and Cost Effective Channel for Inclusive Elementary Education," *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Development* 2, no. 4: 0–9.

7. In fact, Global Education for Partnership (GPE) reported that the 2015/2016 statistics for the Central African Republic (CAR) where since 2013 violent conflict contributed to reduced access as secondary schools reported only 7%

and preprimary education was a mere 3%! The report also highlighted short-ages of teachers, schools, and textbooks. The CAR government, however, put in place a transitional education sector plan for 2015 to 2017. The scenario in neighboring Chad and Cameroon is significantly better according to GPE reports. World Bank (2016) for Chad reported ongoing improvement projects from 2013 through 2020 for literacy and other education programs. The GPE Cameroon Report (2014) reported a focus on and improvement in equity and quality in primary education service delivery.

8. See UN, 2015. The Millennium Development Goals Report 2015, New York: United Nations for an explanation of the goals and their outcomes. The UN Sustainable Development Goals were adopted in 2015 with 2030 as the target year for complete implementation. For more information on this UN program, see https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/development-agenda/.

9. See the United Nations Statistical Division for Sustainable Development Goals education and economic reports at https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/indicators/database/ and Global Partnership for Education development reports at www.globalpartnership.org/.

10. Mark Babatunde, 2017, "Swaziland Criticized for New Education Religion Ban," *Face2Face Africa*, January 26, https://face2faceafrica.com/article/swaziland-religion-ban.

11. For an overview of Muslim/Islamic studies, see Charles Adams and Richard Martin, 2001, *Approaches to Islam in Religious Studies*, London: Oneworld Publications and Clinton Bennet, 2014, *The Bloomsbury Companion to Islamic Studies*, New York, NY: Bloomsbury Publishing.

12. A sample site gives attention to Christian educational leadership its prominence at the national level is: https://www.angolanchristianacademy.com/about-us.html where a former Ministry of Education official transitioned to Superintendent of a major Christian academy.

13. See Hansjörg Dilger and Dorothea Schulz, 2013, "Politics of Religious Schooling: Christian and Muslim Engagements with Education in Africa: Introduction," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 43: 365–378. They observed that, "Islamic schooling evolved through a series of reform and counter reform initiatives that reflected the attempts of Muslim leaders and intellectuals to address the new requirements of the colonial regime and to carve out new niches for religious and political activism in the postcolonial state." And they stated in the Introduction to this special issue's set of studies that they co-edited, "These different studies demonstrate the present-day endeavor to promote Muslim schooling and thus sharpen the distinctiveness of Islamic education needs to be understood against the backdrop of long-term transformations in the field of Islamic learning transmission."

14. See Abdou Moumuni and David Scanlon, 2017, "Patterns of Education in Non-Western or Developing Countries: Africa," in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, https://www.britannica.com/topic/education/The-postindependence-period-in-India#ref47712; Abdou Moumouni, 1968, *Education in Africa*, translated by Phyllis N. Ott, New York: Praeger; and David Scanlon, ed., 1964, *Traditions of African Education*, New York: Columbia University Press. Moumouni and Scanlon (2017) underlined that long before colonial powers reached the continent's shores, African civilizations provided education to

prepare their "children for responsibility in the home, the village, and the tribe … [they] provided religious and vocational education as well as full initiation into the society." For example, they described San-Khoi tribal communities in Southern Africa's Kalahari where the fathers instructed their children in the principles of hunting. They averred that most of Africa's tribes [civilizations] "fell somewhere between the San and the Poro (a complex West African civilization) with respect to the educational arrangements they provided for their youth. Most societies offered (rites of passage) rituals to mark the end of puberty and relied heavily upon custom and example as the principal educational agents." They argued that, "A variety of formal observances, in addition to the experiences of daily living, impressed upon the youth his[/her] place in the society—a society in which religion, politics, economics, and social relationships were inextricably interwoven." As such, when Muslims entered these regions the question of interconnectedness of the sociocultural, political, economic, and religious structures was not debated but readily accepted.

15. See Said F. Hassan's discussion of these schools at ties to Muslim higher education institutions in Chapter 2 "Voice of Tradition: Muslim Minorities and Application of Islamic Law" (pp. 37–45) in his book, 2013, *Fiqh al-ʿAqaliyyat: History, Development, and Progress*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

16. See H. Fisher's, 1974, critical review of Renaud Santerre's, 1973, *Islamic Education in Africa*—Pédagogie musulmane d'Afrique noire: L'école coranique peule du Cameroun (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de) that appeared in *The Journal of African History* 15, no. 1: 167–168; in this review, Fisher also raised the issue of tension stating, "Santerre has less to say of the tension within Islamic education, between its traditional and modernized forms, a tension which almost invariably leads also to disputes about doctrine and religious practice" (168).

17. Bayard Dodge, 1962, *Muslim Education in Medieval Times*, Washington: Middle East Institute; George Makdisi, 1981, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; Abdel-Jaleel Akkari, 2004, "Socialization, Learning and Basic Education in Koranic Schools," *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies* 9, no. 2: 1–22; and A. K. Mirbabaev, 1996, "The Development of Education: Maktab, Madrasa, Science and Pedagogy: The Islamic Lands and their Culture," in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, Vol. IV, edited by C. E. Bosworth and M. S. Asimov, 31–44, Paris: UNESCO.

18. Akkari stated the following in arguing the reasons for the difficulty, "…. Koranic School is a paradoxical educational model that is difficult to analyze. On one hand, we find an archaic and depository cognitive system distinguished by extreme ritualization, rigid discipline and the exclusive focus on rote and decontextualized learning of the Koran, a sacred work, the mastery of which is difficult even for Arabic-speaking children (who represent a decided minority in Koranic Schools). On the other hand, one finds a great diversity in its organizational methods, a flexible arrangement between the written and the oral and a largely successful socio-cultural embeddedness in the local community" (2004, 9).

19. Also see the following encyclopedia entries: Daniel Ness and Chia-Ling Lin, eds., 2013, *International Education: An Encyclopedia of Contemporary Issues*

and Systems: "Chad," 298–299; "Congo, Republic of," 302–304; "Central Africa Republic," 297–298; and "Gabon," 318–319.

20. Xavier Luffin, 2017, "Arabic and Swahili Documents from Pre-Colonial Congo and EIC (Congo Free State, 1885–1908): Where were the Scribes?" in *The Arts and Crafts of Literacy: Islamic Manuscript Cultures in Sub-Saharan Africa*, edited by Andrea Brigaglia and Mauro Nobili, 279–298, Brussels: de Gruyter. Luffin makes reference to Qur'anic schools in the Congo (293–296) and quoted Arthur Detry's, 2012, A Stanleyville (Liege: La Meuse) that provided evidence of these scripts that were in circulation. He mentioned that some of these were Swahili treatises that were penned in Marungu during 1884 and 1885, while others were Arabic and Swahili letters, quite a number of these (circa 1884–1993), as well as prayer booklets that were produced during the Azande Kingdom era from 1897 to 1899. This underscores that those Muslims who formed the nascent Congolese Muslim minority came from East and West Africa, respectively, and their inputs resulted in creating a literate community, one that was alive to their Muslim identity through these publications and correspondences.

21. West Africa may be described as the region where Qur'anic schools, which have epistemological roots in an earlier period, were formed and nurtured throughout the twentieth century CE. This practice spread into Central Africa where Chadians, Cameroonians, and Central African Republicans inherited it and used it to spread Arabic literacy among their communities. Many essays were penned about this development, some of particular interest include: Helen N. Boyle, 2004, *Quranic Schools: Agents of Preservation and Change*, London: Routledge; Rudolph T. Ware III, 2014, *The Walking Qur'an: Islamic Education, Embodied Knowledge, and History in West Africa*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press; Hamidou Dia, Clothilde Hugon, and Rohen d'Aiglepierre, 2016, "Senegalese Quranic School Systems," *Afrique Contemporaine* 1, no. 257:106–110; and Hannah Hoechner, 2018, *Quranic Schools in Northern Nigeria: Everyday Experiences of Youth, Faith, and Poverty*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

22. See university listings and summary description for each case country at Scholaro, Inc. For example, Chad's university listings at Scholaro, Inc. 2019. "Reviews by Country: Chad," Chicago, IL, https://www.classbase.com/Countries/Chad/Universities.

23. See Kevin Cahill, 2010, *Even in Chaos: Education in Times of Emergency*, New York: Fordham University and The Center for International Humanitarian Cooperation, p. 213, where Cahill referred to Prof. I Khayar's 1975 study titled *Rejecting Schools: A Contribution to the Study of Education Problems Among the Muslims of Quaddai*. Herein he stated that the community in Quaddai refused to permit their children to attend the secular school. Also see T. Ekpon, 2017, "The Role of Young People in Preventing Violent Extremism in the Lake Chad Basin," The Hague, The Netherlands: CORDAID.

24. See the Salam Institute for Peace and Development project site at http://salaminstitute.org/portal/peace-through-development-ii-pdev-ii/.

25. Also see H. Fisher's, 1974, critical review of Renaud Santerre's, 1973, *Islamic Education in Africa, The Journal of African History* 15, no. 1:167–168.

26. "Islamic Education Secretary Optimistic," *Vanguard Cameroon News*, November 2009.

27. For a fuller discussion on Muslim education in Southern Africa, see Yusef Waghid, 2017, "Islamic Education in South Africa," *Handbook of Islamic Education, International Handbooks of Religion and Education*, vol 7, edited by H. Daun and R. Arjmand, Cham: Springer, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-53620-0.

28. For more information on Zimbabwe, see "Islamic Community," Religion in Zimbabwe Organization, 2019, https://relzim.org/major-religions-zimbabwe/islam/ and see Da'wah Zimbabwe at http://www.dawahzimbabwe.org/islamic-scholars-in-zimbabwe/sheikh-issa-collen-musanhu.

29. Sheikh Ishmail Duwa, "Muslims Clarify Role in Zimbabwe," *Sunday Mail* (Zimbabwe), May 8, 2016, http://www.sundaymail.co.zw/muslims-clarify-role-in-zimbabwe/.

30. "Muslim Minority in the Republic of Zimbabwe," *Islamweb.net*, October 29, 2015, http://www.islamweb.net/en/article/207610/muslim-minority-in-the-republic-of-zimbabwe.

31. Munashe Simango, "The Steady Growth of Islam in Zimbabwe," *The African Exponent*, November 13, 2016, https://www.africanexponent.com/post/8110-the-steady-growth-of-islam-in-zimbabwe.

References

Adams, Charles, and Richard Martin. 2001. *Approaches to Islam in Religious Studies*. London: Oneworld Publications.

Akkari, Abdel-Jaleel. 2004. "Socialization, Learning and Basic Education in Koranic Schools." *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies* 9 (2): 1–22.

Al-Attas, Sayyid Naquib. 1977. *Aims and Objectives of Islamic Education*, London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Bach, Daniel C. 2017. *Regionalism in Africa: Genealogies, Institutions and Trans-State Networks*. New York: Routledge.

Barongo-Muweke, Norah. 2016. *Decolonizing Education: Towards Reconstructing a Theory of Citizenship Education for Postcolonial Africa*. Wiesbaden: Springer VW.

Battiste, Marie Ann. 2016. *Decolonizing Education: Nourishing the Learning Spirit*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Bennet, Clinton. 2014. *The Bloomsbury Companion to Islamic Studies*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Bonate, Liazzat. 2008. "The Use of Arabic Script in Northern Mozambique." *Tydskrif vir letterkunde* 45 (1): 133–142.

Bonate, L., and C. Mutiua. 2011. "Duas cartas de Farallahi." *Estudos Moçambicanos* 22 (1): 91–106.

Boyle, Helen N. 2004. *Quranic Schools: Agents of Preservation and Change*. London: Routledge.

Boyle, Helen N. 2006. "Memorization and Learning in Islamic Schools." *Comparative Education Review* 50 (3): 478–495.

Cahill, Kevin. 2010. *Even in Chaos: Education in Times of Emergency*. New York: Fordham University and The Center for International Humanitarian Cooperation.

Carmody, Brendan. 2003. "Religious Education and Pluralism in Zambia." *Religious Education* 98 (2): 139–154.

Cheyeka, A. M. 1998. "The Proclamation of Zambia as a Christian Nation: The Islamic Dimension." *African Christian Studies* 14 (2): 55–72.

Chidester, David. 2003. "Religion Education in South Africa: Teaching and Learning About Religion, Religions, and Religious Diversity." *British Journal of Religious Education* 25 (4): 261–278.

Chidester, David. 2006. "Religion Education and the Transformational State in South Africa." *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice* 50 (3): 61–83.

Chtatou, M. 1992. *Using Arabic Script in Writing the Languages of the Peoples of Muslim Africa*. Rabat: ISESCO.

Coertzen, Pieter. 2002. "Freedom of Religion and Religious Education in a Pluralistic Society." *Dutch Reformed Theological Journal* 43 (1&2): 185–196.

Collelo, T. 1988. *Chad: A Country Study*. Washington: Library of Congress.

D'Aiglepierre, Rohen, and Arthur Bauer. 2018. "The Choice of Arab-Islamic Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Findings from a Comparative Study." *International Journal of Educational Development* 62 (C): 47–61. Elsevier.

D'Aiglepierre, Rohen, Hamidou Dia, and Clothilde Hugon. 2018. "Can Arabo-Islamic Education Be Ignored?" *A Question of Development: Syntheses of AFD and Research*, no. 36.

Davids, Achmat. 1993. "The Early Afrikaans Publications and Manuscripts in the Arabic Script." In *Festschrift in Honor of F.R. Bradlow*, edited by Pieter Westra and Brian Warner, 61–82. Cape Town: South African Library.

Davids, Achmat. 1994. "Alternative Education: Tuan Guru and the Formation of the Cape Muslim Community." In *Pages from Cape Muslim History*, edited by Yusuf da Costa and Achmat Davids, 47–56. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter.

Davies, Geraint. 2007. "Religious Education in Botswana: An Example of Development, Progress and Vision." *British Journal of Religious Education* 29 (2): 141–156.

Dia, Hamidou, Clothilde Hugon, and Rohen d'Aiglepierre. 2016. "Senegalese Quranic School Systems." *Afrique Contemporaine* 1 (257):106–110.

Dilger, Hansjorg, and Dorothea Schulz. 2013. "Politics of Religious Schooling: Christian and Muslim Engagements with Education in Africa: Introduction." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 43: 365–378.

Dinama, Baamphatlha. 2010. "Implementing a Multi-faith Religious Education Curriculum in Botswana Junior Secondary Schools." *Perspectives in Education* 28 (1): 16–23.

Dodge, Bayard. 1962. *Muslim Education in Medieval Times*. Washington: Middle East Institute.

Dreyer, J. S. 2007. "The National Policy on Religion and Education in South Africa: Reflections from a Public Practical Theology." *Practical Theology in South Africa* 22 (2): 40–60.

Drønen, Tomas Sundnes. 2013. *Pentecostalism, Globalisation, and Islam in Northern Cameroon: Megachurches, Series: Studies of Religion in Africa*. Vol. 41. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.

Ekpon, T. 2017. *The Role of Young People in Preventing Violent Extremism in the Lake Chad Basin*. The Hague, Netherlands: CORDAID.

Fisher, H. 1974. "Book Review: Renaud Santerre. 1973. *Islamic Education in Africa/Pédagogie Musulmane d'Afrique noire: L'école Coranique Peule du Cameroun*. Montréal: Presses de l'Université de." *The Journal of African History* 15 (1): 167–168.

Global Education for Partnership (GPE). 2012. "Education Sector Action Plan of the Central African Republic for 2013–2015." Washington, DC: GPE. https://www.globalpartnership.org/country/central-african-republic.

Global Education for Partnership. 2014. "Education and Training Sector Strategy Plan for 2013–2020." Washington, DC: GPE. https://www.globalpartnership.org/fr/content/plan-sectoriel-education-cameroun.

Good, P. R., B. Derudder, and F. J. Witlox. 2011. "The Regionalization of Africa: Delineating Africa's Sub-regions Using Airline Data." *Journal of Geography* 110 (5): 179–190.

Hardy, Mike, Fiyaz Mughul, and Sarah Markiewicz. 2017. *Muslim Identity in a Turbulent Age: Islamic Extremism and Western Islamophobia*. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers.

Hashim, Che Noraini, and Hasan Langgulung. 2008. "Islamic Religious Curriculum in Muslim Countries: The Experiences of Indonesia and Malaysia." *Bulletin of Education & Research* 30 (1): 1–19.

Hassan, Said F. 2013. *Fiqh al-ʿAqaliyyat: History, Development, and Progress*. New York City, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Heleta, S. 2016. "Decolonisation of Higher Education: Dismantling Epistemic Violence and Eurocentrism in South Africa." *Transformation in Higher Education* 1 (1): a9.

Hoechner, Hannah. 2018. *Quranic Schools in Northern Nigeria: Everyday Experiences of Youth, Faith, and Poverty*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hoel, Arne. 2016. "Building Quality School Infrastructure for Chadian Students and Teachers." Washington, DC: World Bank. http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2016/06/16/building-quality-school-infrastructure-for-chadian-students-and-teachers.

Hughes, Aaron. 2013. *Muslim Identities: An Introduction to Islam*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Hussein, Amjad. 2004. "Islamic Education: Is There a Need for It?" *Journal of Beliefs and Values* 25 (3): 217–323.

Izama, Melina Platas. 2014. "Muslim Education in Africa: Trends and Attitudes towards Faith-Based Schools." *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 12 (2): 38–50.

Iner, Deyra, and Salih Yucel, eds. 2015. *Muslim Identity Formation in Religiously Diverse Societies*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press.

Jimba, Moshood Mahmood M. 2016. "Al-Azhar University's Role in Educating Nigerians: A Case Study of the Ilorin Al-Azhar Institute." In *Muslim Institutions of Higher Education in Postcolonial Africa*, edited by Mbaye Lo and Muhammed Haron, 221–338. New York City, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kadi, Wadad, and Victor Billeh. 2006. "Islam and Education: Myths and Truths." *Comparative Education Review* 50 (3): 311–324.

Khan, Mohammad Israr. 2015. "Islamic Education System: A Complementary and Cost Effective Channel for Inclusive Elementary Education." *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Development* 2 (4): 0–9.

Kilembe, F. 2015. "Local Dynamics in the Pk5 District of Bangui." In *Making Sense of the Central African Republic*, edited by T. Carayannis and L. Lombard, 93–99. London: Zed Books.

Koenig, H. G., and S. A. Shohaib. 2014. *Health and Social Well-Being in Islamic Societies: Background, Research and Application*. Switzerland: Springer.

Kurian, George Thomas, and Mark A. Lamport, eds. 2015. *Encyclopedia of Christian Education*. 3 Vols. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Luffin, Xavier. 2014. "Swahili Documents from Congo 19th Century: Variation in Orthography." In *Arabic Script in Africa: Studies in the Use of a Writing System*, edited by M. Mumin and K. Versteegh, 311–318. Boston: Brill.

Luffin, Xavier. 2017. "Arabic and Swahili Documents from Pre-colonial Congo and EIC (Congo Free State, 1885–1908): Where Were the Scribes?" In *The Arts and Crafts of Literacy: Islamic Manuscript Cultures in Sub-Saharan Africa*, edited by Andrea Brigaglia and Mauro Nobili, 279–298. Brussels: de Gruyter.

MacGregor, Karen. 2017. "Is Africa's Education Landscape Fit for the Future?" *Rural 21: The International Journal for Rural Development* 51 (3): 18–20. http://www.rural21.com/english/news/detail/article/is-africas-education-landscape-fit-for-the-future-00002493/.

Makdisi, George. 1981. *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Marranci, Gabriel. 2009. *Understanding Muslim Identity: Rethinking Fundamentalism*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Matemba, Yonah Hisbon. 2005. "Multi-faith Religious Education in Botswana." *Religious Education* 100 (4): 404–424.

Matemba, Yonah Hisbon. 2009. "Religious Education in the Context of Sub Saharan Africa: The Malawian Example." *British Journal of Religious Education* 31 (1): 41–51.

Mfum-Mensah, Obed. 2017. "Education and Communities at the 'Margins': The Contradictions of Western Education for Islamic Communities in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Bulgarian Comparative Education Society* 15: 45–51.

Mirbabaev, A. K. 1996. "The Development of Education: Maktab, Madrasa, Science and Pedagogy: The Islamic Lands and Their Culture." In *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*. Vol. IV, edited by C. E. Bosworth and M. S. Asimov, 31–44. Paris: UNESCO.

Moumouni, Abou. 1968. *Education in Africa*. Translated by Phyllis N. Ott. New York: Praeger.

Moumouni, Abdou, and David Scanlon. 2017. "Patterns of Education in Non-Western or Developing Countries: Africa." In *Encyclopedia Britannica*. https://www.britannica.com/topic/education/The-postindependence-period-in-India#ref47712.

Moussa, A. Y. 2016. "King Faisal University in Chad: Challenges, Opportunities, and Future Prospects" (chapter 9). In *Muslim Institutions of Higher Education in Postcolonial Africa*, edited by Mbaye Lo and Muhammed Haron, 157–177. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Mumin, M., and K. Versteegh, eds. 2014. *Arabic Script in Africa: Studies in the Use of a Writing System*. Boston: Brill.

Ndlovu, Lovemore. 2014. "Religion Education Teaching in Zimbabwe Secondary Schools: The Search for an Authentic Values-Oriented Multi-faith Religion Education Pedagogical Model." *British Journal of Religious Education* 36 (2): 174–201.

Ness, Daniel, and Chia-Ling Lin, eds. 2013. *International Education: An Encyclopedia of Contemporary Issues and Systems*. London: Taylor & Francis.

Ngom, Falu. 2017. "West African Manuscripts in Arabic and African Languages and Digital Preservation." In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia: African History*. africanhistory.oxfordre.com.

Nkiwane, Tandeka C. 1999. "Contested Regionalism: Southern and Central Africa in the Post-Apartheid Era." *African Journal of Political Science* 4 (2): 126–142.

Nkomazana, Fidelis. 2007. "The Relevance of Religious Education in Botswana's School Curriculum." *Boleswa Occasional Papers in Theology and Religion* 2 (4): 72–86.

Panjwani, Farid. 2004. "The 'Islamic' in Islamic Education: Assessing the Discourse." *Current Issues in Comparative Education* 7 (1): 19–29.

Park, Jaddon, and Sarfaroz Niyozov. 2008. "Madrasa Education in South Asia and Southeast Asia: Current Issues and Debates." *Asia Pacific Journal of Education* 28 (4): 323–351.

Pew Research Center. 2015. *Latest Trends in Religious Restrictions and Hostilities*. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center.

Phiri, Felix J. 2008. *Muslim Associations and the Resurgence of Islam in Zambia*. Lusaka: FENZA with the Lembani Trust.

Puddington, Arch, and Tyler Roylance (with Elen Ahekyan, Jennifer Dunham, Shannon O'Toole, Sarah Rapucci, and Vanessa Tucker). 2017. *Populists and Autocrats: The Dual Threat to Global Democracy*. New York: Freedom House.

Raditoaneng, Wapu N. 2011. "Problems Encountered in the Teaching of Religious Education: A Case Study in Botswana." *The Western Journal of Black Studies* 35 (1): 22–38.

Reichmuth, Stephan. 2000. "Islamic Education and Scholarship in Sub-Saharan Africa." In *The History of Islam in Africa*, edited by N. Levetzion and R. Pouwels, 419–440. Athens: Ohio University Press.

Scanlon, David, ed. 1964. *Traditions of African Education*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Simuchimba, Melvin. 2001. "Religious Education in a 'Christian Nation': The Case of Zambia." *British Journal of Religious Education* 23 (2): 107–116.

Smith, Tiffany. 2016. "Make Space for Indigeneity: Decolonizing Education." *Saskatchewan Education Leadership Unit: Research Review Journal* 1 (2): 49–59.

Tayob, Abdulkader. 2015. "Religion Education Policy and Conflict Over Religious Performance in Post-Apartheid Schools." Paper presented at Social Transformation, Social Policy and Social Service in BRICS Shanghai (November) and at Religious Violence and/or Violence in the Name of Religion 37th Congress of the Association for the Study of Religion in Southern Africa (ASRSA), Johannesburg (October).

UNESCO Institute for Statistics. 2017. "Literacy Rates Continue to Rise from One Generation to the Next: Fact Sheet No. 45." New York: UNESCO.

United Nations. 2015. *The Millennium Development Goals Report 2015*. New York: UN.

United Nations. 2019. *Sustainable Development Goals*. New York: UN. https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/.

Van Selms, Adrianus. 1952. "Islamic Literature in Afrikaans." *Muslim Digest* 16–21.

Villalón, Leonardo A., and Mahaman Tidjani-Alou. 2012. "Religion and Education Reform in Africa: Harnessing Religious Values to Developmental Ends?" *African Power and Politics Programme Policy Brief*, No. 07.

Waghid, Yusef. 2016. "Islamic Education and Contemporary Ethical Dilemmas." In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Education*, editor in chief George W. Noblit. New York: Oxford University Press. http://education.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264093.001.0001/acrefore-9780190264093-e-11?print=pdf.

Waghid, Yusef. 2017. "Islamic Education in South Africa." In *Handbook of Islamic Education, International Handbooks of Religion and Education*. vol 7, edited by H. Daun and R. Arjmand. Switzerland: Springer International. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-53620-0.

Ware, Rudolph T., III. 2014. *The Walking Qur'an: Islamic Education, Embodied Knowledge, and History in West Africa*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Islamic Philosophies of Education in Africa

Oludamini Ogunnaike

Any form of education, by definition, implies a pedagogy—a method or form of instruction or transmission of knowledge, which in turn, implies an epistemology—a conception or understanding of what this knowledge is, how it is acquired, and its relationship to truth or reality. Thus, different epistemologies give rise to different pedagogies and forms of education, even as these different educational settings and pedagogical practices and paradigms reinforce, influence, and shape the worldviews (and epistemologies) of those who participate in them.

As the fourteenth-century Islamic scholar Al-Shāṭibī (d. 1388) wrote, characterizing traditional Islamic conceptions of knowledge and education, "Knowledge was in the chests of men, then it was transferred to books, with its keys in the hands of men." Similarly, the seminal Africanist and *belle-lettrist* Amadou Hampâté Bâ (d. 1999) characterized these traditional processes of knowledge transmission in the African context:

> Writing is one thing and knowledge is another. Writing is the photographing of knowledge, but it is not knowledge itself. Knowledge is a light which is within man. It is the heritage of all the ancestors knew and have transmitted to us as seed, just as the mature baobab is contained in its seed.

The African continent has been the site of important traditions of Islamic educational practice including some of the oldest "formal" institutes of Islamic learning: the mosque "universities" of al-Zaytūnā in modern-day Tunis (est. ~79/701 CE), al-Qarawiyyīn in Fes (est. ~245/859 CE) and

O. Ogunnaike (✉)
The University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA, USA
e-mail: oo4qw@virginia.edu

Al-Azhar in Cairo (est. 359/970 CE) as well as theorizations of this practice and the nature of knowledge. This article will provide a general theoretical introduction to some of the most influential Islamic theories of knowledge and education on the African continent over the fourteen centuries of its Islamic history. While these traditions of knowledge and learning have been dynamic, diverse, and contested from their early history, the past century has witnessed the emergence of radically new traditions of Islamic education not only through the impact of Western colonial and neocolonial interventions, but also through the development of modern Muslim intellectual and political movements such as Salafism. Thus, this chapter will be divided into two main sections: the first, longer section discussing traditional Islamic philosophies of education[1] and, the second, addressing twentieth-century developments in Islamic philosophies of education (including in these traditional Islamic philosophies or approaches to education).

TRADITIONAL ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHIES OF EDUCATION IN AFRICA

Knowledge in Islamic Africa

As acknowledged in these following scriptural sources:

> *Say: My Lord, increase me in knowledge* (Qur'an 20:114);
>   Knowledge is Light (Saying of the Prophet Muhammad)

knowledge is the cornerstone of Islamic piety. According to Islamic tradition, the first verses of Qur'an revealed were "Recite in the name of your Lord who created, created man from a clot. Recite, and your lord is most generous, who taught by the pen, taught man that which he knew not,"[2] indicating the understood Divine origins of knowledge and its centrality in Islamic civilization from its earliest foundations. As Franz Rosenthal wrote:

> *'Ilm* [knowledge] is one of those concepts that have dominated Islam and given Muslim civilization its distinctive shape and complexion. In fact, there is no other concept that has been operative as a determinant of Muslim civilization in all its aspects to the same extent as *'ilm*… None of them equals *'ilm* [knowledge] in depth of meaning and wide incidence of use. (2007, 2)

A wide variety of human intellectual and artistic endeavors from jurisprudence to geology, music to mathematics, agriculture to astronomy, logic to linguistics, poetry, philosophy, mysticism, medicine, social history, and scriptural hermeneutics were all classified and structured as *'ilm*—a word which at once means knowledge, science, and discipline.

The Qur'an and early Islamic traditions portray knowledge as mankind's *raison d'être*: an early commentary on the Qur'anic verse, "I only created humankind…to worship me," (51:56) glosses, "to worship me" as "to know

me" and another tradition in which God says, "I was a hidden treasure and I loved to be known, so I created the creatures that they might know me" were and are oft-cited by African Islamic scholars (Niasse n.d., 62). Traditions attributed to the Prophet (*ḥadīth*) enjoin Muslims to "seek knowledge even unto China" and command that "seeking knowledge is incumbent upon every man and woman." These and other prophetic traditions and verses of the Qur'an explicitly connect knowledge to reverence, piety, and rank:

> Revere God, and God will teach you, God knows everything (2:282);

> Only the knowledgeable among His servants fear God (35:28);

> What of one who is devoutly obedient during the watches of the night, prostrating and standing [in prayer], wary of the Hereafter and hoping for the mercy of his Lord? Say: 'Are those who know and those who do not know equal?' Only the possessors of intellect reflect (39:9); and

> God will raise in degrees those who believe and those who have been given knowledge (58:11).

The Epistemological and the Ethical

Thus learning, the quest for knowledge, was imbued with a sacred and existential character. That is, one became a better person through learning, and learning made one a better person. As the ninth-century Afro-Arab scholar, Al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 868) wrote, "Knowledge is something that will not give part of itself to you until you give your all to it, and when you give your all to it, then you stand a chance but you cannot be sure that it will give you that part."

In fact, drawing upon the Islamic philosophical tradition *falsafa* (which itself drew upon Greco-Roman philosophical traditions), many scholars argued that since the intellect was humanity's defining feature, the perfection of the intellect through learning leads to the goal and perfection of the human state. As the fifteenth-century North African scholar Ibn Khaldūn wrote, as cited in Cook (2010), in his famous *Muqaddimah*:

> It should be known that God distinguished man from all the other animals by an ability to think, which He made the beginning of human perfection and the end of man's noble superiority over existing things…. The end of the process is to be provided with the perception of existence as it is, with its various genera, differences, reasons, and causes. By thinking about these things, (man) achieves perfection in his reality and becomes pure intellect and perceptive soul. This is the meaning of human reality…. In his first condition, before he has attained discernment, man is simply matter, in as much as he is ignorant of all knowledge. He reaches perfection of his form through knowledge, which he acquires through his own organs. Thus, his human essence reaches perfection of existence. (210–211, 215)

This perfection is not only intellectual, but also moral, existential, and spiritual. Ethical cultivation was understood to be essential to the proper functioning of the intellect and the acquisition of knowledge, even as knowledge was essential to the worship of God and ethical perfection. As ʿUthmān ibn Fūdi (d. 1817) (known as Usman dan Fodio) the founder of the Sokoto Caliphate[3] wrote:

> God, may he be exalted, is worshipped by means of knowledge (ʿilm) and reverence (taqwā), not by ignorance (jahl) and corrupt passions (hawā). Ibn ʿaṭā Allāh,[4] may God be pleased with him, said in his Ḥikam, "it is not feared that the paths of truth will not be clear to you, but rather that your corrupt passions will conquer you." (translated by Shareef 2017, 11)

Perhaps the most influential African Islamic scholar of the past century, the Senegalese scholar and Sufi, Shaykh Ibrāhīm Niasse (d. 1975), similarly wrote:

> The first thing required of the believing servant is to know knowledge, and reverence (taqwā) is the key to knowledge. God, Most High says, *Revere God and God will teach you, God is of every thing knowing* (2:282). The first thing required of man is knowledge. So whoever desires knowledge, let him revere God. As Imām Shāfiʿī has said in this regard:
>
>> I complained to Wakīʿof the weakness of my memory
>> And he advised me to leave aside disobedience
>> He told me that knowledge is a light
>> And God does not give light to the disobedient.[5]
>
> Reverence (taqwā) is conforming to the commands and avoiding the prohibitions outwardly and inwardly. I say reverence (taqwā) is avoiding leaving what God has made obligatory for you and avoiding doing what God has prohibited. (n.d., 56)

Thus, not only is ethical cultivation important to the acquisition of knowledge, but certain forms of knowledge are inaccessible to those without the proper moral qualifications. From the perspective of the Sufis, this is because knowledge is contained in the heart, which is often likened to a mirror that can be "occluded or rusted" by corrupt passions, character flaws, and evil thoughts and "polished" (in the terms of a ḥadīth) by keeping company with and obeying a spiritual master (shaykh) and by spiritual exercises such as the remembrance/invocation (dhikr) of God, prayer, fasting, contemplation (fikr) and observing the sharīʿa (Divine law) and the sunna (Prophetic example). From the perspective of the Islamic philosophers (falāsifa), this close relationship between ethics and epistemology is due to the fact that knowledge is acquired by the intellect (ʿaql), which is an immaterial substance; and so the passions and lusts that tie the intellect to the body and the world of matter weaken it, while spiritual exercises such as following the sharīʿa and sunna, prayer, fasting, and contemplation of higher realities strengthen it and free it from its

earthly bonds. In both perspectives, knowledge was seen as a Divine bestowal that could not be received or contained by a heart or intellect unprepared for it—just as damp wood cannot carry flame, or a sieve cannot carry water. Thus, higher or more subtle forms of knowledge required a higher degree of spiritual/ethical cultivation, just as a sieve can carry wood chips, but not sand.

Conversely, ethical cultivation was understood and described as putting knowledge into practice. An important concomitant of this equation was the fact that knowledge that was not put into practice for the betterment of one's self, community, or environment was seen as defective and dangerous.[6] Those who learned without putting their knowledge into practice were often described by the Qur'anic image of "a donkey carrying books," as Sheik Aḥmadu Bamba (1850–1927), the Senegalese scholar and founder of the Mouride Sufi order, wrote in two of his poems (translated below by the author from Arabic).[7] Bamba emphasized the union of knowledge, practice, and virtue:

> Everyone who acts without knowledge is like a speck of dust in the wind
> And he who acquires knowledge without practicing it is a loaded donkey. (Bamba 1988, 234)

And in another poem, he writes:

> Is it useful for the hungry to hold a sickle without ever farming in the fields?
> Is it useful for the thirsty to have a rope without ever using it to draw water?
> …
> If your progress in knowledge does not lead to spiritual growth and detachment from worldly things
> You are regressing and harming yourself because you are distancing yourself from God Most High. Consider the saying of the Messenger of God
> The peace and blessings of God be on him, his family, and his noble companions:
> "Certainly going hunting without a weapon is the action of ignorant fools."
> ….
> So you should never go hunting without carrying weapons, well-sharpened, nor take up these weapons without going hunting
> It is necessary to both take up weapons and go hunting, and do your best to attain your goal
> Which is what? To be saved from the danger of these fatal illusions
> …
> Know that learning accompanied by action constitutes an illusion when it is attached to vices. (Bamba 1984, 77–78, 20)

As seminal Islamicist and contemporary Islamic Philosopher, Seyyed Hossein Nasr writes, this perspective constitutes a "universal Islamic principle stated in so many ḥadīths that gaining theoretical knowledge and a purification of the soul have to be combined in order for 'science' or *ʿilm* to become rooted in the soul, transform its substance and embellish it in such a way that it will be worthy of eternal life in the Divine Presence" (1984, 7).

TYPES OF KNOWLEDGE

African Islamic scholars (and the influential Islamic authors they quoted) defined knowledge in numerous ways. In one work, the Andalusian/North African mystical philosopher Ibn Sab‘īn (d. 1271) gives over a dozen definitions of knowledge from various sources, including:

> knowledge is the perception of existing things *qua* existing things;
> knowledge is the cognition of the object known as it is;
> knowledge is the finding of the heart with firm conviction without change;
> knowledge is the form of the object known in the soul of the knower; and
> knowledge is the verification in the mind of what is imagined and conceived. (as quoted in Rosenthal 2007, 52–68)

Some influential thinkers, such as twelfth-century scholar al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) and the thirteenth-century scholar Ibn ‘Arabī (d. 1240), argued that knowledge could not be defined normally since this definition would itself rely upon the knowledge of knowledge, leading to a vicious circle (ibid., 48–51). Instead, scholars such as al-Ghazālī and Ibn Khaldūn divided and classified different kinds of knowledge based on their sources and means of acquisition. At the most basic level, there is knowledge derived from the physical senses (*maḥsūsāt*) such as the taste of honey. At a higher level is the knowledge derived from intellectual reflection (*ma‘qūlāt*), such as logic and mathematics, and knowledge derived from transmission from the revelations to Prophet (*manqūlāt*) such as Qur’an, hadith, and *fiqh* (jurisprudence).[8] Still higher were the various forms of direct or mystical knowledge (*ma‘rifa*, pl. *ma‘ārif*) of God and higher levels of reality which were acquired through spiritual purification, Divine bestowal, and contemplation (*fikr/tafakkur*). This suprarational knowledge was understood as the verification and realization (*taḥqīq*) of both rational (*‘aqlī*) and transmitted (*naqlī*) forms of knowledge, having the immediacy of sensory knowledge, for which reason it was often called "tasting" (*dhawq*) or "unveiling" (*kashf*), due to its direct, experiential nature.

For example, one could learn the philosophical and theological proofs for the existence of the oneness and uniqueness of the Necessary Being (*wājib al-wujūd*) and its attributes, connecting them with the descriptions of God's oneness and attributes in the Qur’an and *ḥadīth*, but these knowledges could be "verified" through the direct witnessing or experience of Divine oneness in the mystical state of annihilation in God (*fanā’ fī Llāh*) in which one loses all awareness of everything but God and the divisions between knower, known, and knowledge collapse in the absolute unity of the Divine. The thirteenth-century Persian scholar, theologian, and Sufi, al-Ghazālī, whose works were and still are widely read and influential throughout the African continent, compares this direct form of knowledge (*dhawq*) to ordinary conceptual knowledge (*dirāya*), writing, "how great a difference there is between knowing and causes of health and satiety and *being* healthy and sated, and how great a difference there is between knowing the definition of

drunkenness…and being drunk!" (as quoted in Watt 2005, 47). In a related Qur'anically inspired schema, ordinary conceptual knowledge is called "the lore of certainty" (*'ilm al-yaqīn*) and is likened to hearing about a fire; putting this knowledge into practice (walking to where one heard the fire was located) can lead to "the eye of certainty" (*'ayn al-yaqīn*), which is likened to seeing the fire; and fully realizing this knowledge is described as "the reality of certainty" (*ḥaqq al-yaqīn*), which is likened to being consumed in fire (knower, knowledge, and known become one) (Lings 1992).

Another popular schema is based upon a famous hadith in which the Prophet describes the three dimensions of the Islamic tradition as *Imān* (belief): believing in God, His angels, His books, and His Messengers, the Last Day, and the Divine Decree; as *Islām* (submission): Testifying there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is His Messenger, performing the prayer, paying the poor-tithe, fasting during Ramadan, and performing the pilgrimage (*hajj*); and as *Iḥsān* (excellence): worshiping God as if you see Him, for if you do not see Him, He sees you. The first dimension (*imān*) is identified with the science or discipline of theology (*'ilm al-kalām* or *'ilm al-tawḥīd*) and the acquisition of correct knowledge, the second dimension (*islām*) is identified with the science of jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and with putting this knowledge into practice, and the third dimension (*iḥsān*) with science of Sufism (*'ilm al-taṣawwuf*) and the assimilation and verification (*taḥqīq*) of this knowledge.

These divisions of knowledge can be seen in a remarkable poem entitled "Gratitude for the Bestower," (*Shukr lil-Wāhib*) the great Sokoto scholar and grandson of Usman Dan Fodio, Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Muṣṭafā, known as Dan Tafa (d. 1864) divided all of the forms of knowledge he acquired over the course of his life into six categories: (1) "the sciences/knowledge (*'ulūm*, the plural of *'ilm* [knowledge]) of the *sharī'a*," such as Arabic linguistic sciences, jurisprudence, theology, Prophetic traditions, which he acquired through "transmission, listening, study, memorization, and diligence"; (2) "the sciences of the ancients" such as medicine, arithmetic, logic, physics, astronomy, and various forms of divination, which he acquired through independent study of texts and transmission from other scholars; (3) "the sciences of realities," such as the knowledge of the Divine Essence, the manifestation of Divine Names and Qualities, of spirits and supra-sensory, higher levels of reality (*malakūt* and *jabarūt*), which he attained "with the help of the Real (one of the 99 names of God)" through realization (*taḥqīq*) and spiritual elevation (*taraqqī*) as well as being described in texts that were transmitted to him and that he transmitted in turn; (4) "the sciences of the saints (*awliyā'*), which are the knowledge of mysteries (*asrār*) from the Sufi path…for which there are neither written texts nor rational proofs" and whose "elaborated exposition has been forbidden," such as annihilation in God (*fanā'*), which he attained through the direct experience (*dhawq*) of spiritual wayfaring (*sulūk*) and Divine attraction (*jadhb*); (5) "the sciences of mysteries (*asrār*) from outside the Sufi path," which also cannot be described, but only

alluded to, such as the knowledge of the meaning of the mysterious letters at the opening of some chapters of the Qur'an, and which he describes as being bestowed upon him by God; (6) "the sciences of the greatest unveiling" (*al-kashf al-akbar*), which also resist discursive description, such as "the sciences of the throne," and which he attained through veridical dreams (*ru'ya*) (Dan Tafa 1991). Dan Tafa's work gives us a sense of the wide scope of knowledge and intellectual disciplines—from Arabic linguistics to astronomy and logic, jurisprudence to physics, mathematics and medicine to various forms of mystical knowledge—pursued by precolonial African Islamic scholars, as well as the different means by which these different forms of knowledge were acquired.[9]

PHILOSOPHIES OF EDUCATION AND PEDAGOGIES IN ISLAMIC AFRICA

The various kinds of knowledge discussed above were learned and taught in different ways throughout the African continent, and several scholars and teachers wrote works in which they specifically discussed theories of education and pedagogical practice. One of the first of such works was written by the North African scholar of the Mālikī school of jurisprudence, ibn Saḥnūn (d. 854) of Kairouan (present-day Tunisia). His *Kitāb Adab al-muʿallimīn* (*Book of Etiquette for Teachers*) is a guide for Qur'an school teachers, who primarily taught children to recite, read, and memorize the Qur'an, as well as instructing them in the basics of Arabic language, mathematics, the basic rituals of worship (ablution and prayer), and *adab*, a word which means at once manners, culture, discipline, morals, comportment, and/or acquired disposition (*habitus*) toward God and His creation. These schools served as a kind of elementary school in traditional Muslim societies, and Ibn Saḥnūn emphasizes that a teacher at such a school must be modest, patient, kind, just, have a love for teaching and children, and embody the virtues and values of the Prophet and pious scholars (Günther 2005). The general scheme described in Ibn Saḥnūn's work appears to have been practiced in Qur'anic schools in West Africa for over a thousand years, down to the present day (see also Ware 2014; Tamari 2016; Fortier 2016).

This last point about *adab* and embodiment is a particularly important one for Islamic education. Mālik ibn Anas (d. 795), the Medina-based founder of the Mālikī school of jurisprudence dominant in North and West Africa, is reported to have advised one young student to "learn *adab* before you acquire knowledge" (Seesemann 2017, 25), and as numerous studies of Islamic learning throughout the African continent, and Muslim societies around the world, have demonstrated, *adab* was and is regarded as "a prerequisite for seeking knowledge and truth" (Seesemann 2017, 24). Moreover, as William Graham has emphasized, in this traditional Islamic epistemological and pedagogical paradigm, "truth does not reside in documents, however

authentic, ancient, or well-preserved, but in authentic human beings and their personal connections with one another" (Graham 1993, 505). This orientation has profound implications for Islamic pedagogies, as Rüdiger Seesemann cogently explains:

> If the acquisition of *adab* is contingent on person-to-person transmission, and if we conceive of *adab* in this context as a habitus that can only be attained through internalization rather than communication through oral or written channels, a full appreciation of *adab* as character formation requires us to widen our focus to include not only "book knowledge" in the analysis, but also actual practices that characterize student-teacher relationships. *Adab* in this sense was, and continues to be, a practice based on physical absorption and embodiment rather than an abstract ethical concept confined to and taught through written tracts. As such, it escapes textual fixation, regardless of the large number of treatises composed to define the proper code of conduct, whether for Sufis, teachers, students, preachers, judges, or rulers. (2017, 24)

Or as Zachary Wright (2015) concludes in his study of Islamic scholarship in a contemporary Sufi community in Senegal, "the idea of religious knowledge as an acquired disposition (*habitus*) to be inscribed in the being of the student, who effects a particular comportment and positioning in the world, was thus fundamental to learning practices in West African Islam" (15). This insight helps us to understand another saying attributed to Imām Mālik, "Knowledge should only be acquired from one who has memorized [the text], who has himself kept company with the scholars, who has put his knowledge into practice, and who possesses piety" (as quoted in Wright 2015, 35). That is, knowledge can only really be obtained from such a person because knowledge, in its fullness, only really resides in such people, not in books. The various texts studied in this paradigm thus serve as a site or pretext for the transmission of the ethical and existential dimensions of knowledge as much as containers of informational content. As a famous adage puts it, "knowledge is taken from the breasts of men, not the strokes of the pen"[10] (Kane 2016, 200).

This is why classical Islamic education was structured according to what Seesemann has dubbed a *sanad* paradigm, after the chains of personal transmission (*sanad*) through which knowledge and texts were transmitted in traditional Islamic learning circles (*majālis*) around the world. In this paradigm, students would typically study a text with someone who had studied with someone who had been granted an *ijāza* (a diploma, an authorization, or license to teach the text) by someone else who had studied the text and been granted an *ijāza* by someone else…all the way back to the author of the text, and in the case of the Qur'an and hadith, and Sufi initiations, back to the Prophet himself. As Seesemann (2018) writes, obtaining such an *ijāza* and "becoming attached to the master's *sanad* is not limited to discursive means of knowledge transmission but also implies the acquisition of the required

habitus (*adab*), learned through *mulāzama*—that is, spending extensive periods of time in the company of the master" (239).

Moreover, the emphasis on memorization in Imām Mālik's quote, which has persisted in traditional West African *majālis* (learning circles), even after inexpensive paper and printed or digital editions of texts have become widely available, can be explained by this orientation toward the internalization and embodiment of knowledge, as Rudolph Ware argues in his study of Qur'an schools in Senegal: "memorization of texts allowed for a personal possession of the Word in the body, without requiring recourse to a written source external to the self. The people were the books" (2014, 7). Or in the celebrated dictum of Amadou Hampâté Bâ, "When an old man dies, it's a library burning down" (Bâ 1999, ix). While this emphasis on memorization is most obvious in the kind of Qur'an schools eighth-century Islamic jurist, Mohammad ibn Saḥnūn wrote about in his work. He quotes a hadith which says, "He who learns the Qur'an in his youth, the Qur'an will mix with his flesh and blood" (as quoted in Günther 2005, 101), texts of jurisprudence, Sufism, logic, and many other sciences were often rendered into verse form and memorized, especially in West Africa. However, this is by no means limited to the African context: A famous story has it that after his caravan was waylaid by bandits, a young al-Ghazālī begged them to give him back his notes since they contained all his knowledge. The leader of the bandits laughed and asked how it could be his knowledge if it left him when his notes were gone. After this, al-Ghazālī is supposed to have committed to memory everything that he studied.

However, the Afro-Arab scholar and belle-lettrist al-Jāḥiẓ cautioned that an over-reliance on memorization could, "harm deductive reasoning," writing that, "so, when he neglects rational reflection, ideas do not come quickly to him, and when he neglects learning by memorization, [these ideas] do not stick in his mind or remain long in his heart … By means of these two (i.e. memorization and deductive reasoning) perfection comes to be and virtue appears" (as quoted in Günther 2005, 121). In his *Instruction of the Student: The Method of Learning,* a work which was (and still is) popular throughout the continent of Africa, the twelfth-century Central Asian scholar Al-Zarnūjī (d. circa 1195) also emphasized the importance of memorization and deductive reasoning, writing, "the faith of him who blindly follows authority, even though it may be correct in our view, still is defective because of his failure to ask for proofs" (as quoted in Cook 2010, 116). He also counsels students to carefully choose the most learned and pious people to be their teachers and classmates, emphasizes the importance of diligence and effort, the cultivation of detachment and *adab*, especially respect for one's teachers, classmates, and even the books one studies. Among several other practical study tips, advises students to face Mecca when they study, as this act of courtesy is a blessing that aids one's mastery of the subject (Cook 2010, 148). Much of al-Zarnūji's treatise appears to be derived from the works of al-Ghazālī, probably the most influential and widely read theorist of Islamic education on the continent.

Al-Ghazālī's extensive writings on education that include codes of ethics for teachers and pupils, suggestions on which subjects should be studied in what order, advice on how students should schedule their days,[11] as well as numerous ruminations on the nature and importance of knowledge, practice, and virtue. He synthesizes quotations from Qur'an, hadith, wisdom literature, poetry, medical treatises, works of law, theology, and Islamic philosophy,[12] and especially the sayings and writings of the Sufis, as can be seen in the following quotations from his widely circulated letter to a student:

> O Son! Giving advice is easy; the problem lies in taking it, because it can taste bitter to those who follow their passions, since illicit things are in their hearts. This is especially true of anyone who pursues theoretical knowledge while being preoccupied with the soul's incitement and worldly values, for he assumes that knowledge alone is the instrument of his salvation and deliverance and he need not put it into practice…. A fool such as this does not know that when he acquires knowledge but does not put it into practice, the judgement against him is all the stronger—as the Prophet (blessings and peace be upon him) said: "the one who will suffer most on the day of Resurrection is the one who has knowledge which God renders useless to him."…. Likewise, if a man were to read a hundred thousand topics of science that he learned and studied but did not put into practice, they would be of no use to him except through action. (as quoted in Cook 2010, 91–92)

In the same letter, Al-Ghazālī further emphasizes the importance of having the correct intention and motivation for learning, namely the purification of one's soul:

> O Son! How many nights have you spent drilling yourself in knowledge and poring over books and denying yourself sleep? I do not know what is the motivation. If it is to gain worldly goods, to attract worldly ephemera, to acquire worldly appointments and compete with your peers and colleagues, then woe on you! But if your aim in this is to revive the law of the Prophet (peace and blessing be upon him), to rectify your moral principles, break the domination of your carnal soul, then blessings be upon you! …
>
> O Son! Knowledge without action is sheer folly, but there is no action without knowledge. Know that any type of learning that does not distance you from your sins and bring you back to obedience today will never remove you from the fire of Hell tomorrow. (Cook 2010, 94)

Al-Ghazālī underscores the urgency of this pursuit of proper learning by reminding the reader of the imminent reality of death, urging him to prioritize those forms of learning that will best serve him in the next life:

> Whenever you read and look into a field of learning, it should be something that improves your heart and cleanses your soul, as though you had learned that you had but one week to live—you certainly would not concern yourself with

law, and legal disputation and theory, theology, and such things, because you would know that these sciences would not enrich you. Rather, you would pay attention to your heart, learn the characteristics of your soul, relinquish your ties to the world, purify your soul of its reprehensible traits, turn your attention to the love of God, to worshipping Him, and acquiring good traits. Not a day or night passes but that a man might not die in it (ibid., 106).

A Case Study: Philosophy of Education in the Sokoto Caliphate

This Sufi approach to Islamic education was taken up throughout the African continent, especially in North and West Africa, where Ibn Tumart (d. 1130), who claimed to be a former student of al-Ghazālī's, founded the Almohad Caliphate. Al-Ghazali's work and pedagogical paradigm also had a tremendous influence on Shaykh Usman dan Fodio, who read, taught, quoted, and summarized many of al-Ghazālī's works in his own teaching and writings. For example, Dan Fodio begins his *Book of the Acquisition of Knowledge* by citing and paraphrasing al-Ghazālī to explain the approach the student and scholar should take to learning:

> Our master, the ascetic Imam, the adornment of the religion, the proof of Islam, the nobility of the Imams, the Shaykh Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghāzalī, said…. Realize, O brother eager to acquire knowledge, for whom it is clear in his soul the sincerity of his desire and excessive thirsting after it: if you intend by seeking knowledge: competition with others; boastfulness and pride; seeking distinction above one's colleagues; turning the faces of people towards you; or gathering the rubble of this world's life—then you have facilitated the destruction of your religion, destroyed your soul, and bartered your hereafter for your worldly life. Thus your bargain has become profitless and your trade has become unproductive. Everything which you have learned will only assist you in your disobedience and it will be a partner with you in your destruction. It is like you selling a sword to a highway robber [who uses it] to rob you with. For whatever or whoever helps you in disobedience, even by a single word, has become a partner with you in the crime. (Dan Fodio 1996a, 4)

Dan Fodio then clarifies the proper approach and intention one should have toward learning, and the immense spiritual rewards that result from this kind of education:

> However, if your intention and aim in seeking after knowledge is concerning that which is between you and God Most High, by learning knowledge and being guided, without mere showing-off, then rejoice! For the Angels have spread out their wings for you when you go out and the dwellers of the sea seek forgiveness of you when you proceed. (ibid.)

Dan Fodio goes on to describe three types of students and scholars: the first who seeks knowledge solely for the sake of God and the hereafter; the second who seeks knowledge for the sake of making a living and achieving status; and

the third who uses his knowledge as a pretext for amassing wealth, worldly pleasures, and feeding his arrogant ego. Dan Fodio concludes that this third kind of scholar is "among those who are destroyed and among the most stupid of those who are deceived" because his learning only increases him in arrogance, preventing him from repenting. The second class of scholar still has a chance of repenting and joining the first category of scholars, whose learning will lead them to bliss and felicity in this life and the next (ibid., 5).

Dan Fodio begins another work, "The Path to Paradise" by highlighting the union of knowledge and action, but emphasizing the primacy of knowledge:

> I say and success is from God, my brothers first it is obligatory upon you to seek knowledge. This is due to the fact that all things are dependent upon knowledge. Realize that knowledge (*ʿilm*) and worship (*ʿibāda*) are two essential fundamentals. It is due to knowledge and worship that the heavenly books were revealed and the Messengers were sent. Therefore, it is incumbent upon the servant to possess some share of each of these two important matters. However, sound worship can never occur except by means of knowledge. (Dan Fodio 1996b, 41)

Dan Fodio goes on to clarify that even though knowledge is the foundation of the performance of worship, having the proper intention is the foundation of acquiring beneficial knowledge:

> It is for this reason that it is necessary to give beneficial knowledge preference over worship. After this, you must know that anyone who seeks knowledge in order to turn the faces of people towards him, then his trade has become unprofitable. Therefore, purify your hearts from hatred, envy, pride, showing-off, conceit, and love for this world; this is in order that you can truly gain beneficial knowledge. (ibid.)

He then delineates the specific kinds of knowledge necessary for every Muslim to learn (the basics of theology, law, and Sufism):

> O brothers - Verily the knowledge which is obligatory for every Muslim to seek after are three: the science of Divine unity (*ʿilm al-tawḥīd*) [theology]; the science of the law (*ʿilm al-sharīʿa*); and the science of secrets (*ʿilm al-sirr*) [Sufism]. What we mean by the science of secrets are those sciences which relate to the heart and its spiritual endeavors. (ibid.)

However, it is in a work of Usman Dan Fodio's younger brother and student, Abdullahi Dan Fodio (d. 1828), that we find the most explicit description of a philosophy of education and pedagogy from the scholars of the Sokoto Caliphate. His *Tahdhīb al-Insān min Khiṣāl al-Insān,* "Refinement of Man against the Traits of Satan," draws upon works of Sufism and of Islamic philosophers such as al-Farābī (d. 951), Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037), and especially Ibn Miskawayh (d. 1030),[13] whose book on philosophical ethics, "The Refinement

of Morals and Cleansing of Character" provides the main inspiration for Abdullahi dan Fodio's work and its title. Dan Fodio's work begins with an introduction, which takes up the Platonic metaphor equating the human being to a kingdom governed by the heart (as developed by Islamic Philosophers and Sufis), and the next chapters describe the means by which Satan assaults the human kingdom, the different kinds of hearts/rulers of the city, the illnesses of the heart, and the means of curing them through various forms of spiritual discipline, before concluding with a fascinatingly detailed chapter on the proper rearing and education of children. Abdullahi Dan Fodio's work begins:

> Realize that the nobility of humanity over the remainder of animals is their capacity for direct, experiential knowledge of God (*ma'rifat Allāh*) and obedience to Him. This direct, experiential knowledge does not occur except in the heart. The reason for this is that the human heart is innately knowledgeable of God, in close proximity to Him, and spiritually unveiled to that which is with God, especially when it is free of other than God. While on the other hand, the heart becomes veiled from God when it is completely occupied with other than God. (2003, 22)

A. Dan Fodio then goes on to develop the analogy of the human being as a kingdom ruled by the heart, likening each faculty and part of the human being to a different member or class of society of this kingdom:

> The bodily limbs act as the subjects of the heart, its servants, and tools. When the heart is obedient to God, then this obedience spreads to the bodily limbs and illuminates them in the form of various types of worship. However, when the heart is disobedient, then this disobedience extends itself to all the remaining bodily members and leaves its traces in the form of corruption.

> The heart is the ruler and the body is its kingdom. In this kingdom, the bodily limbs are like the kingdom's craftsmen and workers. The intellect (*al-'aql*) acts as the heart's vizier, while the passions are like the malevolent slaves that reluctantly gather provisions for the kingdom. Anger is like the chief of police, while Satan is the avowed enemy of the kingdom. (ibid., 22)

On the basis of this political analogy, dan Fodio describes the process of education, of the perfection of the human being, in terms of defending the kingdom from the assaults of its enemies and properly organizing the kingdom:

> The debased customs of the evil slaves are instinctively in constant struggle against the vizier [the intellect] while they are innately in conformity to the whims of the avowed enemy (Satan). This avowed enemy of the kingdom has as its sole objective to dispose of the king (heart) and destroy his kingdom. Thus, when the vizier assists the ruler against the evil slaves (corrupt passions) and when the chief of police (anger) is placed under the authority of the vizier, then and only then will the evil slaves be subjugated and the kingdom will be protected from the plots of its enemies. Thus, the affairs of the state will be

rectified and coordinated, otherwise the ruler (the heart), his civil servants (bodily limbs), and helpers will revert to functioning for the enemy (Satan) by collaborating with the slaves (the corrupt passions). In this manner the kingdom will be destroyed. So understand. (ibid.)

Dan Fodio goes on to explain that by "the heart" he means a subtle, spiritual reality that is directly connected to, but distinct from, the physical heart. He describes this subtle heart as "the reality of humanity," which is predisposed to direct experiential knowledge (*ma'rifa*) of all Divine, celestial, and terrestrial realities. However, the heart becomes veiled from these realities by means of five things: "disobedience, corrupt passions, ignorance, blind following (*taqlīd*), and satanic whispering" (Dan Fodio 2003, 23). He then describes an "inside-out" model of the origin of all human action which begins with thought (*al-khāṭir*) in the heart, "then it moves to longing (*al-raghba*), then it moves to objective intention (*al-niyya*) and finally it is realized in actions, which are either harmful or beneficial in the Hereafter" (ibid.).

Having established the centrality and importance of the heart as the source of thought and action, dan Fodio uses the next chapter to describe the twelve "gates" of blameworthy qualities through which Satan can gain access to the heart, corrupting it, and then describes the three types of hearts (the purified and impregnable, the defenseless, and the besieged) in the next chapter before turning to the means of disciplining the soul and protecting it from illnesses. In this third chapter, he writes:

> Realize that all illnesses are only cured by their opposites. Thus, ignorance is cured by means of knowledge. Stinginess is cured by means of generosity, that is, by the person being open handed with his wealth unnaturally until it becomes easy and natural. Arrogance is cured by means of humility, that is, by the person persistently performing acts that are by nature demeaning until humility becomes easy for him.

> Thus, all spiritual cures come about through refraining from all desirable things in an unnatural manner, in much the same way that a person endures the bitterness of medication in order to bring about a cure for the physical body. In this same manner are all the other character flaws cured. (ibid., 28)

However, A. Dan Fodio (2003) emphasizes that the ideal here is moderation, not a kind of extreme asceticism, and that this ideal can be achieved through Divine grace and/or the intellectual discipline of proper education:

> Then realize that what is intended here by disciplining the soul is not the complete destruction and eradication of destructive traits, but simply to return them to moderation. This entails the passions and anger being placed underneath the control of the intellect and the religion. This justice or moderation can occur by means of Divine Generosity as it for the Prophets and some of the protected friends of God. Or it can occur by means of spiritual struggle by abandoning

corrupt passions and perfecting character through two things: knowledge that distinguishes between truth and falsehood; and the intellect which subdues under its control anger and the passions until they are both underneath the instructing direction of the religion, having love for God and being under His Divine influence. (29)

After explaining the particular uses and benefits of particular kinds of spiritual discipline, such as solitude, silence, hunger, and sleeplessness, A. Dan Fodio turns to the practical application of these theories of moral self-governance and training in the raising and education of children. He begins by arguing that a child is a *tabula rasa*, and as such, its upbringing and training will determine its development and future, making teachers and parents responsible for its ultimate fate:

> Realize that a child is a trust from God to its parents. His [or her][14] heart is pure and free of all forms of embellishment. The child naturally inclines towards everything that inclines towards it. For if the child is made accustomed to doing good and excellence, and if the child is educated with excellent courtesies (*adab*), then naturally he [or she] will be reared based upon excellence and educated courtesies. The child will, as a result, be felicitous in this world and the hereafter, and more importantly, its parents, its teachers (*muʿallim*), its educators (*muʾaddib*) will all share in the reward of that worldly and paradisal felicity. However, when the child is made accustomed to doing evil and is neglected in its edification, then he [or she] will become wretched and eventually destroyed. But more significantly, the sin and responsibility will be upon the neck of its caretaker and guardian. God says: "O you who believe save yourselves and your families from the fire." Therefore, if the parent is responsible for protecting the child from terrestrial fire, then it is more responsible to save the child from the Fire of the Hereafter. (ibid., 32)

Dan Fodio then explains that instructing and training the child in good character, keeping him or her away from companions who are negative influences, not spoiling the child nor letting it be accustomed to money and working for money so that "he does not waste his life chasing after these things" (ibid.). He further admonishes that:

> The parent should encourage the child to be preoccupied with learning and studying the Qur'an, and order them to show high respect for its teacher, give service to him and obey him in every command he gives the child. By this, the child will attain blessings (*baraka*). With all of this, the parent should also order the child to be modest.
>
> The parent should see that the child learns and studies the traditions of the Prophet (*ḥadīth*), as well as the stories of the righteous, in order to implant in the heart of the child the love for the righteous. More importantly, whenever the child exhibits refined character and praiseworthy actions, he [or she] should be honored, revered and even rewarded for it, so that the child can grow an innate joy for good character and good deeds, and so that he [or she] can be reinforced in it. (ibid., 33)

With remarkable psychological subtlety, dan Fodio continues by advising the following method for disciplining bad behavior in children:

> However, when the child acts contrary to the above in certain circumstances, as is natural, it is essential for the parent to ignore that and not uncover the child's' faults which are hidden, especially when the child seeks to conceal his [or her] mistakes. The parent should also make strenuous effort in teaching the child to conceal his [or her] faults, for if the child is overcome with mistakes, perhaps they will flow freely until he [or she] no longer cares whether others know or not. However, when the child openly calls others [attention] to his faults then the child should be punished secretly and the matter of his mistakes should be shown to be immense. The parent should say as a warning to the child: "Beware of people being exposed to these shameful acts from you! Why are you exposing yourself to them?" However, the parent should not be overly excessive with insulting words against the child, because this will only make listening to blame irrelevant and diminish the weight of committing repulsive acts in the mind of the child. On the contrary, the parent should only reprimand the child with discipline rarely. (ibid.)

After explaining that the parent should encourage the child to exercise during the day and rest at night to discourage laziness and to strengthen the child's body, Abdullahi dan Fodio explains that children should become used to a simple lifestyle, and learn modesty, humility, patience, and nobility from the parent's example, to listen to and respect elders, to control their tongues, and avoid the company of children who do not, and be trained not to cry out when disciplined at school or at home, but to endure with patience and dignity.[15] However, the author cautions that such discipline should be limited, lest it stifle the child's spirit:

> It is then essential that the child be allowed after leaving the school of learning to play wonderfully and skillfully in order that it can be a respite and recreation from the exhaustion of the school of learning. However, the child should not be allowed to exhaust himself [or herself] in play. And realize that it is a great source of harm to prevent the child from being allowed recreation, while making him [or her] study all the time, as this causes his [or her] heart to die, undermines his [or her] capacity for learning, and diminishes his [or her] liveliness, until the child seeks to be completely free of learning all together. (ibid., 35)

A. Dan Fodio (2003) concludes by emphasizing that when a child reaches maturity, it is necessary to be firm with regard to religious rituals such as prayer and fasting and instilling in him or her fear of transgressing the limits of the law by stealing, lying, backbiting, eating what is forbidden, etc. He concludes with the following advice and warning about the importance of this ethical discipline for the child's education and fate:

> As the child approaches puberty, it is essential to teach him [or her] that food is medication (and that its purpose is simply to bestow the strength necessary to worship God). Also teach the child that this entire world's life will not last forever and that death will soon cut off its pleasures. Teach the child that the truly intelligent person is the one who takes provision from this world's life as provision for the hereafter until the child grows and its station becomes immense with God in Paradise.

> However, if the child is raised in a manner different from this, so that it grows to love foolish playing, obscenities, idleness, improper foods and attire, and excessive adornment and boasting, then this prevents the child's heart from accepting and embracing the truth. This barrier becomes like a high wall made of dry earth that blocks all affairs that leads to scrupulous uprightness (35).

Here again we see that the cultivation of *adab* and ethics was understood to be necessary for the acquisition of knowledge ("accepting and embracing the truth"), and that the acquisition of this kind of knowledge was understood to lead to righteousness and felicity in this life and the next.

This same paradigm was taken up by Usman dan Fodio's daughter, Nana Asma'u (d. 1864). An accomplished scholar, author, and Sufi herself, Asma'u created a network of female teachers, called *jajis* whom she authorized to travel around the Sokoto Caliphate teaching Qur'an, Sunna, basic Islamic law and theology, ethics, Sufism, and history (often through Hausa poems she herself composed) to women in their homes. This network was called the *Yan Taru* (those who congregate) and continues to inspire Islamic women's educational movements in the region and the diaspora today (Boyd and Mack 2013; Boyd 2001).

Remarkably, similar perspectives on education and pedagogy can be found in the works of al-ḥājj 'Umar Tal (d. 1864) (Ware et al. 2018, 67–123) the Tijānī Sufi shaykh, scholar, and founder of the short-lived Tukulor empire, who spent considerable time in the Sokoto Caliphate during the reign of Muḥammad Bello, Usman dan Fodio's son. The massively influential Indian Ocean network of the Bā 'Alawī lineage of Sufi scholars also drew heavily on al-Ghazālī in articulating the remarkably similar educational philosophies and pedagogies that animated scholarly practice in East Africa, Yemen, South, and Southeast Asia (Bang 2003). Al-Ghazālī was also one of, if not the, main source of inspiration for the previously cited Senegalese Shaykh Aḥmadu Bamba's educational philosophy, which was outlined in his didactic poems, many of which became the standard texts for learning in the network of schools, called *daara tarbiya*, which he pioneered under French colonial occupation. These hybrid school-villages combined the study of the Arabic language, theology ('*ilm al-tawḥīd*), Islamic law (*fiqh*), and the study and spiritual discipline of Sufism (*taṣawwuf*) with agricultural work, adapting the model of the traditional farm-school-Sufi center settlement used by West African scholars for centuries to the rapidly changing context of colonial

rule (Babou 2003). In the late stages of European colonialism into the early post-independence era, the Senegalese Shaykh Ibrāhīm Niasse (d. 1975) also outlined a similar philosophy of education, but in the face of the new social, political, and economic order, and the spread of state-sponsored Western education, he advised his disciples to participate in the new educational system, as long as they remained grounded in their spiritual training (Wright 2015, 192–206).

In the 1960s, in response to the need for government-recognized diplomas and French-language education to secure employment in the postcolonial state, Niasse founded a government-accredited Franco-Arabe *madrasa* which taught Arabic and Islamic subjects alongside modern, Western-style subjects and French in Western-style classrooms with desks and blackboards and timed classes. This adaptation was seen as a non-ideal necessity, not a development, as Niasse reportedly explained, "If it was just for Islam, I would teach you myself. But now the world has changed, and you need diplomas and degrees" (Wright 2015, 200). Niasse nevertheless encouraged his disciples to "make every effort to seek and acquire more knowledge; not only Islamic knowledge, not only mathematics and its branches, but also be a part of and co-operate with those whose zeal is to discover the unknown and unseen things of this world" (ibid., 199), while maintaining the traditional Qur'an schools and learning circles (*majālis*) and above all, relying on their spiritual training (*tarbiya*) to acquire *ma'rifa*, the direct knowledge of God, which for Niasse and other Sufis was both the foundation and goal, not only of Islamic education, but also human existence. As Shaykh Tijānī 'Alī Cissé, one of Ibrahim Niasse's grandsons and successors said:

> The most important of the religious obligations and the most sublime honor, as it is the foundation of faith and the goal of Islam. The Knowledge of God is the utmost goal in the perfection of the human condition, the highest rank of spiritual realization, and the most cherished ideal…. Mankind's knowledge (*ma'rifa*) of God is above all other types of knowledge. (2014, 20)

Thus, we can see the continuities in educational philosophy and pedagogy in Islamic Africa from the time of Ibn Saḥnūn (ninth century) to that of Ibrahim Niasse (twentieth century), which governed the ways in which students learned everything from logic, mathematics, and medicine to Islamic law, the Arabic language, Qur'an, and Sufism. This was a paradigm in which the refinement of character and cultivation of *adab* was inseparable from and indispensable to the acquisition of knowledge, and whose goal was nothing less than the perfection of the human being and its salvation. As Nasr (1984) writes, "Education therefore, lies at the heart of religion and is the basic concern of Islam which in its totality, both the *Sharī'ah* and the Inner way or *Ṭarīqah*, consists of a vast programme of education for all aspects of the human state from the corporeal to the highest faculties of the spirit" (13).

Twentieth-Century Developments: Colonial Schools, Salafism, Sufism

As the following passage from Cheikh Hamidou Kane's novel, *Ambiguous Adventure* (1972):

> Learning, children would also forget. Would what they would learn be worth as much as what they forget? I should like to ask you: can one learn this without forgetting that, and is what one learns worth what he forgets? (34);

illustrates poetically, the twentieth century witnessed the emergence of new philosophies of education and pedagogies on the African continent that would come to eclipse the traditional *sanad* paradigm outlined above. Most prominently, the European colonial conquest and economic, political, and cultural-technological domination of the African continent was coupled with and achieved through the educational domination of its people. As Georges Hardy, the Director of Education of French West Africa, wrote in his 1917 *Une Conquête Morale* ("A Moral Conquest"):

> In order to transform the primitive people of our colonies, in order to make them more devoted to our cause and useful to our enterprise, we have a very limited number of means at our disposal, and the safest means is to take the native from childhood, to make him assiduously frequent us and be subjected to our moral and intellectual customs … In one word, to open schools in which his mind can be formed according to our intentions (8).

This dynamic is perhaps most profoundly explored in Cheikh Hamidou Kane's (1972) semi-autobiographical novel, *Ambiguous Adventure*, where he writes:

> On the black continent it began to be understood that their true power lay not in the cannons of the first morning, but rather in what followed the cannons…. The new school shares at the same time the characteristics of the cannon and the magnet. From the cannon it draws its efficacy as an arm of combat. Better than the cannon, it makes conquest permanent. The cannon compels the body, the school bewitches the soul. Where the cannon has made a pit of ashes and of death, in the sticky mold of which men would not have rebounded from the ruins, the new school establishes. The morning of rebirth will be a morning of benediction through the appeasing virtue of the new school (49).

The schools completed the conquest by transforming defeated foes into colonial subjects and allies who were taught to view their conquest as a liberation. These colonial schools were the foundation for modern African educational systems, and while some nations modified their curricula after independence, the basic structures, pedagogical and disciplinary techniques, bureaucracy, and epistemologies of these school systems have remained virtually the same.

However, these changes did not only come from "without," in the form of European colonial and missionary schools, but also from "within," in the form of new kinds of schools and epistemologies pioneered by new Muslim reform movements. Various Salafī movements, such as that of Muḥammad ibn 'abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1792) of the Arabian peninsula, led aggressive campaigns against the traditional Islamic scholarly and spiritual practices, arguing that the former were crippled by *taqlid* (blind following of authority) and the latter compromised by *bid'a* (heretical innovation) leading to the great sin of *shirk* (setting up partners alongside God) through veneration of the Prophet, scholars, and Sufi saints as intermediaries between God and his creation. Ibn 'abd al-Wahhāb and other Salafī reformers advocated a "return" to the "pure" practice of the first generations of Muslims (the *salaf*), by basing legal and theological opinions on a direct examination of the "plain meaning" of the Qur'an and *ḥadīth*, bypassing the centuries-old traditions of interpretation which they believed to be corrupted by the accretion of errors and heretical beliefs. These movements according to Brown (2014) argued against the elitism of the Sufi and scholarly establishments, asserting that the masses could interpret the Qur'an and *sunna* for themselves without the intermediaries of scholars or Sufi masters, whose elaborate hierarchies of being, knowledge, and sainthood they vehemently argued against in favor of a more "democratic" episteme in which anything could potentially be known by any one, regardless of his or her spiritual qualifications.[16]

In the twentieth century, these Salafī movements often merged with modernist reform movements, especially that of Muḥammad 'Abduh (d. 1905) and Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935) who also accused the traditional Islamic educational paradigm with *taqlīd*, blaming its supposedly stagnant intellectual culture for the Muslim world "falling behind" and being conquered by the West, and advocating for a program of modernization, "rationalization," and Westernization that would return the Muslim world to political, intellectual, and technological independence and supremacy. The scholarly practice of *ijtihād*, deriving new legal rulings directly from the Qur'an and Sunna (instead of employing the established jurisprudential traditions) was central to this project of modernization (see Seesemann 2018, 241–247). Like the earlier Salafī movements, these modernist movements also rejected the hierarchal and existential epistemologies of traditional Islamic educational philosophies as outdated superstition.

This epistemological orientation was also shared to a large extent by the European colonial and missionary schools, which spread on the continent from the mid-nineteenth century onwards and became the official educational institutions of the colonial and post-independence African states. The difference between these two paradigms is succinctly defined by Foucault (2005):

If we define spirituality as being the form of practices which postulate that, such as he is, the subject is not capable of the truth, but that, such as it is, the truth can transfigure and save the subject, then we can say that the modern age of the relations between the subject and truth begins when it is postulated that, such as he is, the subject is capable of truth, but that, such as it is, the truth cannot save the subject (19).

Or, in the more poetic terms of the thirteenth-century Sufi poet, Jalal ad-Din Muhammad Rumi (commonly referred to as Rumi):

The Qur'an is like a bride. Although you pull the veil away from her face, she does not show herself to you. When you investigate the Qur'an, but receive no joy or mystical unveiling, it is because your pulling at the veil has caused you to be rejected. The Qur'an has deceived you and shown itself as ugly. It says, 'I am not that beautiful bride.' It is able to show itself in any form it desires. But if you stop pulling at its veil and seek its good pleasure; if you water its field, serve it from afar and strive in that which pleases it, then it will show you its face without any need for you to draw aside its veil. (quoted in Chittick 1998, 273)

In the traditional epistemological paradigm, the acquisition of knowledge was a sacred process that necessarily involved the spiritual purification and transformation of the knowing subject in order for it to be able to access and contain knowledge of the known object, whereas in the "modern" paradigm, knowledge is conceived of as information to which every and anyone potentially has access. There are no moral or spiritual qualifications necessary to learn modern mathematics or physics, whereas the traditional paradigm held that the deeper levels of meaning of the Qur'an, *sunna*, and even that of sciences such as mathematics and logic were inaccessible to those without the necessary spiritual cultivation. From this perspective, attempting to access these deeper levels of knowledge without the concomitant spiritual cultivation would be like trying to understand a symphony with your ears blocked—you would see something but miss the essential meaning. As Ibrahim Niasse responded when questioned about the Salafī reformists, "they are following the letter of the Qurʾān. Certainly, this is good. But we think that it is also necessary to know the meaning, as was done by Imam Mālik, Abū Ḥanīfa, al-Shāfiʿī, and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal [the founders of the four Sunni schools of jurisprudence]" (quoted in Wright 2015, 26). The influential North African Sufi Scholar Aḥmad Ibn Idrīs (d. 1837) was even more strident in his description of Salafis as "miserable wretches who are bound inflexibly to the externalities of the law…and accuse of heresy those who oppose them" (Ware 2014, 210). For their part, Salafi reformers such as Abu Bakr Gumi (d. 1992), founder and leader of *Yan Izala*, West Africa's largest Muslim reform movement, held that Islam was a "rational religion" constituting a "closed system centered around a coherent normative code designed to regulate social life" (Brigaglia 2007, 188) and that all forms of Divine inspiration

ended with the Prophet, so that Sufi claims to have access to inspired knowledge (*ma'rifa*) must be dismissed as heretical nonsense and Sufis who make such claims must be treated as infidels (ibid, 191). Louis Brenner has called this modern paradigm "the rationalist episteme" in contrast to the traditional "esoteric episteme," while Rüdiger Seesemann refers to the former as a "*dalīl* (scriptural evidence)-based paradigm," and the latter as the "*sanad* (chain of transmission)-based paradigm."

Just as the traditional conception of knowledge in the "*sanad* paradigm" or "esoteric episteme" deeply influenced pedagogies in Islamic Africa, so too did these newer epistemologies of the "rationalist" or *dalīl* paradigm. Due to the implicit epistemological similarities and shared goal of "reforming" or replacing the older traditions of Islamic education, the Salafi and modernist reform movements were quick to adopt and adapt modern, Western-style pedagogies and educational institutions for their own purposes, adopting the paradigm of "hybrid" schools (called Islamiyya schools in Northern Nigeria, Franco-Arabe schools in Senegal, *médersas* in Mali and Senegal, and *madrasas* throughout much of the rest of the continent) that combined the study of Arabic and religious subjects with "secular" subjects such as math, science, geography, and history taught in Arabic or the colonial language in classrooms with blackboards, grades, and semesters. These hybrid schools were actually initially founded by colonial officials to, in the words of a governor of the French Soudan, "attract to French culture the young persons of a milieu which is closed to the influence of France using the lure of their own traditional culture, and to domesticate these young people, and even the entire population, and familiarize them with the institution of French education" (Kane 2016, 129). Despite these original objectives, this hybrid model was later copied by Salafis to advance their reform and anti-colonial projects. As Louis Brenner (2001) concludes his study of the transformations of Islamic education in Mali:

> Whatever its personal appeal for individual Muslims, Salafi doctrine was also conveniently compatible with the newly emerging social and political environment: it advocated a complete break with local historical forms of Muslim expression and at the same time provided a new religious platform from which to challenge the dominant political order on its own ground…
>
> The French (and their Soudanese allies) tried to discredit Salafi doctrine and Wahhabism as alien institutions but failed to recognize their own role in preparing the ground for this 'rationalizing' form of Muslim expression. Engagement in the national political arena of the colonial state required participation in its institutions, its bureaucracies and of course its schools, all of which functioned within and produced a discursive environment informed by a rationalist *episteme*. The French supposed that the Muslims operating within this environment would become secularists; but Salafi doctrine (and *médersas*) offered a Muslim alternative for initiation into the rationalist *episteme*. (302, 306)[17]

Although the Salafi reformists were "early adopters" of the hybrid educational model of the *madrasa*, Sufi and other Muslims groups neither Sufi nor Salafi later took up this model to respond to the need for official government-accredited diplomas and Western-style education in the new economies and societies of late colonial and postcolonial Africa, especially in the latter decades of the twentieth century when structural adjustment programs substantially cut the budgets and public confidence in public school systems throughout the continent. Thus, Roman Loimeier's (2009) assessment of Islamic education in twentieth-century Zanzibar can also be applied to much of the continent, "learning has become a standardized, open, depersonalized process of sequential learning in which learning has lost its sacred and initiatic character" (162).

However, while the traditional Islamic educational philosophies and pedagogies are no longer dominant as they were during the precolonial and early colonial periods, they are far from extinct. Throughout the continent, especially among scholarly families, Sufi orders, and in more rural regions such as Mauritania, students still study various forms of Islamic knowledge according to the traditional *sanad* paradigm described in first part of this article. In fact, the desert learning villages (*maḥaḍara*) of Mauritania have become a popular among would-be Muslim scholars from the United States, the UK, Spain, France, Nigeria, and even as far away as India and Malaysia seeking an "authentic" form of Islamic educational training. Many Muslims combine these often non-government-accredited studies with various forms of modern, Western-style education, while in a few places, students and scholars are still educated completely within the traditional model. Moreover, while the many Sufi orders of the continent, such as the Tijāniyya, the Qādiriyya, the Shādhiliyya, and others have adopted and adapted to this new educational paradigm, founding private primary and secondary schools and even universities (see Kane 2016, 170–172, 204–205); they have maintained the traditional structures of initiation, attachment to personal chains of transmission (*sanad* or *salāsil*), and spiritual purification at the hands of a shaykh, in order to prepare disciples for the transmission of the mystical knowledge of *maʿrifa*.

The current situation is a quite dynamic and plural, with competing, complementary, and converging philosophies of education and pedagogies creating a diverse and cosmopolitan epistemological landscape. As Ousmane Kane (2016) writes, "the relationship between these different forms of traditional Islamic, Western, and hybrid education is indeed very complex, and the limited shift notwithstanding, the majority of Muslims navigate easily between the esoteric and the rational episteme" (204). Furthermore, as Ware (2014) observers, new pedagogies are "driven much more by a series of quotidian choices made by parents, teachers, clerics, and even children… than by any grand articulated ideological visions that either hypothetical Sufis or stereotypical Salafis might pronounce" (207).

Conclusion

Home to some of the oldest Muslim communities in the world, the African continent has also produced and been influenced by and developed many distinct Islamic Philosophies of Education. Given the centrality of knowledge in Islamic civilization, education was central to the entirety of the Islamic tradition. The acquisition, practice, and assimilation of knowledge that constitutes Islamic education necessarily involves personal transmission and spiritual cultivation, without which one would only be left with the informational husk or "photograph" of knowledge, not knowledge itself. The goal of Islamic education was and is understood to be nothing less than "the knowledge of reality as it is," which is identified with the perfection of the human condition and the fulfillment of human flourishing and purpose, leading to felicity (*sa'āda*) in this life and the next. While the last century has witnessed the emergence of modern philosophies of education that de-emphasize or eliminate the more metaphysical or "mystical" dimensions of traditional Islamic epistemologies and pedagogies—reducing the conceptualization of Islamic knowledge to its outer dimensions of correct practice and discursive exposition—the stated goals of even these reformist Muslim pedagogies remain the same: the perfection and salvation of the human being. Moreover, traditional Islamic philosophies of education are still widely practiced, especially among Sufi orders, who have been remarkably effective at adapting their spiritual pedagogies to the new contexts of twentieth-century Africa. In fact, a recent study by the Pew Research Center (2012) found that Sufism was more popular in Sub Saharan Africa than any other region of the world, with 92% of Senegalese Muslims, and 37% of Nigerian and Ghanaian Muslims claiming affiliation with a Sufi order. As such, African Islamic philosophies of education, both traditional and modern, constitute not only an important part of the African education landscape, but also the global Islamic educational landscape, and that of the world at large. The Islamic philosophies of education in Africa—both in their theorization in the works of scholars, such as Abdullahi dan Fodio or Aḥmadu Bamba and their practice in the educational institutions of the Bā 'Alawī Sufi scholars of the Indian Ocean, the women's network of Nana Asma'u, or the desert learning villages of Mauritania—constitute unique and important facets of Africa's—and humanity's—educational heritage.

Notes

1. I use the adjective "traditional" here to refer not to a time period in the past, nor to suggest a kind of teleology of progress from the "traditional" to the "modern," nor to imply a kind of moribund stasis of the traditional, nor to suggest a relationship to "traditional African religions," but rather to denote the important element of personal transmission across generations which the word's etymology suggests. In this article, the "traditional" is opposed to the "modern" in terms of epistemological orientation.

2. All Qur'anic citations are taken from *The Study Qur'an: A New Translation and Comentary*, edited and translated by Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Caner Dagli, Maria Dakake, Joseph Lumbard, and Mohammed Rustom. New York: HarperOne, 2017.

3. The Sokoto Caliphate was one of the largest pre-colonial African polities, and its legacy continues to shape the lives of Muslims in Northern Nigeria, Benin, Cameroon, and southern Niger, as well as the diaspora.

4. A famous Egyptian Sufi scholar and author of the Shādhilī order, he was from Alexandria and is buried in Cairo.

5. Wakī'ibn al-Jarrāh (d. 812), a Hadith scholar and jurist, was the teacher of Imām Shāfi'ī (d. 820, Cairo), the eminent scholar, poet, and founder of the Shāfi'ī *madhhab*, one of the four main schools of Sunni jurisprudence. The Shāfi'ī madhhab is dominant in Northeast and East Africa.

6. A prayer attributed to the Prophet says, "O God, preserve me from useless knowledge!" upon which the Egyptian Sufi scholar, Ibn 'Aṭā Llāh (d. 1309, Cairo) comments, "Useful knowledge is that whose ray of light spreads in the chest and uncovers the veil from the heart."

7. The poem excerpts below are my own, original, translation of an Arabic poem, which is in the public domain by virtue of the author not copyrighting the text and the author's death more than 70 years ago. For French translations, see Aḥmadu Bamba (1988), *Dīwān fī 'ulūm al-dīniyya lil-Shaykh Aḥmad Bāmbā al-Mbakkay, khādim al-rasūl vol. 2*, edited and translated by Sam Mbaye, Dakar, Senegal pages 234 and 77–78, respectively. See Mbaye's other translations at Serigne Sam MBAYE Official Website at http://serignesam.com/.

8. This schema is somewhat heuristic as many discussions in the "transmitted sciences" such as *fiqh* (jurisprudence) and *tafsīr* (Qur'anic hermeneutics) involve extensive rational argumentation.

9. It also reveals the inapplicability of the contemporary, Western categories of "rational" and "mystical"—defined in opposition to each other, to these contexts.

10. *al-'ilm yu'khidhu min ṣudūr al-rijāl lā min suṭūr al-kutub.*

11. Spending from dawn to sunrise in invocation of God and private worship; from sunrise to midmorning seeking knowledge from one's instructors; from mid-morning to mid-afternoon in writing notes; from mid-afternoon to sunset in attending learned gatherings or in performing rites of invocation, begging forgiveness or glorification of God. The first third of the night should be spent in reading, the second third in prayer, and the final third in sleep.

12. Even though al-Ghazālī castigates the philosophers for some of their views, he adopted many of their schemas and arguments.

13. In their works, these Islamic Philosophers creatively drew on the works of Plato, Aristotle, and Plotinus as well as the Qur'an and Hadīth.

14. The Arabic pronoun here is masculine, as the word "child" is grammatically masculine in this case. However, since in other passages of this treatise, dan Fodio gives different advice for the rearing of male and female children, it is safe to assume that he is referring to both male and female children here where he makes no such distinction.

15. These and the other traits and behaviors listed in this treatise outline not only general Islamic norms of *adab* but also the specific ideals of *pulaako*—Fulani ethico-behavioral norms in which discipline, self-mastery, and restraint define nobility.

16. However, in this article, Brown also cautions that this position is often more rhetorical than real as most Salafi scholars uphold a hierarchy of knowledge, and many advise against autodidactism, stressing the importance of studying a text with a teacher for absorbing the "piety and etiquette" (*adab*) (Brown 2014, 141).

17. Brenner (2001) also cautions "It is important not to exaggerate the extent of this epistemic shift, which is both limited and uneven. It is probable that the vast majority of Malians, including many products of French schooling, still operate under the influence of the esoteric *episteme* in many aspects of their lives" (307).

References

Bâ, Amadou Hampâté. 1999. *The Fortunes of Wangrin*. Translated by Aina Pavolini Taylor. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Babou, Cheikh Anta. 2003. "Educating the Murid: Theory and Practices of Education in Amadu Bamba's Thought." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 33 (3): 310–327.

Bamba, Aḥmadu. 1984. *Masālik al-Jinān: Les Itinéraires du Paradis: Traité de Soufisme*. Translated by Sam Mbaye. Casablanca, Morocco: Dar el-Kitab.

Bamba, Aḥmadu. 1988. *Dīwān fī ʿulūm al-dīniyya lil-Shaykh Aḥmad Bāmbā al-Mbakkay, khādim al-rasūl*, edited and translated by Sam Mbaye, vol. 2. Dakar, Senegal: n.p.

Bang, Anne. 2003. *Sufis and Scholars of the Sea: Family Networks in East Africa, 1860–1925*. New York: Routledge.

Boyd, Jean. 2001. "Distance Learning from Purdah in Nineteenth-century Northern Nigeria: The Work of Asma'u Fodiyo." *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 14 (1): 7–22.

Boyd, Jean, and Beverley Mack. 2013. *Educating Muslim Women: The West African Legacy of Nana Asma'u 1793–1864*. Leicestershire: Kube Publishing.

Brenner, Louis. 2001. *Controlling Knowledge: Religion, Power, and Schooling in a West African Muslim Society*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Brigaglia, Andrea. 2007. "The Radio Kaduna Tafsir (1978–1992) and the Construction of Public Images of Muslim Scholars in the Nigerian Media." *Journal for Islamic Studies* 27 (1): 173–210.

Brown, Jonathan C. 2014. "Is Islam Easy to Understand or Not?: Salafis, the Democratization of Interpretation and the Need for the Ulema." *Journal of Islamic Studies* 26 (2): 117–144.

Chittick, William. 1998. *The Sufi Path of Love: The Spiritual Teachings of Rumi*. Albany: SUNY Press.

Cissé, Tidiane Ali. 2014. *What the Knowers of Allah Have Said About the Knowledge of Allah*. Translated by Zachary Wright and Muhammad Hassiem Abdullahi. Atlanta, GA: Fayda Books.

Cook, Bradley J. 2010. *Classical Foundations of Islamic Educational Thought: A Compendium of Parallel English-Arabic Texts*. Provo: Brigham Young University Press.

Dan Fodio, Abdullahi. 2003. "The Training of Humanity (Tahdheeb'l-Insaan)." Translated by Muhammad Shareef. Maiurno, Sudan: Sankore Institute of Islamic African Studies International. https://siiasi.org/digital-archive/shaykh-abdullahi-ibn-fuduye/tahheebl-insaan/.

Dan Fodio, Uthman [Usman]. 1996a. "Kitab Iqtibaas 'l-'ilm (The Book of the Acquisition of Knowledge)." Translated by Muhammad Shareef. Maiurno, Sudan: Sankore Institute of Islamic African Studies International. https://siiasi.org/digital-archive/shaykh-uthman-ibn-fuduye/iqtibasl-ilm/.

Dan Fodio, Uthman [Usman]. 1996b. "Tariq'l-Janna (The Path to Paradise)." Translated by Muhammad Shareef. Maiurno, Sudan: Sankore Institute of Islamic African Studies International. https://siiasi.org/digital-archive/shaykh-uthman-ibn-fuduye/tariql-janna/.

Dan Fodio, Uthman [Usman]. 2017. "Mirat 't-Tullab Fee Mustanid al-Abwaab Li Deen Allah al-Wahhab (The Mirror of the Students Regarding the Authoritative Sources of the Issues of the Deen of Allah, the Benefactor)." Translated by Muhammad Shareef. Maiurno, Sudan: Sankore Institute of Islamic African Studies International. https://siiasi.org/digital-archive/shaykh-uthman-ibn-fuduye/miraat-attulaab/.

Dan Tafa. 1991. "Shukr'l-Waahib al-Mufeeda'l-Mawaahib (Showing Gratitude to the Benefactor for the Divine Overflowing Given to Those He Favors)." Translated by Muhammad Shareef. Maiurno, Sudan: Sankore Institute of Islamic African Studies International. https://siiasi.org/shaykh-dan-tafa/shukrl-waahib/.

Fortier, Corrine. 2016. "Orality and the Transmission of Qur'anic Knowledge in Mauritania." In *Islamic Education in Africa: Writing Boards and Blackboards*, edited by Robert Launay, 61–78. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Foucault, Michel. 2005. *The Hermeneutics of the Subject Lectures at the Collège de France 1981–1982*. Translated by Graham Burchell. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Graham, William A. 1993. "Traditionalism in Islam: An essay in interpretation." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23 (3): 495–522.

Günther, Sebastian. 2005. "Advice for Teachers: The 9th Century Muslim Scholars Ibn Saḥnūn and al-Jāḥiẓ on Pedagogy and Didactics." In *Ideas, Images, and Methods of Portrayal: Insights into Classical Arabic Literature and Islam*, edited by Sebatian Günther, 89–128. Leiden: Brill.

Hardy, Georges. 1917. *Une Conquête Morale: l'enseignement en AOF*. Paris: Armand Colin.

Kane, Cheikh Hamidou. 1972. *Ambiguous Adventure*. Translated by Katherine Woods. New York: Heinemann.

Kane, Ousmane. 2016. *Beyond Timbuktu: An Intellectual History of Muslim West Africa*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Lings, Martin. 1992. *The Book of Certainty: The Sufi Doctrine of Faith, Vision and Gnosis.* Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society.

Loimeier, Roman. 2009. *Between Social Skills and Marketable Skills: The Politics of Islamic Education in 20th Century Zanzibar*. Leiden: Brill.

Nasr, Seyyed Hossein. 1984. "The Islamic Philosophers' Views on Education." *Muslim Education Quarterly* 2 (4): 5–16.

Niasse, Ibrāhīm. n.d. *Jawāhir al-rasāʾil wa-yaliyya ziyādat al-jawāhir al-ḥāwī baʿḍ ʿulūm wasīlat al-wasāʾil*, edited by Aḥmad Abū'l-Fatḥ. Borno: Aḥmad Abī'l-Fatḥ.

Pew Research Center. 2012. "The World's Muslims: Unity and Diversity." Washington, DC: Pew Research Center. http://www.pewforum.org/2012/08/09/the-worlds-muslims-unity-and-diversity-1-religious-affiliation/.

Rosenthal, Franz. 2007. *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam*. Leiden: Brill.

Seesemann, Rüdiger. 2017. "ʿIlm and Adab Revisited: Knowledge Transmission and Character Formation in Islamic Africa." In *The Piety of Learning: Islamic Studies in Honor of Stefan Reichmuth*, lead author and edited by Michael Kemper, 13–37. Leiden: Brill.

Seesemann, Rüdiger. 2018. "Epistemology or Ideology? Toward a Relational Perspective on Islamic Knowledge in Africa." *Journal of Africana Religions* 6 (2): 232–268.

Tamari, Tal. 2016. "Styles of Islamic Education: Perspectives from Mali, Guinea, and the Gambia." In *Islamic Education in Africa: Writing Boards and Blackboards*, edited by Robert Launay, 29–60. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Ware, Rudolph T. 2014. *The Walking Qur'an: Islamic Education, Embodied Knowledge, and History in West Africa*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Ware, Rudolph T., Zachary Wright, and Amir Syed. 2018. *Jihad of the Pen: The Sufi Literature of West Africa*. New York: American University in Cairo Press.

Watt, W. Montgomery. 2005. *Imam Al-Ghazali's Deliverance from Error and the Beginning of Guidance*. Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust.

Wright, Zachary Valentine. 2015. *Living Knowledge in West African Islam: The Sufi Community of Ibrāhīm Niasse*. Boston: Brill.

Gendering Contemporary Islamic Education

Hauwa'u Evelyn Yusuf

Introduction

The struggle against gender discrimination has not only remained a recurrent theme in education, but it has assumed a global one with members of the international community through their various governments adding their voices to eradicate gender disparities as members of the United Nations Organization. Upholding gender equity and gender equality in all forms has remained a mirage even as nations around the world have successfully established the various laws and international conventions to protect and promote gender equity and equality. While many countries are trying to put in place policies that entrench and promote gender equity, the results are inconsistent in many countries where Islam is the dominant religion. Many of the Muslim countries are far behind relative to other countries in their efforts to entrench, preserve, and promote gender equity in their economic, political, and social lives of their present and future generations. This chapter, therefore, examines gender discrimination and empowerment especially as it relates to education in some select countries in North, West, and East Africa. It focuses on gender gaps and discrimination in Algeria, Nigeria, and Kenya.

It has three main broad segments, the first segment examines the general status of women in Islam with specific focus on equality between women and men, particularly in the area of knowledge and education. It argues that even though there are many Islamic foundational texts from the Qur'an and the Hadith that state equality between men and women in terms of knowledge

H. E. Yusuf (✉)
Department of Sociology, Kaduna State University, Kaduna, Nigeria

and education, there exist glaring contradictions in some of them which have been used by those in power to hold down the girls and women in the Islamic world. This point has made the interpretation of these various injunctions a fundamental issue. The second segment gives insight into the historical context as regards girls' and women's education and empowerment. It examines the place of knowledge and education in Islam. It argues that even though there is some progress in education, particularly girl's enrollment into schools where there is remarkable progress, the quality of education continues to be inadequate and minimal compared to boys' and men's education opportunities. This disparity is reflected in the quality being so low that women's education is currently not adequate to prepare them for the labor force in any significant numbers (see International Labor Organization 2017). These ongoing education disparities include secondary impact factors of inhibiting women's agency to effectively access other sector of the society, such as adequate health care.

The third and final segment is preoccupied with the inherent contradictions in the various Islamic communities that have stood as stumbling blocks to gender parity and equity. It argues that the patriarchal system entrenched and institutionalized is the fundamental issue. It argues that gender discrimination has continued to be uppermost because of the male-dominated society that permeates all aspects of human life in these areas. There is emphasis on the relationship before on the elite and *Ulama* in the interpretation of the various injunctions and also in the area of policy formulation and implementation that has caused much of the stagnation in realizing gender equity in education. The status of women has not remarkably improved over the years in many Muslim countries. Even though Islam stresses the need for the adherents of the religion whether male or female to acquire knowledge and education, there are substantial gaps between the teaching of the Qur'an and the manner in which it is practiced in particular reference to education, which is for many Islamic girls and women among the worst in the world. Islamic teachings denounce gender discrimination, yet the bulk of Muslim majority states ranked among the lowest in gender equality in the world. Even though many more females are enrolled in schools today, few of them are learning knowledge and skills that will effectively prepare them for the twenty-first-century job market. These countries either do not understand the fact that as female education rises, fertility, population growth, and infant and child mortality falls, and family health improves, or worse they do understand these benefits but have not acted to implement education policy to realize such benefits. It is important to recognize that women from the educated segments of the society in the region are challenging this status quo and demanding equality in the family and society calling for women's economic, political, and social empowerment. There is therefore, growing political pressure for reform; that is partially spurred on by the rapid rise in the regions' cost of living that forces

families to depend on additional income that female family members can provide. In order to understand the current state of educational disparity, there is the need first know the place or status of girls and women in these societies.

GENERAL STATUS OF WOMEN IN ISLAM

In order to put the status of girls and women in the Islamic world in its proper perspective, one must interrogate and investigate the Qur'an (the word of Allah, God) and the Hadith (the sayings and deeds of Prophet Mohammed [SWT]). The injunctions in these two most important holy books give us an insight into the status of women, most especially the equality of men and women within Islamic societies. There are many of these injunctions that are clear and straight forward, without any ambiguity. However, there are others that portray gender inequality and oppression of women. In the case of the Qur'an A. Y. Ali (2011) lists several verses that show that in Islamic faith men and women are seen as equals. Some of these Qur'an verses include: 4:1, 4:124, 3:195, and 3:35. For example, according to Qur'an 4:1 men and women are seen as equal in the eyes of Allah as it states, "O mankind! Reverence your Guardian – Lord, who created you from a simple sperm created of like nature his mate, and from them, twain scattered (like seeds) countless men and women; reverence Allah through whom ye demanded your mutual rights and (reverence) the wombs (that bore you): for Allah watches over you." Verse 4:124 emphasizes the fact that men and women are spiritually equal by stating that, "if any do deeds of righteousness, be they male or female and have faith, they will enter heaven, and not the least injustice will be done to them." Apart from stressing the fact that there is no discrimination in good deeds between men and women, other verses equally indicate that there is no segregation in entering of Heaven between men and women. As such, Qur'an 33:35 states categorically that, "For Muslim men and women, for believing men and women, for devout men and women, for true men and women, for men and women who are patient and constantly for men and women who give in charity for men and women who fast (and deny themselves) for men and women who guard their chastity and for men and women who engage much in Allah's praise for them has Allah prepared forgiveness and great reward." A close examination of these verses shows clearly that there is no disparity between men and women in many social and religious expectations particularly in men and women guarding their chastity.

However, in the qur'an there are other verses that indicate that men and women are not given equal power or rights. Some of them portray gender inequality and oppression of women, such as Qur'an verse 2:228 that states "wives have the same rights as the husbands have on them in accordance with the generally known principles. Of course, men are a degree above them in status." In a similar vein, verse 4:34 states that:

> Men are the protector and maintainer of women, because Allah has given the one more [strength] than the other and because Allah has given the one more [strength] than the other and because they support them from their means. Therefore, the righteous women are devoutly obedient, and guard in [the husband's] absence what Allah would have them guard. As to those women on whose part ye fear disloyalty and ill-conduct, admonish them [first], [Next], refuse to share their beds [And last] beat them [lightly]; but if they return to obedience, seek not against them means [of annoyance]: for Allah's Most High great [above you all].

Such discrimination, oppression, and unequal rights were even reinforced by some of the contents of the Hadith. According to the ninth-century Islamic scholar Muhammad al-Bukhari, who authored the *Sahih al Bukhari* (Collection of Hadiths) in one of the Hadith, Prophet Mohammed said, "If at all there is bad omen, it is one the horse, the women and the horse" (vol. 7, 62, no. 32). In another Hadith, al-Bukhari reported that Mohammed said, "After me I have not left any application more harmful to men than women" (vol. 7, 62, no. 33). In a similar vein, al-Bukhari reported, Mohammed said, "If a man invites his wife to sleep with him and she refuses to come to him, then the angels send their curses on her until morning" (vol. 7, 62, no. 121). Another more damaging to the womanhood is the Hadith, reported by this same author, to say, "Isn't the witness of a woman equal to half of that of man? The woman said, 'Yes'. He said, this is because of the deficiency of a woman's minds" (vol. 3, 48, no. 826). Is the woman's mind really deficient? In what area and in what manner? Is there a difference in the brain of the man and that of the woman?

While it is generally assumed that in many Muslim communities that there are common characteristics in gender mainstreaming in education, certain historical differences are evident in these countries in their development of women's access to education and its empowering or agency provided for women varies. For example, there has been a relatively positive approach to women's education and empowerment in Algeria. The inherent contradictions associated with colonial domination and subjugation as well as the resulting struggle for independence in the Algerian liberation movement forced the hands of the clock to move forward in exposing the need and development of women's education and empowerment.

With the struggle for independence, both sides of the divides, the imperialists and nationalists realized the unique place of women. The imperialist (colonialists) wanted the women to come to their side in their efforts to destabilize and defect from the nationalists. They took steps not only to discourage them from wearing the veil, they equally encouraged them to enroll in schools that they established, to the dislike and frustration of the nationalists. The nationalists on the other hand insisted that their as women as a matter of

Islamic custom and tradition must continue with the wearing of the veil, but did also encourage women's participation in the liberation movement.

The window of opportunity opened for Algerian women with the war of liberation. Many women came over to the side of the liberators playing many heroic roles. During the war, they acted as combatants, spies, fund-raisers, nurses, laundresses, and cooks (see Turshen 2002). They assisted in other areas like transportation, communication, and administration. These unique roles made them not only recognized as comrades by nationalist men but resulted in tangible changes upon independence (De Groot and Peniston-Bird 2000). One such result was the post-independence constitution provision of equality for women and men. Inevitably this opened doors for women in the field of education and employment. Algeria became a liberal nation and the status of women reflects this reality. Their constitution guaranteed equality between gender, family but family laws discriminate against women.

Before independence, very few Algerian women read and write. After independence, it picked up significantly. According to UNICEF (2019) reported as of 2015, it was still lower than that of the men, it was 73.1%, compared to that of the males at 87.2%. Both girls and boys had an enrollment figure that is not much different, girls at 93% and the boys at 95%. The education policy accounted for 53% enrollment into the universities even though the focus for women was on education and nursing. Suffice it to say women have made an inroad into the medical profession as they constitute more than half of Algeria's doctors. They contribute more to households than men. As of 2007, 65% of university students were women with more than 80% joining the workforce after graduation. Algerian women are among the first in North Africa to become taxi and bus drivers (Ibid.).

In the area of politics, in a comprehensive report on gender equity UNESCO (2019) reported that Algerian women are yet to be given the recognition they deserve. Even though they are represented, it is not in the same proportion to that of the men in both parliamentary and ministerial positions; yet in 2012, Algerian women occupied 31% of parliamentary seats, placing the country 26th worldwide and the first in the Arab world. However, in terms of ownership of land, the women are at great disadvantage. Even though they have the right to access bank loans and free to negotiate financial or business contracts they are usually restricted by their husbands. Apart from this, even though many of them are employed in the workforce, only half of them are on a salaried status. The little gain for the historical efforts in the war of liberation evaporated after independence, as the Islamists gained the upper hand in government. Islamic tradition and culture took the center stage in gender mainstreaming.

Islamic Education for All But Historical Gendered Inequities in Implementation

Islam places a high premium on the acquisition of knowledge and education. This could be discerned in some of the verses of the Qur'an and the Hadith. The Qur'an did not make a distinction between the pursuit of education and acquisition of knowledge for men and women, as it is a duty of every Muslim (see McDonnell 2017). The Qur'an states in 35:28, "These truly fear Allah, among His servants, who have knowledge"; also, in verse 39:9, "Are those equal, those who know and those who do not know? It is those who endued with understanding that receive admonition." The Hadith of Prophet Mohammed said, "Seeking knowledge is duty of every Muslim, man or woman" (Al Hakimat Tirmidh). In another Hadith, the Prophet said, "One who treads a path in search of knowledge has his path to paradise made easy by God" (S. Abu Dawud). From these verses and the sayings and deeds of the Prophet of Islam, it is very clear that there is no prejudice toward women with regard to education and the acquisition of knowledge. There is also no disparity or differences identified between education and acquisition of knowledge for men and women. Furthermore, women are not mentioned as inferior or unequal to men in this regard. Above all, there is nothing in the Qur'an that suggests that women should not be educated or be denied the opportunity to acquire knowledge.

However, it is one thing to have lofty ideas, principles, and policies in well-articulated injunctions; it is entirely another thing for these to be fully implemented without prejudices, sustainably, and in the right quantity and quality. These main principles guiding Islamic education set the tone for its type and content. Islamic education refers to teaching and learning about Islam. "It is pre-occupied with the teaching of the Qur'an, the Hadith (sayings or actions by the Prophet Mohammed and the Sira, the biography of the prophet), interpretation of the Qur'an, jurisprudence, history, culture of Islam, and Islamic ethics" (Sheikh 2013, 69). The ultimate aim is to prepare individuals to live in a society which is just and in which the idea of omnipresence and omnipotence of God is dominant so that individuals can lead normal life, perform all their worldly functions (Ibid., 8). Islamic education is aimed at the development of the whole person and a balanced development of the whole personality. It is concerned with the soul or spirit, the heart, the self, and the intellect. Sheikh (2013) adds, "however, Islam does not accept the dichotomy of secular and religious education as it focuses on the development of an integrated human personality, spiritual physical, intellectual, social and moral" (8). It could be seen therefore, that Islamic education is majorly theoretical in context and content. Acquisition of skill and other types of empowerment that will make people fit into different segments of the society outside Islam has not been provided, and what is more, in terms of course content, methods of delivery, in its implementation, girls and women cannot be empowered. Islamic education without any doubt, in terms of its context

and content, is male favored. Even though in practical terms it currently does not equip both men and women with contemporary practical skills for employment or civic duties of the time, the women fare worse than men.

It is necessary to understand the significant historical factors that have continued to entrench and promote gender equity and equality are many and probably contentious. A starting point in the understating and appreciation of gender discrimination and lack of women empowerment is the history of Islam. Each religion has its own historical epoch, its growth, its decline, its types of leaders, as well as how these relate to both inherent and external contradictions. Many dynasties and rulers were recorded in the history of Islam. Each of them had its challenges, particularly theological disputes. In about the ninth century, controversial theological disputes effected political and cultural conditions. In the end, people thought that all questions on religious matters were already answered and declared *ijtihad* (further endeavors for fresh solutions) was closed. In essence, Islam was not open up for fresh ideas, including issues concerning women's education and empowerment.

To make matters worse, in the twelfth century there was a gradual decline in Islamic civilization. Islamic civilization faced "wartime ideology" represented by the conflict from the West and the East (Arkoun 1994, 79). The defeats suffered had negative impacts on Islam. There was turmoil and an atmosphere of uncertainty after this century education become static, so that Islamic education and knowledge no longer correspond to the socioeconomic and political development (Sheikh 2013, 72). As a result of this, religious brotherhoods, marabouts, and saints increased their influence resulting in narrowed horizons for Islam. The way and manner Islam came and was accepted in Africa was through by the elite, which was another significant factor. Islam was initially adopted by the head of states who included African kings and was later under Islam titled emirs, sarki, sultan, emperors, and the elite class of royal lineages and merchants, before it eventually spread beyond the aristocracy and into the communities. Even though it has a "mass" appeal, it remained as a religion of the town and cities or the metropolises. It was most often concentrated in great metropolises where the commercial bourgeoisie demanded knowledge and culture. There was therefore a growing affinity between the rulers, the elite, and the Islamic scholars. As Islam appeared in African societies that were historically characterised by centuries of conditions such as kinship structures that often controlled female reproductive roles within these systems (see Sheikh 2013). Some of these conditions, although contradictory to the general spirit of the Qur'an, continued to prevail among many social groups. The rules that govern gender relations and human conduct in Muslim societies today primarily mirror the culture, ideas, and perception of the Muslim community as of the twelfth century when Islamic law was in decline. This is even more evident in the interpretations of the various verses in the Qur'an and the sayings and actions of the Prophet of Islam.

Islamic education in most of the Muslim countries whether Algeria, Kenya, or Nigeria were given in mosques (as was the tradition with the Prophet of Islam, when he started the spread of Islam), madrasa (school for Islamic education), and Qur'anic schools (schools were students learn to recite and memorize the Qur'an). However, these various schools/avenues for the education of children developed and spread within its peculiar historical circumstances. For example, in Kenya, Islam had existed for more than a millennium and education was provided within the framework of Islam. Islamic education in Qur'anic schools and *madrasa* focused on the spiritual needs of the learners to offer an avenue for the growth of their faith. Its intent was to mold the behavior of the children in accordance with Islamic teaching. With the British colonial activities and their introduction of secular education, especially during the first and second half of the twentieth century, there was poor response to secular education by Muslims. This was largely due to poverty of the Muslim Arabs and the Swahili community. Apart from this, the fact that they lacked the tradition of paying school fees did not help matters. But the absence of Qur'anic and Arabic teaching in the curriculum of the secular schools worsened the situation (Sheikh 2013, 47). However, efforts were made by individuals and groups within these communities to improve on the Qur'anic schools and they established integrated madrasas (religious and secular curriculum). In some of these schools, Qur'anic instruction was introduced particularly in Mombasa and Malinda teaching to increase school enrollment. The turning points came in 1928 when 317 pupils enrolled in the Arab School in Mombasa. In 1933, madrasa came on board. It had an integrated curriculum of secular and religious subjects, including history, mathematics, Arabic, and Islamic religious subjects. This development was a clear departure from the Qur'anic schools methodology. It was welcomed by the people and they even donated new buildings.

Struggle for Gender Parity in Islamic Education

In 1936, a madrasa opened to Muslim girls. Boys and girls were allowed to learn in the same school, but in gender-segregated classrooms. The owner of the school, Sheikh Ghazali, taught Arabic and Religious instructions, while his wife Zainab bint Adam Musa and his half-sister Bahia Ali assisted in teaching other subjects. These government Arabic schools saw a decline in enrollment as families began to send their students to the new integrated madrasa. In the 1940s, the Madarasatul-Falah was established in Mombasa with funds coming from Muslim Arabs, Africans, and Asians, where a Saudi High School curriculum was implemented that enabled its graduates to enroll in Saudi universities. In 1945, according to Sheikh (2013), the East African Muslim Welfare Society was established to promote education for Kenya's African Muslim communities. These efforts continued during the post-independence era, but in spite of the postcolonial government attempts

to expand education, the predominantly Muslim communities remained slow to fully participate in these schools.

In Nigeria, the North has a predominantly Muslim population and its long history of contact with Islam shaped its socioeconomic and political framework long before British colonization. In Sub Saharan Africa, Islam came through coastal or the Trans Saharan Trade routes through extensive trading with Middle Eastern, primarily Arab merchants. Merchants forged relationships with the elite and the local populations (see Arkoun 1994). The growing population of adherents to Islam wanted their children, most especially the male children, to receive Islamic education. The few Islamic teachers were "mobile" or "roving" Islamic teachers. More often than not moving from town to town with their students, before eventually settling down in one spot with their students, as this group or mobile school known as *almajiris* grew to the extent that moving about became impracticable. As the settled Islamic population grew, mosques were built to observe compulsory prayers in a congregation. The Imams in these various mosques not only lead the prayers, they also become Islamic teachers, so the mosques came to serve as schools. As the population continued to grow and expand, mosques could no longer satisfy the growing needs of parents, so gradually they set up Islamic schools outside of the mosques, where they taught their students under the trees, with no physical accommodations. Later buildings were provided to many of the schools, but for others even into independence; community Islamic schools continued in the outdoors under the trees.

Therefore, the public school system erected by the colonial state and sustained by the postcolonial state and sustained by the postcolonial elite contended with a persistent religious parallel in the form of Islamic schools. Little changed in the essential character of Islamic schools as Sheikh (2013) explained, the loose network under the individual members of *Ulama*, continued to teach with unregulated power to define the intellectual direction of schools they owned. As such, only Islamic schools willing to modernize were given state support. A limited number of colonial and later state-run schools trained teachers to teach Arabic language and general components of Islamic education in the formal schools. Eventually, the National Policy on Education in 1977 allowed state governments in Northern Nigeria to establish colleges that offered a combination of Western and Islamic education to train Arabic language teachers. By 1979, these teachers were available in the Northern Nigerian schools in Sokoto, Gombe, Maiduguri, Hadeja, and Kano. In spite of these efforts, the girls' and women's access to and quality of education remained very low, as most of these improvements were targeted at improving boys' and men's education.

Acquiring knowledge and education has been and will always be topmost in any society that wants to have a marked impact in the community of nations, most especially in this era of information communication technology. Individuals and groups in societies that want to be recognized as

advanced and progressive, must not only accept this, but must be seen to make serious and concrete efforts in carrying along all segments of the society, particularly girls and women, in their pursuit of quality knowledge and education. This call for gender equity in education is emphasized in many international laws and conventions. As the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" underscores these efforts in such international conventions, as the "Programme of Action of the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development," "The Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995" and the United Nation's (UN) five years reviews of this program's impact (2000, 2005, 2010, and 2015) recognized that women's literacy is key to empowering women, participation in decision making in the society and improving family's well-being. In a similar direction, the UN articulated the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which include goals for improved education, gender equality, and women empowerment and emphasized the fact that their education contributes directly to the growth of national income by improving productive capacities of labor force. In addition, according to the UN Development Program (UNDP 2002), Arab countries that have made social investments in health, family planning, and education have slower population growth and faster economic growth than countries that have not made such investments. It further explained that increases in girl's secondary school enrollments are associated with women's increased participation in the labor force and their resulting increased contributions to household and national income.

It is safe to argue that the strongest obstacle to gender mainstreaming in education in the Islamic world is the manner and quality of interpretation of Islamic emphasis on education. There is predominantly male interpretation of Islamic sources and cultural influence on the interpretation and as argued by some scholars, like Ahmed (1993), this is a contradiction to an important principle of Islam, the oneness of the Deity as the basis of all values and knowledge. Male interpretation was inevitable because as stated earlier, when Islam came it was absorbed without any difficulty into existing social structure and institution, which was already patriarchal. Not only that, it was stressed that Islam was concentrated in great metropolises with the dominant classes in control of the patriarchal system and Islam's introduction into the society. An alliance was therefore forged between the monarchical system, the then-dominant political class, and groups of *Ulama*. This partnership became entrenched in the interpretation of Islamic verses and the saying and deeds of the Prophet of Islam.

For this to be put in perspective, there is the need to understand the distinctive features of the *Ulama,* who are the most vital organ in the chain of interpretation. The *Ulama* had full-time engagement with matters of scholarship and piety. There was the development of the *Ulama* class, of whom many members worked closely with the political elite. For example, Al-Maghili laid the framework for the establishment of Islamic legal and

administrative system in Kano and Katsina through alliance with political leaders in these areas. As such ties developed between male leaders in these groups, Islamic education spread and developed through clear patterns and well-established curricula through efforts of Ulama members as described throughout this chapter.

Furthermore, the inability of the leadership to have a proper knowledge and understanding of the symbiotic relationship between, education, fertility, employment, and literacy is equally an important issue. The leaders failed to realize that education is the most important determinant of both age at marriage and a woman's age at her first baby. As McDonnell (2017) noted, they failed to understand the fact that educated women generally want smaller families and make better use of reproductive health and family planning information, and services in achieving their desired family size (16).

This lack of understanding has equally impacted the quality of education which is generally low. The poor quality of education for girls and women has led to a significant mismatch between the labor market needs and the graduate skills (UNDP 2002). In addition to this, the curricula and teaching are not gender-sensitive and this has affected the quality of education. Also, the media, a powerful organ in shaping people's knowledge and opinion in many regions have also not helped matters. Local media in particular continues to reinforce roles that deny women opportunities for full and equal participation in the society. In addition, some Muslim countries like Nigeria have suffered from the activities of terrorist groups like Boko Haram, creating great difficulties for girls' education. As a militant group, it has not only continued to display its lack of approval of girls' education in Islamic faith, but has also continued to destroy educational infrastructure. In 2014, in Boko Haram's most horrid attack on female education, it abducted an estimated 276 girls from a school in the northeast town of Chibok and held them captive at their insurgent camp with Fidelis Mbah reporting in *Al Jazeera* news (April 14, 2019) that 112 of them remained missing in 2019. Many of those who returned home could no longer attend school due to their ordeal.

CONCLUSION

Girls' and women's education as well as women emancipation and empowerment have remained a herculean task among the Muslim counties of the Islamic world. The declaration by international laws and conventions for gender equity in education has forced these countries' leadership and other various systems to address issues of gender equity and equality. Some efforts have been made to increase access to women's education, but it has not been significant enough to tilt the balance in favor of gender equality and gender equity in education nor in the larger society. The prevailing patriarchal and other social/cultural factors, particularly the predominant male interpretation of the Qur'an and the Hadiths, have continued to pull the hands of the

clock backward in this regard. Except there is a conscious and concrete effort to educate the men to understand and appreciate the need for them to be in the forefront of advocacy for women liberation and empowerment, and for them to champion the policy and programs to realize parity in education, gender equity, and equality will continue to be an illusion within Islamic education.

References

Ahmed, Leila. 1993. *Women and Gender in Islam*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

al Bukhari, Muhammad. *Sahih al Bukhari*. Vol. 7 Book 62 No.32.

al Bukhari, Muhammad. *Sahih al Bukhari*. Vol. 3 Book 48 No. 826.

Ali, A. Y. 2011. *The Meaning of the Holy Qur'an*. Beltsville, MD: Amana Publications.

Arkoun, Mohammed. 1994. *Rethinking Islam: Common Questions, Uncommon Answers*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

De Groot, Gerard, and Corinna Peniston-Bird. 2000. *A Soldier and a Woman: Sexual Integration in the Military*. New York: Longman.

International Labor Organization (ILO). 2017. *Global Employment Trends for Youth 2017: Paths To a Better Working Future*. Geneva, Switzerland: ILO.

McDonnell, Jaclynn. 2017. "Islam and Educational Equality for Muslim Women." *Law School Student Scholarship* 906. https://scholarship.shu.edu/student_scholarship/906.

Sheikh, A. S. 2013. "Islamic Education in Kenya: A Case Study of Islamic Integrated Schools in Garissa County." Unpublished PhD diss., Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies, University of Nairobi, Kenya.

Turshen, Meredith. 2002. "Algerian Women in the Liberation Struggle and the Civil War: From Active Participants to Passive Victims?" *Social Research* 69 (3): 889–911.

UNDP, Regional Bureau for Arab States (RBAS). 2002. *Arab Human Development Report, 2002: Creating Opportunities for Future Generations*. New York, NY: United Nations Development Programme.

UNICEF. 2019. "Girls' Education and Gender Equality." UNICEF Data: Monitoring the Situation of Children and Women by Country for 2015. https://data.unicef.org/resources/data_explorer/unicef_f/?ag=UNICEF&df=GLOBAL_DATAFLOW&ver=1.0&dq=.GN_ED_ATTN..&startPeriod=2016&endPeriod=2019.

'Francophone' Education Intersectionalities: Gender, Language, and Religion

Halimatou Hima

Introduction

This chapter explores how multiple educational spaces coexist, intersect, and sometimes compete in 'Francophone' West African countries with majority Muslim societies. The study focuses on Niger Republic with references to Mali, Mauritania, and Senegal, which together form an uninterrupted stretch of land that connects Africa south of the Sahara to the Maghreb. This region that came to be known as the Sahel—*sāḥil* which means shore or coast in Arabic—was a frontier as much as a bridge.[1] Beginning in the tenth century, the trans-Saharan trade developed, and commercial hubs flourished in parallel with Islamic centers of learning which fostered a significant amount of sociocultural exchange between previously unconnected communities.[2] One of the most significant developments during the trans-Saharan trade was the rise of the Arabic language as the language of trade; with the spread of Islam, the Arabic language also became that of written scholarship and mass literacy (Kane 2016, 6–7, 44–45).[3] If the region already had a long-standing tradition of orality (Lydon 2004, 43–44, 51) and literacy in indigenous scripts such as Tifinagh, the naissance of Ajami cemented the development of a robust scholarly culture.[4]

The confluence of these cultural interactions transformed the Sahel region into a dynamic blend of diverse linguacultural influences, which over centuries shaped distinct social identities and educational spaces.[5] The idea that knowledge must be systematically disseminated had grown into the fabric of most

H. Hima (✉)
University of Cambridge, Cambridge, UK
e-mail: hhima@post.harvard.edu

Islamic societies in the Sahel.[6] The life story of Nana Asma'u Fodio, a Muslim woman from the nineteenth century in the Sokoto Caliphate (parts of present-day northern Nigeria and southern Niger), conveys the existence of learning sites where individuals, regardless of gender, could become literate, learn, and critically engage with developments in their communities (Boyd 1989; Mack and Boyd 2000). The educational spheres, although gendered, provided both men and women with an opportunity to cultivate what Ousseina Alidou (2002) refers to as "a consciousness of their collective identity". If such spaces persisted during European colonization, the Western-style francophone education that emerged out of the colonial encounter undermined the legitimacy of the rich scholarship that existed in that part of the world.[7] Notions of illiteracy began to define hitherto literate spaces. As learning and educational sites became a ground for ideological conquest and control, communities resisted and, in some cases, embraced new influences—exercising agency in ways that transformed the educational sphere across the region.

The chapter begins with a brief discussion on the use of the term 'Francophone' in the context of this study. The chapter then looks at the early interactions between traditional, Islamic, and francophone education and traces how and why perceptions and attitudes toward these various educational spaces evolved. In doing so, the chapter gives an overview of major historical shifts in educational policies in Muslim majority countries in West Africa. At its inception in the early 1900s, the main intent of the Western-style schooling was to further the colonial project. In the case of former French colonies, access to schools was exclusive and reserved to a small number of (mostly male) elites who would serve as administrative officers for the colonial powers.[8] The growing hegemony of Western epistemologies and languages in the production of knowledge may have decentered preexisting sites of intellectual pursuit, but it did not interrupt the occupation of Afro-Islamic and animist sites of learning.[9] The interactions between these educational systems induced several major developments: First, while parents continued to value Qur'anic and Islamic education, they also understood that francophone education could be a means for rapid socioeconomic mobility and were, therefore, more willing to send their children to school.[10] The initial resistance to francophone Western-style education had gradually shifted, albeit in ways that maintained girls at the periphery of learning. By the 1960s at independence, the prospect of the popularization of Western-style education (henceforth used interchangeably with 'formal francophone education') occupied a central role in the national policy in most African countries.[11] Second, the tensions between Afro-Islamic and French education facilitated the naissance of new teaching institutions such as *médersas* and Franco-Arab schools which further altered the political economy of education in West African Sahel countries. The chapter's first section, therefore, primarily focuses on the major transformations that characterized formal and informal learning sites and that continue to influence the nature of the current educational sphere.

The chapter's second section explores the major trends that characterize contemporary educational spaces. It is argued here that sociocultural cultural considerations intersect with religion and gender to shape demand for formal francophone education even as the desirability for schooling remains high. Countries discussed in this chapter have some of the world's lowest rates of retention in primary as well as secondary schools: While there are structural challenges that limit access to formal education and learning, there is a deliberate social discourse about the value and social worth of schooling which often goes uncaptured. Communities exercise agency in ways that signal their preferences. The first part of this section assesses how shifts in the quality of formal education affect communities' perception about schooling and the desirability for Afro-Islamic education. The disengagement with formal education is not always the desired outcome: Yet, when the expected rewards of engagement with basic formal education become harder to attain or remain uncertain, communities begin to question its relevance, and often in ways that are gendered. This is particularly relevant in a context where long-standing alternative learning sites exist—in this case, Afro-Islamic sites of learning. The poor quality in formal education and perceptions about its inadequacy could accentuate the reticence to schooling, particularly for girls. In most societies in that geo-cultural region (Hausa, Wolof, Bambara, Fulani, and Zarma), girls are considered to be the prime recipients (and as future mothers, the guardians) of a community's values, 'social conduct' (*tarbiyya* in Hausa), and dignity (*daraja* in Hausa).[12] The chapter demonstrates that when preexisting sociocultural factors combine with poor quality of education, the result is not merely the persistence of gendered disparities—it is the cementing of an enduring perception about the uselessness of schooling.

The second part of this section looks at how the growing interest for Afro-Islamic education, particularly among young adults, is shaping new learning sites. Drawing on an extensive multiyear research in Niger, this chapter demonstrates, with empirical data, that the youth in formal francophone education increasingly value *advanced* Islamic studies, not instead of but in addition to francophone education. This is a recent phenomenon among 'educated' urban youth: Until the early 1990s, the systematic quest for Islamic studies seemed to principally be the purview of two age groups, children who are learning the basics and the elderly who would be 'getting ready for the grave'. The thread in between was mostly comprised of male clerics. Afro-Islamic educational spaces, which were marginalized under colonization and early postcolonial era, have gained an increased presence and sometimes in new 'modernized' forms and in ways that defy previously existing gender divides in access to knowledge (Sounaye 2016; Alidou 2005). In the deliberate act of striving for (Islamic) knowledge, we see the refashioning of new social identities and the desire for a more meaningful educational experience. It is, among the youth, the need to mediate identities and positionalities within a shifting social context marked by an increasing respect

for visible religiosity (Sounaye 2009) and an attempt at reclaiming identities that are recognized only superficially in formal educational spaces. There is, in the discourse around access to Islamic education, a set of values and intangible matters that give meaning in ways often overlooked in discourses that focus solely on the material and economic benefits of being and becoming educated. The chapter's second section shows that at the core of the 'disengagement' with formal education and the revival of Afro-Islamic learning sites is the value placed on learning—that is, learning and a path to learning as the expected outcome of instruction in any form.

The interplay between various educational systems oscillates between competition and complementarity, but in most cases, it intersects in ways that the nature, content, and teleological intent of formal educational systems do not yet fully capture. Among communities where the benefits of formal schooling including in its most basic form (learn, read, write, and count) remain difficult to attain, Islamic and Qur'anic education provides an alternative space to learn and reclaim the dignity in the act of learning something of value. This is particularly true among poorer families where a narrative of failure often surrounds the quest for formal francophone education: Qur'anic education provides an avenue for learning where the concept of failure does not necessarily exist and where every attempt, in the eyes of the learner, would get rewarded with divine recompense (and increasingly social respectability and voice). Among 'educated' young adults, scholars situate these shifts in educational aspirations as part of a larger reform movement (Loimeier 2016, 6–8) but also as the articulations of new social realities where religiosity, anchored in the act of learning and the quest for knowledge, matters (Sounaye 2016). Beyond religiosity, however, what these neo-Islamic educational spaces offer also is a fragment of the past, a place for intergenerational discourse, an opportunity to gain respectability, and, often, a space to forge new social networks anchored in spiritual (or sometimes socioeconomic) solidarity, particularly for women, young and old.

The inquiry in this chapter casts light on issues related to education, social dynamics, and gender in the context of Muslim majority societies in West Africa and how they have evolved overtime. The analysis hopes to validate and recognize the experiences and agencies of communities and individuals as they construct and deconstruct the meaning of the quest for *ilimi* or *'ilm*.[13] In engaging with these questions, the idea of intersectionality matters: It is one of honesty and of necessity in the face of the complex intersecting identities that *Sahélians* navigate, sometimes with duality, and other times, in harmony. The use of an intersectionality framework draws on Crenshaw's (1991) call to consider this concept as a useful way of "mediating the tension between assertions of multiple identity and the ongoing necessity of group politics". In the process of conducting this work, I, as a *Nigérienne Sahélian almajira,* sit in between numerous spaces and carry these intersecting positionalities and identities.[14] In the Hausa language, *almajira* (female) and *almajiri* (male) mean a student/scholar who travels, literally or metaphysically, on a quest, seeks, and searches.[15]

A Brief Deconstruction of the Term 'Francophone' as an Identifier in African Countries

In laying the groundwork for this chapter, it is important to, first, discuss the cultural capital and epistemic implications of retaining 'Francophone' as an identifier in African countries with languages such as Hausa, Bambara, or Wolof as dominant lingua franca.[16] The term 'Francophone' carries a polysemous character. It is understood as the ensemble of countries that have adopted (and adapted) French as an official language and as one of the prime languages of instruction in formal educational spaces.[17] It is also a literary and linguistic space which, amidst its diversity, carries the filaments of the postcolonial nature of the context within which it had been constructed and shaped: The term 'Francophone' engages worlds apart in a disruptive quest for legitimacy and a constant redefinition of the term itself.

Some of the earliest African writers who wrote in French in or outside of Africa have deconstructed what it means to be 'Francophone' or to belong to the 'Francophone' space. Must she, out of necessity and duty to contextual political struggles, begin from a place of contestation and resistance? Must she always question, deconstruct, and resist? What does that look like? Does the 'banal' articulation of creativity or the absence of (explicit) political agenda render the writing invalid? In the context of the post-independence era, isn't the portrayal of African lives and poetry, as in Camara Laye's (1953) *L'Enfant Noir* or Oumar Bâ's (1977) *Paroles plaisantes au cœur et à l'oreille*, itself a revolutionary act? In Mongo Beti's (1954) criticism of Laye's (1953) *L'Enfant Noir*, we see an interrogation about the notion of what is, could be, or must not be 'Francophone': In Beti's eyes, the African writer must, out of responsibility, question and engage with the postcolonial conditions and construct of their societies.[18] Beti argues for a distinction between being francophone and belonging to 'Francophonie', which is an entity with a political agenda.[19] From its beginnings, the francophone literary discourse has been one of (re) invention (Gauvin 2016; Beniamino 1999) and of resistance to epistemic hegemony (Moura 2013). From self-representation to the active dislocation of notions of periphery and centers in the production and distribution of knowledge, this discourse continues to articulate the presence of African Francophile and francophone spaces.

The linguistic considerations cannot be divorced from questions of coloniality with respect to the term 'Francophone', what it represented, at its inception, how it has evolved, and what it continues to represent. The notion of 'oneness' and 'unity' (as 'Francophone') had been used to consolidate and perpetuate neocolonial relations including the ambition of a philological and cultural assimilation of African populations with the French language as one of its instruments (Alidou 2002). During the colonial era, schools were the main site of preservation and dissemination of the French language: The colonial enterprise had created new class hierarchies on the joint basis of access to economic opportunities and political power. Formal education and ability

in the French language guaranteed access into the coveted circle of the élite which fulfilled auxiliary duties in the colonial administration and served, in the case of literate sons of chiefs, as intermediaries with communities. Language was, therefore, a vector as much as a means for cultivating and consolidating the idea of difference, belonging, and exclusion. Throughout the colonial and early postcolonial era, the proportion of functional Francophiles in West Africa was extremely low owing to the limited access to formal education and literacy in the French language: from 1945 to 1952, school enrollment rate in AOF (*Afrique Occidentale Française*) or 'French West Africa' went from 2.5 to 7.6% (Autra 1956).[20] Literacy rates in formal education in the region still remain some of the lowest in the world, especially among adults in rural areas.[21] Therefore, it was not a popular uptake in the French language, in the early years of decolonization or even after, that made African countries 'Francophone'. Countries had become 'Francophone' because the African elites were and because France said so.[22]

Scholars such as Mbembe (2013) have problematized the coevolution, transformation, and erosion of formerly colonial institutions in favor of novel sociocultural realities and identities shaped by Africans, with Africa, not as the center but as a reference point. Speaking about the linguistic institutions, Mbembe argues that, after years of interactions and embeddedness, Africans have adopted as much as adapted the French language, thereby refashioning French as an African dialect. Many Africans in former French colonies from the elites and middle-income families have adopted French as the colloquial dialect with their children: it is a way to advance the children's mastery of the language but also to signify their appurtenance to a 'different' class (Alidou 2003, 108).[23] The gradual 'Africanization' of the French language (whether on the streets of Bamako or Niamey or in formal spaces) was made, in part, possible by communities' desire to communicate within and between plurilingual populations and nations. With various forms of local adaptation, African communities also demonstrate that the local use of formerly colonial languages need not happen at the expense of indigenous African languages. The linguistic diversity found on African streets, markets, and communities hardly gets reflected in formal educational institutions: often monolingual education dominates (and in the case of former French colonies, francophone-based instruction)—making the production of knowledge in African languages scarce.[24]

The medium and language of knowledge production matter, even more so in postcolonial states. Moumouni (1968, 55) points out that, "one of the cornerstones of the '*dépersonalisation*' of educated Africans was the relegation of African languages to the back seat and their more or less complete elimination from the educational process". Mazrui (1993, 2003, 101) furthers the interrogation of the linguistic and sociocultural institutions and argues for a more nuanced examination and for "the possibility of the transformability of imperial languages from instruments of domination to instruments of liberation". However, as many linguists and philosophers point out, language is not simply a means, it is a commonwealth. Menkiti (1984) writes that, in traditional

African thought, language transcends the living and connects generations across time and space. Language gives meaning to stories and histories that encompass the past, the present, and the future. Language therefore is not a neutral medium of instruction or communication—it instils values. Related to the question of transformation remains, in the words of Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (2005, 157), the need to elevate African languages and to reconnect with 'African memory' in the production and the organization of knowledge and written scholarship. Even as scholars and contemporary urban cosmopolites have Africanized formerly colonial languages, the need to re-center African languages in sites of knowledge production lingers as an unfinished undertaking of the decolonization process in African countries.

The use of the term 'Francophone' to qualify formerly colonized African countries does remain contentious in light of some of the arguments raised above—it implies the acceptance of some of the unresolved coloniality, which acts in duality with African languages and, sometimes even, with epistemic thought in institutions of knowledge production. However, the use of French as the prime language of instruction in formal educational systems (which, in this case, warrants the epithet of francophone education) remains a common thread among some of the West African countries of the Sahel. It is with this multilayered baggage as a backdrop and with the validation of these shifting constructs that this chapter uses the term 'Francophone' more as an identifier for the educational systems than for the countries themselves—an element which, as briefly discussed in this section, remains complex and defies binary interpretation of belonging.

EARLY INTERACTIONS BETWEEN TRADITIONAL, ISLAMIC, AND FRANCOPHONE EDUCATION IN MUSLIM MAJORITY COUNTRIES IN WEST AFRICA

This section first highlights the contours of traditional education in the Sahel West African communities and assesses how the advent of francophone formal education intersected with existing educational systems. In his pioneering work entitled 'Education in Africa', Nigerien scholar Abdou Moumouni (1968) describes traditional education in most African societies as one where "instruction and education happened simultaneously": learning was effective because of its close relationship with life and progressive because of its symbiotic evolution with the child's stages of physical, emotional, and mental development. Traditional education interweaved teachings on the social, political, and spiritual conditions with the evolving needs of the learner. It was locally embedded and non-exclusionary although conditioned because children often studied and received instruction in line with their forefathers' occupation and mothers' roles. The intent of traditional education was as much to mold character and prepare for a specific occupation as it was to maintain social 'harmony' and hierarchies—it, therefore, did not systematically offer the possibility

to chart new paths away from the expected. The sons of the griots would grow to become a griot, just as the sons of the blacksmith grow into their family's occupation. Women could, however through marriage alliances, sometimes redefine their social status and their children's lineage.

Education, with social conditioning at its core, was part of 'being' and 'becoming' a complete person. For instance, a defining principle in indigenous educational philosophy in the Hausa culture is the idea of the cultivation of *tarbiyya*, *hankali* (which could mean mind, intellect, and emotional intelligence), and *biyayya* (obedience and respect in the act of obedience) as being intractably linked with education. In the Fulani culture, a child, from a young age, is taught to respect the societal honor code known as *Pulaaku*; Hampâté Bâ (1991, 10) writes that a Fulani child grows up with a double loyalty, one to a veritable honor code and an absolute respect of maternal will.[25] In most of the societies in the Sahel region, the conception of personhood finds meaning when rooted in community, which serves as the foundation for the "long process of social and ritual transformation" in the journey from 'humanhood' to personhood (Menkiti 1984; Mbiti 1990).[26] Being born does not necessarily confer personhood (*mutunci* in Hausa): it is the ability to exhibit certain values and embody a role in maintaining social order in "the art of living together" (*zumunci* in Hausa) that do.

The responsibility of instructing and educating was a communal act. Adults or elders from the community, depending on their relationship to the child or to the group of children, had a specific role to play as did older siblings. Some were tasked with imparting moral values while others would teach specific manual and life skills. With references to the Hausa culture, Alidou (2002) writes about the central role that old women played in the transmission of knowledge and in the shaping of moral values:

> In Hausa tradition, the oldest woman of the household or neighborhood – the grandmother – is the "master" storyteller. Her advanced age is a symbol of a deep experiential understanding of life as it unfolds in its many facets across time and she is culturally regarded as an important source of knowledge production, preservation, and transmission. This matriarch becomes the mediator/transmitter of knowledge and information across generations. Her audience cuts across gender, until the adolescent age at which the socialization of a female child into her role as a woman becomes the task of her mother and that of the male child is the responsibility of the father … The grandmother storyteller is somewhat akin to Gramsci's "organic intellectual" – an embodiment of the experiential and collective wisdom of her community for whom colonialism is not the beginning nor the end of history. She speaks, and continues to speak in spite of the march of "modernity" that attempts to make her invisible even as it feeds on her heritage. (139)

Grandmothers, uncles or adult-neighbors, among other members of the community found meaning in their individuality and what it represents but also in exercising their roles as educators and instructors. In Wolof culture,

for instance, the maternal uncle plays a key role in the education of his nephews and becomes a complementary source of parental influence which would counterbalance paternal authority.[27] For important life episodes such as marriage, biological parents often become 'invisible' and leave the place for uncles and aunts: in Zarma communities, the paternal aunt plays the role of surrogate mother and would simultaneously carry the voice of fatherhood and the mothering character of an aunt. While some of these roles would become more visible on given social occasions (childbirth, marriage, etc.), whether private or public, the extended family and community members continuously would play a role in the upbringing, instruction, and education of the African child.

With the advent of the Western-centric educational system, a long-standing system of knowledge acquisition would be partially dislocated, disregarded, and muted, and with that a disruption and transformation of social hierarchies and ways of doing, being, and bringing up. Instead of learning from community members in various locations as was the case in most Sahelian societies, children had to relocate to a given physical space (the school) to learn in specific locations (the classroom) that rarely involved traditional educators.[28] Further, the nature of labor organization would also gradually change: farming, at that time and to a large extent still today, relied on manual labor force among which children of schooling age.[29] Children, especially when older, played a significant role in labor provision in the household, in the community, and on the farm. The nascent shifts in the societal organizations of instruction would affect the nature of interactions between age groups and gradually altered how knowledge was transmitted. While some of the traditional educators and instructors adapted and devised creative ways of resisting their institutional effacement in formal education, the developments in the educational sphere demanded a readjustment of roles and positions that generated real and potential socioeconomic losses in authority, legitimacy, and sometimes livelihood.

When the francophone system of education came into the Sahel region, the resistance to that system was not simply in response to its agenda, nor simply to the epistemic dislocation it imposed unto communities. The resistance also stemmed from the fact that formal francophone education unsettled social hierarchies and disregarded the role of community members in the shaping of what children would learn, why they learnt, and how. Because French colonial education was perceived as disruptive of the traditional education that children would receive in their communities, some of the African chiefs and rulers would enroll their servants' children instead of their own daughters and sons (Le Goff 1947). Ruling chiefs could not conceive of a system where their children and those of their servants would receive the same training.[30] Yet by sending their servants' children, African chiefs would unintentionally contribute to unsettle socioeconomic hierarchies in the postcolonial economic order, which placed 'educated' Africans as central players in their countries' political economy.

The Attempted Dislocation of Afro-Islamic Sites
of Knowledge Production

During the precolonial and colonial era, the long-standing presence of formal Islamic and traditional educational systems rendered the task of instituting the Western-style francophone education system challenging. Islamic and Qur'anic education has been a constant in the educational landscape in much of West Africa's Sahel although not uniformly since the eleventh century (Zakari 2009; Kane 2016). It occupied a central position in knowledge production and dissemination, nearly eight hundred years before the advent of formal francophone education in the region. Although access to advanced Islamic education was initially elitist, the emphasis on the notions of equality, regardless of class and gender, in the necessary quest for knowledge opened unprecedented access to written literacy to large numbers. There are many *ḥadīth* that underpin the value of knowledge and that urge all Muslims to search for knowledge: "Seek knowledge from cradle to grave"; "Seeking knowledge is compulsory upon every Muslim".[31] In a religion whose opening command is "*iqra*" ('read' in Arabic), Qur'anic schools developed as spaces that provided mass literacy and Islamic education. Universities such as the Sankoré Madrasah in Mali and the reputed *mahadras* in Mauritania among other institutions of higher learning provided a training ground for primarily advanced Islamic studies but also in subject such as astronomy, history, and mathematics.[32,33] The Sankoré Madrasah and the city of Timbuktu played a central role in the formation of the intellectual elites in the region.

From the onset, there were clear tensions between Western and Afro-Islamic education and sites of learning. The colonial administration feared that Qur'anic schools would hamper the progress of the Western-style schooling and, therefore, treated Islamic sites of learning as a threat and a competitor in the colonial project, a cornerstone of which was education. In order to accelerate the expansion of francophone schools, the colonial administration instituted several reforms that primarily targeted Muslim communities given the resistance to Western education and the slow progression (and in the case of girls, regression) of enrollment. Among these measures, a colonial decree attempted to restrict the existence of Qur'anic schools and outlawed the majority of them, not without friction (Harrison 1988, 58–59); the teaching of Arabic was gradually removed from the curriculum at *École Normale* in St. Louis (Harrison 1988, 51); and a ban was issued on the use of Arabic as a means of communication for administrative matters—which was a significant measure since much of the written missives between African Muslim chiefs and the French colonial administration, in the early precolonial and colonial times, happened in Arabic. Further, the production of scholarly materials in Arabic had become the subject of an intense scrutiny (Harrison 1988, 50–55), and the marabouts were closely monitored and surveilled, "whether considered peaceful or deemed dangerous" (Diallo 1997). Ware

(2014, 110–160) writes that the 'desecrations' of the Qur'an also manifested, at various moments of the colonial encounter, in the enslavement of *ḥuffāẓ* (or guardians and keepers of the Qur'an) who were, in the eyes of their communities, a "Walking Qur'an". Yet, targeting the main actors involved in Islamic education (marabouts and African rulers) did not diminish its social and political influence and did also not affect communities' occupation of these learning spaces.

The differences in attendance in the two schooling systems were not purely indicative of how long the system had been in existence: it was an indicator of local preferences at that time as much as of the epistemic, spiritual, and cognitive dimensions that Islamic education occupied in the formation of children and in the communities' organization. The idea of loss of memory, alienation, and dislocation of identity was at the core of the discomfort with and resistance to Western-style education. Cheikh Hamidou Kane's *L'Aventure Ambiguë* captures the anxiety that accompanied the decision to 'submit' a child to Western-style education, "The school in which I would place our children will kill in them what today we love and rightly conserve with care. Perhaps the very memory of us will die in them. When they return from the school, there may be those who will not recognize us" (Kane 1972, 47). The fear that Western education would uproot their children, alienate them from traditional ways of life, and possibly convert them to Christianity sustained the resistance to schooling in Muslim majority societies (Kane 2016, 2). Since most of the early Western-style schools were run by Christian missionaries, these fears of conversion were a concern in Muslim majority communities as much as among minority Muslims in other parts of Africa—leading to disparities in access to Western-style education between communities on the basis of religion.[34]

Qur'anic schools were omnipresent. They were socially embedded institutions of learning which, even if often rudimentary in appearance, were highly developed. In 1905, there existed 800 *mahadras* in Mauritania (an average of a *mahadra* for every 500 inhabitants) including 45 institutions of higher learning (Maouloud 2017). In 1914, in Senegal alone, there were a recorded 1385 Qur'anic schools with 11,451 students and about 4014 students in French schools, which had experienced a decline in girls' attendance compared to earlier years (see Table 23.1).[35] In other parts of the region, Qur'anic education flourished, especially at advanced levels of studies: in 1903, Mopti had 20 Qur'anic schools with 500 students (for a total population of 3116), and in Bamako, there were eight Qur'anic schools with 90 students (for a total population of 4000). Some of the universities housed thousands of students who would have traveled to relocate in search of knowledge: at the height of Islamic scholarship in the sixteenth century, the Sankoré Madrasah had between 15,000 and 20,000 students in a town with a total population of 70,000 to 80,000 people (Cissoko 1975, 205). These numbers demonstrate key features in what could be defined as cities of knowledge: these cities were scholarly towns, and the presence of such a high

Table 23.1 Primary education in Senegal 1903–1914

School Type	1903				1913/1914			
	Number of schools	Number of students			Number of schools	Number of students		
		Boys	Girls	Total		Boys	Girls	Total
Qur'anic					1385			11,451*
Francophone	9	903	533	1436	41**	3758	256	4014

*Among which 633 went to both Francophone and Qur'anic schools
**41 schools in 1913 including 29 in rural areas although by 1916 with World War I, the colonial administration closed down many schools and the number of schools went from 41 to 28
Source Bayet (1972)

proportion of scholars and students gave these cities the character of an eco-system built around the pursuit of *'ilm* and of a fertile ground for linking and cementing ties between scholars from across the region.

In contrast to Qur'anic schooling which continued to thrive despite the colonial administration's attempts at diminishing its influence, Western-style francophone schooling faced difficulties in recruiting and retaining students. The progression in francophone schooling was subject to several difficulties including the limits of its own investments in hostile lands: for instance, during the first World War, the colonial administration substantially reduced the investments in education and focused on its military expansion. Additionally, while the colonial administration harbored the desire to provide basic schooling to a great number of children in the colonies, the primary emphasis was on the formation of an élite. According to the "*Bulletin de l'Enseignement de l'Afrique Occidentale Francaise*"—Bulletin of Education of French West Africa, in 1914, there were seven (7) regional schools and fifty (50) rural schools in the entire 'French West Africa' federation (see Table 23.2). The colonial administration had understood that their efforts with schooling would be a lengthy endeavor: then governor-general Brévié wrote in the Bulletin of Education of French West Africa (1930),

> An undertaking as diverse in its manifestations, as profound in its action, as prolonged in its consequences as is the work of education in the native country is not a simple question of statistics […] Without doubt, to only consider numbers may lead us to believe our progression too measured and too slow […] But the progress of our work of education must be measured with some perspective.[36]

The slow uptake in enrollment in Western-style francophone education continued well into independence for African countries as did the colonial administration's overt efforts to control Qur'anic schools. The inspector in charge of "Public Instruction and Islamic Education in French West

Table 23.2 Regional and village schools—'French West Africa' (AOF)* 1914

Regional schools	Village schools
École régionale de Bamako	Écoles de village de Kati, Koulikorò, Nyamina, Banamba, Kita, Toukoto, Gambou, Bougouni (pour les cercles de Bamako, Kita, Goumbou, Bougouni)
École régionale de Kayes	Écoles de village de Médine, Niôro, Bafoulabé, Satadougou (pour les cercles de Kayes, Nioro, Satadougou)
École régionale de Ségou	Écoles de village de Sansanding, Barouéli, Sokolo, Koutiala, San (pour les cercles de Ségou, Sokolo, Koutiala, San)
École régionale de Djenné	Écoles de village de Bandiagara, Sangha, Douenlza, Sofara; Mopti (girls), Mopti (boys), Dédougou, Boromo; Niafunké, Saraférè (pour les cercles de Djenné, Bandiagara, Mopti, Koury, Issa Ber)
École régionale d'Ouagadougou	Écoles de village de Koudougou, Léo, Kaya, Tenkodogo, Ouahigouya, Fada N'Gourma, Diapage (pour les cercles de Mossi, Ouahigouga, Fada N'Gourma)
École régionale de Bobo Dioulasso	Écoles de village de Banfora, Sikasso, Gaoua, Diébougou (pour les cercles de Bobo Dioulasso, Sikasso, Gaoua)
École régionale de Tombouctou	Écoles de village de Bamba, Goundam, Hombori, Gao, Ansongo, Araouan, Bourem, Onalata, Dori, Djibo, Téra, Say (pour les cercles de Tombouctou, Goundam, Dori, Say, les Secteurs Oualata, les régions de Gourma et de Gao)

*The AOF (*Afrique Occidentale Française*) or 'French West Africa' was comprised of eight territories: Mauritania, Senegal, French Sudan (later Mali), Guinea, Upper Volta (later Burkina Faso), Ivory Coast, Dahomey (later Benin), and Niger. Togo which was occupied by Germany was later placed under French administrative control

Source ("Bulletin de l'enseignement de l'Afrique Occidentale Française" 1914), gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque Nationale de France

Africa"—*Inspecteur de l'instruction publique et de l'éducation Islamique en AOF*—reported in a seminal policy paper on education that, the expansion of the French schooling depended on the colonial administration's ability to monitor Qur'anic schools, which continued to draw a great number of students (Harrison 1988, 57–67).

The history of the colonial encounter, as it pertains to the educational sphere, is complex. It involved instances where in the face of fear or to further certain interests, some African rulers and religious authorities had chosen to collaborate with the colonial administration and facilitated the development of francophone education. One such example was Sidiyya Baba (1862–1924) who was from a family of respected Muslim clerics and traders in present-day Mauritania.[37] His contribution would be critical to the French colonial administration in the conquest of Mauritania: he offered the French military a terrain in Butilimit to set up a base (Robinson 2014) and facilitated the uptake
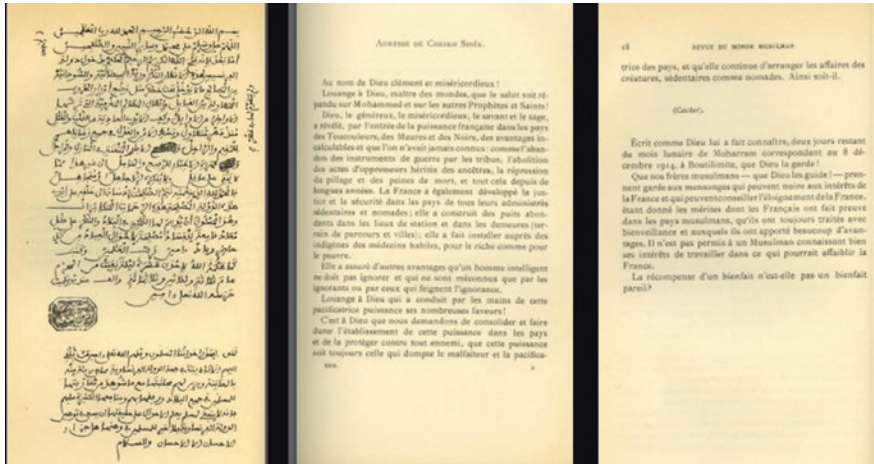
Fig. 23.1 Babas 1914 declaration of support for French in WWI (*Source* Original source *Revue du Monde Musulman*. Paris: Mission Scientifique du Maroc, vol. 29 (1914, 16–18) available at Hath Trust Digital Library. Public Domain Site. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=msu.31293028767113&view=1up&seq=16)

of francophone education in the country. Sidiyya Baba even issued a *fatwa* and an official declaration of support to the French—calling local populations to welcome "the entry of the French power" and "the incalculable advantages" of their presence (see Fig. 23.1).[38] The expansion in the Western-style francophone education system would not have happened without the collaboration of local chiefs—who even Sidiyya Baba was, in many respects, the antithesis of Amadou Bamba Mbacké, founder of the Muridiyya *ṭarīqa* who had continuously exerted fierce opposition to the French colonial occupation through the "greater jihad" of the reformation of the self and the development of spiritual strength (Babou 2003, 2007).

In the geopolitical struggle for control including in the educational sphere, the discourse between Muslim majority societies in the Sahel region and the colonial administrators was, therefore, nonlinear and often vacillated on a spectrum between resistance and collaboration. Collaboration with the colonial administrators was sometimes a means to exercise their agency and paradoxically exert resistance to the ideological and cultural impact of colonization.[39] It is worth noting that, in the West African Sahel, there were ideological instances of resistance which were not necessarily rooted in the Islamic faith. However, the joint rapid expansion of Islam and Western European colonization in the early twentieth century made a resistance on the basis of religion an important unifying factor for the struggle for sociocultural independence and political autonomy.[40]

The Impossible Conquest: Failing to Control Islamic and Qur'anic Education

The inability to control Qur'anic education, and by extension Islam, in West Africa frustrated the French colonial administration. At the time, the colonial attempt for control in the Afro-Islamic educational sphere was akin to an impossible conquest, I argue, for five main reasons. First, Qur'anic education had grown into the social fabric of communities. With the spread of Islam in West Africa, Qur'anic schooling had become complementary in the formation of personhood, found in traditional African education. In addition to imparting certain highly regarded social values, Qur'anic education responded to families' need to see their sons and daughters gain religious knowledge that prepared them to be part of the *Ummah* (the Muslim community). Qur'anic education had, therefore, became "an instrument of socialization, both political and ideological, which was functional and effective" (Meunier 1997, 13).[41] Providing one's children with Islamic education is considered to be one of the prime religious responsibilities of parenting in Muslim communities; therefore, the sheer act of sending children to Qur'anic schooling fulfilled several objectives among which the spiritual duty of educating children in a certain way in a trusted space of socialization and learning.

Second, the actors involved in Islamic and Qur'anic teaching belonged, for the most part, to the community. There often is a deep level of connection between the student and the teacher who, in most cases, remains a constant presence in the life of his students (Kane 2016, 12–14).[42] This relationship is strong particularly at advanced levels of study where the Qur'anic teacher becomes a guiding force as much as a mentor and a parent. Because the Qur'anic teacher usually is from the students' communities, he would often share similar social values with the students' parents—making the teacher an even more trusted source of added authority unto the children's upbringing. Qur'anic teachers hold a high moral authority: in addition to teaching, they would often hold other visible positions in the community (such as leading the five collective daily prayers and giving the blessings and prayers on major occasions). When a Qur'anic teacher develops a solid reputation, it gives parents pride in knowing that their children are learning under his shadow—some teachers would, therefore, draw students from distant places. The multilayered role of the Qur'anic teacher places him as an immovable character in the social construct in these communities.

In addition to the visible and spiritual role that male Qur'anic teachers played, women Islamic teachers (or *malamas* in Hausa), in defiance to the myth of the invisible Black Muslim woman, were an indivisible presence in their communities both in public and in private spheres. While the domain of Qur'anic teaching had been predominantly male, there were some notable women teachers: one such notable example was Nana Asma'u Dan Fodio who was a royal in the Sokoto Caliphate, a scholar fluent in five languages and literate in three, and an erudite who turned her privilege into a force for

social transformation beyond the confines of her own community.[43] Nana Asma'u has been, alongside other women of the court and Qur'anic schools, a transformative social force: she has left behind an extensive library of diverse works including poems in Arabic, Fulfulde, and Hausa and has established a system of itinerant teachers known as *jaji* that would travel far and wide to provide literacy and instruction. While Nana Asma'u was certainly outlier in many respects, she stood as one of many women who have turned their communal spaces into sites of learning where women debated on social matters, learned, and cemented valuable networks. The social roles of female Qur'anic teachers would often differ from that of their male counterparts, arguably, in ways that had the potential to alter and condition (new) societal constructs. Scholars such as Steady (2006, 2007, 2011) who have theorized on women and leadership in Africa write that one of its defining characteristics is that African women with authority do not shy away from embracing the idea of motherhood and mothering (even without children of their own). Steady (2011) writes,

> Motherhood […] did not convey the notion of servant leadership but rather an elevated and symbolic form of service through protection and collaboration, and by sustaining society in the highest possible order […] The concept of motherhood and leadership is not limited to reproductive and nurturing roles in households, but reflects the normative values and humanistic ideologies that embrace notions of preservation of past, present, and future generations; prosperity and well-being of society as a whole and the promotion of equality, peace, and justice. It is viewed as a metaphor for humanizing the state […] where the image of motherhood can have political resonance and be linked to leadership in a real way. (8, 22–23)

The intersection of the role of a teacher with the nurturing character of 'mothering' and motherhood in an African Muslim context makes the *malamas* an esteemed figure in the community, an embodiment of 'the one under whose feet lie paradise'.[44] Such figures can be found in contemporary times across the Sahel region, and some of these women provide highly structured learning in the confines of their homes. Ousseina Alidou (2005, 36–37) has written about a prolific Nigerien Muslim scholar and teacher, Malama A'ishatu, who had never had a child of her own yet was the mother of hundreds of pupils.[45] The preeminent role that women Islamic teachers played did not, however, overshadow the fact that few women had had the possibility to achieve advanced Islamic knowledge—owing to patriarchal conditions within most societies in the Sahel (with some exception) and the sheer weight of social responsibilities (caring for children, household responsibilities, farming for some, etc.).[46]

Third, some of the reasons that have made Qur'anic and Islamic education an embedded site of learning in communities are intangible, therefore difficult to control and encompass. In most Muslim communities, Islamic education

holds a metaphysical character. It is a space where the familiar meets the mystical in a manner that makes the student devoted to learning, and the parents supportive of that quest. There is a spiritual element to learning: most lessons with the teacher would begin and end with a *du'a* (prayer for good wishes). In much of West Africa, the *marabout* or *malam* is thought to have powers that transcend human understanding; therefore, the marabouts commend respect, and at times a sense of fear. It was not uncommon for the marabout to prescribe amulets (known as *laya* in Hausa) or medicinal potions (*rubutu* in Hausa or *hantum hari* which translates into the liquid-word in Zarma) that, if drunk after saying *bismillah* (in the name of Allah), could protect, ward off the evil eye, heal in time of sickness, and bring good luck.[47] In a literal sense, the Muslim would drink Qur'anic verses and become an embodiment of the healing that Muslims believe passages of the Holy Book bring. If the *marabout* could do good, he is also believed to be capable of sending wraths unto individuals with prayers and incantations—which some associate with remnants of animist practices that influenced how Muslim Africans practice and live their faith.[48] The performance of these sociocultural and spiritual dimensions has positioned the Qur'anic teacher as a healer, a guide, and a scholar—as Qur'anic schools were indivisible from the role of the Qur'anic teacher, they were difficult to dislocate, particularly with 'formal' policies and decrees.

Fourth, advanced Qur'anic schooling provided literacy and fluency in the Arabic language which was advantageous for a number of pedagogical, political, and socioeconomic reasons. The mastery of Arabic granted access to new knowledge written in Arabic and in other African languages with Ajami.[49] Similarly, being literate in Arabic could give voice into the world of scholarship—opening up a space to contribute to knowledge with among others the writing of poems, elegies, biographies, the keeping of family and historical records, commentaries on political affairs, legal matters, and social conditions, and *al-tib al-mahali* or the knowledge for the treatment of illness (Diallo 2012; Hassane 2008; Hunwick 1964, 2004). In addition to being the language of scholarship, Arabic was, for a long time, the prime language of communication among educated elites (Diallo 2015), for state correspondences between African rulers, and between the early European colonial administrators and African rulers in Muslim majority regions (Lefebvre 2014; Smith 1973; Mbaye 2006).[50] Some of the earliest instances of the use of Arabic for state correspondence were recorded in the eleventh century in Kanem (parts of present-day Niger, Nigeria, and Chad) (Hunwick 1964). From Agadez to Timbuktu and Katsina and beyond, the Arabic language had grown into a major medium of interstate communication, among West African societies in the Sahel region well into the eighteenth century. As an example, Al-Qalqashandi's 1915 *Subh al-A'shā*, which could be defined as an encyclopedia for diplomacy, governance, and statecraft, displays a letter that the ruler of Bornu sent the Mamlūk Sultan of Egypt in 1391 (Hunwick 1964). If the Arabic language had firmly cemented itself as the language of scholarship, the

Arabic script, in turn, became the medium through which West Africans in those societies kept records of their own history with their own voices and in their languages—some eminent examples include the Timbuktu chronicles, among which Al Sa'di's *Ta'rikh al-Südän* and Kati's *Ta'rikh al-Fattāsh* (Kati et al. 2011; Hunwick et al. 2008; Hunwick 2003; Walker 2006). Muslim clerics and scholars who were fluent in the Arabic language were solicited even in states that did not have majority Muslim societies—although to a lesser degree (Şaul 2006). Fluency in the Arabic language was also advantageous for commerce across the Sahara and allowed for ease of trade between Black Africans from *Bilad-as-Sudan* with Arab and Berbers merchants in the north. The Arabic language was an asset and a bridge toward potentially better socioeconomic conditions, access to coveted circles of political power, and high social status. Qur'anic schools and Islamic institutions were key to the study of the Arabic language in these contexts and would, therefore, be difficult to dislocate.

Lastly, by the nineteenth century, Islam had become a manifest presence in the geopolitical space of the West African Sahel even though some parts of the region remained faithful to traditional animist practices. The influence of major Islamic figures bolstered the resistance to the European military and political invasion but also its manifestation in the educational sphere. The *Jihād* of Shaykh ʿUthmān ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿUthmān ibn Şāliḥ (d. 1817), known as Shehu Usman Dan Fodio, and of Al-Ḥājj 'Umar Tall (d. 1864) have greatly contributed to cementing the place of Islam as the major religion in the region. At the turn of the twentieth century at the height of European colonial conquest, the Islamic religious ethos had become that of many communities, and with that the systematization of teachings in Qur'anic schools.

The embeddedness of Islamic and Qur'anic education within communities—as a space of spiritual cultivation, socialization, and identity formation—was one of its biggest anchors in the face of colonial invasion. As such, the defeat of the precolonial West African Sahelian states by colonial entities did not immediately translate into a fundamental transformation of communities' religious practices and beliefs, which continued to inform educational aspirations. One Hausa idiom says, "*Idan rua ya zubar, ya bar tulu, ya yi kau*" which literally translates into, "When the water is spilt, but leaves the *tulu* [a container made of clay or of calabash fruit to carry water, milk, or other liquids], then there is no harm". What this means is that as long as the fundamental vessel and ethos remain, then there is hope for remedy and reconstruction—because you can always go back to the source for more water with the unbroken *tulu*. In this instance, the colonial invasion and rule may have spilt 'waters' but the *tulu,* in most Sahelian societies, remains albeit it is undeniable that the colonial encounter with Western Europeans transformed what would become, particularly in the educational spheres—as did other major influences and interactions, whether coerced, accidental, or deliberate acts

of exchange. Ultimately, whether the figurative '*tulu*' of these communities remained unbroken, was broken and underwent reconstruction, was simply transformed, or whether some given communities remained closer to their authentic '*tulu*' goes beyond the scope of this study.

The Naissance of New Teaching Institutions: An Act of 'Good' Faith?

In the forthcoming formation and transformation of African nations, Tidjani Alou (1992) argued that, schools and educational spaces would become a site for asserting the legitimacy of the state. The colonial 'moral conquest' depended on its ability to permeate the educational sphere—even if that entailed novel collaborations (under the joint agenda of 'pacification', assimilation, and integration) with the very spaces that were deemed a barrier and a threat to the advancement of francophone education.

Beginning in 1907, the French colonial administration recognized the need to 'adapt' the educational system to local conditions.[51] However, this adapted teaching would place European episteme at the center, deliberately exclude anticolonial historical facts, and engage on a politics of moral conquest—'*conquête morale*'.[52] This moral conquest remained closely aligned with the political and economic objectives of the colonial administration even if the discourse on republican ideals were put forward to justify investment in education (Conklin 1997). From a politics of opposition to Qur'anic schools and Islamic education, the discourse in educational reform became that of collaboration. Xavier Coppolani, who had been tasked with formulating an 'Islamic Policy for West Africa', wrote in an official report, "Let us collaborate with the marabouts in the education of the Muslim youths... Let us make our collaboration serve the development of French influence, otherwise the Muslims will continue to raise their children away from us and left to themselves the Coranic schools will conserve their predominantly religious influence" (Harrison 1988, 58–59). Proposed changes in the formal educational systems were, then, the results of a triple influence: first, it was the communities' demands for a more culturally relevant education and their reticence to engage with an alienating educational experience; second, the substantial competition from Qur'anic schools; and third, the colonial administration's realization that it could use the existing social capital of Qur'anic educational spaces as an instrument of '*rapprochement*' (conciliation). The first schools that would combine Islamic education and francophone schooling (médersa) opened in Djenné in 1906, St Louis in 1908, and Timbuktu in 1910 (Brenner 2001, 41).[53] Médersa comes from the Arabic word *madrasa* which means 'a place for studying and learning'. Brenner (2001, 18) writes that, "The médersa as an innovative teaching institution is therefore both the product of changing social and political forces and a potent vector for reinforcing the epistemic shift which is taking place and contributing to the production of new forms of Muslim subjectivity".

Médersas would steadily become an important player in the provision of formal education in West African Sahel countries and would allow the entry of new actors in the political economy of formal education. In the communities, the development of médersas was significant for several reasons: first, many parents who viewed the professed secular nature of formal francophone education as problematic could now find an avenue to engage with formal education in a more intentional manner. Médersas provided parents with more choices in their children's formal educational experience. Second, Muslim parents perceive the provision of Islamic education as a duty; with the médersas system, they could achieve the double objective of providing Islamic teaching and the opportunity to learn other life skills in a formal setting. Third, the students themselves find meaning and respectability in becoming fluent in the Arabic language and in acquiring a deeper knowledge of Islamic precepts. In this context, being perceived as pious, religious, or a reservoir of Islamic knowledge (*mai ilimi* in Hausa or *beyrey koy* in Zarma), especially when literate in the Arabic language (LeBlanc 1999), could confer social recognition and even commend respect.

The history of the progression of médersas was not linear both in its pedagogical development and in its implantation. For instance, in its 1914 issue no. 11, the *Bulletin of Education of French West Africa* announced that the médersa of Djenné would be 'closed down', and that students in the Djenné médersa could transfer to Timbuktu or to the regional school in Djenné. Bouhlel Hardy (2010) points out that the dynamics around médersa would greatly evolve over the years with some variations across countries. In Mali, for instance, beginning in the early 1940s, Muslim educationalists spearheaded the naissance of a 'new' type of médersas that asserted their departure from the initial médersas, which were built by the colonial administration to "secularize" Muslim education (Harrison 1988, 64). As the actors involved in the provision of privately owned médersas evolved to include investors and educators from Arab countries, graduates from these schools would become an important link with the Arab states of the Persian Gulf just as the médersas served as an avenue to cement the presence of these countries into West Africa and to introduce orthodox Wahhabi and Salafi-inspired ideologies.[54] The new Islamic médersas would, therefore, become a source of contention and would experience various oppositions: first, from the colonial administration that viewed the new médersas as potential sites of politicization, of breeding nationalist ideals, and of rapprochement to Maghreb and Middle Eastern Arab countries; second, from 'conservative' Muslims who viewed the strict departure from traditional Islamic studies as a heresy; and lastly, from national administrations that feared the potential political power of an entity they had little control over (Bouhlel Hardy 2010; Brenner 2001, 5, 39–83). In Niger, the government created the first médersa in the city of Say in 1957 to encourage schooling for families reticent to francophone schools but also to indirectly control the discourse on Islam (Triaud 1981, 1982; Zakari 2009).[55]

It was, therefore, no accident that in Niger formal Islamic educational institutions were initially placed under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Interior rather than the Ministry of Education. In the 1990s, médersa schools experienced a boom in part with the support from private investments such as the *Izala* movement and from international financial institutions: with the democratization process in the early 1990s, West African states opened up spaces for the participation of more actors including Islamic associations in the geopolitical and social landscape (Idrissa 2015; Malam Sani 2017; Masquelier 1999; Villalón et al. 2012). Additionally, families began to appreciate the opportunities that could come with médersa education in the form of scholarships in Arab countries. The presence of médersas also opened up possibilities for schooling a greater proportion of girls as parents valued the emphasis on Islamic teaching (Villalón and Tidjani Alou 2012). If private investments soared during the same period, the médersa school system had benefited from low investments from government compared to francophone schools: state-owned médersas have become "*le parent pauvre de l'éducation nationale*"— the neglected and poor parent of national education (Villalón et al. 2012).

The structure, pedagogy, and content of the teaching in médersa vary depending on the location and the school's underlying *ṭarīqah* (spiritual order), doctrine, or ideology. However, there is some uniformity across most médersas. They use both French and Arabic as the prime languages of instruction, and increasingly some also teach English as a major subject. Some of the main components of the teaching are: memorization and learning of the Qur'an's literal words in Arabic (*hizb*); history of Islam (*al ṭarīqah al islam*); stories from the life of Prophet (*sira*) including words from the Prophet known as *hadiths*; recitation and other subjects found in conventional francophone schools (Bouhlel Hardy 2010; Meunier 1997, 240). Unlike Qur'anic schools where the instructors are primarily Qur'anic teachers, médersas could bring in teachers that were not necessarily Islamic scholars for 'secular' subjects. Médersas also adopt a style of teaching that is closer to that found in formal francophone schools while most Qur'anic schools have remained faithful to the traditional ways of learning—seating on mats with repetition until memorization as a key component of the pedagogy, especially in the early years. It is worth noting, however, as Sounaye (2016) and Alidou (2005) point out that the notion of traditional Qur'anic school has experienced major changes, especially in urban spaces, with the crafting of and visibility of novel Qur'anic schools (*makarantu Islamiyah* in Hausa), mostly driven by women and the youth. These 'new' *makarantu* are neither *médersa*, as we know them, nor traditional Qur'anic schools.

This section has given but an overview of the major transformations that led to the formation of the médersas system and of the possibilities that médersas created for many in the context of Muslim majority societies where people remain attached to sound Islamic education as essential. The hybridity of the médersas and its potential for transformability have made this schooling

system an integral part of the educational landscape in Sahel countries. Somewhere between its character as a state-regulated faith-based institution, both public and private médersas continue to draw a large number of students and have experienced a sharp increase in enrollment in the countries in this study.[56] According to the Ministry of Education in Mali, the annual growth rate of médersas oscillates between 13 and 15% in recent years while that of francophone public schools has grown by only between 4 and 6% (Bell 2015) and, by 2006, over a third of children enrolled in primary school go to médersas (Bouwman 2006). In Niger, the number of students in médersas has more than doubled within five years between 2000 and 2005 (Villalón et al. 2012): some of the latest data from the national institute of statistics show a steady increase in médersas enrollment till date, and to a faster degree compared to francophone public schools (INS 2010; INS-Niger 2019). In Senegal, it was in 2002 that the Ministry of Education approved the creation of public Franco-Arab médersas as means to improve access to schooling but also to bring some of the students from the existing Qur'anic schools (*daaras*) into the formal sector—while médersas occupy a relatively small proportion of the demand for formal schooling, they remain a central part of the 2012–2025 national education plan (D'Aoust 2013; Chehami 2016).[57] Médersas would not replace the space that traditional Qur'anic schools occupied in the communities; they, however, provided a new avenue for the joint pursuit of Islamic teaching and 'secular' education.

The Long History of Keeping Girls at the Periphery of Learning in Formal Education

Schooling for girls was subject to a number of contradictory dynamics. The colonial administrators acknowledged that schooling girls would be essential in the 'moral conquest' because women would exercise great social influence as mothers: "when we bring a boy in French school, you gain a unit; when we bring a girl, we gain a unit multiplied by the number of children that she would have" (Georges Hardy, cited in Barthélémy 2010).[58] Access to education for both boys and girls was, therefore, a means to further the colonial project. Although the intent of francophone schooling has evolved since the early days of colonization, it did so in ways that maintained girls at the margin in the new order and created a hierarchical divide along gendered lines: this further deepened certain cultural practices and beliefs.

When the first schools were set up in the early 1900s, the idea was to prepare girls for their future role as model wives for the local 'educated' male elites and to provide the young women with just enough instruction to raise the next generation (Barthélémy 2010, 33–40). The colonial school for girls, therefore, attempted to strike the difficult balance of acculturation, instruction, and 'partial' de-personification: efforts were made toward turning African girls in francophone schools into perfect 'French subjects' as the prime

ambassadors of the 'moral conquest'. These young women were explicitly encouraged, in some instances, to combine their African identity with Western values (Barthélémy 2003). Most of the African women educated in the French system from 1918 until independence in 1960 trained to become teachers, midwives, and nurses (see Table 23.3).

The number of girls in francophone education was extremely low and consistently lagged behind that of boys. By 1921, there were only ten public primary schools in the entire AOF, and mixed schools had few girls, if any. Two out of 1000 girls of schooling age were in (francophone) schools (Barthélémy 2010, 33–35). Of the 2477 girls in primary schools in the eight AOF 'territories', more than half were in two 'territories', Dahomey (Benin) and Senegal; the other six 'territories' had a handful of students; Mauritania had none (see Tables 23.4 and 23.5). The context and, to a major extent, the intent and content of francophone schooling have since changed. However, the disparities in access on the basis of geography, gender, and sociocultural class that emerged at that time continue to define the educational landscape in the Sahel—as evidenced by the continued marginalization of girls in the formal education system as well as the urban-rural and poor-privileged divides.

The slow uptake on girls' schooling was the result of several influences: first, the weight of patriarchal attitudes toward women's place (as primarily restricted to the private domain of the household) among the colonial administration and, with that, the prioritization of schooling for boys; second, African parents who witnessed the enculturation that happened with young women that went to francophone schools; third, because girls constituted a major source of labor in the household and early would begin to contribute to domestic chores; and fourth, the girls themselves who witnessed how 'educated' young women struggled to fit and to find suitable partners (husbands)—these young women were unavailable to the unschooled men, and deemed too "cold" or "superior" by schooled men. Lastly, the fact that classrooms were mixed in most schools discouraged parents because in the conception of traditional education, in most communities, girls and boys would receive instruction in separate avenues after a certain age. Sidibe (1995) writes that the recruitment process for colonial school was a nightmare for villagers because they viewed French schools as a constraint, a threat that would have the same effects as forced labor, vaccinations, or taxes.

The physical location, ideology, and epistemological disconnection rendered schools even less accessible to girls from Muslim families, particularly in the non-coastal West African countries. The early francophone schools for girls were mostly on the coast and were, until 1905, exclusively run by Christian missionaries; therefore, most Muslim parents were wary about sending their daughters for fear that they would be converted. Even when francophone schooled were set up in much of the AOF, one fundamental question many Muslim families faced was articulated in a report on colonial education in Niger, "Why, in effect, entrust the education of their children to 'infidels'

Table 23.3 Young women in 'Ecole Normale' School Medicine, 1918–1957

	1918–1937			1938–1957			Total		
	Admitted	Graduated	G/A*	Admitted	Graduated	G/A	Admitted	Graduated	G/A
School of medicine—midwifery	388	273	70%	482	360	75%	870	633	72%
School of medicine—visiting nurses	28	63	–	–	–	–	28	63	–
Teaching school	–	–	–	388	294	76%	388	294	76%
Total	416	336		870	654	75%	1286	990	77%

Source Cited in Annex V, page 291 (Barthélémy 2010)

*G/A measures the proportion of students who graduated out of all admitted, and the sign (-) indicates missing data

Table 23.4 State of girls in primary schools in 'French West Africa', 1922

	Côte d'Ivoire	Dahomey (Benin)	Guinea	Haute-Volta (Burkina Faso)	Mauritania	Niger	Senegal	French Sudan (Mali)	Total
Number of girls	172	1158	123	93	0	53	797	81	2477
Proportion (girl/ boy) in schools	1/22	1/2	–	1/30	–	1/11	1/6	1/50	1/45

Source Report entitled «L'enseigne ent des filles, l'enseigne ent professionnel» 1922, cited in (Barthélémy 2010), "Africaines et diplômées à l'époque coloniale (1918–1957)"

Table 23.5 Number of students in primary schools, 'French West Africa', 1910, 1922, 1933, 1935

	Girls			Boys			(G+B) Total	Percentage of girls (%)
	Public	Private	Total	Public	Private	Total		
1910	1000	638	**1638**	10,484	2324	**12,808**	14,446	11%
1922	1003	1179	**2477***				–	–
1933	4928	2916	**7844**	41,633	5145	**46,778**	54,622	14%
1935	5390	3405	**8795**	47,216	6053	**53,269**	62,064	14%
1939	–			–			108,000	–
1947	–			–			150,000	–

*Including 295 girls for whom it was not clear whether they attended public or private school (Barthélémy 2010, 40)

Source «Annuaire Statistique de l'AOF» cited in (Barthélémy 2010), "*Africaines et diplômées à l'époque coloniale (1918–1957)*" and (Momar Diop 1997), "*Enseignement de la jeune fille indigène en AOF,1903–1958*"

when, until then, the marabouts had the task of educating children in the way of the Qur'an?" (Sidibe 1995, 156).[59] The crafting of colonial francophone education policies did not involve communities as the educational agenda was a full component of the colonial project, and by extension, an instrument of control, pacification, and conquest. That families had no voice in the running of an institution, which was otherwise crucial to identity and value formation, further alienated them.

The aftermath of World War I marked an important departure in the educational policies in 'French West Africa' including vis-à-vis girls' schooling.[60] In the inaugural Bulletin of Education of French West Africa in January 1913, George Hardy, inspector of education in the AOF, recognized the difficulty of the task ahead and further emphasized the need to adapt the educational programs to local contexts and conditions, "We are developing little by little an indigenous pedagogy, very different from the other [in the Metropole], and no one of you would dare to maintain that we see clearly, not only the means, but also the purpose of our teaching".[61] In the subsequent bulletins of education, which give an insight into the direction of the educational policies, the necessity to school more girls became a pressing demand. It was not until 1938, however, that *l'École normale de Rufisque*, the teaching-training school for women would be created—thirty-five years after the founding of *l'École normale William Ponty* which trained men (Barthélémy 2003; Momar Diop 1997).

In her book entitled, "*Africaines et diplômées à l'époque coloniale (1918-1957)*", Pascale Barthélémy traces the trajectory of the young women who attended the two "*grandes écoles de filles*", namely *l'École normale de Rufisque* which trained teachers and *l'École de médecine de Dakar* which trained midwives. These young women navigated between several worlds in their communities, in their schools which was a proxy for the presence of the colonial administration, and in their families. Once they leave their boarding

schools in Dakar, these women would be sent to all parts of the AOF or to their countries and went back changed to communities that, for the most part, remained patriarchal in construct. In *Une Si Longue Lettre*, Mariama Bâ (1980) who was herself a student at *l'École normale de Rufisque* highlights how some of these women resisted their condition in ways that transformed social relations in their communities and that induced changes in gender norms in their relationships with their families, particularly their spouses. These women 'who wore pants' were as much a subject of envy as they were demeaned: they achieved a degree of financial autonomy that few women enjoyed in the new political economic order that emerged in the early postcolonial era.

The advent of francophone education in the early 1900s has induced major social transformations and radically changed the educational sphere. Understanding that history matters in deconstructing how various educational spaces interact and intersect in complementary or sometimes contradictory ways in the lives of people and communities. In the context of Muslim majority countries in the West African Sahel, which have had a long history of Islamic influence and scholarship, the transformations in education happened in ways that challenged novel forms of schooling; that legitimized what may be categorized as informal spaces of identity formation; and that changed the political economy of knowledge production in the region.

Major Trends in the Contemporary Educational Landscape: Increased Access, Low Outcomes

This section looks into some of the features that characterize the current educational landscape in West Africa Sahel countries and focuses on two strands that help understand how the interactions between various educational spaces occur. After briefly outlining how there has been a convergence in access to formal education, the analysis demonstrates why and how the divergence in access to *quality* education could generate social costs in gendered ways. In a context with long-standing alternative educational spaces, the perception that formal schooling may be 'useless' or incompatible with local realities could further disengagement from communities, particularly when it comes to schooling for girls. While the analysis here considers the often-cited sociocultural conditions that render girls' education challenging in these contexts, it furthers the discourse and argues that, after years of engagement, families have understood the value of formal schooling. However, when schooling consistently delivers suboptimal learning in a manner that accentuates existing inequalities, the value of schooling comes into question on the basis of a rational analysis for families and, sometimes, the girls themselves. The second part of the analysis in this section assesses how the re-emergence of Afro-Islamic sites of learning among 'educated' young adults in part links with the desire for quality and a more meaningful educational experience. In both cases, this

section highlights the significance that communities and individuals place on learning as one of the key drivers of their (dis)engagement with educational spaces.

The current educational landscape in West Africa Sahel countries, at the elementary level, is comprised of primarily four broad categories of schools: Qur'anic schools which, for the most part, remain outside of government control, hence in the non-formal sector; *médersas* (private or public) which are regulated by a government ministry and may benefit from state funding; francophone formal education which could be private or public and constitutes the main form of education funded by states and partners; and the existence of socially institutionalized informal spaces where esoteric or specific value systems get transmitted.[62] There are some ramifications to all of these types of schooling; for instance, francophone formal education could be bilingual or monolingual and would sometimes cater specifically to children with disability; Qur'anic schools could be modern or traditional; médersas may or may not offer diploma recognized by the government and could be bilingual Franco-Arab or Arabo-Islamic. As several studies and reports show, there are also variations between the countries in the Sahel (Compaoré and Kabré; Lozneanu and Humeau 2014; Brenner 2010; Charlier, 2002; Meunier 1997; Moussa and Benett 2007). However, some similarities remain across the various schooling systems (see Table 23.6 for an overview).

Convergence in Access with Unequal Learning Outcomes and Possibilities for Learning

During the colonial era, countries at the peripheries of the AOF's headquarters benefited from little investment in education. In 1945, schooling rates diverged greatly: from 0.8% in Niger to 4% in Senegal, which was the federation's capital (Autra 1956). In the case of Niger, the early attempts to set up French schools during the colonial conquest were unsuccessful and short-lived: Dosso (1889), Doulsou (1898), Sorbon Hausa (1900), and Niamey (1902) (Chekaraou and Goza 2015). In Doulsou, the school was set up on an island—the location of the school as an island on an island revealed the difficult implantation of the "new" school. Families were coerced to give their sons to the school, and once they did, deserting from the school without the knowledge of the administration was unlikely since it was on an island. The school that was established in Filingué in 1903 would be the first to survive longer than the previous ones. In 1936, there were 22 rural schools in Niger, four regional schools (including one for girls), and one upper primary school and a total of 1803 students among which 95 girls—this was markedly lower than in other West African countries (Sidibe 1995). Countries at the periphery experienced a compounded marginalization in access to francophone education: one from the relatively lower investment (both human and financial resources) on the part of the colonial administration; second,

Table 23.6 Broad categories of school systems—Muslim majority West African countries

Main categories	Religion-based schooling system		Combined religions and secular		Secular		Traditional
	Traditional Islamic schools	New Islamic schools	Médersas (Franco-Arab)	Médersas (Arabo-Islamic)	Francophone catholic Schools	Francophone formal education	Socially-institutionalized informal spaces
Schooling types	Qur'anic schools Qur'anic memorization centers (Maglises)	Modernized Qur'anic Schools Reformed Qur'anic Schools	Formal and combines Islamic education with government schools' curriculum	Formal and may include state official curriculum although emphasis is on Islamic education	Formal and mostly focuses on state official curriculum with optional religious education	Bilingual schools Schools for special needs 'Regular' schools (mixed or single sex, public or private)	Within families, communities
Teaching focus	Qur'an recitation, memorization, and advanced Islamic studies (at later stages)	Qur'an recitation, memorization, advanced Islamic studies, and other subjects found in state approved 'secular' curriculum. Reformed Qur'anic schools sometimes include occupational training	Government 'secular' curriculum with Islamic teaching (history, law, hadiths, etc.)	Islamic teaching and other subjects (history, mathematics, etc.) with the optic of preparing pupils for advanced Islamic studies at university level	Government curriculum with optional religious education—most catholic schools in West Africa in Muslim majority countries have adapted to context	'Secular' curriculum with subjects such as history, mathematics, geography, etc.	Continuous instruction—through storytelling, performance, role modelling, etc.
Language of instruction	Arabic, local languages	Arabic, local languages, French	Arabic and French (officially) and in practice with local languages	Mostly Arabic with the use of local languages and French	French mostly	French mostly	Varies—depending on the context, ethnicity, socioeconomic class, etc.

Table 23.6 (continued)

Main categories	Religion-based schooling system		Combined religious and secular			Secular	Traditional
	Traditional Islamic schools	New Islamic schools	Médersas (Franco-Arab)	Médersas (Arabo-Islamic)	Francophone catholic Schools	Francophone formal education	Socially-institutionalized informal spaces
Assessment	Regular assessment on individual progress	Cohort with regular assessment on individual progress	End of term, examinations	End of term, examinations	End of term, examinations	End of term, examinations	Lifelong
Periodicity	Full time or part-time: Individual progress—may include some group teaching—"each learner progresses in his/her studies at his/her own rate, depending on his/her achievements and on the amount of time that he/she can devote to the studies"	Full time or part-time: Individual progress—may include some group teaching	Full time (with designated vacation time): Group teaching—cohort progression. Primary to high school usually lasts 13 years	Full time (with designated vacation time): Group teaching—cohort progression. Primary to high school usually lasts 13 years	Full time (with designated vacation time): Group teaching—cohort progression. Primary to high school usually lasts 13 years	Full time (with designated vacation time): Group teaching—cohort progression. Primary to high school usually lasts 13 years	Continuous

Source Table adapted by Halimatou Hima. *Data source* Moussa and Benett (2007)

the early divergences meant communities had few examples they could relate to and may therefore exert even greater resistance to schooling; and third, because fewer people from those countries were trained, there were fewer available local teachers. This had consequences on access, particularly for girls: social expectations and legitimate fears about unwanted pregnancies made it much more difficult for parents to allow their daughters to go to the regional school or to Dakar for further studies (Barthélémy 2010).

Since Dosso's and Doulsou's attempts, the number of schools as well as enrollment rates has multiplied in Niger as in other Sahel West African countries (see Table 23.7). However, the early disparities continued to define the trends in educational access in these countries until the late 1990s. The Jomtien conference's global commitment to provide education to all by 2015 would induce national policies that changed the trajectory for most countries—leading to a certain convergence in terms of access, even if retention rates remain low in places such as Niger and Mali, particularly after primary school (World Conference on Education for All 1990).

Despite increased access to the classroom, particularly at the primary school level, many children are struggling to learn. The poor quality of education manifests itself in several ways, but its most basic expressions are the inability to read, write, and count. An increasing number of children do not acquire basic functional literacy even as they sit in the classroom for several years (PASEC 2015a). The PASEC study (2015) conducted in ten African countries has found that in Niger, 92% of sixth-grade students cannot read at grade level; in Senegal, nearly 40% of students are concerned.[63] Empirical data from doctoral fieldwork research that I conducted in Maradi and Niamey between 2016 and 2018 show similar results.[64] When disaggregated for gender, socioeconomic class, and school type, results show an even more alarming picture that conveys the systematic disenfranchising of students from poorer socioeconomic backgrounds, both in rural and urban areas. It was common to find children in the sixth grade who could not read at all or write their names, particularly in public schools.

Table 23.7 Gross intake ratio to grade 1 of primary education (%), 1979–2017

	Mali		Mauritania		Niger		Senegal	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
1979	19.22	31.18	24.39	39.88	15.90	24.68	33.68	47.45
1989	18.25[a]	29.69[a]	39.90	53.65	20.81	34.53	41.82	52.52
1999	47.67	62.51	90.34	91.26	34.08	48.82	67.36[b]	73.56[b]
2009	74.36	85.02	105.45	102.35	76.26	90.00	99.78	93.82
2017	76.04	83.86	104.45	102.47	82.44	93.48	102.18	92.23

[a]Statistics from the year 1988; [b]Statistics from the year 1998
Source data Country education statistics (UNESCO 2019)
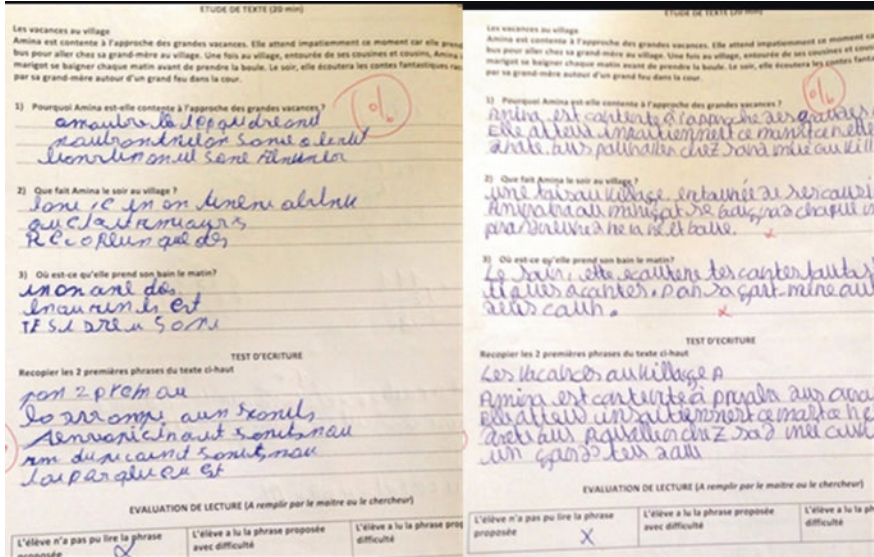
Fig. 23.2 Two students' writing and reading comprehension segment (*Source* Halimatou Hima)

These two comprehension segments (Fig. 23.2) show the unintelligible writing of two sixth-grade students. While these are among some of the most extreme cases, they are not unusual (Hima, dissertation data).[65]

These students who face difficulties often become silent spectators in the classroom: most of them would have faced a barrier with learning from the onset, owing to the language of instruction. Many children struggle to overcome the initial disruption that comes with learning in a foreign language (in this case, French). When the primary tool of instruction becomes a barrier to learning (and sometimes teaching alike), students silently attend a scripted performance they cannot understand. In many African countries, the early years of formal schooling mark a sharp disruption from the initial sites of learning, the home. Children go into a school that many perceive as foreign to learn new concepts in a foreign language (in this case, French), and go home to speak in Hausa, Fulfulde, Wolof, Zarma, or other languages. The low adult literacy rates in most Sahel countries mean that there is often a rupture between what students learn in school and their ability to cement this learning in their own homes and communities (see Table 23.8). Studies conducted in rural areas in Burkina Faso and Mali have found that the use of French as the main language of instruction often isolates schools from the rest of the community (Trudell 2011; Kone 2010). Trudell (2011) equates the language of instruction to a gate: a gateway for children from privileged socioeconomic background (and likely to speak French) and a gatekeeper for the majority

Table 23.8 Literacy rates by country (% of people ages 15 and above)[a]

	Mali		Mauritania		Niger		Senegal	
	2003	2015	2000	2007	2001	2012	2002	2017
Female	15.9	22.2	43.4	35.4	9.4	22.6	29.2	39.8
Male	32.7	45.1	59.5	57.4	19.6	39.1	51.0	64.8
Total	24	33.1	51.2	45.5	14.4	30.5	39.3	51.9

[a]The table shows different years for the countries: it captures the most recent available data for literacy rates and the available data for the early 2000s in order to highlight progression
Source data World Bank Country Statistics (World Bank Data 2019)

who only hear French in the classroom. The dynamics around the language of instruction is changing as an increasing number of young adults have become literate in French including in rural areas, albeit not fast enough. Engaging with the long-debated issue of the language of instruction in schools validates fundamental questions where culture, identity, and quality education intersect (Brock-Utne and Skattum 2009).

Table 23.8 above shows different years for the countries: it captures the most recent available data for literacy rates and the available data for the early 2000s in order to highlight progression. In functioning educational systems, learning gradually replaces the initial disruption that comes with schooling in a foreign or new language. Scholars across disciplines have echoed early works by Fafunwa and Moumouni (1968, 1969) on language and education in Africa and have stressed that improvement in educational quality could not be divorced from the issue of language of instruction (Dembélé and Oviawe 2007; Tikly 2016; Trudell 2009; Alidou 2009). In an extensive study covering several West African countries, Alidou (2003) underscores the systematic exclusion experienced by many students from poor families, "Owing to a lack proficiency in French, they are silenced and spend most of their time listening to the teacher and the very few students who can speak French". While the question of the language of instruction is but one of many challenges facing educational systems, it constitutes the first instrumental barrier or gateway to students' ability to learn—in the early years.[66] When such basic elements as being able to read and write are missing, especially after years of schooling, parents especially from poor socioeconomic backgrounds begin to question the value of formal schooling, and often in ways that are gendered, as the next section shows.

The Social Costs of Inequality in Access to Quality Education

Failing to provide quality education, particularly in a place where schooling had started from a place of contestation, could have several consequences. This section focuses on the social costs of unequal access to quality education and how these costs manifest in communities and families in Muslim majority countries. The analysis takes a gendered approach and looks into why girls

tend to be the first to leave or to be removed from schools when formal education is perceived as (or is, in effect) dysfunctional. It matters to specify that these communities are in a Muslim majority context: the crises in learning in formal education in the Sahel countries of West Africa unfold against the backdrop of societies that have had a long-standing history of alternative educational spaces, which influence how communities respond to schooling.

Poor quality of formal education could have severe effects on access and retention for girls in schools. There is so much at stake when a girl 'fails' that some communities may not want to take a chance or a risk on her—especially if the chances of success in formal education remain uncertain.[67] So much about the societies' ability to maintain their ethos, produce, and reproduce social behaviors depends on the social standing of the girl. Mernissi (1987, 101, 123) has written extensively about the particular experiences of girls in Morocco; the analysis with respect to the social expectations on girls applies to most ethno-cultural and linguistic groups in the Sahel. In the traditional construction of gender roles, which continues to inform social relations in some communities, girls are expected to marry young and, in doing so, honor their family and subsequently raise children of their own soon after. The 'traditional' social expectations that rest on the shoulders of girls would have made their engagement with formal education challenging and a less optimal choice: in the eyes of most communities, a secular schooling system that would not provide 'home training' nor religious education would not have stood as the prime site for learning and for identity formation.[68] This is what made the development of hybrid systems such as médersas schools significant; Villalón and Tidjani Alou (2012) highlight that, "the emphasis on religion has proven particularly attractive to parents of girls. In many hybrid schools, girls outnumber boys, sometimes significantly". When schooling does not seem to further the definition of what being a successful young woman means (which is a shifting construct) nor provide basic learning, then the engagement with formal schooling seems less attractive. This makes the investment on learning in schooling (and not schooling alone) so much more important: when learning does not occur consistently, then it confirms preconceived ideas about schools and further legitimizes the choice of (limited) engagement with formal education.

Formal schooling therefore competes with some entrenched social, cultural, and sometimes religious considerations. In Hausa and Fulani cultures, for instance, girls are expected to marry by 'adulthood' since, traditionally, the notion of an unmarried adult woman is one which does not exist (Smith 1981). Formal schooling in a way clashes with the need to conform to expectations to marry young and/or enact culturally defined functions of belonging and self-presentation. When girls stay in school into their teenage years, they simultaneously lengthen their passage on the bridge of ambiguity—the period between childhood and adulthood—where they no longer belong to the circle of children nor to that of married women. Countries in the West African

Sahel have among some of the highest rates of child marriage in the world: in Niger, three in four girls are married before they are eighteen of age, and in Mali, a little over half of the girls are married by age eighteen (UNICEF 2018). As much as child marriage is often driven by families, many girls see marriage as an escape from a position loaded with social ambiguity: marrying young allows them to integrate the coveted circle of 'married women' and to earn what confers societal respect and authorization for more meaningful participation in greater community discourse. Many girls that I interviewed in rural areas spoke about the value of being celebrated, even if temporarily, but also the value of owning their own house, kitchen utensils, and bedroom—and also because that is what is expected of them and their peers, agemates. Some girls, however, are deconstructing the paradigm in a way that legitimizes that period of ambiguity, and in the process, are redefining collective discourse on access to education, social expectations, and their roles in their societies. As more and more girls access formal education and as socioeconomic realities change, social expectations too are changing.

The road to systemic engagement with formal education, particularly for girls in some Muslim majority communities in the Sahel, has been a long one. The dominant global discourse in the 1980s and 1990s was that communities with low rates of access to formal education needed sensitization programs in order to curb resistance to schooling. The discourse on gender and education consistently has shifted in communities as much as within the global development and research community. There has been on the part of the global education research and development community efforts to align programs with national and local contexts and the everyday lives of people within the communities (Unterhalter and North 2011; Subrahmanian 2003, 2005; Mlama et al. 2005). It is an approach that Fennell and Arnot (2008) point to as essential to redefine a new way of engagement in tune with "existing community pathways of knowledge dissemination". There has been, as a result of combined efforts, some remarkable progress in access and retention for both boys and girls, and with that a change in attitude toward schooling. Where schools do exist and operate, the demonstrated ability to provide learning remains paramount to guarantee continued engagement from communities. It is worth noting that parts of the Sahel region have become the hotbed of major security challenges that render the provision of formal education extremely difficult (OCHA 2018; UN 2018; GPE 2019). Such challenges could combine with some communities' deficit of trust in the ability of educational system and jeopardize years of efforts.

When consistently formal education fails to achieve its most elementary promise to provide basic literacy and numeracy, then not attending school becomes less costly while the cost of going to school increases in relative terms. Failure rates are extremely high, particularly among poor families, and learning outcomes remain low (UNESCO 2017; PASEC 2015b). Access to formal education does not necessarily guarantee learning, particularly for the

poorest nor does a good education guarantee access to a job in the future. Formal schooling could, in essence, become a potential site of capability deprivation in ways that discourage engagement (Unterhalter 2003). Therefore, while going to school could, by serendipity, provide an avenue for better socioeconomic conditions, the time lag is long, and it is uncertain. A mother in Talladjé, a neighborhood of Niamey, explained why, despite her belief in formal education as a potential ladder for socioeconomic mobility, she had come to perceive formal schooling as a double loss:

> They take our girls for seven years or more and then they come back to us too grown. She went to school. She does not write. She did not learn housework. She does not know anything about our cultures. She may never seat in an office. School is a double loss.

By questioning whether schooling is worth it since her thirteen-year-old daughter cannot write her name after seven years in school, this mother is asking fundamental questions about equity in learning and the sociocultural and economic relevance of formal education. The continued engagement with formal education is a complex arena where cultural values intersect with socioeconomic realities and religious considerations to influence perceptions and choice—in a way that is very much rationale within context. Much of the conventional analysis on educational access and quality does not capture the opportunity cost of the time of the student as an individual but also in relations to other social actors responsible for her time, upbringing, and education (Moore 2006). Formal schooling system would occupy children for the better part of the day—away from other socially valued communal and familial occupations that they could perform, even at a young age. Regarding the religious factors, a recent PEW research report has shown that while differences in access to formal education vary on the basis of religious affiliation in many African countries, religion itself is less a predictor of educational attainment than economic well-being and the educational infrastructure and historical divergences around access to formal education (Pew Research Center 2016; McClendon et al. 2018).

With the convergence in access to formal education, increasingly one of the defining factors in shaping desirability for schools, particularly among families with low socioeconomic status, is the possibility of learning while schooling.[69] There are, of course, important dimensions such as poverty and entrenched gender norms that continue to influence the demand for formal education; however, ending the conversation there may equate to saying that the poor does not have agency. When faced with inadequate access to quality education with seemingly limited added benefits, some communities may demonstrate less interest or altogether withdraw from formal educational systems and invest in alternative learning spaces which may not be recognized as valid in conventional epistemic systems—yet provide socially valued benefits.

In a Space Where Failure Doesn't Exist and Where Learning Comes with 'Divine' Benefits

The dialectic of competition that characterized the relationship between formal and Qur'anic education in the colonial and early postcolonial era has changed. Both educational spaces have come to occupy a given role in Muslim majority communities, Qur'anic education for the religious training it provides and formal schooling for how it could equip to capitalize on 'worldly' gains (Malam Sani 2017). If the educational spaces are more complementary than in competition (in most cases), the dynamics and shifts in one system affect the other even if in perception and desirability. Some of the benefits associated with schooling may not necessarily be tangible and measurable but the perception that learning does occur matters. One important factor in the pursuit of knowledge in Qur'anic schools is the absence of the concept of failure and the value placed on the process of learning as much as learning itself: in contrast to the narratives and fear of failure that characterize the quest for knowledge in formal education, particularly among poorer families, the notion of failure in the quest for (Islamic) knowledge does not exist. Failure does not come with giving up nor with missing lessons. There is no notion of a limiting temporality or spatiality: searching for knowledge and learning is intended to be a perpetual quest and a lifelong obligation.[70] In the construction of Islamic pedagogy, reciting the letter *alif* alone or even struggling to recite could increase one's 'divine rewards'—*lada* (Hausa), *sufurey* (Zarma), or *baraji* (Bambara)—in immeasurable ways. Bell's (2015) analysis points to the necessity to incorporate such principles in understanding how Muslim communities weigh the value of education. It is, in part, the unconstrained possibility for learning and growth (and the adaptive nature of its pedagogy) that has made Qur'anic schooling a constant in the sociocultural construct in Muslim majority African societies.

Yet, despite their ubiquitous presence and the fact that Qur'anic schools are among the oldest systems of schooling in the region, little data exist on the number of traditional Qur'anic schools and of students who attend these schools (d'Aiglepierre and Bauer 2016, 2018).[71] The lack of data stems from several factors: first, the historical conditions under which other competing educational systems emerged; second, the fact that Qur'anic schools are embedded within communities and do not necessarily require an official authorization to exist; third, in the global education research discourse, Qur'anic schools have been framed as informal, thereby usually excluded from 'official' education statistics (although that is changing in some countries); and lastly, there has been limited demand from heads of Qur'anic schools for their 'entry' into a government-regulated formal sector in part for fear of the intervention of states, which are for the most part legally secular.[72] On this latter point, Newman (2016) writes that, in the case of Senegal, there has been a heterogeneous response to the government's proposed reforms on Qur'anic

schools for reasons ranging from access to information, the diverse ideological stances of Qur'anic teachers, as well as the socioeconomic conditions of the families.

The majority of Muslim children in the Sahel West Africa region go through some sort of Qur'anic schooling. From an early age, children would learn to recite the *surahs* (Qur'anic chapters) that are necessary to perform the second pillar of Islam, the five mandatory daily *Salah/Salat* or prayers.[73] Children (as young as three years old) would go to their neighborhood's Qur'anic school, which could be a space by the corner of a mosque, any open public space, or inside a house with a compound. If traditionally, children are expected to walk to Qur'anic schools to learn (and by doing so to signify respect for the teacher), increasingly, in middle-class families in urban centers, it is the *malam* that goes toward the students and would teach them in their own homes. Children would seat on mats (*tabarma* in Hausa or *tangara* in Zarma) which is symbolic of the state of mind of humility required to learn; they would hold their *aloh* (wooden tablets) or notebooks and repeat specific *ayats* or verses of the Qur'an with the intent to mark those words unto their memories. Girls and boys would usually learn in the same spaces until they reach their teenage years when teaching would become segregated. If Qur'anic schools are a constant in the learning journey of most Muslim children in the Sahel, parents and elder siblings are often a child's first Qur'anic teachers in the home. Some children remain exclusively in Qur'anic schools while others simultaneously attend francophone formal and Qur'anic schools.[74]

In some families, sons would be untrusted to reputable *malams* or *shaykhs* (teachers) and become itinerant learners. The name of these itinerant students varies depending on the ethnic group and context: *almajirai* (in Hausa, plural of *almajiri*), *almudos* (in Fulfulde), *talibés* (in Wolof), or *talibizey* (in Zarma). This traditional form of Qur'anic education system (*almajiranci*) has developed primarily in the West Africa region: in its cotemporary form, the phenomenon of *almajiranci* or *talibes* mostly concerns poor families in rural areas who send off their boys or young men (Hoechner 2011, 2014). However, the socioeconomic makeup of the *almajirai* may vary in some cases: some wealthy merchants' families from Maradi, for instance, view *almajiranci* as a necessary step in the formation and upbringing of their sons—so that they could learn humility and patience (*hakuri* in Hausa), endurance and resilience (*karfin hali* in Hausa), and also understand the importance and ephemerality of worldly possessions. While *almajiranci* was once highly respected for providing young men with an advanced degree of Islamic knowledge and a solid training ground for character development, this practice is today subject to harsh criticisms. Scholars, child rights groups, and even governments have written about the, at times, exploitative nature of the system (Awofeso, Ritchie, and Degeling 2003). Some *malams* are accused of abusing their power, using the children for begging on the streets, and exposing them to various forms of mental and physical abuses (Zakir et al. 2014; Magashi 2015; Isiaka 2015;

Zoumanigui 2016; UCW 2007; Aluaigba 2009). In most major urban cities, the identity of the beggar has become the visible manifestation of *almajiranci* and defines societal perceptions about the learner (*tālib*). It is a system of education which, in its most traditional form, seats at the intersection of epistemic marginalization, long-standing societal preferences, and the realities of unequal access to quality formal education.

There is an emerging literature that deconstructs the contemporary narratives around this classical Qur'anic education system. In an extensive study covering parts of northern Nigeria, Hoechner (2018) looks at how the *almajirai* "actively construct the social worlds around them" and navigate daily between being on a quest for knowledge and social exclusion. This exclusion also occurs on an epistemic level: often, the parents and families who send their boys to traditional Qur'anic schools are depicted as destitute or ignorant. Einarsdóttir and Boiro (2016) write that, sometimes, socially marginalized families such as descendants of former slaves in Guinea-Bissau would send their favorite sons to Qur'anic schools in Senegal with the hope that Islamic scholarship would provide an avenue for social respectability. In the eyes of these families, their sons—who are often carefully chosen for their demonstrated strong will, intelligence, and resilience—are studying abroad to become learned scholars (Einarsdóttir et al. 2010). In some cases, children themselves would challenge parental expectations that they should attend francophone formal education and choose Qur'anic schools (Newman 2017). While acknowledging the challenges associated with the contemporary manifestation of traditional Qur'anic schools, Hadiza Kere Abdulrahman (2019) argues in her doctoral dissertation that *almajiranci*, which is often perceived as a backward and retrograde system of education, could produce men who meaningfully contribute to their society and who uphold a unique moral code of conduct.

The persistence of Qur'anic schools including in their most traditional forms gives a window into the multilayered nature of the educational sphere in Muslim majority countries in West Africa. The associated discourse also shows that a proper assessment of Qur'anic schools and their place in these societies could not happen without accounting for individual and societal aspirations for a sound Islamic education and formal schooling.

Becoming and Learning "More Than What Is Necessary"[75]

If Islamic education in the Sahel region of West Africa has flourished and persisted since the early days of Islamization (Kane 2016; Sanankoua 1985; Robinson 2004, 27–59; Lovejoy 2016, 16–20), its form, teleological intent, and scope varied greatly depending on gender, socioeconomic class, and sometimes an interplay of all these factors. As the previous section shows, it is common for most Muslims, as children, to attend Qur'anic schooling in one form or another, and often, concurrently with Western-style education.

However, Sounaye (2014, 2016) and Alidou (2005) have pointed out that the participation in 'advanced' Islamic studies used to be highly gendered with boys often staying in Qur'anic schools longer than girls. Additionally, urban 'educated' youth (*yan birni* in Hausa) who would have had access to formal education tended to embark less in advanced Islamic studies (Amselle 1985; Sounaye 2009). A wealth of emerging scholarship on contemporary educational dynamics shows that, for most Muslim African women, particularly in large urban centers, "learning just enough for prayers" is no longer enough (Sounaye 2016). The set of circumstances that inadvertently molded prolific scholars such as Malama A'ishatu in Niger (Alidou 2005, 36–37) is becoming a systematic quest as an increasing number of young men and women invest in furthering their Islamic studies, often on weekends, evenings, or during school vacation for students. This section builds on the existing literature and shows why and how young men and women weave in Islamic studies with Western-style francophone schooling. The analysis draws on years of research in Niger, and the empirical data shown here have been collected with surveys and focus groups in three high schools in Niamey with approximately three hundred students aged between fifteen and seventeen.[76]

The novel forms of engagement with Qur'anic and Islamic education among 'educated' youth represent a sort of revival of the spaces which educated Muslim elites occupied at the height of Islamic scholarship during the precolonial era. The occupation of these spaces is not in opposition to formal education but comes as a complementary source of knowledge which often extends into schools since students would often share notes from *makaranta* and Islamic 'reminders' or sermons via e-media platforms such as WhatsApp. Among the students who were surveyed, two-third attend some sort of Islamic schooling in addition to formal education: this supports the argument that the continued quest for Islamic studies is important for the youth educated in formal schooling. About 88% think that formal schooling is important to have a better life. Some of the reasons and most recurrent themes when asked why they thought schooling was important were: (a) improving one's knowledge, (b) becoming somebody because 'you are nothing without school', (c) getting a successful life and having a future, (d) being independent, and (e) finding a job and helping others. About 48% thought that Qur'anic and Islamic education was more important than formal schooling; 51% thought that the two educational spaces were equally important; and less than 1% thought that formal education was more important than Islamic education. Some of the reasons that the students have given for the importance to Islamic education were: (a) learning about their religion, become close to God, and prepare their afterlife; (b) learning the Qur'an and become better Muslims; (c) investing in something that matters to them; (d) properly learning somewhere without strikes; and (e) understanding how to live better in society. The youth educated in formal education view the intersection of two systems as complementary for a more encompassing educational experience.

Most of the students have reported going to both formal francophone and one form or another of Qur'anic schools.

When the respondents were asked about perception of schooling, competency, and possibility to achieve one's potential, there were clear differences on the basis of gender. Unanimously, the majority of responders thought that Islamic education was more important for girls: during the focus group discussions, while respondents acknowledged that the quest for Islamic knowledge was important for both girls and boys, the discussion centered around the fact that women would have the responsibility of passing on the knowledge and values to their children, 'the future of society'. Among the surveyed youth, 63% thought that formal schooling for girls and boys was equally important; about 25% thought that schooling boys was more important while 12% thought that schooling girls was more important. Of the boys who were surveyed, 42% thought that schooling boys was more important, and of the girls who were surveyed, 70% thought educating girls and boys was equally important (see Table 23.9). When asked about the perception they had with regard to general competencies in schooling, about 59% of respondents thought that girls and boys were equally competent and close to 40% of the girls thought that girls were more competent than boys although the perceptions about the possibility to realize one's potential differed (see Tables 23.10 and 23.11). What these statistics convey, among other inferences, is that the perceptions about the utility of formal schooling and Islamic education varied along gendered lines in a manner that validates the quest for advanced Islamic learning for young women and that confirms the current trends in access and engagement with these educational spaces. Assessing these gendered differences

Table 23.9 Perception about importance of schooling

Perception about the importance of schooling	Girls (%)	Boys (%)	Total (%)
Schooling girls was more important than schooling boys	15.98	5.77	12.09
Schooling girls and boys was important equally	69.82	51.92	63.00
Schooling boys was more important than schooling girls	14.20	42.31	24.91

Source Halimatou Hima, dissertation fieldwork from four sample secondary schools (N = 378 students), Niamey, Niger

Table 23.10 Perception about competencies in schooling

Perception about competencies in schooling	Girls (%)	Boys (%)	Total (%)
Girls are more competent than boys	39.26	3.13	25.87
Girls and boys are equally competent	53.99	66.67	58.69
Boys are more competent than girls	6.75	30.21	15.44

Source Halimatou Hima, dissertation fieldwork from four sample secondary schools (N = 378 students), Niamey, Niger

Table 23.11 Perception about the opportunity to realize potentiality

Perception about the opportunity to realize potentiality	Girls (%)	Boys (%)	Total (%)
Girls have a better opportunity to realize their potential	21.08	8.33	16.41
Girls and boys have an equal chance to realize their potential	56.63	61.46	58.40
Boys have a better opportunity to realize their potential	21.69	30.21	24.81

Source Halimatou Hima, dissertation fieldwork from four sample secondary schools (N = 378 students), Niamey, Niger

matter as much in efforts to predict future trends as in understanding the current trajectory in the occupation of educational spaces.

The occupation of educational spaces, particularly at higher levels of studies, must be understood in light of the societal expectations and perceptions. The important work done by scholars such as Ousseina Alidou (2005) speaks to a shift in the knowledge production and dissemination in both formal francophone and Islamic spaces in a manner that validates the long-standing presence of women. For instance, Alidou writes that the *makaranta* has become a space for identity formation as much as one that gives meaning to the idea of belonging: most of the modern Qur'anic schools offer the opportunity to engage in acts of solidarity toward members of the *makaranta* (who often refer to each other as 'sisters') and communities in rural areas including the funding of water infrastructure such as wells. Additionally, young women who excel in the quest for Islamic learning find an opportunity to exercise authority in ways that other spaces do not always offer: when in traditional learning spaces, hierarchy strongly correlates with age, in these new Islamic sites of learning, the ease of acquiring and imparting knowledge confers respect even vis-à-vis the elders. Going to the traditional Qur'anic school at the elementary level is often a decision that parents take for their children. However, with the modern Qur'anic spaces, the act of going is often not the parents' decision. Most of the young women that were surveyed mentioned that they go because their friends go, and it is good for the religion (*adini*); therefore, these learning sites have increasingly become an important space of socialization but also of policing of behaviors, dressing, and social conduct. It is also a space that offers an unprecedented opportunity to expand social networks. This is a valuable element specially as social safety nets erode in urban settings: a platform built on the basis of trust without a formal written contract could open possibility for beneficial socioeconomic exchanges (Woolcock 1998; Woolcock and Narayan 2000). Lastly, in the *makaranta*, women of all ages seat together around the same circle or on the same benches (or mats) to learn something that would benefit them *lahira da duniya* (in this earth and the hereafter). Men would have the mosque where they gather for daily prayers to engage regularly in discourse, and women (in urban centers) usually have the informal women gatherings which are periodic but not as frequent as

going to the mosque would be for men. Therefore, these Islamic spaces allow women to fill a significant gap left by the collapse of traditionally existing spaces that brought women, old and young, together. In the traditional, often hierarchical, spaces, older women would give lessons to the younger ones; the *makaranta* seems to offer that and more: a constant connection with the divine and an opportunity to 'reduce sins'—most of the young women and men stated this, citing *hadiths* that highlight that every step in the direction of the *makaranta* is a step toward learning, and every step toward learning is a step in the way of the divine.[77]

The fluidity of boundaries between various educational systems challenges a scheme that favors dichotomy and creates pluralistic intermediary spaces that validate complex knowledge systems in a discursive push and pull for novel and old identities. This is a movement of deconstruction and of construction about an imagined ideal, which would encompass the diverse ideologies in those societies.

Conclusion

From Djenné in Mali, Agadez in Niger, Kaolack in Senegal, and Chinguetti in Mauritania, the legacies and interactions of indigenous multi-ethnic, Islamic, and Western epistemologies continue to inform what people learn and value, how they learn, and in what locations. In their choices, even if conditioned, and disengagement (which are themselves choices), communities and individuals articulate their developmental and educational aspirations which may, sometimes, unsettle epistemic boundaries and challenge societal norms. The rising demand for and the crafting of educational spaces anchored in a renewed Afro-Islamic consciousness are subject to larger social dynamics that shape their role in knowledge acquisition and education. These shifts are happening in the context of changing realities in formal education which sometimes struggle to deliver basic learning, particularly for the poorest segments of the population. The crises in formal education in the Sahel countries of West Africa unfold against the backdrop of societies that have had a long-standing history of alternative educational spaces, which influence how communities respond to schooling. This situation combines with shifting social norms to reify the relevance of alternative educational spaces: sociocultural factors combine with the crisis of education and communities' desire for a more culturally relevant education to reinvigorate interest in various forms of Afro-Islamic education among young men and women. The proximity with this episteme with indigenous episteme, to the point of blurring, makes it a natural choice that people go for even without state intervention, coercion, or 'sensitization' from international organizations as was historically the case for Western-style education in many African countries.

Notes

1. 'Sahel' comes from the Arabic word which means shore or coast. The Sahel region spans 500 kilometers from west to east of the African continent and covers parts of 10 countries: Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, Nigeria, Chad, Sudan, Eritrea, and Ethiopia. This region has been home to flourishing trans-Saharan trade and ongoing interactions that have fostered "linguistic, cultural, and ethnic convergences between populations of the Sudanic Belt (the southern fringes and south of the Sahara) and those of the so-called North Africa and the Mediterranean" (Alidou 2005, 6).

2. Berber nomads were key to connecting Maghreb and Africa south of the Sahara: they were traders, and they moved between the north and the south of the Sahara, bringing Islam to the southern shores of the Sahel. However, as Levtzion and Pouwels point out, "Though merchants opened routes and exposed isolated societies to external influences, they did not themselves engage in the propagation of Islam" (3). Because of what Alidou (2005) refers to as the long-standing *brassage*, a trans-ethnic dimension in a study of the Sahel space is a necessity—the *brassage* in the Sahel is "a child of several millennia of sociocultural, political, and economic history in this wide region" (Alidou 2005, 8–10). Also see Jean Ensminger (1997) on the economic rationale for conversion to Islam and how a common religion provided a basis for trust and "more secure institutional structures" which helped to intensify trade in that region. Hiskett (1984) writes some evidence suggests the presence of Islam in the Kanem Borno empire (parts of present-day Eastern Niger, northeastern Nigeria, and Chad) as early as the seventh century.

3. Since practicing Muslims pray at least five times a day with verses in Arabic, the Arabic language became a constant in the daily religious rites of millions of people across the Sahel. *Ajami* is the writing of African languages such as Hausa, Zarma, Fulfulde, Nupe, Kanuri, and Wolof with Arabic scripts.

4. See Larrier and Alidou (2015) for a brief discussion on *Tifinagh* literacy which among the Tuaregs and Amazigh populations and Elghamis Ramada's (2011) extensive doctoral thesis entitled "*Le Tifinagh au Niger contemporain: étude sur l'écriture indigène des Touaregs*" completed at Leiden University in 2011. See Ruth Finnegan's books entitled "Oral Literature in Africa" (2012) and "Oral Traditions and the Verbal Arts: A Guide to Research Practices" (1992) for an account of the rich history of oral scholarship in Africa.

5. For instance, the people of wangara/wangarawa, the Juula (Dyula, Dioula) established a rich 'commercial diaspora' that became instrumental in the spread of Islam. See Lovejoy's (1978) article entitled "The Role of the Wangara in the Economic Transformation of the Central Sudan in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries".

6. It is worth noting that some communities have resisted conversion to Islam and remained faithful to animist religions as was the case of the Azna's in present-day southwestern Niger. The Aznas resisted both Islamisation attempts from neighboring empires and colonization. For more on Sarraounia Mangou, see Antoinette Tidjani Alou's (2009) article, "Niger and Sarraounia: One Hundred Years of Forgetting Female Leadership" and a forthcoming chapter on the Oxford Encyclopedia of Women entitled "Women in Niger" (Alidou and Hima 2020).

7. Other major historical events (including empires formation, transformation, and dis-formation and the slave trades) had an influence on the development of Islamic educational spaces in the Sahel region. However, the difference after the eleventh century is that a great number of indigenous populations had themselves 'become' and endorsed the new religion as their own.

8. See Denise Bouche (1974, 1997), Pascale Barthélémy (2003, 2010), Papa Momar Diop (1997), and Laurent Manière (2010) among others for more information on colonial education.

9. Animist practices predated Islamic scholarship and remained a fundamental part of the social construct in many societies in the Sahel. See Nicole Échard's (1992) «*Cultes de possession et changement social. L'exemple du bori hausa de l'Ader et du Kurfey (Niger)*» and Adeline Masquelier's (2001) "Prayer has spoiled everything: possession, power, and identity in an Islamic town of Niger" for rich studies of how Bori spirit possession relates to Islam, the state, and colonialism in a changing social and political context.

10. For the socially marginalized groups perceived as "socially inferior" castes such as "slaves" and "griots", school presented a unique opportunity to reconfigure the social makeup—even if in societies and everyday interactions, prejudices could remain.

11. See the proceeding of the final report (UNESCO and UNECA 1961) of the first conference of African states on education held in Addis Ababa in May 1961. Also see Gashaw Weyneshet Lake's (1981) doctoral thesis entitled, "The Addis Ababa Conference: Implications for Inter-African Cooperation in Education, 1961–1979".

12. Hausa are an ethno-linguistic group present in central and west Africa. After KiSwahili, Hausa is the second largest language spoken in Africa. Officially, Hausas and Zarma respectively constitute about 48 and 19% of Niger's population although a culture of interregional '*brassage*' and interethnic marriage have rendered a strict classification at times difficult: an individual could carry many ethnic identities.

13. *Ilimi* (in Hausa) derives from the Arabic word '*ilm* which means knowledge.

14. Related to notion of researcher doing research 'back home', refer to Mwangi's (2019) chapter entitled "'Good That You Are One of Us': Positionality and Reciprocity in Conducting Fieldwork in Kenya's Flower Industry". Her chapter gives rare insights into some of the positionalities and multiple identities that African (women) researchers navigate or embody, emphasize or deemphasize when conducting research 'back home' as scholars based in the global north in a top research institution.

15. I am grateful to the Centre of Development Studies, the Department of Politics and International Studies, Lucy Cavendish College (Cambridge), the Cambridge Trust and the Cambridge-Africa Programme, the Centre of African Studies, the SMUTS Memorial Fund, the Sylvia Lynn-Meaden Fund and LASDEL Niger (Laboratoire d'Etudes et de Recherche sur les Dynamiques Sociales et le Développement Local) and the Ministries of Education for supporting the fieldwork for my research. I am also grateful to my supervisor Dr Shailaja Fennell (University of Cambridge), Professor Mahaman Sanoussi Tidjani Alou (Université Abdou Moumouni of Niamey), Professor Ousseina Alidou (Rutgers University), Dr Nafisa Waziri and Dr Abdelkader Amir Lebdioui for offering critical perspectives in the process of writing this chapter.

16. The most widely spoken languages in Mali, Niger, and Senegal are respectively Bambara, Hausa, and Wolof. While there seems to be strict categories, most

people in that region would speak more than one language—the century-long history of intercultural interactions has contributed to this.

17. There are currently 29 African countries that are officially, as of 2018, full members of the "Francophonie" organization (Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cabo Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Egypt, Gabon, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Equatorial Guinea, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritius, Morocco, Mauritania, Niger, Rwanda, Sao Tomé and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, Togo, and Tunisia). However, there are countries such as Algeria that are not officially part of the Francophonie but have a significant number of French speakers. Also, it is not all countries that are part of the "Francophonie" that have French as an official language. Lastly, appurtenance to the "Francophonie" has sometimes shifted because of geopolitical considerations.

18. Mongo Beti wrote in his critique of Camara Laye, «*Laye ferme obstinément les yeux sur les réalités les plus cruciales… Ce Guinéen n'a-t-il rien vu d'autre qu'une Afrique paisible, belle, maternelle ? Est-il possible que pas une seule fois Laye n'ait pas été témoin d'une seule exaction de l'administration coloniale?»* which translate as "Laye stubbornly closes his eyes to the most crucial realities … Did this Guinean see anything but a peaceful, beautiful, maternal Africa? Is it possible that not once did Laye witness a single exaction by the colonial administration?"

19. Mongo Beti (2005) writes here about being a French speaker and writer without necessarily being a francophone, «*Je le répète, francophonie, discours officiel de la Françafrique, et langue française ne sont pas solubles l'une dans l'autre, ne doivent pas se confondre. La francophonie est une politique, c'est-à-dire un maré-cage de calculs inavoués, de croisades archaïques, de magouilles malhonnêtes pou-vant aller jusqu'au crime*; *le français est un sacerdoce, c'est-à-dire l'occasion de se dévouer sans contrepartie pour les populations.»* which translates as "I repeat, Francophonie – official rhetoric of Françafrique – and the French language are not the same and must not be confused. The Francophonie is a policy, that is to say, a swamp of unwritten calculations, archaic crusades, dishonest shenanigans that can go as far as crime; the French language is a vocation, that is to say an opportunity to devote itself without compensation for the people".

20. AOF (*Afrique Occidentale Française*) or 'French West Africa' was comprised of eight territories: Mauritania, Senegal, French Sudan (which became Mali), Guinea, Upper Volta (which became Burkina Faso), Ivory Coast, Dahomey (which became Benin), and Niger. Togo which was occupied by Germany was later placed under French administrative control. The governor-general governed from the capital of the federation which was in Dakar. See Michael Crowder for details on AOF's administrative structures (1978, 235–239).

21. It is worth noting that much of the existing statistics on education and formal literacy in West Africa does not capture literacy in Arabic (often acquired through prolonged learning in Qur'anic schools or spaces with Islamic education). The proportion of people who are literate in Arabic can be high in some regions.

22. For more on "*La Francophonie*", see Claire Tréan's (2006) book with a forward from Abdou Diouf, former Secretary General of the Francophonie organization. An aspect on the discourse on "*La Francophonie*" has been that it has been used as an instrument of neocolonial influence and relationships as part

of the politics known as *FrançAfrique*—see Francois-Xavier Verschave's (1998, 2000) books entitled "La Françafrique: le plus long scandale de la République" and "Noir silence: Qui arrêtera la Françafrique?"; Fanny Pigeaud and Ndongo Samba Sylla's book (2018), "L'arme invisible de la Françafrique: Une histoire du franc CFA"; and Patrick Pesnot's (2014) "Les dessous de la Françafrique".

23. It is common, however, that most people including children would speak several languages from a young age—given the diversity of languages they are exposed to and the position of the Sahel African countries at the meeting point of several linguistic families. This is fast changing in urban areas where some families adopt the French language with their children most of whom might have difficulty speaking indigenous African languages.

24. Scholars like Ousseina Alidou have written about the need to recognize oral literature as a formal and valid form of knowledge production: oral literacy has played an important space and continues to be a vector in keeping, cementing, and creating knowledge. Oral literature (and by extension oral literacy) has been and remains of the defining features of many African societies.

25. Translated from French, "Un enfant peul grandira dans une double fidélité: à un véritable code de l'honneur et à un total respect de la volonté maternelle" Hampâté Bâ (1991, 10).

26. The concept of Ubuntu (*ùɓúntʼù* in Zulu), "I am because we are" could be found in other African cultures. One example among the Hausa is the concept of *Zumunci* which I translate as "the art of living together and caring for others' wellbeing as ours".

27. See Abdoulaye Diop (1985) for more on the structure and concept of Wolof family culture.

28. Most of the earlier schools in colonial and early postcolonial era were boarding schools.

29. Some of my research finds that, in rural areas in Niger, the number of days children spend in school sometimes depends on the rain cycles; if rains come early, whether official vacation has started or not, children usually desert the classroom to help their families in the field.

30. To accommodate the social hierarchies found in many West African societies, the colonial administration had, at one point, created a separate school for "sons of chiefs".

31. Hadiths are "words, deeds and tacit approvals attributed to the Prophet [Mohammed]" (Abd al-Rauf 1983, 271). For more on Hadiths, see Abd al-Rauf (1983) and Brown (2009).

32. Ennahoui (1987) cited in Maouloud (2017) emphasizes the difference between *Mahadras* and Qur'anic schools: *Mahadras*, he writes, are popular, nomad, and scholastic universities with individualized teachings that welcome men and women; *mahadras* are universities because they provide a ground for learning on various subjects touching on literature, poetry, 'secret of letters' or esoterism, arithmetic, geometry, geography, astronomy, medicine, in addition to pure Qur'anic studies, hadiths, *Fiqh* and *Sira*. The *mahadras* have facilitated the development of an extensive written scholarship of over 40,000 manuscripts according to the Mauritanian Institute of Scientific Research (IMRS). For more on the *mahadras* in Mauritania, see Ould Ahmedou (1997), Maouloud (2017), Bih et al. (2009), and Ladjal and Bensaid (2017).

33. For more on the role of the Sankoré Madrasah on the formation of the intellectual élite, see Saad (1983), Kane (2016), Cissoko (1969).

34. Scholars have written about families' fear of children conversion by way of schooling in many countries including Sierra Leone (Singleton 2009), Nigeria (Abernethy 1969), Malawi (Bone 1982), Uganda (Kasozi 1986), Burkina Faso (Werthmann 2012), and the Gambia (Jammeh 2015) among others (Nunn 2012; Izama 2014; Csapo 1981).

35. As noted by Marie-Laurence Bayet (1972) in her article, "L'enseignement primaire au Sénégal de 1903 à 1920", these official numbers probably underestimated the number of children in Qur'anic schools given their omnipresence in the local ecosystem but also because the colonial administration had very little information and input into the functioning of these schools.

36. The original quote in the 1930 Bulletin of Education of French West Africa read, "Une œuvre aussi diverse en ses manifestations, aussi profonde en son action, aussi prolongée en ses conséquences que se révèle en pays indigène l'œuvre d'éducation n'est pas une simple affaire de statistiques […] Sans doute, à ne considérer que les chiffres, pourrait-on croire notre progression mesurée et trop lente […] Mais les progrès de notre œuvre d'éducation doivent être mesurés avec plus de recul".

37. See David Robinson's (2000) "Paths of Accommodation: Muslim Societies and French Colonial Authorities in Senegal and Mauritania, 1880–1920" and Chapter 5 in Tamba M'Bayo (2016) for more information on the role that Sidiyya Baba played in the 'pacification' of Mauritania. It is worth noting that Saad Buh (ca. 1850–1917) and his elder brother Ma El Ainin (1838–1910) were, with Sidiyya Baba, three Muslim clerics and marabouts that played a critical role in the early mediations (and by extension conquest) in that part of the Sahel during the colonization period, albeit in different roles. Ma El Ainin continuously called for military jihad against the French while his brother Saad Buh initially supported collaboration. M'Bayo also highlights how the alliance between African diplomats and interpreters (in this instance, Mahmadou Seck from Saint Louis) and the French colonial administrators (in this case, Xavier Coppolani) was key to conveying and deploying the strategy of 'pacification', negotiation, and intimidation in Mauritania.

38. A translation of the text that Baba Siddiya issued in support of the French may be found on the African Online digital Library (Robinson), https://www.aodl.org/.

39. See Hamidou Diallo's (1997) chapter entitled "*Pouvoir colonial, islam et première guerre mondiale en AOF*" and Jean-Louis Triaud's (2012) "*Le temps des marabouts: Introduction*" for more on the use of collaboration as a subversive method to maintain space for maneuvering within the colonial state.

40. For more on this, see Robinson and Triaud, eds., 1997, *Le temps des marabouts: Itinéraires et stratégies islamiques en Afrique Occidentale Française v. 1880–1960.*

41. The actual quote in French reads, "De ce fait, elle est devenue un instrument de socialisation (politique et idéologique) fonctionnel et efficace" (Meunier 1997, 13).

42. Teacher is *malam* (men) or *malama* (women) in Hausa from *mu'allim* in Arabic, *cierno* in Fulfulde, *serigne* in Wolof, *marabout* in French. Also referred to as *ustaz* or *ustaza* in formal Islamic educational spaces.

43. Nana Asma'u Dan Fodio was an extraordinary scholar born in 1793 in Degel. She has left behind an extensive library of works including poems in Arabic, Fulfulde, and Hausa. Some of her poems, in many ways, give a timeline into the personal tragedies and successes that marked Nana Asmau's life; they also are a marker of major historical events in the Sokoto Caliphate from the perspective of a woman. Nana Asma'u was the daughter of the *Shehu* (chief) and the wife of the *Waziri* (chief executive). Although she was extraordinary, she was not an exception as her sisters, although not well known, were also highly educated. In the face of major political, Nana Asma'u was a private special advisor, and in public spheres, she was an educator of the masses as the '*sarkin mata duka*' (the chief of all women). She established and developed a system of itinerant teachers known as *jaji* who would travel far and wide to provide literacy and instruction. Remnants of the system are still visible today in parts of southern Niger and northern Nigeria.

44. The role of mothering and motherhood carries a particular meaning in Islamic epistemic thought. Two hadiths that capture the importance of the mother-figure are, "Paradise lies beneath the feet of the mother". The second is a hadith that goes as follows, "A man came to the Prophet and said, 'O Messenger of God! Who among the people is most worthy of my good companionship? The Prophet (PBUH) said: Your mother. The man said, 'Then who?' The Prophet said: Then your mother. The man further asked, 'Then who?' The Prophet said: Then your mother. The man asked again, 'Then who?' The Prophet said: Then your father". The mother is repeated three times before the father stating just how important her position is.

45. For more on women Islamic teachers and leadership, also see among others Hill's (2018) "Wrapping Authority: Women Islamic Leaders in a Sufi Movement in Dakar, Senegal" and Kang's (2015) "Bargaining for Women's Rights: Activism in an Aspiring Muslim Democracy".

46. This has changed with the entry of women in the sphere of Islamic scholarship. Some would argue that women had always been present albeit in less socially visible roles. What is different in contemporary times is that women scholars are systematically shaping social discourse in private as much as public spheres of influence.

47. *Rubutu* (the written word) is often written on the *aloh* board or on a piece of paper with traditional black ink (made of Arabic gum) then washed up with water in a container.

48. Some of these practices would later be dislocated or reprimanded as *bid'ah* (innovations) by the surge of the different currents of Islamic practice; however, they still remain a fundamental part of the way most West African Muslims live their faith or seek protection.

49. See Fallou Ngom (2016) for more on the development of Ajami.

50. For more on the role of Muslim interpreters, see Tamba M'bayo's (2016) edifying book entitled, "Muslim Interpreters in Colonial Senegal, 1850–1920: Mediations of Knowledge and Power in the Lower and Middle Senegal River Valley".

51. The year 1903 marked the beginning of a structured educational francophone system in AOF. See Lange (2000), Bouche (1997), and Fall (1997) for a description and an analysis of the context within which this restructuration occurred.

52. See Little's (2005) "*Georges Hardy - Une Conquête Morale: l'Enseignement en AOF*". She writes that in the teaching of History, parts of written or oral history which was anti-French was side-lined in an effort to impart a certain legitimacy for the French colonial domination in Africa. The effect at legitimizing colonial rule in the teaching also touches on subjects such geography which became a tool. She quotes Hardy who said, "*Ce n'est pas la géographie de la France que nous proposons à notre auditoire, c'est la puissance française, étudiée d'un point de vue géographique*" (193) which I translate as "It is not the geography of France that we bring to our audience, it is the French power, studied from a geographical point of view".

53. In "France and Islam in West Africa, 1860–1960", Harrison (1988, 63) writes about the colonial administration's rational for investing in medersa. Roume, then governor-general of the AOF, wrote in a letter to the director of the médersa in St Louis, "the médersa will always be the most logical form of education in Muslim country, the only one capable of usefully serving our policy whilst at the same time flattering the vanity of the natives" (translated).

54. For more on the introduction and rise of Wahhabi ideologies in West Africa including its implication for the education sector, see Kaba's (1974) "The Wahhabiyya: Islamic Reform and Politics in French West Africa".

55. Villalón et al. (2012) write that the city of Say was chosen to host the first médersa in Niger because the illustrious Muslim cleric, Mamane Diobbo, set up his Qadiriyya congregation there at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

56. In Mauritania, the notion of Franco-Arab médersas, as it exists in the other countries in this study, may not necessarily apply since the educational system in the public sector combines Arabic and French starting primary school. Prior to the 1966 policies of Arabisation that instituted Arabic as a language of instruction, the Franco-Arab médersas have occupied a particular space in the complex educational system where the question of the language of instruction intersects with geopolitical and ethnic considerations (Taine-Cheikh 1994). The country has undergone a series of policy changes in the educational sector with at its core attempts to balance, counterbalance, and, sometimes, reflect the presence of the four main languages (Arabic, Pulaar, Soninké, and Wolof) alongside French as language(s) of instruction. For more on the successive policies in the educational sector, see Ould Zein and Queffélec's (1997) "Le Francais en Mauritanie", Taine-Cheick (2004), Ould Cheick (2007), and Candalot (Candalot 2005).

57. It is worth noting that the first public Franco-Arab médersa, in the postcolonial era in Senegal, dates back to 1963. It was, however, in 2002, following the 'Education for All' movement that the Ministry of Education decided to bring the Franco-Arab schools as a central element in reaching a higher gross enrollment rate (D'Aoust 2013).

58. Here is the original text (translated in English) from Hardy G. cited in Barthélémy's book (2010, 33), "Quand nous amenons un garçon à l'école française c'est une unité que nous gagnons, quand nous y amenons une fille, c'est une unité multipliée par le nombre d'enfants qu'elle aura".

59. The document in Niger's National Archives in Niamey reads "*Pourquoi en effet confier l'éducation des enfants à des infidèles alors que jusque-là les marabouts avaient eu la charge d'éduquer les enfants dans la voie du Coran*" (156).

60. Rokhaya Fall (1997) divides the colonial education policies into four inter-linked phases: (1) from 1903 to 1918 as that of purely utilitarian policies for government schools and the teaching of primarily basic reading and writing for missionary schools—the investment in education of the "indigenes" was an enterprise to further the economic benefits of the colonial project; (2) starting 1918, distinct efforts were made to increase enrollment; (3) after 1924, there was a reorganization of the education in the AOF which included the introduction of practical courses such as agriculture teaching and a greater emphasis on rural schools; (4) with the aftermath of World War II, there was, beginning 1944, another reorganization of the educational system which aligned the teachings in the AOF to those in the 'Metropole'—with increasing demands from the highly connected African educated elites for the opening of more schools including universities.

61. In the inaugural Bulletin, Hardy (1913) wrote about the agenda for 'refashioning' education, "*Nous taillons dans le neuf, comme on dit ; nous connaissons mal encore cette rude étoffe qu'on nous confie, et nos ciseaux, ne craignons pas de l'avouer, hésitent souvent dans nos mains. Nous élaborons petit à petit une péda-gogie indigène, très différente de l'autre, et personne de vous n'oserait assurément soutenir que nous voyons en toute netteté, non seulement les moyens, mais le but de notre enseignement*" translates as "We are cutting into the new, as they say; we still know very little of the rough stuffs that are entrusted to us, and our scissors, let us not hesitate to admit it, often shake in our hands. We are developing little by little an indigenous pedagogy, very different from the other, and no one of you would dare to maintain that we clearly see, not only the means, but the purpose of our teaching" (Bulletin de l'Enseignement de l'Afrique Occidentale Française).

62. The categorization of 'primary level' may not apply to Qur'anic schools and informal socially institutionalized learning spaces because Qur'anic schools are not structured by strictly divided levels. Socially institutionalized learning spaces sometimes involve major life events or transitions which may not apply to all.

63. Mali and Mauritania have not participated in the 2014–2015 PASEC study.

64. Data collected by author for doctoral thesis entitled "*Ilimi Haske*: Learning Gaps in Unequal Worlds".

65. Data collected by author for doctoral thesis entitled "*Ilimi Haske*: Learning Gaps in Unequal Worlds".

66. It is worth noting that this discourse is much more complex. For students from middle-income families who hear French at home, the language of instruction does not constitute a barrier per se. Additionally, research in linguistics and education has shown that starting with the mother tongue, while advantageous, is not always optimum if the transition to French (in this case) is mismanaged. The analysis in my (forthcoming) doctoral thesis builds on existing literature and argues that merely switching to a bilingual system would not suffice if the inherent inefficiencies in the system are not addressed.

67. Here the reference is made what could be considered 'social failure' rather than academic failure which are not necessarily the same.

68. An interesting related study by Ogunjuyigbe and Fadeyi (2002) looks at the gender differentials in access to education and literacy among Yorubas in southwest Nigeria and finds that "gender disparity in education were related

to women's traditional roles and their personal attitudes, which may also stem from their religious orientation […] The fear of pregnancy and early marriage was second in importance in this local government area".

69. My forthcoming doctoral thesis shows a great divergence in learning on the basis of socioeconomic background regardless of geographical location (rural or urban), gender, or religious affiliation among other factors.

70. There is a popular Hadith (authentic saying from the Prophet Mohammed) that says "Seek Knowledge from Cradle to Grave".

71. Qur'anic schools have been institutionalized as a system of mass education in the West Africa region since the fifteenth century and have known a rapid expansion in the nineteenth century (Boubé and Rabiou 2009)

72. It is worth noting that there are 'modern' and sometimes fee-paying boarding Qur'anic schools. These modern Quranic schools are well developed in the educational sphere in Senegal where in 2002 the government introduced reforms including (a) accounting for students in modern Qur'anic schools when measuring school attendance; (b) the inclusion of modern *daara* in formal schooling; and (c) the introduction of (optional) religious teaching in primary schools among other measures. For on the context within which these reforms took place, see Hugon (2015). Niger also has attempted a modernization of traditional Qur'anic schools under the PAREC (*Projet d'Appui à la Rénovation des Ecoles Coraniques*) program with the financial support of the Islamic Development Bank. In Nigeria, the state of Sokoto is attempting a program entitled "Sokoto Almajiri Integrated School" under the Sokoto State Universal Basic Board (SUBEB). See Garba Abubakar and Njoku's (2015) for more on the Sokoto Almajiri Integrated School.

73. After the *Shahadah* (which is the profession of faith), prayer (*Salah*) plays a pivotal social and spiritual role in the conception of the Muslim identity. Its frequency makes it a constant in the life. Collective prayers hold an important role in socialization within these societies, especially among men. Also, the *azan* (the call to prayer) is a defining feature in most of these communities.

74. While the format and cycles of learning could take various forms depending on the school's teleological or philosophical disposition, Gandolfi (2003) gives five broad cycles of learning in Qur'anic education.

75. This expression is inspired by a quote found in Sounaye's (2016) chapter entitled "Walking to the Makaranta". It is a common saying among adults to justify the choice to embark on a quest for a more profound Islamic knowledge.

76. Data collected by author for doctoral thesis entitled "*Ilimi Haske*: Learning Gaps in Unequal Worlds". All consent protocols were completed to inform and protect participants. All participants are anonymous in the represented data. The four high schools are in four different neighborhoods of Niamey. One of the high schools is all-women. The sample is not meant to be 'representative' statistically speaking. It, however, does give an insight how young people are engaging with various educational spaces.

77. There are several hadiths that speak to this: (1) Reported by Abud-Darda and states: The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) said, "He who follows a path in quest of knowledge, Allah will make the path of Jannah easy to him. The angels lower their wings over the seeker of knowledge, being pleased with what he does. The inhabitants of the heavens and the earth and even the fish in

the depth of the oceans seek forgiveness for him. The superiority of the learned man over the devout worshipper is like that of the full moon to the rest of the stars (i.e., in brightness). The learned are the heirs of the Prophets who bequeath neither dinar nor dirham but only that of knowledge; and he who acquires it, has in fact acquired an abundant portion". (2) Reported by Abu Hurairah and states, "The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) said, Allah makes the way to Jannah easy for him who treads the path in search of knowledge". (3) Reported by Anas states, "He who goes forth in search of knowledge is considered as struggling in the Cause of Allah until he returns". Please note that the added epithet (peace be upon him) is one that follows in Islamic tradition the mention of the name of the prophet.

References

1913. *Bulletin de l'Enseignement de l'Afrique Occidentale Française.*

1914. *Bulletin de l'enseignement de l'Afrique Occidentale Française.*

1930. *Bulletin de l'enseignement de l'Afrique Occidentale Française* 19e, no. 73.

Abd al-Rauf, Muhammad. 1983. "Ḥadīth Literature I: The Development of the Science of Ḥadīth." In *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: Arabic Literature Until the End of the Umayyad Period*, edited by A. F. L. Beeston, T. M. Johnstone, J. D. Latham, R. B. Serjeant, and G. R. Smith. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Abernethy, David B. 1969. *The Political Dilemma of Popular Education: An African Case*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Alidou, Hassana. 2003. "Language Policies and Language Education in Francophone Africa: A Critique and a Call to Action." In *Black Linguistics: Language, Society, and Politics in Africa and the Americas*, edited by Sinfree Makoni, Geneva Smitherman, Arnetha F. Ball, and Arthur K. Spears, 228. London: Routledge.

Alidou, Hassana. 2009. "Promoting Multilingual and Multicultural Education in Francophone Africa: Challenges and Perspectives." In *Languages and Education in Africa: A Comparative and Transdisciplinary Analysis*, edited by Birgit Brock-Utne and Ingse Skattum. Oxford: Symposium Books.

Alidou, Ousseina. 2002. "Gender, Narrative Space, and Modern Hausa Literature." *Research in African Literatures* 33 (2): 137–153. https://doi.org/10.1353/ral.2002.0042.

Alidou, Ousseina. 2005. "Engaging Modernity: Muslim Women and the Politics of Agency in Postcolonial Niger." *Women in Africa and the Diaspora*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-007-0024-9.

Alidou, Ousseina, and Halimatou Hima. 2020. "Women in Niger." In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Women in World History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Aluaigba, Moses T. 2009. "Circumventing or Superimposing Poverty on the African Child? The Almajiri Syndrome in Northern Nigeria." *Childhood in Africa* 1 (1): 19–24.

Amselle, Jean-Loup. 1985. "Le Wahabisme a Bamako (1945–1985)." *Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines* 19 (2): 345–357.

Autra, Ray. 1956. "Historique de l'enseignement En A.O.F." *Présence Africaine Nouvelle*s 6: 68–86.

Awofeso, Niyi, Jan Ritchie, and Pieter Degeling. 2003. "The Almajiri Heritage and the Threat of Non-State Terrorism in Northern Nigeria: Lessons from Central Asia and Pakistan." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 26 (4): 311–325. https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100390208260.

Bâ, Mariama. 1980. *Une Si Longue Lettre*. Dakar: Nouvelles Éditions Africaines du Sénégal (NEAS).

Bâ, Oumar. 1977. *Paroles Plaisantes Au Cœur et À l'oreille*. Paris: La Pensée universelle.

Babou, Cheikh Anta. 2003. "Educating the Murid: Theory and Practices of Education in Amadu Bamba's Thought." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 33 (3): 310–327. https://doi.org/10.1163/157006603322663523.

Babou, Cheikh Anta. 2007. *Fighting the Greater Jihad: Amadou Bamba and the Founding of the Muridiyya of Senegal, 1853–1913*. Athens: Ohio University Press.

Barthélémy, Pascale. 2003. "Instruction Ou Éducation? La Formation Des Africaines à l'École Normale d'institutrices de l'AOF de 1938 à 1958." *Cahiers d'études Africaines* 43: 169–170. Éditions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales: 371–388. https://doi.org/10.4000/etudesafricaines.205.

Barthélémy, Pascale. 2010. *Africaines et Diplômées À l'époque Coloniale, 1918–1957*. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes.

Bayet, Marie-Laurence. 1972. "L'enseignement Primaire Au Sénégal de 1903 à 1920." *Revue Française de Pédagogie* 20: 33–40.

Bell, Dianna. 2015. "Choosing Medersa: Discourses on Secular versus Islamic Education in Mali, West Africa." *Africa Today* 61 (3): 45–63. https://doi.org/10.2979/africatoday.61.3.45.

Beniamino, Michel. 1999. *La Francophonie Littéraire: Essai Pour Une Théorie*. Paris: Editions L'Harmattan.

Beti, Mongo. 2005. "Langue Française et Francophonie Sont-Elles Compatibles ?" *Africultures* 65 (4): 158–163. https://doi.org/10.3917/afcul.065.0158.

Beti, Mongo (Alexandre Biyidi). 1954. "Présence Africaine." *Présence Africaine* 16 (Trois Ecrivains Noirs): 419–420.

Bih, El Bou Ould Izid, Aicha Mint Ivekou, Abderrahmane Ould Mohamed Mahmoud, and Bilal Ould Hamza. 2009. "L'enseignement Coranique Traditionnel Dans Les Mahadras de Nouakchott: Etats Des Lieux et Perspectives." Nouakchott.

Bone, David S. 1982. "Islam in Malawi." *Journal of Religion in Africa* XIII (2): 126–138.

Boubé, Mamane Sani, and Rakia Rabiou. 2009. "Modernisation Des Écoles Coraniques Au Niger: Bilan et Perspectives."

Bouche, Denise. 1974. "L'école Française et Les Musulmans Au Sénégal de 1850 à 1920." *Revue Française d'histoire d'outre-Mer Tome* 61 (223): 218–235.

Bouche, Denise. 1997. "La Création de l'AOF: Un Nouveau Départ Pour l'école." In *AOF: Réalités et Héritages Sociétés Ouest-Africaines et Ordre Colonial, 1895 – 1960*, edited by Charles Becker, Saliou Mbaye, and Ibrahima Thioub, Tome 1. Dakar: Direction des Archives du Sénégal.

Bouhlel Hardy, Ferdaous. 2010. "Les Médersas Du Mali: Réforme, Insertion et Transnationalisation Du Savoir Islamique." *Politique Étrangère Hiver* 4: 819–830. https://doi.org/10.3917/pe.104.0819.

Bouwman, Dinie. 2006. "Modern Arabic Education in Mali: The 'Madrasas' and Corresponding Higher Arabic Education." *Mande Studies*. https://doi.org/10.2307/44080575.

Boyd, Jean. 1989. The Caliph's Sister: Nana Asma'u, 1793–1865, Teacher, Poet, and Islamic Leader. London, UK and Totowa: Frank Cass.

Brenner, Louis. 2001. *Controlling Knowledge: Religion, Power, and Schooling in a West African Muslim Society*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Brenner, Louis. 2010. "The Transformation of Muslim Schooling in Mali: The Madrasa as an Institution of Social and Religious Mediation." In *Schooling Islam: The Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Brock-Utne, Birgit, and Ingse Skattum. 2009. *Languages and Education in Africa: A Comparative and Transdisciplinary Analysis*. Oxford: Symposium Books.

Brown, Jonathan. 2009. *Hadīth: Muhammad's Legacy in the Medieval and Modern World*. Oxford: Oneworld.

Camara, Laye. 1953. *L'Enfant Noir*. Paris: Plon.

Candalot, Aurélie. 2005. "Rôle et Enjeux Du Système Éducatif En Mauritanie Dans l'évolution Politique." *Le Portique* [Online], Archives Des Cahiers de La Recherche Cahier 3. Palais Universitaire.

Charlier, Jean-Émile. 2002. "Le Retour de Dieu: L'introduction de l'enseignement Religieux Dans l'École de La République Laïque Du Sénégal." *Éducation et Sociétés* 10 (2): 105–113.

Chehami, Joanne. 2016. "Les Familles et Le Daara Au Sénégal." Afrique Contemporaine 257 (1): 77–89. https://doi.org/10.3917/afco.257.0077.

Chekaraou, Ibro, and Nana Aicha Goza. 2015. "Niger: Trends and Futures." In Education in West Africa, edited by Emefa Takyi-Amoako. New York and London: Bloomsbury.

Cissoko, Sékéné Mody. 1969. "L'intelligentsia de Tombouctou Aux XVe et XVIe Siècles." *Présence Africaine, Nouvelle Série* 72: 48–72.

Cissoko, Sékéné Mody. 1975. *Tombouctou et l'Empire Songhay: Épanouissement Du Soudan Nigérien Aux XVe-XVIe Siecles*. Dakar: Nouvelles Éditions Africaines.

Compaoré, F., and Imam A. Kabré. n.d. "Les Foyers Coraniques De La Bande Sahelo-Saharienne: Rapport Synthese Les Cas Du Burkina Faso, Du Mali et Du Sénégal." Ouagadougou.

Conklin, Alice L. 1997. *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895–1930*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43 (6): 1241–1299.

Crowder, Michael. 1978. *Colonial West Africa: Collected Essays*. London: Frank Cass and Company Limited.

Csapo, Marg. 1981. "Religious, Social and Economic Factors Hindering the Education of Girls in Northern." *Comparative Education* 17 (3): 311–319.

d'Aiglepierre, Rohen, and Arthur Bauer. 2016. "Quantifier et Qualifier Le Choix de l'enseignement Arabo-Islamique En Afrique Subsaharienne." *Afrique Contemporaine* 257 (1): 25. https://doi.org/10.3917/afco.257.0025.

d'Aiglepierre, Rohen, and Arthur Bauer. 2018. "The Choice of Arab-Islamic Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Findings from a Comparative Study." *International Journal of Educational Development* 62 (January): 47–61. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2018.01.004.

D'Aoust, Sophie. 2013. "Écoles Franco-Arabes Publiques et Daaras Modernes Au Sénégal: Hybridation Des Ordres Normatifs Concernant l'éducation." *Cahiers de La Recherche Sur l'éducation et Les Savoirs* 12: 313–338.

Dembélé, Martial, and Joan Oviawe. 2007. "Introduction: Quality Education in Africa: International Commitments, Local Challenges and Responses." *International Review of Education / Internationale Zeitschrift Für Erziehungswissenschaft / Revue Internationale de l'Education* 53 (Nos. 5/6, Quality Education in Africa: Challenges and Prospects): 473–483.

Diallo, Hamidou. 1997. "Pouvoir Colonial, Islam et Première Guerre Mondiale En AOF." In AOF: Réalités et Héritages Sociétés Ouest-Africaines et Ordre Colonial, 1895–1960, edited by Charles Becker, Saliou Mbaye, and Ibrahima Thioub, Tome 1. Dakar: Direction des Archives du Sénégal.

Diallo, Ibrahima. 2012. "Qur'anic and Ajami Literacies in Pre-Colonial West Africa." *Current Issues in Language Planning* 13 (2): 91–104. https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2012.687498.

Diallo, Ibrahima. 2015. "Literacy and Education in West Africa: From Ajami to Francophonie." *Africa Review* 8 (1): 60–70. https://doi.org/10.1080/09744053.2015.1090663.

Diop, Abdoulaye Bara. 1985. *La Famille Wolof: Tradition et Changement.* Paris: Éditions Karthala.

Échard, Nicole. 1992. "Cultes de Possession et Changement Social. L'exemple Du Bori Hausa de l'Ader et Du Kurfey (Niger)." *Archives de Sciences Sociales Des Religions* 79: 87–100.

Einarsdóttir, Jónína, and Hamadou Boiro. 2016. "Becoming Somebody: Bissau-Guinean Talibés in Senegal." *The International Journal of Human Rights* 20 (7): 857–874. https://doi.org/10.1080/13642987.2016.1192532.

Einarsdóttir, Jónína, Hamadou Boiro, Gunnlaugur Geirsson, and Geir Gunnlaugsson. 2010. *Child Trafficking in Guinea-Bissau an Explorative Study.* Reykjavík: UNICEF Iceland.

Elghamis, Ramada. 2011. "Le Tifinagh Au Niger Contemporain: Étude Sur l'écriture Indigène Des Touaregs." Faculty of the Humanities.

Ennahoui, E. K. 1987. *BiladChinguitt: Al Manarawa Ribat [in Arabic].* Tunis: Alecso. https://doi.org/10.4000/ries.5767.

Ensminger, Jean. 1997. "Transaction Costs and Islam: Explaining Conversion in Africa." *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics (JITE)/Zeitschrift Für Die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft* 153 (1): 4–29.

Fall, Rokhaya. 1997. "Le Système d'enseignement EnAOF." In *AOF: Réalités et Héritages Sociétés Ouest-Africaines et Ordre Colonial, 1895–1960*, edited by Charles Becker, Saliou Mbaye, and Ibrahima Thioub, Tome 1. Dakar: Direction des Archives du Sénégal.

Fennell, Shailaja, and Madeleine Arnot. 2008. "Decentring Hegemonic Gender Theory: The Implications for Educational Research." *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 38 (5): 525–538. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057920802351283.

Finnegan, Ruth. 2012. *Oral Literature in Africa.* Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers. https://doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0025.

Finnegan, Ruth H. 1992. *Oral Traditions and the Verbal Arts: A Guide to Research Practices.* London: Routledge.

Gandolfi, Stefania. 2003. "L'Enseignement Islamique En Afrique Noire." *Cahiers d'études Africaines* 43 (169–170): 261–277. Éditions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales. https://doi.org/10.4000/etudesafricaines.199.

Garba Abubakar, Binta, and Joy N. Njoku. 2015. "Influence of Almajirci on School Attendance and Academic Performance among Students of Almajiri Integrated Model School, Sokoto State." *World Journal of Education* 5 (4). https://doi.org/10.5430/wje.v5n4p58.

Gauvin, Lise. 2016. *L'écrivain Francophone À La Croisée Des Langues: Entretiens*. Paris: Editions Karthala.

Goff, Germaine Le. 1947. "L'enseignement Des Filles En AOF: L'éducation d'une Fillette Indigène Par Sa Famille." *Overseas Education* XVIII (4): 547–563. https://doi.org/10.4000/etudesafricaines.205.

GPE. 2019. "Burkina Faso: Reaching Students in Insecure Areas."

Hampâté Bâ, Amadou. 1991. *Amkoullel, l'enfant Peul*. Paris: Actes Sud.

Harrison, Christopher. 1988. *France and Islam in West Africa, 1860–1960*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hassane, Moulaye. 2008. "Ajami in Africa: The Use of Arabic Script in the Transcription of African Languages." In *The Meanings of Timbuktu*, edited by Shamil Jeppie and Souleymane Bachir Diagne. Cape Town and Sakar: HSRC Press in association with CODESRIA.

Hill, Joseph. 2018. *Wrapping Authority: Women Islamic Leaders in a Sufi Movement in Dakar, Senegal*. Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division.

Hiskett, Mervyn. 1984. *The Development of Islam in West Africa*. London and New York: Longman.

Hoechner, Hannah. 2011. "Striving for Knowledge and Dignity: How Qur'anic Students in Kano, Nigeria, Learn to Live with Rejection and Educational Disadvantage." *The European Journal of Development Research* 23 (5): 712–728. https://doi.org/10.1057/ejdr.2011.39.

Hoechner, Hannah. 2014. "Experiencing Inequality at Close Range: Almajiri Students & Qur'anic Schools in Kano." In *Sects & Social Disorder: Muslim Identities & Conflict in Northern Nigeria*, edited by Abdul Raufu Mustapha, 98–126. Woodbridge, Suffolk, GB; Rochester, NY, US: Boydell & Brewer.

Hoechner, Hannah. 2018. *Quranic Schools in Northern Nigeria: Everyday Experiences of Youth, Faith, and Poverty*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hugon, Clothilde. 2015. "Les Sëriñ Daara et La Réforme Des Écoles Coraniques Au Sénégal." *Politique Africaine* 139 (3): 83–99. https://doi.org/10.3917/polaf.139.0083.

Hunwick, J. O. 1964. "The Influence of Arabic in West Africa: A Preliminary Historical Survey." Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana 7: 24–41.

Hunwick, J. O. 2003. *Timbuktu and the Songhay Empire: Al-Saʿdī's Taʾrīkh Al-Sūdān down to 1613, and Other Contemporary Documents*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Hunwick, J. O. 2004. "West Africa and the Arabic Language." *Sudanic Africa* 15 (Language in Africa): 133–44.

Hunwick, J. O., Alida Jay Boye, and Joseph Hunwick. 2008. *The Hidden Treasures of Timbuktu: Historic City of Islamic Africa*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Idrissa, Abdourahmane. 2015. "Modèle Islamique et Modèle Occidental: Le Conflit Des Élites Au Niger." In *Islam Politique Au Sud Du Sahara - Identités, Discours et Enjeux*, edited by Muriel Gomez-Perez. Paris: Karthala.

Institute of National Statistics-Niger (INS). 2010. *Annuaire Statistique Des Cinquante Ans D'independance Du Niger: Edition Spéciale*. Niamey: INS.

Institute of National Statistics-Niger. 2019. http://www.stat-niger.org/statistique/.

Isiaka, Tajudeen Onitada. 2015. "A Pilot Study of the Challenges of Infusing Almajiri Educational System into the Universal Basic Educational Programme in Sokoto, Nigeria." *Journal of Education and Practice* 6 (16) (Online).

Izama, Melina Platas. 2014. "Muslim Education in Africa: Trends and Attitudes Toward Faith-Based Schools." *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 12 (2): 38–50. https://doi.org/10.1080/15570274.2014.918749.

Jammeh, Burama L. J. 2015. "Curriculum Policy in Perspectives Curriculum Policy Making: A Study of Teachers' and Policy-Makers' Perspectives on the Gambian Basic Education Programme." Scholars' Press.

Kaba, Lansiné. 1974. *The Wahhabiyya: Islamic Reform and Politics in French West Africa*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.

Kane, Cheikh Hamidou. 1972. *Ambiguous Adventure*. London: Heinemann Educational.

Kane, Ousmane Oumar. 2016. *Beyond Timbuktu: An Intellectual History of Muslim West Africa*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Kang, Alice J. 2015. *Bargaining for Women's Rights: Activism in an Aspiring Muslim Democracy*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Kasozi, A.B.K. 1986. *The Spread of Islam in Uganda*. Oxford and Khartoum: Oxford University Press in association with the Islamic African Centre.

Kati, Al Hajj Mahmud, Christopher Wise, and Hala Abu Taleb. 2011. *Ta'rikh Al-Fattāsh - The Timbuktu Chronicles, 1493–1599: English Translation of the Original Works in Arabic by Al Hajj Mahmud Kati*. Trenton: Africa World Press.

Kere Abdulrahman, Hadiza. 2019. "The Men They Become: Northern Nigeria's Former Almajirai: Analysing Representational Discourses of Identity, Knowledge and Education." University of Lincoln.

Kone, A 'ame. 2010. "Politics of Language: The Struggle for Power in Schools in Mali and Burkina Faso." *International Education* 39 (2): 6–20.

Ladjal, Tarek, and Benaouda Bensaid. 2017. "Desert-Based Muslim Religious Education: Mahdara as a Model." *Religious Education* 112 (5): 529–541. https://doi.org/10.1080/00344087.2017.1297639.

Lake, Gashaw Weyneshet. 1981. *The Addis Abba Conference: Implications for Inter-African Cooperation in Education, 1961–1979*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma.

Lange, Marie-France. 2000. "Naissance de l'école En Afrique Subsaharienne." *Pour* 165: 51–59.

Larrier, Renée Brenda, and Ousseina Alidou. 2015. "Introduction: Traditions of Literacy." In *Writing through the Visual and Virtual: Inscribing Language, Literature, and Culture in Francophone Africa and the Caribbean*, edited by Renée Brenda Larrier and Ousseina Alidou, 369. London: Lexington Books.

LeBlanc, Marie Nathalie. 1999. "The Production of Islamic Identities through Knowledge Claims in Bouaké, Côte d'Ivoire." *African Affairs* 98: 485–508.

Lefebvre, Camille. 2014. "Le Temps Des Lettres: Échanges Diplomatiques Entre Sultans, Émirs et Officiers Français, Niger 1899–1903." *Monde(S)* 5 (1): 57–80. https://doi.org/10.3917/mond.141.0057.

Little, J.P. 2005. *Georges Hardy - Une Conquête Morale: L'Enseignement En AOF*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Loimeier, Roman. 2016. *Islamic Reform in Twentieth-Century Africa*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Lovejoy, Paul E. 1978. "The Role of the Wangara in the Economic Transformation of the Central Sudan in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries." *Journal of African History* 19 (2): 173–193. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021853700027584.

Lovejoy, Paul E. 2016. *Jihād in West Africa during the Age of Revolutions*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.

Lozneanu, Sophie, and Philippe Humeau. 2014. *Ecoles Coraniques et Éducation Pour Tous: Quels Partenariats Possibles? Mali, Niger, Sénégal/Qur'anic Schools and Education for All: What Partnerships are Possible? Mali, Niger, Senegal*. Paris: French Development Agency (AFD).

Lydon, Ghislaine. 2004. "Inkwells of the Sahara: Reflections on the Production of Islamic Knowledge in Bilād Shinqīt." In *The Transmission of Learning in Islamic Africa*, 2nd ed., edited by Steven Scott Reese, 39. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

M'bayo, Tamba. 2016. *Muslim Interpreters in Colonial Senegal, 1850–1920: Mediations of Knowledge and Power in the Lower and Middle Senegal River Valley*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Mack, Beverly and Jean Boyd, eds. 2000. *One Woman's Jihad: Nana Asmaʾu, Scholar and Scribe*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Magashi, Salim Bashir. 2015. "Education and the Right to Development of the Child in Northern Nigeria: A Proposal for Reforming the Almajiri Institution." *Africa Today* 61 (3): 65–83. https://doi.org/10.2979/africatoday.61.3.65.

Mahir, Şaul. 2006. Islam and West African Anthropology. *Africa Today* 53 (1): 3–33.

Malam Sani, Mahamane Mahaboubou. 2017. "Recompositions et Dynamiques de l'enseignement Arabo-Islamique Au Niger: Le Cas de Zinder." *Cahiers de La Recherche Sur l'éducation et Les Savoirs* 5: 75–99.

Manière, Laurent. 2010. "La Politique Française Pour l'adaptation de l'enseignement En Afrique Après Les Indépendances (1958–1964)." *Histoire de l'éducation* 128 (19–20): 163–190.

Maouloud, Mohamed Salem Ould. 2017. "L'éducation Islamique Non-Formelle Mahadra de Mauritanie." *Revue Internationale d'éducation de Sèvres* 74: 18–24. https://doi.org/10.4000/ries.5767.

Masquelier, Adeline Marie. 1999. "Debating Muslims, Disputed Practices: Struggles for the Realization of an Alternative Moral Order in Niger." In *Civil Society and the Political Imagination in Africa*, edited by John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Masquelier, Adeline Marie. 2001. *Prayer Has Spoiled Everything: Possession, Power, and Identity in an Islamic Town of Niger*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Mazrui, Alamin M. 1993. "Language and the Quest for Liberation in Africa: The Legacy of Frantz Fanon." *Third World Quarterly* 14 (2): 351–363.

Mazrui, Alamin M. 2003. "Beyond Appropriation: Language, Knowledge, and Discourse in the African Context." In Postmodernism, Postcoloniality, and African Studies, edited by Zine. Magubane, 261. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Mbaye, Saliou. 2006. "Personnel Files and the Role of Qadis and Interpreters in the Colonial Administration of Saint-Louis, Senegal, 1857–1911." In *Intermediaries, Interpreters, and Clerks: African Employees in the Making of Colonial Africa*, edited by Benjamin N. Lawrance, Emily Lynn. Osborn, and Richard L. Roberts, 332. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Mbembe, Achille. 2013. *Sortir de La Grande Nuit: Essai Sur l'Afrique Décolonisée*. Paris: La Découverte.

Mbiti, John S. 1990. *African Religions and Philosophy*. London: Heinemann.

McClendon, David, Conrad Hackett, Michaela Potančoková, Marcin Stonawski, and Vegard Skirbekk. 2018. "Women's Education in the Muslim World." *Population and Development Review* 44 (2): 311–342. https://doi.org/10.1111/padr.12142.

Menkiti, Ifeanyi A. 1984. "Person and Community in African Traditional Thought." In *African Philosophy, an Introduction*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Mernissi, Fatima. 1987. *Beyond the Veil: Male-Female Dynamics in Modern Muslim Society*, Revised Edition. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Meunier, Olivier. 1997. *Dynamique de l'enseignement Islamique Au Niger: Le Cas de La Ville de Maradi*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Mlama, Penina, Marema Dioum, Herbert Makoye, Lornah Murage, Margaret Wagah, and Rose Washika. 2005. *Gender Responsive Pedagogy: A Teacher's Handbook*. Nairobi: Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE).

Momar Diop, Papa. 1997. "L'enseignement de La Fille Indigène En AOF, 1903–1958." In *AOF: Réalités et Héritages Sociétés Ouest-Africaines et Ordre Colonial, 1895–1960*, edited by Charles Becker, Saliou Mbaye, and Ibrahima Thioub, Tome 1. Dakar: Direction des Archives du Sénégal.

Moore, Leslie C. 2006. "Learning by Heart in Qur'anic and Public Schools in Northern Cameroon." *Social Analysis* 50 (3): 109–126.

Moumouni, Abdou. 1968. *Education in Africa*. New York: F. A. Praeger.

Moumouni, Abdou. 1969. "La Conférence de Nairobi Sur: L'éducation Scientifique et Technique Dans Ses Rapports Avec Le Développement En Afrique&quot." *PrÃ©sence Africaine* 69: 178–187.

Moura, Jean-Marc. 2013. *Littératures Francophones et Théorie Postcoloniale*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Moussa, Laouali Malam, and Yves Benett. 2007. *A Synthesis of Studies of Madrassas and Other Quranic Schooling Centres in Gambia, Mali, Niger and Sénégal*. Bamako: ROCARE/ERNWACA.

Mwangi, Nungari. 2019. "'Good That You Are One of Us': Positionality and Reciprocity in Conducting Fieldwork in Kenya's Flower Industry." In *The Politics of Conducting Research in Africa: Ethical and Emotional Challenges in the Field*, edited by Lyn Johnstone, 13–34. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave MacMillan.

Newman, Anneke. 2016. "Négocier La Réforme Des Écoles Coraniques Dans Le Nord Du Sénégal." Afrique Contemporaine 257 (1): 57–75. https://doi.org/10.3917/afco.257.0057.

Newman, Anneke. 2017. "Passive, Voiceless Victims or Actively Seeking a Religious Education? Qur'anic School Students in Senegal." In *The Bloomsbury Reader in Religion and Childhood*, edited by Anna Strhan, Stephen G. Parker, and Susan Ridgely, 393. London and New York.

Ngom, Fallou. 2016. *Muslims beyond the Arab World: The Odyssey of 'Ajamī and the Murīdiyya*. London: Oxford University Press.

Nunn, Nathan. 2012. *Gender and Missionary Influence in Colonial Africa*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

OCHA. 2018. "The Sahel Crisis Deepens—Education Under Attack in Burkina Faso." United Nations OCHA.

Ogunjuyigbe, Peter O., and Adebayo O. Fadeyi. 2002. "Problems of Gender Differentials in Literacy and Enrolment Among the Yorubas of South- West Nigeria." *Journal of Social Sciences* 6 (2): 113–120.

Ould Ahmedou, El Ghassem. 1997. *Enseignement Traditionnel En Mauritanie: La Mahadra Ou l'école, à Dos de Chameau*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Ould Cheick, Mohamed. 2007. "La Didactique Des Langues et Le Bilinguisme: L'exemple Du Système Éducatif Mauritanien." Université Jean Moulin Lyon 3.

Ould Zein, Bah, and Ambroise Queffélec. 1997. *Le Français En Mauritanie*. Vanves: EDICEF/AUPELF.

PASEC. 2015a. "Cadre de Reference Des Tests PASEC 2014 de Langue et de Mathématiques de Debut de Scolarite Primaire." Dakar.

PASEC. 2015b. "PASEC2014 Performances Des Systèmes Éducatifs En Afrique Subsahararienne Francophone: Compétences et Facteurs de Réussite Au Primaire." Dakar.

Pesnot, Patrick. 2014. *Les Dessous de La Françafrique*. Paris: Nouveau Monde Éditions.

Pew Research Center. 2016. *Religion and Education Around the World*. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center.

Pigeaud, Fanny, and Ndongo Samba Sylla. 2018. *L'arme Invisible de La Françafrique: Une Histoire Du Franc CFA*. Paris: Éditions La Découverte.

Robinson, David. 2000. *Paths of Accommodation: Muslim Societies and French Colonial Authorities in Senegal and Mauritania, 1880–1920*. Athens and Oxford: Ohio University Press.

Robinson, David. 2004. *Muslim Societies in African History: New Approaches to African History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Robinson, David. 2014. "Muslim Societies in West Africa: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives in Digital Form." *Islamic Africa* 5 (1): 103–121. https://doi.org/10.2307/islamicafrica.5.1.103.

Robinson, David, and Jean-Louis Triaud, eds. 1997. *Le Temps Des Marabouts: Itinéraires et Stratégies Islamiques En Afrique Occidentale Française, v. 1880–1960*. Paris: Karthala Editions.

Saad, Elias N. 1983. *Social History of Timbuktu: The Role of Muslim Scholars and Notables, 1400–1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sanankoua, Diarah Bintou. 1985. "Les Écoles 'Coraniques' Au Mali: Problèmes Actuels." *Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines* 19 (2): 359–367.

Sidibe, I. A. 1995. "Composante Education et Formation: Aide-Memoire." Paris.

Singleton, Brent D. 2009. "That Ye May Know Each Other: Late Victorian Interactions Between British and West African Muslims." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 29 (3): 369–385. https://doi.org/10.1080/13602000903166630.

Smith, Mary Felice. 1981. *Baba of Karo, a Woman of the Muslim Hausa*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Smith, Robert. 1973. "Peace and Palaver: International Relations in Pre-Colonial West Africa." *The Journal of African History* 14 (4): 599–621. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0021853700013074.

Sounaye, Abdoulaye. 2009. "Ambiguous Secularism Islam, Laïcité and the State in Niger." *Civilisations* 58 (2): 41–57.

Sounaye, Abdoulaye. 2014. "Mobile Sunna: Islam, Small Media and Community in Niger." *Social Compass* 61 (1): 21–29. https://doi.org/10.1177/0037768613514309.

Sounaye, Abdoulaye. 2016. "Walking to the Makaranta: Production, Circulation, and Transmission of Islamic Learning in Urban Niger." In *Islamic Education in Africa: Writing Boards and Blackboards*, edited by Robert Launay, 323. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Steady, Filomina Chioma. 2006. *Women and Collective Action in Africa: Development, Democratization, and Empowerment*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Steady, Filomina Chioma. 2007. "The Black Woman and the Essentializing Imperative: Implications for Theory and Praxis in the 21st Century." Race, Gender & Class 14 (1/2): 178–195.

Steady, Filomina Chioma. 2011. *Women and Leadership in West Africa: Mothering the Nation and Humanizing the State*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137010391_1.

Subrahmanian, Ramya. 2003. "Promoting Gender Equality." In *Targeting Development: Critical Perspectives on the Millennium Development Goals*, edited by Richard Black and Howard White. Routledge Studies in Development Economics. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203403235.

Subrahmanian, Ramya. 2005. "Gender Equality in Education: Definitions and Measurements." *International Journal of Educational Development* 25 (4 special issue): 395–407. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2005.04.003.

Taine-Cheikh, Catherine. 1994. "Les Langues Comme Enjeux Identitaires." *Politique Africaine* 55: 57–64.

Taine-Cheikh, Catherine. 2004. "La Mauritanie: Vers Une Nouvelle Politique Linguistique?" Revue d'aménagement Linguistique, 205–26.

Tidjani Alou, Antoinette. 2009. "Niger and Sarraounia: One Hundred Years of Forgetting Female Leadership." *Research in African Literatures* 40: 42–56.

Tidjani Alou, Mahaman. 1992. "Les Politiques de Formation En Afrique Francophone: Ecole, Etat et Sociétés Au Niger." Université de Bordeaux 1.

Tikly, Leon. 2016. "Language-in-Education Policy in Low-Income, Postcolonial Contexts: Towards a Social Justice Approach." *Comparative Education* 52 (3): 408–425. https://doi.org/10.1080/03050068.2016.1185272.

Tréan, Claire. 2006. *La Francophonie* -. Paris: Le Cavalier Bleu Editions.

Triaud, Jean-Louis. 1981. "L'islam et l'Etat En République Du Niger." *Le Mois En Afrique* 193: 9–26.

Triaud, Jean-Louis. 1982. "L'islam et l'Etat En République Du Niger." *Le Mois En Afrique* 194–5: 35–48.

Triaud, Jean-Louis. 2012. "Le Temps Des Marabouts: Introduction." In *Le Temps Des Marabouts: Itinéraires et Stratégies Islamiques En Afrique Occidentale Française, v. 1880–1960*, edited by David Robinson and Jean-Louis Triaud. Paris: Karthala.

Trudell, Barbara. 2009. "Local-Language Literacy and Sustainable Development in Africa." *International Journal of Education Development* 29 (1): 73–79. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2008.07.002.

Trudell, Barbara. 2011. "Of Gateways and Gatekeepers: Language, Education and Mobility in Francophone Africa." *International Journal of Educational Development* 32: 368–375. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2011.11.007.

UCW. 2007. "Enfants Mendiants Dans La Région de Dakar."

UN. 2018. "UN Support Plan for the Sahel."

UNESCO. 2017. *More Than One-Half of Children and Adolescents Are Not Learning Worldwide*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. 2019. "Education: Access to Basic Services in Public Schools by Level of Education." http://data.uis.unesco.org.

UNESCO and UNECA. 1961. "Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa, Addis Ababa, 15–25 May 1961: Final Report." Paris.

UNICEF. 2018. "Child Marriage—UNICEF DATA." National Censuses and National Household Surveys, Predominantly the Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS) and Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS). https://data.unicef.org/topic/child-protection/child-marriage/.

Unterhalter, Elaine. 2003. "The Capabilities Approach and Gendered Education: An Examination of South African Complexities." *Theory and Research in Education* 1 (1): 7–22.

Unterhalter, Elaine and Amy North. 2011. "Girls' Schooling, Gender Equity, and the Global Education and Development Agenda: Conceptual Disconnections, Political Struggles, and the Difficulties of Practice." *Feminist Formations* 23 (3): 1–22.

Verschave, François-Xavier. 1998. *La Françafrique: Le plus Long Scandale de La République*. Paris: Stock.

Verschave, François-Xavier. 2000. *Noir Silence: Qui Arrêtera La Françafrique*. Paris: Les Arènes.

Villalón, Leonardo A., Abdourahmane Idrissa, and Mamadou Bodian. 2012. "Religion, Demande Sociale, et Réformes Éducatives Au Niger."

Villalón, Leonardo A., and Mahaman Tidjani-Alou. 2012. "Religion and Education Reform in Africa: Harnessing Religious Values to Developmental Ends." *Africa, Power and Politics.*

wa Thiong'o, Ngugi. 2005. "Europhone or African Memory: The Challenge of the Pan-Africanist Intellectual in the Era of Globalisation." In *African Intellectuals: Rethinking Politics, Language, Gender, and Development*, edited by P. Thandika Mkandawire. Dakar: CODESRIA.

Walker, Robin. 2006. *When We Ruled: The Ancient and Mediæval History of Black Civilisations*. London: Every Generation Media.

Ware, Rudolph T. 2014. *The Walking Qur'an: Islamic Education, Embodied Knowledge, and History in West Africa*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Werthmann, Katja. 2012. "Transformations d'une Élite Musulmane En Afrique de l'Ouest: Le Cas Des Dioula de Darsalamy (Burkina Faso)." *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 52 (208): 845–876.

Woolcock, Michael. 1998. "Social Capital and Economic Development: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis and Policy Framework." *Theory and Society* 27 (2): 151–208. https://doi.org/10.2307/657866.

Woolcock, Michael, and Deepa Narayan. 2000. "Social Capital: Implications for Development Theory, Research, and Policy." *The World Bank Research Observer* 15 (2): 225–249.

World Bank Data. 2019. "World Bank Open Data | Data." https://data.worldbank.org/.

World Conference on Education for All: Meeting Basic Learning Needs. 1990. "World Declaration on Education for All and Framework for Action to Meet Basic Learning Needs." Jomtien.

Zakari, Maïkoréma. 2009. *L'Islam Dans l'espace Nigérien Tome 1: Des Origines (VIIe Siècle) à 1960*. Paria: L'Harmattan.

Zakir, A., U. Abubakar, U. S. Lawal, H. Imrana, I. T. Habibu, I. H. Hassan, and M. M. Harande. 2014. "The Practice of Almajiri: Prospect and Socio-Medical Challenges in Northern Part of Nigeria." *Journal of African Studies and Development* 6 (7): 128–131. https://doi.org/10.5897/jasd2014.0273.

Zoumanigui, Antoinette K. 2016. "On the Talibé Phenomenon: A Look into the Complex Nature of Forced Child Begging in Senegal." *The International Journal of Children's Rights* 24 (1): 185–203. https://doi.org/10.1163/15718182-02401009.

Islamic Education and the Quest for Islamic Identity: The Case of Ghana

Abdul-Samad Abdullah

THE FORMATION OF ISLAMIC CULTURAL IDENTITY IN WEST AFRICA[1]

Islamic and Arabic culture in West Africa extended as far as what is known as the Western Sudanese region (al-Sūdān al-Gharbī).[2] This culture had trade and commercial networks which spread outward into other regions across the Sahara. Many historians emphasize the caravan trade routes that connected Western Sudan and Egypt, and in turn linked these to historical Ifriqiya (modern Tunisia) and further west to al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā (modern-day Morocco) (Galadanci 1974, 22; Abu Bakr 1972, 33). Some of these routes may have been in operation before the dawn of Islam, perhaps in the second century CE, although they were abandoned for security reasons in the middle of the third century. This relationship was a commercial one at first, but with the emergence of Islam and its spread into Western Sudan, the relationship took on a religious and cultural dimension from as early as the seventh century CE (Hiskett 1984, 13).

The religious dimension of the trade networks merged the Muslims of this region into one group which drew its holistic way of life and moral values from one source—Islam. It was, then, natural for the Muslim people of Western Sudan to begin eagerly and attentively learning about Islam, wherein they believed the value of all their affairs was to be found. This included learning its liturgical language to carry out its rituals as perfectly

A.-S. Abdullah (✉)
University of Melbourne, Melbourne, VIC, Australia
e-mail: abdulsa@unimelb.edu.au

as possible. As a result of learning the Arabic language and from inheriting and contributing to Islamic culture, the Muslims of Western Sudan became the intellectual elite of the region. Administration and planning experts in the non-Muslim regions actively sought Muslim assistance in running their affairs. Muslims occupied key positions in translation and management in the pre-Islamic Ghana Empire (Hiskett 1984, 22). This continued to be the case even after the fall of Islamic Ghana and its replacement by the Mali Empire in the thirteenth century CE (Clarke 1982, 38). The importance of Islamic education to the people of the region, in which Arabic plays a primary role, is further evidenced by the traveler Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's (d. 1368/69 CE) description of the Islamic Empire of Ghana and the great keenness of its government and people to teach their children the Islamic religion and Arabic language. Particular emphasis was placed on the memorization of the Holy Qur'an, where he noted that they would "shackl[e] their children if they show[ed] negligence in memorizing it, the shackles removed only after they memorized it" (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, n.d., 690).

Several historians record the visit that Askia Muḥammad Ture, the founder of the Askia Dynasty (1493–1591), made to Cairo during a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1497. He asked the advice of the great Cairene scholars, such as Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505), concerning the development of education in the region. The advice given to him by the scholars had a distinctive effect in developing Islamic religious education in the Western Sudan. The Askia Dynasty also did much to personally encourage education. Some of the rulers established large libraries and added to their collections most of the new books and manuscripts which arrived in Western Sudan from Egypt and the Far East (Abu Bakr 1972, 45).

The sixteenth-century Senkore mosque in Timbuktu developed into a flourishing center of Arabic and Islamic education and became the favorite destination of students across the Western Sudan. Subjects taught there included Mālikī jurisprudence, the Arabic language (syntax, morphology, rhetoric), logic, history, geography, astronomy, and arithmetic. The Arabic language was the language of education and administration, and became one of the well-established languages of communication throughout the popular cultural centers of the region (Abu Bakr 1972, 46). Several towns in Western Sudan thus became intellectual centers, Timbuktu being a prime example. To teach in one of its centers of higher education was the goal of many scholars of the time, while increasing numbers of students aspired to sit in its learning groups. Thus, Timbuktu became a focus of culture and intellect besides being an important trade center (Zabādiyya, n.d., 100).

Other important educational centers developed in Gao, Wallata, Gazargamu (capital of the mais of Borno from the 1480s), Kano, and Katsina (Hunwick 1997, 22). Along with Timbuktu, these were the key Islamic educational centers in Western Sudan during the early period of the region's Islamic history. In addition to these centers, other educational and religious

facilities such as mosques, schools, and arbors were built throughout the region. Schools were set up under the trees and in the corridors of scholar's (*ʿulamāʾs*) houses, while open spaces were used as primary schools, retreats, and prayer rooms. In this way, Islamic and Arabic education developed and prospered until it reached its highest standard in the kingdom of Songhay under the Askia Dynasty (1493–1591).

Colonial invaders later came to the region and found Muslims with a very strong educational system, although religiously oriented. This is the case in most of West African countries as well as in the countries of Volta Basin which include today's Ghana (Clarke 1982, 58).

Islamic Education

Knowledge in Islam is comprehensive in scope and covers multiple perspectives. It encompasses matters related to this world and the afterlife. If education in its basic definition is "the process of facilitating learning, or the acquisition of knowledge, skills, values, beliefs, and habits" (Wikipedia 2018), then Islamic education eliminates and ends the artificial separation between religion and knowledge. The separation is seen as that which denies the human being a balanced means of attaining justice, peace, tranquillity, happiness, material achievement, and civilizational advancement, which could be only justly achieved through divine guidance and regulation. Thus, Islamic teachings and education proclaim and assert that God is the source of truth and knowledge—be it religious or scientific. Thus, it is the relationship between the oneness of truth and the oneness of God. Islam, in this regard, challenges the human brain and intellect to contemplate, think deeply and explore the universe critically in order to discover the signs of the existence of God, understand the oneness of God, the Creator and the Manager of universe, and urges humans to utilize their knowledge and discoveries for the betterment of humankind and the environment. Equally, a reminder to refrain from causing mischief on earth is also emphasized.

Islamic education promotes and calls to adopting the divine revelation as the primary source of knowledge. Islam believes that true knowledge of universe leads to true faith (*al-iman al-haqq*) and that true faith leads to further exploration of the universe for the Qur'an is regarded, from Islamic perspective, as God's written universe and the cosmos as God's open book. They both integrate one another and resonate with the Oneness of the Creator (Allah). In this Islamic educational outlook, the dichotomy of secular education and religious education has no place, as will be explained later.

Understanding the basic aims and objectives of Islamic education help solidify this approach and worldview. It is to this that the research next turns.

Discussing the aims and objectives of Islamic education would require a large chapter or article in its own right. However, mentioning three fundamental pillars and objectives of Islamic education is indispensable for the

purpose of our assessment of Islamic education in Ghana. One of the essential components of Islamic worldview is the recognition of several components of man's nature, namely the soul/spirit (*rūḥ*), body, and mind. Hence, Islamic educational objectives are divided into three groups that form inseparable triangle of spiritual aims, mental aims, and physical aims. That is, Islamic education should aim at developing the physical skills of students which are considered to be necessary for building up a strong body. It should also equip students with all the ideals embodied in the Qur'an. Promoting the spirit of loyalty to Allah alone and implementing Qur'anic morality as exemplified in the conduct of the Prophet Muhammad[3] constitute the second aim. The third side of the triangle is that Islamic education should be preoccupied with developing and forming intelligence and a critical attitude, which leads individuals to discover the ultimate truth (Abdullah 1982, 113–134).

The Role of Education and Culture in Preserving the Muslim Identity

The Islamic education schools in Ghana are mandated to provide an education which cultivates, promotes, and preserves students' Islamic identity in order to develop them into upright, responsible Muslims, and consequently as participants in a Muslim community that understands worship of Allah in its most comprehensive sense and seeks success in this world and the afterlife.

Education and culture are two foundations on which people build and retain their identity. Through education and culture, nations inculcate their doctrines, ideologies, conceptions, and values in the minds of their people and raise them according to these elements. These elements are seen as formative agents in the preservation, success, and excellence of nations. Every educational system is based on certain authority structures and foundations in order to judge the feasibility and success of its courses, and in order to amend them where necessary.

The remainder of this research chapter now approaches the education system in Ghana, in the context of Islamic identity, in both the public and the private school systems (the latter is commonly known as "Islamic" schooling), in order to assess its viability in amending and preserving the Muslim cultural identity.

Public Education

By public education in Ghana, we mean the education system established by the Ghanaian government to educate its citizens, regardless of their particular ethnic or religious backgrounds. If an education system is based on a set of principles and comprehensive values that govern the process of education in order to achieve certain goals in a given educational institution, in a given environment, and in a given age, such an understanding of the education system requires establishment based on three indispensable fundamentals:

a. **A given authority**: which means the set of ideologies, values, and common principles that support the education system, shapes its different policies and educational goals, and manages the progress of the system in general.
b. **A set of pre-defined goals**: which anticipate the various aspects of success and sets targets according to available capabilities within the system and infrastructure. These goals are considered the nucleus of the education process.
c. **The environment**: which means the conditions surrounding the targeted citizens that receive education, and which aims to bring about a change in the society. It is believed that the environment has an effect on citizens, and likewise citizens, after receiving their education and gaining certain skills and knowledge, can also affect the dynamics of the environment in various ways. (Sarhan and Kamil 1991, 46–47)

On considering the public education system in Ghana, its authority, goals, and environment, hardly any authority can be observed, save its embracement of secular ideologies that marginalize the role of religion in the dynamics of modern life. As such, public education in Ghana seems alien to the culture and environment of Africa as a whole, and of Ghana in particular. This casts doubts on the education system in Ghana regarding its aims and philosophy, which the present paper has no room to discuss. However, we are concerned here with the adaptability of this system to Islamic education which aims primarily to preserve and consolidate the Muslim cultural identity in Ghana and produce a righteous, well-mannered, and capable and God-fearing citizen, who is effective contributor and active participant in nation building and societal well-being.

There is an obvious opposition between the implicit secular ideologies on which education in Ghana is based and the Islamic cultural identity that characterizes Muslims' traits and place in the world. Islamic identity is based on the doctrines of monotheism and on the belief that Allah is the unique Creator of the entire universe; He is the Disposer of its affairs and the Ultimate Authority for the Creation. This is with respect to authority. As for the educational goals, if we admit that the present public education system in Ghana is alien, or semi-alien—since it is not compatible with any traditional education system in Africa—it would not be an exaggeration to say that its goals are only compatible with foreign Western education systems, which promote individualism and capitalism (Rodney 1974, 255; Bertram 2012, 12–21). This clearly opposes the goals of Islamic education, which works for the welfare of the individual through elevating and improving the overall conditions of the community. In Islam, the individual receives as much care and support as that of the community, in order to realize the balance and moderation that characterize Islam and Muslims throughout history.

The incongruity between public education and the identity of Muslims has yielded negative results for both non-Muslim and Muslim Ghanaians. Such results have serious consequences on different levels of society: intellectual, religious, moral, and social. Nowadays, we can hear the voices of some

Muslim youth and academics requesting a separation between religion and politics, setting a barrier between that which is standard and that which is religious, and restricting the role of religion to merely fulfilling acts of devotion in the private sphere (Sanu 1998, 92–108). This has caused an imbalance between the material aspects of life and moral obligations for some educated Muslims. Adding to this is the lack of any historical or religious model in this system, which is very essential to connect Muslims everywhere to their roots and raise their awareness of their identity, pride of their religion, and self-respect. It is worth mentioning here that the curricula of public education institutions in Ghana also ignore a great deal of the cultural history of West African Muslims and their essential roles in the sociopolitical development of the region which most of the Muslims of the region are unaware of. However, this episode of history constitutes an important integral part of the history of the region and a source of inspiration and pride for the Muslims.

At the social level, the public education system in Ghana consciously or unconsciously presents the Western social lifestyle as the exemplary model for Ghanaians to look up to. However, the final products of this colonial education system are neither a completely Western nor completely African in terms of social values and adherence to the rule of law. This is not peculiar to the Ghanaian public education system or context, but rather is the case for the other African countries that experienced colonialism. If education is meant to produce good, well-cultured, and highly mannered citizens, then the widely spread extravagance, selfishness, and egoism seen among many of our African educated and political elites raise serious questions about our postcolonial African systems of education that are supposed to preserve our African identity and values which are based on communal interest, selflessness, and working for the welfare of the community.

Extravagance, selfishness, individualism, and egoism are in obvious disagreement with typical African values and identity, let alone the qualities developed according to the ideal of Islamic lifestyle, which is based on self-commitment, interdependence, brotherhood, general welfare, self-denial, and working for the well-being of the community and the individuals within it. After the physical withdrawal of the colonial powers from Africa and the Muslim world, Muslims have been hampered by the negative influence of some aspects of the alien culture of the colonial powers, as they were in control of the education system in the region (Rodney 1974, 238–280). This affects and has affected the cultural identity of Muslims, who are brought up according to the values embedded in the Western educational culture that was provided by the colonizers to the colonized—the type of education that was tailored for colonial purposes (for more on colonial education system [Mart 2011, 192]). Therefore, Muslims refused to send their children to public schools for fear of losing their identity and loyalty to their religion and nation (see Iddrissu 2002). Despite this, there are instances of some families who did not take this issue seriously and the result was the loss of some of

their children's Islamic identity; some of the young generations even rejected their religion and became its harshest opponents. The refusal of Muslims to send their children to the colonial schools and to the postcolonial schools that were seen by majority of Muslims as the continuation of the colonial schools was not without catastrophic consequences. They were left behind economically, socially, and politically, due to their lack of colonial education. Hence, a practical solution must be found to overcome these societal and civilizational predicaments. Several solutions have been attempted. Among the solutions to this attempted in Ghana were government administrated Arabic and English schools, and Islamic private education.

Government Adopted Arabic and English Schools

Under the difficult conditions of education, where it is difficult for Muslims to maintain their identity while being educated in public educational institutions, some devout Muslims dedicated themselves to find a way out of this difficulty. Some proposed teaching the curricula of public secular schools at Islamic schools—which used to teach Islamic subjects only—thinking that this would preserve young people's Muslim identity and facilitate their integration and participation in the different aspects of the society in their country. Hence, there appeared groups of schools called "Arabic and English Schools." Some of these schools succeeded in preserving their students' Islamic identity, but most of them underperformed to equip the students with the different skills required for pursuing higher education and for occupying administrative and other public offices in the government. According to the USAID/Ghana (2007), it was reported that only 20% Islamic school graduates graduated from university and 4% occupy political positions nationally and locally (48).

The question now requiring to be addressed is: Why did these schools fail or underperform in educating the Muslim youth and preparing them to pursue to the higher education to be able to take jobs in different social, administrative, economic, and political offices in a considerable number?

The initiative to find a solution to preserve the identity of Ghanaian Muslim youth is necessary and also a positive step in the right direction. It reflects a sincere awareness of the importance of maintaining Muslim cultural identity and its particular characteristics and promoting methods to preserve it. However, the introduction of the Arabic and English schools is hardly an effective approach; it seems to be an untenable solution rather than a feasible, sustainable Islamic substitute. We said earlier that any education system has to rest on three essential elements, i.e., authority, goals, and environment.

The teaching of the secular curricula of the public education system side by side with religious subjects in Islamic schools, with significant reduction of Islamic curricula as a trade-in for government support, without any effort of reconciling the two or integrating them properly, means in its simplest form, mixing two opposites. For the authority, in terms of educational philosophy,

objectives and world view, in the curricula of the public schools are secular and their goals nourish individual and material spirits. This stands in contradiction to the religious authority of Islamic subjects, in terms of educational philosophy, objectives and world view; and makes the two streams, without some sort of negotiation or Islamization of secularized subjects, incompatible.

Perhaps the absence of a full perception of the perspectives of Islamic education and its enlightening goals for humankind, or possibly the disorientation of the Muslim founders of this school system, who introduced the public school curricula into Islamic schools, stands behind this situation. Had they possessed the required awareness of Islamic educational methods and goals, they could have thoroughly sifted and revised the secular curricula and modified them in order to be compatible with Islamic educational goals and perspectives, fully considering the particularities of the local culture. Since this was not achieved, the Arabic and English schools have been permeated with contradictions and some of its graduates are often considered half-educated. This contradiction has caused intellectual and cultural bewilderment for the graduates of these schools, who are taught by pro-Western non-Muslim teachers, who in many instances demean the Islamic schools and refuse to adhere to the school's codes of conduct, procedures, and regulations. The problem is even aggravated by the incompetence of many teaching staff for religious subjects teaching at these schools, who, in most cases, lack basic pedagogical training in their specific subject matter. As a result, the problem of preserving, consolidating, and protecting Ghanaian Muslim identity will remain as long as the curricula of the public schools and the private schools that are supported by the government, i.e., the Arabic and English schools, stay the same. Modification needs to take place by way of reconfiguring the underlying philosophy of education to create compatibility between both the religious and secular subjects which will help to integrate the established government curricula with the Islamic curricula within the purview of the general aims and objectives of Islamic education and encompassing the national educational aims and objectives.

Education is the cornerstone for the development and success of society. This can be achieved if it emanates from and suits the inherent culture of the society it is intended for, not emanating from an alien or imported one. Every society has its own particular way of thinking and culture reflected in its mannerism (*akhlāq*) and according to which it brings up and educates its citizens. Scholars, thinkers, and leaders of any society render and promote these manners into education methodologies that are intended to lead the society to prosperity and welfare. The education system, with respect to its goals, methodologies, activities, and perspectives, is a mere reflection of these foundational education theories and ideologies. Therefore, the curricula of Ghanaian public schools, which the Islamic schools have uncritically adopted, need a thorough revision in order to thoroughly scrutinize and adapt their fundamental goals and content into the Islamic theory of education. Such a

procedure is feasible because the education system is flexible and possesses the ability to respond to different challenges deemed important within a given society, be these challenges internal or external in nature.

Unless the modification and adaptation of the curricula of the public schools are made, before unquestionably incorporating them into the subjects taught in Islamic schools, frustration shall enter the minds of the students in these Islamic schools, due to the apparent contradiction and incompatibility between the secular conceptions and values taught in the public schools and their counterparts in the Islamic schools. The result would be a total failure, due to the secular authority of the curricula which utterly rejects religious authority.

ISLAMIC PRIVATE EDUCATION

The Islamic private education system in Ghana, which still helps Muslims preserve their identity, needs to undergo some reform to make it function properly today. Muslims nowadays encounter different challenges in a world directed by globalization that seeks to dissolve the identities of nations in favor of a prevailing culture that is dominating the whole world politically, economically and intellectually, and militarily. Despite the feasibility of Islamic education in preserving Muslim identity in different societies, it has failed to provide Muslims in Ghana with a proactive identity that enables them to contribute effectively to the political, economic, and intellectual aspects of the society they live in. Muslims in Ghana need to be validated and respected, and not treated as unproductive communities that do not require consultation with regarding public affairs.

The first step on the road to the reformation of Islamic education is to change the narrow definition and concept of "Islamic education" which limited to religious education only, leaving worldly matters to those who are interested in material gains. This overlooks the fact that Islam is for the welfare of people in this life and the afterlife. This narrow-minded view of Islamic education made the Muslims in Ghana and some neighboring countries lag behind and created a huge cultural gap between them and other parts of the world, save for a few small groups of Muslims who acquired an adequate education at schools established by colonial powers. Today, we can witness the failure of the colonial education system in the region, due to its incompatibility with the culture of its nations. In addition, there are no serious attempts capable of providing Islamic substitutes, which found great response and success in other parts of the region in the past. In those days, Muslims vividly comprehended the status quo, responded positively and rationally to the demands of their circumstances and scrutinized the Islamic education in a critical way, leading to a comprehensive understanding of the religious and everyday goals of Islam.

One can wonder: How far has Islamic education in its current circumstances in Ghana achieved its objectives of preparing an upright devout Muslim with a sound understanding of his religion and the challenges of his time, yet is aware of his responsibilities in life and his Muslim identity? This comprehensive identity is the responsibility of Muslims, as a moderate nation (*ummatan wasaṭan*) that has been brought forth and elevated due to its obligation of enjoining what is good and forbidding what is evil, alongside its belief in God.

Perhaps it may sound too harsh to criticize the Islamic education in its status quo in Ghana and in the whole region in general when we say that it utterly failed in educating Muslims in order for them to display all the qualities of educated people as mentioned in the above research in question. However, we find it partly successful in its task. On the one hand, Islamic education has managed to produce righteous generations of devout Muslims who have a sound understanding of their religion and enjoin the good and forbid the evil, who have sound faith and are able to fulfill their religious obligations. These are the cornerstone of Islam. On the other hand, it failed—but I may be wrong or harsh in my judgment—to prepare good, righteous Muslims, who can participate among the population of the earth and the civilizations of the world; who can practice what they preach; who are able to deal with the challenges of modern life; who are aware of their obligations toward humanity in general and of moderation as the path of the Muslim nation; and who are able to comprehend and act according to the major goals of Islam, which must be primary when dealing with current pressures and challenges that would make the Muslim nation and identity vulnerable.

A Muslim who possesses these qualities would be able to actively participate in shaping different regional and global dynamics according to his faculties and skills, taking forward his great responsibility toward humanity as a member of a moderate Muslim nation. This nation is invested with Allah's blessing for its task of working for the welfare of humankind in this world and in the afterlife, and of populating the earth with sustainable development and growth as one of the conditions of belief in Allah.

Indeed, Islamic education is currently unable to develop a Muslim character with such comprehensive and balanced qualities. It lacks a comprehensive view of Islam as a religion that satisfies the needs of man in this world and the afterlife. This view requires the Muslim to be prepared intellectually, psychologically, and functionally, according to his faculties and the necessities of the society he lives in, with enough flexibility that makes him integrate and benefit from the experiences of other nations—if they are compatible with the principles of Islam—and consider the changes of time and place in accordance with Islamic principles and objectives.

Islam, in its awareness of the nature of humankind being composed of a body and soul, works for the satisfaction of his physical and spiritual needs. Two Qur'anic verses highlight this clearly:

Seek the life to come by means of what God has granted you, but do not neglect your rightful share in this world. Do good to others as God has done good to you. Do not seek to spread corruption in the land, for God does not love those who do this.' (Qur'an 28:77)

To whoever, male or female, does good deeds and has faith, We shall give a good life and reward them according to the best of their actions. (Qur'an 16:97)[4]

Many other verses speak about the superiority and welfare that Allah promised for those who commit themselves to follow Allah's way. They all underline Allah's aim of nourishing the material needs of humans with all the faculties that He has blessed us with in order to develop material needs side by side with spiritual life.

Allah Almighty has guided man to know his religious duties by sending Prophets and Messengers, leaving no room for humans to use their own discretion to determine the acts of devotion (ʿibādāt). However, with respect to the affairs of life (muʿāmalāt), Allah has given humans the freedom and faculties to manage their life in the way they deem best, being guided by Allah's teachings and the capabilities that He endowed, such as the different faculties of the senses and reason. For example, Allah says in the Qur'an, "It is God who brought you out of your mothers' wombs knowing nothing, and gave you hearing and sight and minds, so that you might be thankful" (Qur'an 16:78).

As such, the pronouncement that learning non-religious subjects is a waste of time and leads to the paralysis of human creative faculties is incorrect: this is not Allah's Will. For, had He willed man to be this way, He would have disclosed all the mysteries of nature for him in the same way He sent His Messengers to explain to humans all the articles of faith and morals, which cannot be perceived by man through mere thinking without Allah's guidance. In the physical world, Allah's decree was to provide man with intelligence to discover the laws of nature and achieve the maximum benefit from the physical world. Were man to come to know about these laws in its plain form, without exerting any effort and using his mind, then all his skills and faculties would be idle and useless, and he would fall into intellectual stagnation and indifference, which Allah does not approve (Khalīl 1975, 36). Religiously, it is not appropriate that creed and moral values are concealed as a mystery and that man is required to search for them unaided. These values and creed, which are related to the broader universe and include the visible and the invisible worlds, and which are not amenable to man's direct awareness, limited capabilities and freedom, were not meant for man to be able to discover without divine assistance.

Knowledge in Islam

Knowledge in Islam is multifaceted and has a broad-spectrum. The confinement of knowledge in Islam to a sole goal would inhibit its efficiency and ability to develop the community and contradict the intrinsic nature of Islam

as being religious as well as a social concept. In the Qur'an, knowledge is defined as: first, a set of disciplines that man can perceive through the contemplation of the heavens and earth, and the creation therein. Creation here includes everything, animate and inanimate. The Qur'an is packed with several verses that motivate man to contemplate and reflect on the world in order to perceive the various signs of Allah, which were made subservient to man's need and to stand as pathways to understand Allah's supreme majesty. Subsequently, it is a great mistake to look at knowledge in Islam from a narrow-minded perspective, while the Muslim nation is experiencing one of the darkest days in its history, in which its own existence is at stake and the lands inhabited by Muslims are suffering division, violence, and violation. This condition of narrow-mindedness could stop people from contemplating the world and uncovering its mysteries, which would oppose the sublime goals of the Qur'an. Adding to this is that scientific subjects, which are concerned with uncovering the mysteries of the world, elevated the position of many nations and gave them the upper hand to rule the world and become superpowers. However, the abandonment of these subjects by Muslims has led to the deterioration of their nations and the loss of their standing and glory in the world, though they possess the means, such as culture, religion, and natural resources, which could have made them among the strongest nations.

Knowledge and science in the Qur'an signify a deep understanding of things, or a profound way of thinking and methodology—for example, the verse that mentions "How can those who know be equal to those who don't know? Only those who have understanding will take heed" (Qur'an 33:9). The best proof of the multiplicity of horizons of knowledge in Islam is the question of man's task as vicegerent of Allah and the trust of inhabiting this world, the world that Allah honored him with. This question is mentioned in many verses of the Qur'an, which denotes its utmost significance in the Islamic vision of civilization, among those are the following:

> [It] is He who made you [people] successors to the land. Those who deny the truth will bear the consequences: their denial will only make them more odious to their Lord, and add only to their loss. (Qur'an 35:39)

> It was He who brought you into being from the earth and made you inhabit it, so ask forgiveness from Him, and turn back to Him: my Lord is near, and ready to answer. (Qur'an 11:61)

Allah's decree of making man His vicegerent on earth to populate it and then making most of His creation subservient to work for the benefit of man would necessitate that man should be equipped with necessary knowledge, wisdom, and intelligence to fulfill these tasks. For this reason, man is commanded in the Qur'an to provide himself with all the facilities that would enable him to populate this world and develop it according to Allah's decree, and rely on all means that make him successful in life.

In the Qur'an, Allah bade man to intelligently reflect on his own self and on the universe in order to uncover their mysteries. The path of knowledge in Islam inclines to bring about a gradual social change that carefully considers the differences between the social customs and traditions of different societies (Ali 1991, 275). Such a flexible approach can be found in Islamic jurisprudence and law, for example, the famous legal maxim stating that legal rules change with a change in time and place (*taghayyur al-aḥkām bi-taghayyur al-zamān wa-l-makān*). In my understanding, this flexibility of the Islamic way of dealing with reality—and here we do not mean the philosophical aspects related to the concept of realism—was the impetus that made the great jurist, Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī, adopt two legal views, one old and the other new, about his juristic rulings. Adding to this is the legal maxim that "hardship brings alleviation" (*al-mashaqqa tajlib al-taysīr*) that lifts some constrictions to facilitate Muslims' life in adapting to the change of time and circumstances within the parameters of Islamic foundational principles and primary *sharīʿa* objectives.

In his explanation of flexibility in religion, which is absent from our discourse these days, the famed medieval jurist Ibn Qayyim (d. 1350) commented,

> [T]his is a great mercy from Allah upon us, the ignorance of which has led to grave misunderstandings of the teachings of Islamic *sharīʿa*, caused hardship in religion and placed burdens on Muslims, which the great *sharīʿa* does not endorse. The teachings of the *sharīʿa* are based on reason and achieving welfare for human kind. They are prescribed to bring about justice and mercy for people. Any juristic view that deviates from justice to injustice, from mercy to strictness and from reason to thoughtlessness can, by no means, be part of the *sharīʿa*, even if such a view is inserted into the body of the law by way of indirect interpretation. (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya 1999, 112)

He laid down the correct method and placed the yardstick with which Muslims can distinguish between the significant and the insignificant with respect to the needs of the society from an Islamic perspective. This topic discusses three circumstantial categories of Muslims' affairs in life, which Muslim great jurists have elaborated on in the past and used them to classify the interests of the public according to Islam into three levels: necessities, needs, and luxuries.

Here, it suffices to assess Islamic education in Ghana with respect to the most basic of these levels, i.e., necessities, to discern the pros and cons of this system and underline the missing aspects needed for it to run efficiently. Necessities require the facility of all things and manners indispensable for the sustenance of the six objectives of *sharīʿa* or six rights of life for the individual and society in Islam. These objectives/rights are religion, life, mind, offspring, wealth, and honor (Ghazālī 1109, 287).

The assessment of Islamic education in Ghana vis-à-vis needs and luxuries has proved, with no doubt, a pressing need for the improvement of this

system to adopt a more suitable Islamic methodology and way of thinking. This can be achieved by making Islamic education in Ghana and in the region of West Africa including both religious and non-religious subjects, in order to bring about an upright Muslim community who understands worship of Allah in its most comprehensive sense and seeks success in this world and the afterlife. If this happens, Muslims in Ghana and the whole region shall resume their leading influential role at various social, political, economic, and cultural levels. They shall also regain their identity anew as pioneers on the road of building prosperity, uprightness, peace, welfare, cooperation, construction, progress, and affluence.

It is worth mentioning here that a lot of graduates of Islamic education in the region nowadays find it too much of a challenge to participate in different social, economic, political, and administrative activities. Most commonly, they lack the required skills, and this usually disheartens them and makes them feel incompetent and isolated, whereas they are expected not only to dynamically participate in these activities but also to play a leading role, since they believe that they are the torchbearers of guidance for whoever seeks prosperity in this life and the afterlife.

The apathy felt by some of these graduates in participating in such activities can be seen, with majority of them, in their incapability to use the national language of rational discourse, which is the means of communication we inherited from (or which was imposed upon us by) colonialism. Therefore, they are unable to establish a dialogue with the pro-Western, colonially educated elite, who are the decision makers and who only listen to those who can express their views using the same colonially influenced language. By language here, we do not mean mere words and general expressions; the meaning goes beyond this to include ideologies and conceptions as well as worldview. Such being the situation, how will it be feasible to discuss with them and show them their shortcomings, let alone to offer an Islamic substitute that brings about sustainable development, security, welfare, and goodness to the region and the whole world?

The call to extend the horizons of Islamic education does not, of course, mean the closing of specialized Islamic institutions. However, these also need a drastic reformation in their curricula and methods of education to have graduates who can undertake their task in guiding and leading others in the best manner and who are able to deal with the unparalleled challenges facing Islam and Muslims in the world that is dominated or characterized by globalization and competing ideologies. The scope of this chapter does not allow a full explanation of the methods of reformation and evolution of these institutions in Ghana, which also maintain the same restricted vision of Islamic education. This may be the topic of a subsequent research, where it can be discussed in more detail.

The Islamic educational system that can save the Muslim nation in general and Muslims in Africa and Ghana from their civilizational decline is that

which does not set religious sciences and the so-called secular sciences against each other.[5] It considers them indispensable and the only difference between them now is the distinction in their authority but not in the nature of the subjects. When the so-called secular sciences draw their authority from Islamic sources, then these sciences can be called "Islamic" in their nature and their disposition. Hence, all that is needed is to Islamize by way of integrating those assumed secular subjects with revealed knowledge to promote a coherent Islamic world view. This comprehensive Islamic educational approach is one that will preserve and consolidate a Muslim identity that maintains and demonstrates noble human values, such as seeking knowledge, labor, liberty, democracy, justice, fraternity, love, and care for humanity, self-denial, cooperation, supporting the oppressed, and financial/social interdependence.

Knowledge in Islam gratifies the spiritual and material needs of man in this life and the afterlife. It is the path to have a firm belief in Islam and a motivation to work. Allah honored man with the privilege of knowledge and raised him above angels and made him His vicegerent on earth. It is no wonder that the first revelation of the Qur'an to the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) was, "Read! In the Name of your Lord who created: He created man from a clinging form. Read! Your Lord is the Most Bountiful One, who taught by [means of] the pen, who taught man what he did not know" (Qur'an 96:1–5).

This declaration made Islam, from the very outset, a religion that honors knowledge and presented the Qur'an as a book that seeks to enlighten man and equip him with a mental ability. Therefore, Muslims should consider themselves as a "people of knowledge," who perceive knowledge as the motif for action and a manifestation of true belief in Allah. Without action, belief becomes hollow. The praise-worthy knowledge in Islam is that which helps achieve the goals of Islamic law with respect to man's role on earth. These goals are realized in man's observation of his religious duties to Allah, his obligation of sustainable development, and his task as Allah's vicegerent on earth. These three goals are concentric. For sustainable development of the universe, it for a sincere and pure intention is a part of man's worship of Allah and is needed to fulfill his duties as vicegerent, which, in turn, cannot be fully realized without it being an act of devotion for Allah. A number of Qur'anic verses elucidate this, when read holistically, such as:

> Say: 'My people, do whatever is in your power – and so will I. You will find out (Qur'an 39:39)

> I created *jinn* and mankind only to worship Me. (Qur'an 51:56)

Islam honors liberty as a means to guard man against all kinds of injustice, suppression, oppression, humiliation, and coercion. With liberty, Allah's plan for man as the most honored among His creations and as Allah's servant

is achieved. Liberty of man in this life is featured in the freedom of belief and thought, political and civil liberties, and all kinds of liberties that do not make man transgress the rights of other people. Such are the qualities of the Muslim identity that distinguish the character of a Muslim and shape his personal traits. They are reflected in his behavior and all social, cultural, financial, political, and military aspects of life.

In a nutshell, the backbone of a Muslim's identity is his firm belief in the Qur'an and the sound and authentic Sunna of the Prophet, as well as their commands and information about the creation of man, heaven, and earth. This belief is actively observed in his actions and interaction with others, embodying his complete identity as a Muslim. Therefore, any assessment and reform of Islamic education in Ghana should have these qualities of the Muslim identity as its reference points.

CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that many Islamic features can be seen in the identity of Muslims in Ghana, especially those that firmly signify their preservation of this identity, such as Islamic feasts, weddings, birth celebrations, funerals, observing regular prayers at mosques, and even the call to prayer that sounds in most parts of the country. However, when scrutinizing the social, economic, and political conditions of Muslims in Ghana, we can see that various features of the intellectual, cultural, and social identity of Muslims in Ghana started to be affected by the aspects of corruption and confusion due to some internal and external factors that are outside the scope of this chapter. The most influential of these factors is education which can greatly direct, consolidate, and preserve this identity, thus its focus as an area that needs immediate reform. It is also worth mentioning that the existing Islamic educational system in its both forms faces significant difficulties and challenges that put the system in a state of crisis in terms of its facilities, finance, educational materials, teachers training and support, Islamic textbooks and deteriorating school structures, among other things.

NOTES

1. Arabic terms and names are transliterated according to the International Journal of Middle East Studies (IJMES) standard.
2. It is that belt of West Africa that extends, roughly, from latitude 10° to 20° north, and from longitude 17° west to 15° east.
3. Peace be upon him—a salutation said and written by Muslims after mention of his name.
4. Quotations from the Qur'an are taken from the translation of Muhammad Abdel Haleem.
5. The dichotomy of secular subjects and religious subjects in Islamic schools is a myth that has been made to be believed as truth. A deception had cost Muslim societies severely and underdeveloped them.

References

Abdel, Haleem. 2004. *The Qur'an: A New Translation*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Abdullah, Abdul-Rahman Salih. 1982. *Education Theory: A Qur'anic Outlook*. Makkah: Umm al-Qurāʾ University.

Abu Bakr, ʿAlī. 1972. *Al-Thaqāfa al-ʿarabiyya fī Nayjīriya min 1750 ilā 1960*. Beirut: Abd al-Ḥafīẓ al-Bassāṭ.

Ali, Said Ismail. 1991. "Ijtimaʿiyya al-Maʿrifa fi al-Tarbiya al-Islamiyya, Bina' Nazariyya Tarbawiyya Islamiyya Muʿasira Buhuth Mu'tamar Nahwa Bina'." *Nazariyya Tarbawiyya Islamiyya Muʿāṣira*, vol. 2. Amman: al-Sharka al-Jadida.

Bertram, Collin Scott. 2012. "Individualism in Education Reform." Unpublished master's thesis, University of Michigan. https://commons.emich.edu/theses/430.

Clarke, Peter B. 1982. *West Africa and Islam*. London: Edward Arnold.

Galadanci, Aḥmad Shaykhu. 1974. *Ḥarakat al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya fī Nayjīriya min sana 1804 ilā sana 1966*. Cairo: Jāmiʿat al-Qāhira.

Ghazālī, Abū Ḥamid al. 1109. *Al-Muṣṭaṣfā min ʿilm al-uṣūl/The Essentials of Islamic Legal Theory*. Madinah: Sharka al-Madīna al-Munawwara.

Hiskett, Mervyn. 1984. *The Development of Islam in West Africa*. London: Longman. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/266422174_British_colonial_education_policy_in_Africa.

Hunwick, Jon. 1997. "The Arabic Literary Tradition of Nigeria." *Research in African Literature* 28 (3): 210–224.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh. 2007. *Riḥlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir wa Dār Bayrūt.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr. 1999. *Iʿlām al-muwaqqiʿīn*. Beirut: Dār al Kutub al ʿIlmiyya.

Iddrissu, A. 2002. "Between Islamic and Western Secular Education in Ghana: A Progressive Integration Approach." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 22 (2): 335–350. https://doi.org/10.1080/1360200022000027302.

Khalīl, ʿImād al-Dīn. 1975. "Al-Tafsīr al-islāmī li al-tarīkh." *Majalla al-Muslim al-Muʿāṣir*.

Khlafu al-Lah, Muhammad. 1974. *al-Qur'an wa al-Thawra al-Thaqa>fiyya*. al-Qahira: Dar al-Anjulu al-Misriyya.

Mart, Çağrı Tuğrul. 2011. British Colonial Education Policy in Africa Progressive Integration Approach. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 22 (2): 192.

Rodney, Walter. 1974. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press.

Sanu, Qutb Mustafa. 1998. *al-Nuzum al-taʿlīmīyah al-wāfidah fī Afrīqiyā: qirāʾah fī al-badīl al-ḥaḍārī*. al-Dawḥah: Wizārat al-Awqāf wa-al-Shu'ūn al-Islāmīyah.

Sarhan, al-Dimirdash ʿAbd al-Hamid, and Munir Kamil. 1991. المناهج *Curriculum*. Qāhira: Maktaba al-Nasr.

USAID/Ghana. 2007. Islamic Education Sector, Ghana, October 1.

Wikipedia. 2018. "Education." Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Education#cite_note-ICESCR-art13.1-2. Accessed 27 October 2018.

Zabādiyya, ʿAbd al-Qādir. n.d. *Dawlat sunghāy fī ʿahd al-askīn*. Algiers: Al-Sharika al-Waṭaniyya li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ.

African *Ajami*: The Case of Senegal

Mamadou Youry Sall

Introduction

We often refer to the Arabic language as the one which is used to write the Qur'an. It is also called the pure Arabic version (Fus'ha). Therefore, all others are considered as derived (dialects) from it. But in absolute terms, we should consider the Qur'anic declination of this language as a stage in its evolution (Ramzi 2013, 19–48). It should be recalled that the earliest historical sources relating to the social group qualified as Arabic date back to the year 853 before the Christ. This group was generally made up of nomads who lived in the Syro-Mesopotamian desert and northwestern Arabia (Rodinson 2010). Their geographical range stretched before Islam in the Fertile Crescent, from Egypt to Palestine and to the Persian Gulf, and also to southern Arabia. In southern Arabia, there were other ethnic groups of Semitic origin who had a language called South Arabian. From the fifth century BC, those ethnic groups were also established in Africa, around present-day Ethiopia (Rodinson 2010). However, nothing tells us that this group was distinguished from others by this language that would be called Arabic. But, in the Greek and Latin documents, we find, well afterward, indications of the Arabic language (Retso 2006, 131). Those indications are cited later in many texts, particularly the religious ones. As such, the Arabic language is quoted in the Qur'an eleven (11) times. This holy text is the only one in which the link of a religion with a given language is explicitly and definitively mentioned. In the first inscriptions that have been found, one could not differentiate the so-called Arabic language from the others spoken by the southern Semitic group; specially the two southern and Arabic branches (see Fig. 25.1).

M. Y. Sall (✉)
Université Gaston Berger, Saint-Louis, Senegal

545
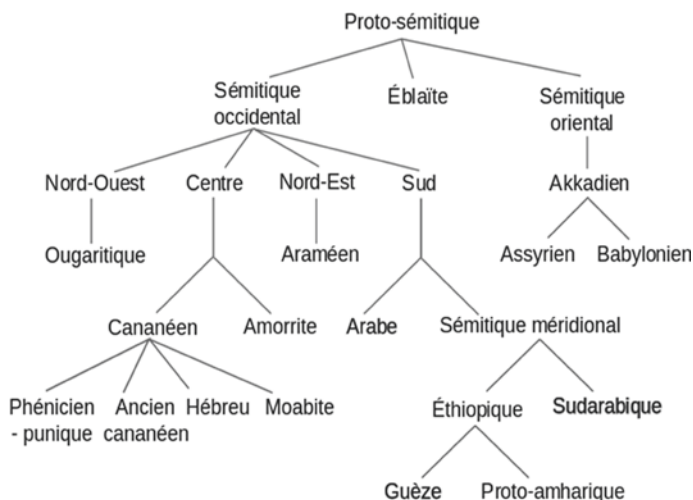
Fig. 25.1 Tree of semitic Languages (*Source* Wikipedia https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:Arbre_des_langues_s%C3%A9mitiques.svg)

The first text (Jaussen and Savignac 1997, 172–176) closer to the current Arabic language, in terms of syntax and semantics, dates from the year 267 AD. Its writing is more like Nabatean one than Syriac, both born from Aramaic, characterized by its 28 letters, and which is itself derived from Phoenician writing (Bellamy 1989, 91–102). This so-called Arabic script was also used in Syria and Iraq to facilitate the teaching of the Christian religion to the Arabs in the desert (Robin 2010, 118–131). But it was not the sole writing: others were in use in Arabia around the Red Sea.

Arab Writing in Africa

The Sudarabic language and writing were well used in East Africa (see Ba'labakky 2013). If we know that the Ethiopian kingdom of Axum had conquered (Rodinson 2005, 595), at a certain moment, vast areas of South Arabia, we understand well the linguistic osmosis which could take place between the Arabs and Africans. It should be noted, however, that the Ethiopian writing, named Geza, is not derived from the South-Arabic, but from the Cursive which is at the origin of the proto-Arabic writings. Documents dating from the first century of the Christian era attest this reality (Rodinson 2005, 594).

In any case, let us remember that the codification of the Arabic language remained variable until the advent of Islam. It was with the version of the third Khalif, Ousmane Ben Affaan, that the normalization of writing was started in order to standardize the reading of the Qur'an. This is why the Arabic of the Book is called Fus'ha (Pure). It has become the reference in written or oral expression, and thereafter universal and well disseminated in the world.

The Expansion Factors of the Arabic Language

To understand the determinants of the adoption of Arabic writing in foreign countries, it seems necessary to examine the main factors that contributed to the spread of Arabic as both a language and a writing.

(a) *Geographical Factor*

As the populations of Arabia are mostly nomads, their language was first spread by direct contact with the surrounding territories. It has spread since the fifth century BC in Palestine, Iraq, Lebanon, Iran, Egypt, and East Africa.

(b) *Geopolitical Factor*

The second diffusion factor of Arabic is rather political. Indeed, the decision of the third Khalif of Islam, Ousmane ibn Affaan (644c–656), to assemble the Qur'an was taken in order to standardize its reading; this helped normalize also its writing. Following him, the Umayyad Khalif, Abdel Malik ben Marwan (685c–705), established Arabic as the language in public services. Then the Arab poetry of the pre-Islamic period was transcribed at the same time. In addition, the company of translation of Indian or Greek cultural works was envisaged. Moreover, we can add the conquests of the Umayyad that have helped expand the area of influence of Arabs in Europe, Africa, and Asia.

(c) *Religious Factor*

The third factor is purely religious. It is the peaceful expansion of Islam that has resulted in the spread of Qur'anic language and writing.

Thus, Africa, which borders on Arabia, was well in its linguistic and cultural area.

The Arabic Language in West Africa

Islam has undoubtedly expanded the linguistic and cultural area of Arabia. And it is undeniable that the African continent, from East to West, was well and truly frequented by Arabized or Arabic-speaking populations. As Abdullah Ibn Hawqal (1872) mentions: "The traders left Iraq to Awdaghust in Western Sudan and crossed the roads with their children while trading. They came from Al-Basra and Al-Kufa" (42). Besides, Joseph Cuoq (1975) states, "People of Maghreb al Aqsaa travel to the city of Tekrur, capital of the kingdom. They carry there wool, copper, and glass, and bring back gold and slaves" (129).

With these trans-Saharan relations, it is very likely that the Arabic language has been known in West Africa since that time and would even be used as one

of the commercial languages. It is known that, Arabic was "lingua franca" in the urban centers of Arabia and the Maghreb.

To sum up, the Arabization of North Africa through trade, miscegenation, and Islam, thereafter, has reverberated on its neighbor West Africa. The Arabic language would be used in the polyglot malls of the Ghanaian empire. The active appropriation or adoption of the Arabic alphabet for the transcription of West African or Persian languages can only be explained by a certain proximity with Arabic speakers and a very long familiarity with that language. It is certain that in the Semitic (Near East) or Semitic (Persian) world, that part of Africa was well known. Indeed, we find some references to the continent in the Mesopotamian writings. Exploiting the Table of Peoples, seventh century BC, Flavius Joseph (1968, 18–19) states: "The son of Ham, Phute, also populated Libya and named these peoples Phuteens. There is still today in Mauritania a river which bears this name." Hence, Delafosse decided to identify the Peulhs of Africa with the Put or Phut mentioned in the Judeo-Christian texts: Genesis 10.6 and Choronic I.8. In Isaiah (LXVI, 19), it is noted, "The people of Foul among distant nations on the south and west side" (see Map 25.1). In addition to these sources, the choice of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) for the asylum of the first persecuted Muslims of Hijaaz also can be explained more by the familiarity than the proximity which existed between the populations of Arabia and Africa. Thus, the Arabization of these countries would be sometime before their Islamization; which is probability rarely envisaged. The integration of the Arabic language into the West African communication system is often seen as a consequence of Islamization.

Thus, the history of the presence of this language in West Africa would start from the second millennium. This would give a too short duration to borrow the spelling of a language, to rename it and to reuse it to transcribe other languages. Finally, the foregoing should not prevent us from asserting

Map 25.1 Countries that Utilize the Arabic Script (Map key: Black shading = Countries use as the sole official script are in Black shading; and Dark Gray shading = Countries use as a co-official script. *Source* https://en.wikipedia.org›wiki›Arabic_script)

that Islamization was a catalyst for the expansion of the Arabic language in rather distant countries (Kouloughli 2007). Indeed, every Islamized people necessarily becomes a user of its Qur'anic expression.

Codification of Senegalese Languages

Historical tradition attributes to the Phoenicians the invention, in the fifteenth century BC, of a graphic system corresponding to their system of language. The Latins and Arabs imitated them few years after. In European countries, where Latin was the first learned language and that of the Roman Church, the Phoenician alphabet remained in place. Societies in contact with Arab countries followed the same process of graphic language representation (see Map 25.2)

Most African languages were transcribed in Arabic characters long before the European invasion. They are qualified *Ajami* by Arabs to distinguish them with their proper language. Many manuscripts in *Ajami* have been discovered in Nigeria (Kanuri), since the eleventh century or thirteenth century (Sharawy 2015, 17). Even Afrikaans in South Africa was originally written in Arabic letters before being transcribed in Latin characters (Sharawy 2015, 26). The epic of Sundiata Keita, the founder of Mali empire (1230–1545) and, probably, the famous charter of Manden (Kouroukan Fouga) are, contrary to what is widespread, well preserved by the ajami writing, even if the Jelis (Griots) transmitted it to us orally. Camara Seydou (1996) states:

> We hold a written text on the history of the Manden, but this text is held in the greatest secrecy. Indeed, to prevent the story from getting lost, Siramori Balaba Jabate, griot of the king of Kaaba, went to a Chorea[1] of Kela and invited him to transcribe it. The work was done in the local language, Maninkakan, but with Arabic characters. Later, that is to say the next generation, Bintu Faama Jabate, son of Balaba, took the manuscript and had it copied in turn while his father was still alive. The first document still exists; it has not been damaged yet. (775–776)

In Senegal, as elsewhere, it is difficult to date the entry of the Arabic letters in the local communication. But, in relation to what happened in Europe with regard to the use of Latin script, one could say that the Arabic alphabet was adopted very early for the writing of Senegalese languages. The local symbolism inexorably linked to the learning of this code suggests that this adoption preceded that of religion. No sacredness was attached to these letters. So, they were requalified to give them a real value and, thus, a pedagogical potential.

In the Fulani language (Pulaar), for example, the *siin* letter is called *Sīn ñiikoŋne* (Siin with teeth), *haa*, at the beginning of a word, has become *haa toŋngu* (*haa* like hoe handle), *Shaad* is named *Saa reedu* (belly saa), and *hamza* designated *Tii gint* (see Table 25.1). Only few letters remained without local distinctiveness. In addition to grapheme adaptation, diacritization and combination of some letters are often used to support phonemes that do

Map 25.2   French West Africa Banknote 1922 (*Source* Banknote owned by Jamaine Abidogun, Editor. Photo by Jamaine Abidogun)

not exist in Arabic. Note that this punctualization of the Arabic alphabet has been imitated in other linguistic areas of West Africa.

When it is used to fix the Qur'an, this scripture becomes sacred. Therefore, languages with Arabic alphabet are often considered as ones of Islam. In Fuuta Jalon and Sokoto first, then in Fuuta Tooro, the desire to emancipate Pulaar as the language of Islam was not unrelated to the expansion of the *Ajami* (see Tables 25.2 and 25.3). The learners in Senegal did use this scripture to transmit the Islam precepts to the masses and to make the recommendations of this religion available for the literate in Arabic, that is to all those who can read the Qur'an. The oldest written sources in the history

Table 25.1 Pulaar Fulfulde Names Arabic Letters

Arabic letter	Name in Arabic	Designation in Pulaar	Meaning
ء	*hamza*	*Tii ginte*[a]	Miniaturised letter
ا	*ʾalif*	*Alif tayɗo*	*Cutting-**Alif***
ب ـب	*bāʾ*	*baa joorɗo ;* *Jubur baa*	*Dry (Isolated)-**baa*** *Top-**Baa***
ت ـت	*tāʾ*	*Taa joorɗo ;* *Jubur Taa*	*Dry (Isolated)-**Taa*** *Top-**Taa-***
ث	*shāʾ*	*suun enndu*	*Breast-**Suun***
جـ	*Ǧīm*	*Jaa toŋngu*	***Jaa**-hoe*
حـ حـ ح	*ḥāʾ*	*ḥaa toŋngu ;* *ḥaa cewɗo ;* *ḥaa piccuɗo*	***Haa**-hoe* *acute **Haa*** *Thrown haa*
خـ خـ خ	*khāʾ*	*khāʾ toŋngu* *khāʾ cewɗo* *khāʾ piccuɗo*	***Khāʾ**-hoe* *Acute- **Khāʾ*** *Thrown-**Khāʾ***
د	*Dāl*	*dael*	-----------
ذ	*ḏāl*	*zaa dael*	-----------
ر	*rāʾ*	*Arraa*	----------
ز	*Zāy*	*Zayyin*	--------
ســ س	*Sīn*	*Siin ñiikoñ ;* *Siin ara*	***Sīn**-small teeth* _____
ش	*Sīn*	*Siin toɓɓuɗo*	*dotted (raining) **Siin***
صـ	*ṣād*	*ṣaa reedu*	***ṣā**-belly*
ضـ	*ḍād*	*ḍaa reedu*	***ḍā**-belly*
ط	*ṭāʾ*	*ɗaa koyngal*	***ɗaa**-foot*
ظ	*ẓāʾ*	*ẓaa koyngal*	***ẓaa**-foot*
عـ عـ	*ʿayn*	*Ayn dariiɗo ;* *Ayn baaliiɗo*	***Ayn**-vertical* ***Ayn**-horizontal*
غـ غـ	*Gayn*	*ġayn dariiɗo ;* *ġayn baaliiɗo*	***Gayn**-vertical* ***Gayn**-horizontal*
فـ	*fāʾ*	*Faa toɓɓuɗo*	*dotted **faa***
قـ قـ	*Qāf*	*qaaf ara ;* *qaaf toɓɓuɗo*	----- *dotted **Qaaf***
ك	*Kāf*	*Keef*	-------
ل	*Lām*	*Laam ara*	-----
م	*Mīm*	*Miim ara*	
ن	*Nūn*	*Nuun ara*	
ىـ هـ	*hāʾ*	*Haa saqiiru* [*] ; *Haa mawɗo*	*small **Haa*** *great **Haa***
و	*Wāw*	*Wow ta yʾɗo*	*Cutting-Wow*
يـ ـيـ	*yāʾ*	*Yaanara ;* *Jubur yaa*	*Top-**yaa***
ة	*tāʾ marbūṭa*	*Taa saqiiru*	*Small **Taa***

[a]Soninke word meaning: something pressed, miniaturized
Source Table developed by Mamadou Y. Sall. *Data source* Wiktionary
http://fr.wiktionary.org/wiki/%D9%83

Table 25.2   Pulaar Name of Arabic vowels

Vowel	Name in Arabic	Name in Pulaar
–	Fatha	Portal dow
/	Kasra	Portal les
o	Sukuun	Kowal
<	Dhamma	Tural

Source Table developed by Mamadou Y. Sall. *Data source* Wiktionary http://fr.wiktionary.org/wiki/%D9%83

Table 25.3   The New Pulaar letters

Letter	Pronunciation in Pulaar	Example
ٮٜ	P	Puccu (Horse)
ݝ	G	Galle (House)
ح٘	Y	Yiyal (Bone)
ݣ	Ŋ	kaŊŊe (Gold)

Source Table developed by Mamadou Y. Sall. *Data source* Wiktionary http://fr.wiktionary.org/wiki/%D9%83

of Senegal are in Arabic letters. The satires of the Almuɓɓe Ngay (Sall 2004, 201–221) or the thousands verses of Mamadou Aliou Thiam (Gaden 1967), Lamine Maabo Gisse (Gaden 1967), those of Mamadou Mahmoudou (Robinson 1982, 251–226) concerning Cheikhou Oumar Al Fuutiyyu, are written in Pulaar with the Arabic alphabet. Henri Gaden (1967), unlike Maurice Delafosse (1912, 377–380), Vincent Monteil (1964, 13), or Humery (2010) who have tried to minimize the interest of this material, was right when he invited Western African scholars to take into account *Ajami* writings to study the history of the country (Kane et al. 1994, 385–397). Later, Robinson followed him by showing the importance of written documents in *Ajami*. In the same way, Pathé Diagne (1981) demonstrated the importance of scriptural competence based on this writing system in Senegal. More recently, Cissé M. (2006) states: "According to the results of a survey we conducted in 2003, in Senegal, in rural areas in Diourbel (central region), Matam and Podor (northern regions), 75% of adults could read and write in Arabic script."

Finally, *Ajami* shifted from the medium of conservation and transmission reserved for the learned elite to a common means of communication. The colonizer understood that and decided to use that transcript to interact with the native authorities. During this time, the French colonial government even made coinage or banknotes with *Ajami* imprinted (Cisse 2006, 71).

The common adoption of *Ajami* frustrated the French Governor General of West Africa, William Ponty.

Colonial Constraints

The colonizer was worried, for the future of the French language in Senegal, by the use of Arabic to communicate with religious leaders and notables. The director of Muslim affairs in French West Africa, Paul Marty, revealed in his letter to the French Governor (May 8, 1911):

> Arabic only enters African countries with Muslim proselytism. It's for the black, the sacred language. To oblige, even indirectly, our citizens to learn it, to maintain with us official relations by using it, is therefore to encourage the propaganda of the followers of the Qur'an… It cannot be admitted that, through these scholars, our intentions, our orders, and the sentences of the courts are communicated to the interested.

Thus, Paul Marty (1914) suggested to the governor a strategy to block the dazzling development of *Ajami*:

> Today, in many parts of West Africa, the natives begin to use Arabic characters for their correspondence and writing. This widespread usage is found in the Senegalese Fouta, among the Peuls and in the Zinder military territory among the Hausa and Djerma…
>
> A considerable simplification would result from the popularization of the Latin alphabet for the transcription of black languages. We would thus provide the natives with the instrument of communication they lack and some will borrow from Arabic. (83–84)

In addition, not wanting to leave any parcel of land for expansion to the Indigenous school, Marty proposes the protection of areas not yet penetrated by the Arab-Muslim culture. These areas must be, whatever the cost, sheltered from all Oriental influence so that the French civilization reigns there without competition (Marty 1914):

> The Qur'anic school, which is at its place in Islamized country, which must be respected such as the mentality and tradition the Senegalese people created it, has nothing to do in a fetishistic country …
>
> In summary, both for the sake of public tranquility and for the purpose of reserving the fetishistic societies intact for the sole penetration of French civilization, it would be wise to temporarily prohibit the opening of Qur'anic schools in the cantons of Serer and in Casamance region. (81)

But all these strategies did not prevent the anchoring of the *Ajami* in Senegal. Until today, this writing is used for correspondence, advertising, public information, and other public media. It also serves as a communication mode in marketing and political propaganda. The *Ajami* is exploited in newspapers, bulletin boards, information boards, transit vehicles, or other public communication media.

Substitution Consequence of *Ajami* in Latin Characters

The codification of local languages in Arabic alphabet has imposed itself without any decree. It gave the mass of Senegalese graduates from the Classical School reading and writing ability, which would be difficult to acquire in Arabic. Under these conditions, a change in language code suddenly puts all these people back into illiteracy. The decision (Sénégal 1971) of the Senegalese State to promote the codification of local languages in the Roman alphabet only constitutes not solely an act leading to illiteracy, but also a questioning of the Senegalese history, of its scientific production, and the level of knowledge of its population. In addition to people who must return to school to become again literate, the access to written resources Senegal has become limited to only those who know Arabic. Because of this political will, the history of the country is often written with secondary sources. Thus, the well-known Senegalese scientist, Cheikh Anta Diop, never knew the thesis of the famous historian Sheikh Moussa Kamara about the Egyptian origin of Fuuta inhabitants (Moussa Kamara 2010, 137–138). Likewise, the poet of blackness, Senghor, could not exploit the work of the great Senegalese cleric Sheikh Ahmadou Bamba about the same theme. In other words, the new scholars, graduated from the official school, have some difficult to exploit the sources in Arabic characters. Thus, the various chronicles, stories, and event journals describing the march of the country are not transmitted to most of the people. To say that, the choice of the alphabet bequeathed by the Western colonizer in place of that borrowed from the Arabs has bad consequences. Since the writing of Senegalese languages in Latin characters is poorly shared, the development of literacy is slowed down, the history of the country is not well written, the school elite is not credible, cultural identity is badly determined, the scientific boom is leaded, et cetera. In addition, as noted, the official adoption of the Phoenician alphabet did not eliminate *Ajami*. And it is not obvious that the degree of appropriation of the new codification is much stronger than that of the old writing. The autochthonous literary production in French, begun in 1920 with Ahmadou Mapate Diagne's novel (Mapate Diagne 1920, 19), has not yet matched that produced in Arabized characters begun several centuries before. The cultural resilience, creativity, and taste for innovation that characterize the Arabic users are in no way comparable to the dispossessing skills that the educational system of the colonizer inoculates.

Conclusion

It is undeniable that Africa adopted Arabic scripts at least more than a millennium ago, whereas Senegal adopted it at least since the advent of Islam. In fact, this writing is well integrated into the local communication and education systems. People use it in their everyday life. It raised the educational

level of the population to a degree that exceeded that of Europeans in the mid-nineteenth century. Francis Moore (1738) states, "In every kingdom or territory bordering the Gambia River, the Pulaar speaking communities know how to use the Arabic language and are generally better trained in this language that is the European people in Latin" (30). This is confirmed by Roger Baron (1827), "We meet villages in which there are more Negroes, knowing how to read and write Arabic which is for them a classical and scholar language, than in many French campaigns where peasants who could read and write French are to be found" (355).

It is clear that this situation did not suit the colonizers who had set up a complete system in order to replace the culture they found for their own. Unfortunately, in independent Senegal, this situation disturbed also the assimilationists and promoters of openness who carried on with the project of Westernization. However, beyond that sad fact, it is important to underline the greatest harm caused to the Senegalese society by that cultural and scientific diversion, which constitutes the change of writing. In effect, the most important intellectual production and only reservoir of its past has remained a manuscript, not well preserved and without interest. Because of the negligence of current political leaders and the intellectuals, this mine of science and Indigenous knowledge may be lost.

It should be remembered that the deciphering of hieroglyphic writing has helped us to better know the great history of Egypt and to understand its ancient civilization. Even though this country has adopted another language and married another culture, its people as well as its authorities recognize the importance of this writing and its historical value. In the same way, the Persian, Urdu, Kurdish, and Turkish peoples, who, at one point in their history, used Arabic characters to write their languages, never neglected this heritage. Nowadays some of these peoples use the same script.

But in Africa, identity claims such as Negritude, Authenticity, the Renaissance, Bantuism, or Ethiopianism have brought to light the richness of African cultural expression, but they have never considered as worthy of interest the scientific production in African *Ajami*. But, recently the South African movement for highlighting the *African personality* shows its interest in these writings. So much so that the Presidents of Mali Alpha Omar Konaré and Thabo Mbeiki of South Africa sponsored a project for the study of "Islamic manuscript" to highlight the contribution of Africans in the cultural heritage of mankind over the centuries. The two Presidents succeed to take their project to the African Union which adopted it at the conference in Mozambique in 2003.

Sharawy (2015) reported that this project became one of the first cultural projects officially sponsored by the African Union (19–20). At the end, we must credit the great work of Helmi Sharawy who published in 2015, his 25 years of experiences investigating and writing in *Ajami* text. He introduces in the first part of his book, 16 manuscripts in different languages chosen across the continent from East to West; presented in Ajami text.

The foregoing, notably the History of Sundiata, pushes us to relativize the absolute distinction between societies with oral tradition and those with written tradition. Would African society, taken as a whole, be more oral than that of Europe? Would his written tradition be less entrenched?

Note

1. Chorfas plural of Cherif are the supposed descendants of the Prophet Muhammad.

References

AOF, Lettre du 8 mai 1911 du Gouverneur Général de l'Afrique Occidentale française aux lieutenant-gouverneurs des colonies, Archives nationales du Sénégal, sous série 19G2: Questions musulmanes, notes et correspondances.

Bellamy, James A. 1989. "The Arabic Alphabet." In *The Origins of Writing*, edited by M. Senner Wayne, 91–102. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Camara, Seydou. 1996. "La tradition orale en question." *Cahiers d'études africaines* 36 (144): 763–790.

Cissé, M. 2006. "Écrits et écriture en Afrique de l'Ouest." *Revue électronique internationale de sciences du langage*, Sudlangues, 6. www.sudlangues.sn.

Cuoq, Joseph M. 1975. *Recueil des sources arabes concernant l'Afrique occidentale du VIIIe au XVIe siècle (Bilaad al-Sudaan)*. Paris: CNRS.

Delafosse, Mauric. 1912. *Haut-Sénégal-Niger*, 3 vols. Paris.

Diagne. P. 1981. "Transcription and Harmonization of African Languages in Senegal." African Languages, Proceedings of the Meeting of Experts on the Transcription and Harmonization of African Languages, Paris, UNESCO.

Fonds Gaden, Cahier 16, IFAN, UCAD, 249 vers.

Fonds Gaden, Cahier 19, IFAN, UCAD, 1185 vers.

Gaden, Henri. 1967. *Le Poular, dialecte peul du Fouta Sénégalais*. Westmead, Farnborough: Gregg International Publisher Limited.

Histoire naturelle, V. 13, Belles Lettres, 1ère partie (trad. J. Desanges), 132, note 3.

Humery, Marie-Eve. 2010. "L'écriture 'ajami en pulaar au Fuuta Tooro (Sénégal/Mauritanie): une littérature délibérément restreinte." *Sociétés politiques comparée* 30: 1–26.

Ibn Hawqal, Abdallah. 1872. *Al Masalik Wa al Mamaalik*. Berlin.

Jaussen, Antonin, and Raphael Savignac. 1997. *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, 5 vols. (Paris: Ernest Leroux and Paul Geutner, 1909–1922, Reprint; Caire: institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1997), vol. I, 172–176.

Joseph, Flavius. 1968. *Histoire ancienne des Juifs/Ancient History of the Jews*. Translated by A. d'Andilly and J. A. Bouchon.

Kane, M., S. F. Diallo, D. Robinson. 1994. "Une vision iconoclaste de la guerre sainte d'Al Hajj Umar Taal." *cahiers d'études africaines* 133–135: XXXIV-1-3.

Kouloughli, Djamel. 2007. "L'expansion de l'arabe hors de son territoire d'origine." The " Migrations ", Atelier ESF: OMLL; Porquerolles - France, du 5 au 7 septembre.

Mapaté Diagne, Ahmadou. 1920. *Les trois volontés de Malick*. Paris: Larousse.

Marty, Paul. 1914. *La medersa de Saint-Louis*. Paris: Ernest Leroux.

Monteil, Vincent. 1964. *L'Islam noir*. Paris: Seuil.

Moore, Francis. 1738. *Travels into the Inland of Africa*. London: Edgar Cave.

Moussa Kamara. 2010. *Zouhuur al Basaatiin**. Edition Koweitienne, présenté, analysé et commenté par Naasir al diin Sa'duuniy et Mouaawiyat Sa'duuniy.

Ramzi, Mounir Ba'labakky. 2013. "L'identité du Fus'ha (l'arabe originelle ou pure)." Langue et identité dans le monde arabe, 19–48. Actes de colloque, Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies, Beyrouth, Liban.

Retso. 2006. "The Arab in Antiquity." In *Encyclopedia in Arabic Language and Linguistics*, vol. I, 591. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Robin, Christian. 2010. "Langues et écritures." In *Routes d'Arabie, Archéologie et histoire du royaume d'Arabie saoudite*, 118–131. Paris: Louvre/Somogy.

Robinson, D. 1982. "Fulfulde Literature in Arabic Script." *History in Africa* 9: 251–261.

Rodinson, Maxime. 2005. "Les écritures sudarabiques et éthiopiennes." In *Histoire et art de l'écriture*. Paris: Robert Laffont.

Rodinson, Maxime, 2010. *Routes d'Arabie. Archéologie et histoire du royaume d'Arabie saoudite*. Paris: Louvre/Somogy.

Roger, Baron. 1827. "Notice sur le gouvernement, les mœurs et les superstitions des nègres du pays Waalo." In *Bulletin de la société de géographie*, n° 56, T.VIII.

Sall, I. A. 2004. " Licence verbale et mouvements contestataires chez les Haal pula-reebhe du Fuuta Tooro. Almudaagal ngay et Cooloyaagal." *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*.

Sénégal. 1971. Décret n° 71–566 du 21 mai 1971 fixant la transcription des six langues nationale: le Wolof, le peul, le sérère, le mandingue, le soninke et le diola.

Sharawy, Helmi. 2015. *In Search of African Identity in the manuscripts in Arabic letter (Ajami)*. Mali: Afro Arab cultural Institute.

Muslim Education Policies and Epistemologies in African Tertiary Education

Bakheit Mohammed Nur

Introduction

African Muslim societies produce and disseminate Islamic knowledge in different ways. For example, traditional African Muslims, unaffiliated with religious organizations, approach Islamic knowledge phenomenologically, emphasizing its role in self-awareness and the cultivation of faith. For these communities, knowledge is a means by which individual Muslims understand themselves and their places in society and in wider humanity. Sufis, however, approach knowledge mystically, seeking insight into ultimate or hidden truths. They see knowledge as a light that is illuminating one's path, providing spiritual guidance and engendering faith in the hearts of believers. In contrast, Islamists approach Islamic knowledge intellectually, focusing on its theoretical dimensions, especially jurisprudence, exegesis, and theology. Islamists use this body of Islamic knowledge to support their political ideology and to advocate for societal change. Salafism, a more recent radical Islamic school of thought and practice, also approaches Islamic knowledge intellectually. However, Salafis aim to purify the doctrine by returning to traditions of the Prophet Muhammed. In this chapter, I discuss how these different approaches interact and compete with one another, examining educational policies, pedagogical practices, and epistemologies and relating them to indigenous knowledge production and transmission. This discussion entails both the context of Muslim tertiary education in Sudan and throughout a wider framework of tertiary Islamic education in Africa.

B. M. Nur (✉)
Institute of African and Asian Studies, University of Khartoum, Khartoum, Sudan

559

Sudan is a majority Muslim country with a small minority of Christians and adherents to traditional African religions. Official government statistics indicate that Muslims comprise about 97% of the country's population, Christians 1.5%, and adherents to traditional African religions 1.5%. Here, I focus on Muslims, specifically on their learning epistemologies and methodologies. Among and between Muslim societies, however, there exists a variety of beliefs, practices, ideologies, social structures, and cultural values, sustained by a wide array of sociocultural experiences (Manger 2002). As a result, while Muslims express their commitment to Islam broadly through key scriptural texts and sources, mainly the Qur'an, *Hadîth* (sayings of the Prophet Muhammed), *ijmaʿ* (juristic consensus), and *qiyâs* (reasoning by analogy), they consult, study, interpret, and apply each of these texts to varying degrees. Any examination of Muslim society must consider the ideological, methodological, and epistemological contexts that inform Islamic education. In Sudan, there are four main Islamic schools of thought and practice that produce and transmit Islamic knowledge: traditionalism, Sufism, Islamism, and Salafism. In this chapter, I compare each movement and examine their philosophies, epistemologies, and methodologies.

TRADITIONALISM

Islamic traditionalism emerged in the thirteenth century and emphasizes the memorization of the Qur'an (Mukhtar 2010). This study focuses on esoteric science and "mnemonology" (Worthen and Hunt 2011), sub-disciplines of Qur'anic science. Esoteric science deals with the special qualities of Qur'anic verses and their usage in the preparation of amulets and holy water. Mnemonology tackles the mnemonic codes that students and *fuqarâ* compose and employ to help them memorize and remember Qur'anic verses. One who has mastered memorization of the Qur'an and its related knowledge receives the esteemed title *fakî* (pl. *fuqarâ*). In order to achieve this status, students can spend more than ten years in Qur'anic schools. Traditionalist Qur'anic learning is personal and individual; each student progresses at his or her own pace. Because *fuqarâ* are not affiliated with specific religious organizations, they do not share a uniform ideology. Religious immigrants who introduced Islam to Sudan slowly assimilated into the local culture, marrying local women and adopting local languages and lifestyles over the course of generations (O'Fahey 1980; Osman 2011). Thus, the *fuqarâ* are products of this historical assimilation, which integrated local culture with Islamic values.

Islamic traditionalism is rooted in the idea that Qur'anic knowledge is fundamental to developing self-awareness and cultivating faith. In this context, Moosa explains that "knowledge is the path, the connection or the relationship by which human beings understand themselves and their place in the world" (Moosa 2015, 186–187). He associates knowledge with embodiment, explaining that knowledge becomes a source of virtue when connected to

action. In other words, knowledge benefits individuals when it is implemented. In this sense, people acquire knowledge in order to behave in a way that is deemed religiously appropriate. As a result, Islamic traditionalism considers moral discipline, self-cultivation, and ethical instruction to be somatic features of knowledge. It is through these processes that "knowledge inhabits bodies, becomes internal to bodies, and finally bends bodies to the rhythms of learning, which is the desideratum of [Qur'anic school] education" (ibid., 188). On the relationship between knowledge and faith, Moosa articulates that knowledge paves the way to God: "The acquisition of knowledge leavens the quest for faith and deepens one's participation in a desirable and prescribed moral life." Thus, "knowledge is a process; it begins with learning and ends in laudable deeds" (ibid., 194), transforming personal character.

Existing scholarship on the sociology of knowledge and cognitive anthropology sheds light on how these Islamic scholars view self-cultivation and knowledge embodiment. Scheper-Hughes and Lock conceptualize the body as a physical and symbolic artefact that is both naturally and culturally produced (Scheper-Hughes and Lock 1987). Phenomenologically, Csordas argues, "the body is not an object to be studied in relation to culture but is to be considered as the subject of culture, or in other words as the existential ground of culture" (Csordas 1990, 5). In this sense, the body transcends the duality of object and subject because it involves both perception and practice (Strathern 1996). Thus, embodiment is the process of objectification or the application of an abstract social value, such as honor or bravery, to the body. As Strathern states, "embodiment thus has to do with values that in some ways are also disembodied or may be thought of separately from the body itself" (Strathern 1996, 195). In the context of traditional schools, Qur'anic memorization facilitates the physical presence of the holy text in the body. Ware III illustrates this point, arguing that memorization is a means for embodiment because it facilitates the personal possession of knowledge in the body (Ware III 2014, 49). Thus, the act of memorization physically internalizes the Qur'an within the human body.

According to traditional Islamic epistemology, the body is composed of *al-rôh* (spirit), *al-zât* (soul), *al-nafs* (self), and *al-gharîza* (instinct). Etymologically, the word *al-rôh* (spirit) means "breath" and is understood to infuse the human body with vitality. When *fuqarâ* speak about spiritual energy or spirituality, they are referring not to morality or religiosity but to a phenomenon rooted in breath. In this sense, the spirit is believed to operate the human body. Adherents to Islamic traditionalism believe that, during death, the spirit leaves the body, rendering it unable to function. However, while death is thought to be an annihilation of the corporeal body, the spirit is thought to be immortal. According to this belief, the spirit is what brings the soul (*al-zât*) to the hereafter. The soul, in turn, is not the physical person but the symbolized person—that is, the ego or the persona. Philosophically, *al-nafs* (the self) has a character different from that of the physiological

organism. George Herbert Mead describes the self as "something which has a development; it is not initially there, at birth, but arises in the process of social experience and activity, that is, develops in the given individual as a result of his relations to that process as a whole and to other individuals within that process" (Mead 1934, 135). Thus, the self is believed to arise from a process of social experience and transformation. Islamic traditionalism also sees physical dimensions in its interpretation of *al-gharîza* (instinct), or the way human beings naturally behave, act, and react without prior learning or consideration. For example, a newborn baby knows instinctively how to suckle his/her mother's breast.

In Islamic traditionalism, Qur'anic memorization is used methodologically to cultivate and transform the self. As part of this process, students use home-made pens to write Qur'anic passages on wooden tablets. The pens are made of stalks, and their ink derives from soot. These classical tools are emblematic features of traditional style of Islamic education among practitioners of this school of thought. As Launay argues, these writing tools pedagogically "typify the centuries-old classical system of Qur'anic education" in many African Muslim communities (Launay 2016, 1). Ordinary people describe *fuqarâ* as ascetic, pious, religious, and humble persons, traits thought to be acquired or developed through Qur'anic education. Sudanese Islamic traditionalists see a correlation between religiosity, self-effacement, and Qur'anic learning. They believe that the more a person acquires Qur'anic knowledge, the more human he becomes. Qur'anic knowledge is believed to unify the divided faculties of the self by cleansing them of selfishness, resentment, and cupidity.

Fuqarâ, however, do not distinguish between themselves and ordinary people, physically or philosophically. As Mukhtar states, the *fuqarâ* see themselves as concerned and committed community members. They identify with the masses among whom they live and work, are characteristically tolerant of behaviors thought to be incompatible with their beliefs, and co-exist with others who are piously different (Mukhtar 2010, 162). The *fuqarâ* rigorously observe religious prohibitions, but they never preach against what they see as others' wrongdoings. According to their understanding of Islam, everyone is accountable to God for his or her adherence to the religion.

With a physical approach to learning, the *fuqarâ* perceive knowledge to be located in the head. Within this school of thought, there are two broad categorizations of knowledge: *'ilm* and *ma'rifa*. The first term translates to "knowledge" and refers to religious thoughts, including memorized passages of the Qur'an. The second term means "cognition" and refers to the acquisition of secular thoughts through a logical process. As for disciplinary specialization, the *fuqarâ* believe that knowledge is the domain of religious specialists while cognition is the field of secular scholars. According to the learning epistemology of traditionalism, the retention of Qur'anic knowledge among the *fuqarâ* is as important as its acquisition. One who memorizes the entire Qur'an receives the title *fakî*, but the *fakî* must retain this

memorization in order to keep the title. For this reason, the *fuqarâ* do not issue certificates in their schools believing that certificates usually do not show exact capability of a person's Qur'anic knowledge. Furthermore, while the certificate remains fixed, the *fakî*'s knowledge is dynamic, which creates social mobility within "the communities of practice" (Wenger 1998). Alternatively, students and *fuqarâ* evaluate and cross-examine one another through recitation to ascertain each other's skill. In other words, the success is pedagogically measured by the ability to recite from memory. Qur'anic memorization and retention are the benchmarks used to determine one's qualifications for religious titles and leadership positions.

This Islamic way of learning seems to have been influenced by an indigenous emphasis on personal motivation and academic progress. Traditionalism is a predominant Islamic learning trend in western Sudan, especially in rural areas. In central Sudan, however, over time, traditionalism has given way to another popular movement: Sufism.

Sufism

Sufism is a form of Islamic mysticism that connotes the idea of "becoming with God." It relies on ecstasy—or an altered state of consciousness—to deliver religious or spiritual meaning. Sufism embraces an inward dimension of Islam that yields insight into ultimate or hidden truths. Initially, many Sudanese communities welcomed Sufism for its tolerance and for the humbleness of its leaders. Locals embraced Sufi practices and incorporated them into their own experiences. At the same time, local customs were gradually absorbed by Sufi culture. This mutual assimilation reveals the adaptability of both Sufism and local society to each other. For this reason, some scholars characterize Sufi Islam as "indigenous Islam" or "popular Islam" (see, for example, Ibrahim 1989). Others (Mukhtar 2010; Trimingham 1965) trace the success of Sufism in Sudanese societies to the intermediary role that Sufi leaders claim to play between God and ordinary people. Sufi culture spread and dominated the religious domain in Sudan between the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries.

Sufis view knowledge metaphorically as a light that illuminates life's path and provides spiritual guidance, contrasted with the darkness of ignorance (Rosenthal 2007). As Seesemann explains, mystical knowledge is acquired through spiritual training in which disciples cleanse themselves of the desire believed to keep God at bay. This training culminates in the temporary annihilation of the self in preparation for an "experiential knowledge of God" (Seesemann 2011, 71). This knowledge is experiential in that disciples not only acquire theoretical ideas but also translate them into action.

Sufis believe that every individual has an inner self that, when cleansed by spiritual training, elevates a person spiritually. The purpose of such purification is to assure that the body follows God's command and the Sufi

spiritual path. In a Cartesian sense, an individual's actions are categorized as *zâhir* (manifest or apparent), whereas the intentions behind those actions are classified as *bâtin* (hidden, inner, or inward). Furthermore, knowledge is dualistically categorized into *'ilm al-Zâhir* (manifest knowledge) and *'ilm al-Bâtin* (hidden knowledge). Sufi hermeneutic interpretations of Islam maintain that the Qur'an has a manifest meaning as well as an underlying esoteric meaning. The manifest meaning is believed to be understood by literates who may lack spiritual training. However, the hidden esoteric meaning is perceived to be interpreted only by prominent Sufi leaders who have acquired immense esoteric knowledge and undergone thorough spiritual training. In this sense, the main aim of the hidden knowledge is to enable Sufis to comprehend the inner dimension of religion. Thus, Sufis believe that symbols reveal deep truths about the cosmological order of reality that sense and logic cannot comprehend.

Moreover, according to Sufi tradition, knowledge and leadership positions are inextricably associated with genealogy (Karrar 1992; McHugh 1994; Seesemann 2011; Trimingham 1965; Warburg 2003). In this socioreligious context, ritual practices, doctrines, and institutions are controlled by certain lineages, whose members claim to possess a divine grace (*baraka*). As a result, family members claim to serve as intermediaries between God and ordinary people and are thus deemed qualified to lead the order. Unlike Islamic traditionalism, which develops a hierarchy based on Islamic knowledge, Sufism ascribes power to certain individuals within privileged families, who dominate the performance of religious activities and the leadership of religious positions within Sufi orders. Like traditionalism, Sufism emphasizes the embodiment of knowledge, situating it in one's mind and heart. Sufis also locate knowledge in an individual's library, measuring success by the ability to perform Qur'anic recitation from memory. Furthermore, Sufism also categorizes knowledge dualistically, believing it to be either religious or secular and associating itself with the former.

Sufism is a predominant socioreligious phenomenon in urban Sudan. However, in Kordofan, Riverain, and eastern Sudan, Sufism is prevalent in both urban and rural settings and shapes the religious culture of both individuals and society. It is important to note here that Sufism is not a unified institution with a singular set of Islamic beliefs and practices but rather a pluralistic institution that incorporates diverse rituals. Within Sufism, different Sufi sects (*turuq*) espouse their own set of ritual practices and institutions. In Sudan, the most popular Sufi sects are *al-Qâdiriyya*, *al-Sammâniyya*, *al-Shâziliyya*, *al-Tijjâniyya*, and *al-Khatmiyya*. Each of these orders has *zâwiya* (lodges) where members of the order meet to perform prayers and practices. One important practice performed in the lodges is *al-Zikr* (literally means "mentioning"), which is a devotional act in which Sufis repeatedly recite short prayers and phrases glorifying God and praising Sufi leaders. The most important religious symbols for Sufis, in addition to mosques, are tombs of saints, which followers often visit for blessing and healing purposes.

Many Islamic educational institutions arose from Sufism (see Eid 1985; Karrar 1992; El-Tom 1983), especially in places where Sufi culture is predominant. Teachers in these institutions are often Sufi leaders who establish schools within their *zâwiya*, where students are accommodated and taught. Students live in hostels built by the Sufi orders, and their living expenses are covered by sheikhs who solicit funding from Islamic charity organizations and governmental institutions. Students call these teachers *sheikhs* (saints), which, in this context, denotes not only the teacher's provision of Qur'anic teaching, but also his spiritual authority (Eid 1985, 339) and intermediation with God. The three essential components of Islamic learning in these areas of Sudan are the Qur'an, theology, and the Sufi spiritual path, and students are sometimes categorized accordingly. The curriculum of these schools includes Qur'anic memorization, theological subjects such as jurisprudence, the Islamic creed, exegesis, Sufi poetry, pamphlets, Arabic grammar, and rhetoric. To teach Qur'anic memorization, teachers follow the *ḥafṣ* version (*riwâya*) of recitation, widespread throughout the Middle East and North Africa (see Nur 2017, 89). In the process of learning, Sufis, like their traditionalist brethren, use the classical pedagogical tools of wooden boards, homemade ink, and pens made of local stalks. Sufi disciples employ these tools in epistemic practices like writing and memorizing.

Throughout history, Sufi and traditional Islamic learning institutions were not isolated but were in a close contact with other Islamic learning centers across the Middle East and North Africa. Students from both schools of practice traveled to these centers for further Islamic education. In the 1950s, many students who traveled to Egypt, especially to study at al-Azhar University, were influenced by the Muslim Brotherhood, an Egyptian Islamic organization that advocates for a political system guided by the principles of Islamic law. The teachings of this branch of Islam eventually made their way back to Sudan and soon gave birth to Islamism in the country (El-Affendi 1991).

Islamism

Islamists believe that public and political life should be guided by Islamic principles and usually call for the implementation of *shari'a* in Sudanese society. They are intolerant and fundamentalist. When they assumed power in Sudan in 1989, Islamists took explicit and substantial measures to increase the ideological influence of a particular form of Islam (Seesemann 1999). Since then, Sudan has been ruled by this religiously inspired political system. Over the years, the movement has undergone a series of transformations, alliances, and collaborations. Until 1964, the Muslim Brotherhood served as the movement's first organization. The movement then continued with the Islamic Charter Front (1964–1969), and then the National Islamic Front (1985–1989), the National Congress (1999–present), and the Popular Congress (2000–present) (see Gallab 2008, 9). Islamists see Islam as a political

ideology as much as a religion. In scholarly terms, this kind of movement is called "Islamism" (Roy 1994) precisely because it considers Islam to be a political ideology and a set of governing principles.

In the "Islamic political imagination" (Roy 1994) of this group, for whom there is no separation between religion and politics, Islam is conceived of not only as a political system, but as the entire foundation for the polity's economic, social, legal, and educational development. Supporters of this Islamo-political regime actively engage with wider society to propagate their Islamic ideology and transform Sudanese society into a truly "ideal" model of Islamic governance.

Within the epistemic framework of this ideology, a narrow interpretation of Qur'anic knowledge is taken to be the fundamental ideological core of a "righteous" Islamic society—the indispensable foundation upon which such a society could be constructed. This knowledge is selective in that it incorporates Qur'anic chapters and verses that deal specifically with loyalty, jihad, and governance. The Islamists intentionally utilize these particular tenets of Qur'anic knowledge to support their government's ideology. Via social reform, the Islamic regime in Sudan advocates what it considers proper Islamic values. Islamists have implemented several policy measures aimed at enhancing religious commitment and social morality. These measures include intensive faith-based media programs, the extensive construction of new mosques, and the establishment of places of prayer in all government buildings, educational institutions, and other public venues (Nur 2017; Seesemann 1999; Sidahmed 2011). Again, the Islamists' motive behind the construction and reconfiguration of religious infrastructure is to transform Sudanese society into a model of Islamic civilization, where people live in accordance with the regulations and teachings of their interpretation of Islam.

In Sudan, Islamists consider the Arabization and Islamization of the country's educational system a key component of achieving their Islamo-political vision. As a result, they have taken significant steps to reconfigure educational policy in accordance with their fight against "Western values." For example, they (re)appropriate science and technology by injecting it with their particular Islamic ideology and epistemic orientation. Moreover, Islamists have begun to establish new learning institutions that promote political Islamic education and offer ideological training to those working in religious and governmental institutions. The most prominent among these institutions are the University of the Holy Qur'an and Islamic Sciences (UHQIS), Omdurman Islamic University (OIU), and the International University of Africa (IUA). These three universities are fundamentally oriented toward Islamic studies; while they offer programs in other fields of study, such as medicine, economics, agriculture, and engineering, they teach them from an Islamic perspective. Some of these universities have branches in regional states to ensure wide accessibility (Nur 2017). This massive expansion of religiously oriented higher education is accompanied by changes in educational

policy that organize the curricula, pedagogy, and enrollment of students in Islam-oriented universities.

The pedagogical tools used in education practices in Islamist learning institutions are different from those of traditionalist and Sufi institutions. Islamist educators adopt blackboards, notebooks, computers, projectors, and other modern educational apparatuses in an attempt to modernize Islamic education. Thus, classical tools such as wooden tablet, homemade ink, and stalk pens are regarded as backward and outdated. From an Islamist point of view, the adoption of this technology represents a pedagogical advancement (see Launay 2016), resulting in epistemic practices moving away from traditionalism and Sufism toward intellectualism. Thus, Islamists do not emphasize memorization of the whole Qur'an but rather its hermeneutic understanding. Since they approach Islamic knowledge intellectually, Islamists measure success in their learning institutions not by recitation but by written examinations and certificates. Unlike traditionalism and Sufism, which approach knowledge bodily, Islamism disembodies knowledge and deposits it in a library, which usually contains a wide spectrum of Islamic literature.

Islamist learning institutions do not simply serve as alternatives to traditional and Sufi-oriented Islamic education; they also question the legitimacy of Sufi brotherhoods and esoteric sciences and practices. Their proponents therefore claim epistemological rationalism and pedagogical modernity. Scholarship on Islamism as a political ideology is largely intertwined with sociological investigations into either terrorism around the globe or sociopolitical upheaval in Islamic majority countries (Abdelwahid 2008; Beck 1998; Burr and Collins 2009; El-Affendi 1991; Fluehr-Lobban 2012; Gallab 2008, 2014; Mamdani 2004; Roy 1994, 2004; Seesemann 2005; Sidahmed 1997, 2011; Warburg 1990). As a result, there exists an epistemic vacuum regarding the orientations and foundations of Islamism, as well as the ways and means by which it is transmitted and (re)produced. In this chapter, I argue that the popularization of Islamist epistemology and the recruitment of new protagonists occur mainly in Islam-oriented universities.

At the outset, Sudan's Islamic regime implemented new laws and regulations to support Qur'anic education. For example, it passed a decree exempting those who memorize the Qur'an from paying university tuition fees. Furthermore, the Islamic regime also Arabized and Islamized the curriculum, adding Qur'anic and Islamist subjects. Islamists refer to this multi-dimensional process as the "Islamization of knowledge," which is intended to reconstruct Muslim thought and counter Western influence. For Islamists, as Halstead argues, the Islamization of knowledge is "a key process in countering the influence of western secularism and purging Muslim institutions of insidious western influences" (Halstead 2004, 521–522).

Islamist epistemology provides revelation as a main source of knowledge from which all other knowledge should be developed. Philosophically, Islamists combine the book of revelation (the Qur'an) with tenets of social

and natural sciences, arguing that there is a harmony between various forms of knowledge because they originate from one source. In this sense, all knowledge is inextricably interconnected with and reflected in one another. Therefore, one cannot adequately comprehend one form of knowledge in isolation from others. This is an epistemological attempt to dissolve dichotomies such as religious versus secular knowledge or social versus natural sciences that exist in academia. Building on the unity of God and the existence, Islamists believe that knowledge is one and comprehensive and cannot be compartmentalized. The International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT), one of the pioneering institutes working on Islamization of knowledge, states that:

> Whether the object of knowledge is the microcosm of the atom or the macrocosm of the stars, the depths of the self, the conduct of society, or the march of history, Islamic knowledge regards the object of knowledge as materially caused by the antecedent constituents of the situation whence that object preceded. The actual discharge of causality that brought about the object out of an infinity of other possibilities to which those same constituents might have led is the initiative of the Divine Being, issuing from the Divine Command. (IIIT 1989, 35)

In accordance with this epistemic belief, because objects are divinely caused to exist, knowledge about them is philosophically identified as an attribution of God.

The Islamists call their epistemic orientation and ideological education policy "*al-Mashru' al-Hadârî*" ("the civilizational project"). The Islam-oriented universities counter traditionalism and Sufism and selectively transmit only the Islamist beliefs, ritual norms, ethics, and knowledge that support the regime's political ideology. Focusing on youth, the Islamists founded Islamic universities to implement this civilizational project. Gallab is critical of this process, writing that these Islamists view "the Sudanese not as worthy citizens with civil and human rights, but as mirror images of individuals and groups owned by the state who must be brought into the civilizational project kicking and screaming in order to construct the 'righteous society'" (Gallab 2008, 11).

Islamic universities, among other institutions, connect Islamists intellectually with other Islamic networks and organizations in the Middle East, Asia, and Africa. Islamists use universities to disseminate their philosophies and influence followers within and outside their national territory. Islamists also capitalize on their networks, organizations, and relationships to mobilize funding for their Islamic learning institutions, especially universities and colleges. For example, the International University of Africa receives funding from some Arab countries and Islamic non-governmental organizations, which it uses to award scholarships to students from Africa and Asia. The university's ultimate ideological goal is to spread Islam and the Arabic language throughout these continents, therefore enlarging the *umma* (community of believers). Locally, as Ahmed argues, the Islamists manage "to control the religious domain and to maintain

good relations with all religious groups whose support ensures 'religious legitimacy' for the regime" (Ahmed 2015, 168). Such policy (re)shapes the religious domain and leads to significant new developments in Islamic ideology. Among these new developments is the emergence and spread of Salafism in Sudan.

Salafism

Salafism is an ultra-conservative reform movement within Sunni Islam that developed in the Middle East. Generally, Salafism advocates a return to the traditions of *al-Salaf al-Ṣâliḥ* (the "devout ancestors," or the Prophet Muhammed and his companions). The movement is also referred to as Wahabism because it was founded by and named after Saudi Islamist reformer Muhammad Ibn Abdol Wahab. Salafism appeared in Sudan in the 1990s or during the current Islamic regime, which is tolerant toward *da'wa* (proselytization) and which sympathizes with Islamic organizations, including radical jihadists. As a result, Salafi militant Osama Bin Ladin visited the country in the 1990s to proselytize his ideology under the auspices of the Islamic regime. As Ahmed (2015) explains, Salafi ideology in Sudan is mainly represented by *Ansâr al-Sunna* groups, followers of the prophetic model who aim to purify Islamic practices from culturally produced innovations. Salafism calls for a strict literal replication of the model of devout ancestors.

Unlike traditionalists and Sufis, who incorporate local cultural elements into their Islamic teachings, Salafis are puritanical in their approach to Islam and education. They believe that culture is the enemy of the "true Islam" and that it should be disconnected from devotional practices. Wiktorowicz (2005) argues that the Salafis "seek to strip Islam as practiced into its pristine elements by jettisoning folk customs and delinking Islam from any cultural context." Salafis believe that by strictly adhering to scriptural guidance, "they eliminate the biases of human subjectivity and self-interest, thereby allowing them to identify the singular truth of God's commands" (Wiktorowicz 2005, 207–210). This ultra-conservative perspective leaves no room for Islamic pluralism or integration between Islamic practices and local cultures. Salafis see only their own Islamic interpretation as true and legitimate. This narrow, intolerant perspective renders the movement unable to coexist peacefully with others. While various Islamic movements have managed to thrive side-by-side throughout history, the recent spread of Salafi ideology among youth in Sudan has elicited conflict, especially between Salafis and Sufis (see, for example, Ahmed 2015). Salafi verbal or physical attacks on the tombs of Sufi saints sometimes escalate into violent confrontations. Moreover, Salafis often accuse followers of other Islamic movements of being apostates (*kofâr*), which incites conflict and violence.

Although they are united by a common creed, the Salafi community is diverse. Wiktorowicz identifies three main factions, namely

The purists, the politicos, and the jihadis. The purists emphasize a focus on nonviolent methods of propagation, purification, and education. They view politics as a diversion that encourages deviancy. Politicos, in contrast, emphasize application of the Salafi creed to the political arena, which they view as particularly important because it dramatically impacts social justice and the right of God alone to legislate. Jihadis take a more militant position and argue that the current context calls for violence and revolution. All three factions share a common creed but offer different explanations of the contemporary world and its concomitant problems and thus propose different solutions. (Wiktorowicz 2005, 208)

These splits are not as much about belief as about implementation. In other words, the division between Salafi sects emerged as a result of the subjective nature of applying religious ideas to practical life. Comparatively, if Islamists are classified as fundamentalists, Roy (1994) categorizes Salafis in their various forms as "neo-fundamentalists."

In their epistemology, the Salafis believe that the Qur'an, *Hadîth*, *ijmaʿ*, and *qiyâs* provide sufficient guidance for the individual Muslim. In their educational institutions, however, Salafis do not teach these Islamic sources sequentially but selectively depending on what accommodates their Islamic ideology. Methodologically, Salafis do not emphasize memorization of the Qur'an but rather its hermeneutic interpretation. Thus, movement members read the Qur'an, theological literature, and Salafi pamphlets as the main epistemic practices. Salafis usually use modern pedagogical tools such as computers, projectors, notebooks, and blackboards to convey their theological ideas. Like Islamists, Salafis believe that using this modern technology will likely incentivize youth to acquire Salafi educations and contribute to the development of Islamic learning methodology. Salafis epistemologically regard knowledge as abstract and impersonal; therefore, they deposit it in a library. Furthermore, they see knowledge as monolithic, similar to Islamists, who argue that revelation is the source of all knowledge. Thus, both movements emphasize the unity of doctrine and knowledge.

Mukhtar (2010) describes Salafis as Islamic jurists, which "indicates men with theoretical knowledge that may not have any effect on their behavior or any relevance to the communities." In other words, Salafi teachings fail to address the social problems of local societies. As Mukhtar writes, Salafis are disconnected from the communities in appearance, discourse, and concern. According to Mukhtar, Salafism "looks down upon the communities and passes judgment on them." They are arrogant and intolerant; they preach the fear of God and earn their living by preaching. Thus, they live on God (Mukhtar 2010, 162). Usually, Islamic fundamentalists, jihadists, and suicide bombers around the globe adhere to this Islamic ideology.

For the recruitment of new members to the ideology and for the establishment of institutions, Salafis mobilize funding mostly from Arab countries, especially Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates. With

these funds, they build new mosques and learning centers where youth are encouraged to adhere to Salafi doctrine and ideology. Salafis also convey their religious ideology through, according to Ahmed, "scholarly institutions specialized in teaching the religious sciences for the education of missionaries, and humanitarian organizations" (Ahmed 2015, 171). Salafi proselytization and education also occur in public places such as parks, markets, and universities and targets mainly youth as potential future leaders of the movement.

Interconnections Between Traditionalism, Sufism, Islamism, and Salafism

While these four Islamic trends may seem distinct from one another in terms of learning epistemology and methodology, they all rely on similar scriptural texts. More importantly, individuals from different epistemic backgrounds often come together in learning institutions, creating "communities of practice" (Wenger 1998). These institutions usually serve as meeting grounds between individuals of different epistemic orientations and places where religious specialists engage with each other's learning epistemologies and methodologies. Sometimes an institution may be dominated administratively by a single movement toward which members are expected to tilt. An examination of traditional religious *fuqarâ* from the Fur ethnic group of Jebel Marra in the Darfur region sheds light on the relationship between these schools of thought in the area. Here, I discuss how these *fuqarâ* acquire Qur'anic knowledge in their learning institutions and how they navigate institutions run by other Islamic groups that are epistemologically different from their own.

The Fur people of Jebel Marra have been renowned for centuries for their commitment to Qur'anic learning and chanting. Some individuals dedicate their whole lives to seeking Qur'anic knowledge; they consider learning and teaching the Qur'an a way of life. People demonstrate their memorization of the Qur'an not only during religious activities but also on social occasions. In order to participate actively in these social events, villagers must be able to recite some Qur'anic passages by heart or at least be able to read them properly from a book. Qur'anic learning, therefore, becomes necessary not only for the purpose of engaging in religious practices but also for participating in sociocultural events. Thus, many people in this community value themselves according to their Qur'anic education.

Among the Fur people, Qur'anic learning is perceived to be the foundation of humanity. For instance, when parents encourage their children to study, they say, "*koin doqola qirai ba na kowa bieng,*" which means, "my children study to become human," as if those who are unlearned are inhuman. Essentially, the function of education is to teach others to be human. For Fur *fuqarâ*, mere rational and linguistic consciousness is insufficient; a human must also develop aesthetic, social, ethical, moral, and spiritual

character. In this sense, a Qur'anic education is not only about professional success but about holistic human development. Moreover, it aims to prepare students for this world and the world to come as Qur'anic memorization is thought to purify and refine the soul both now and in the hereafter.[1]

Local Qur'anic schools focus on Qur'anic memorization and related esoteric sciences, such as mnemonic techniques. When graduates want to pursue other Islamic sciences, such as theology and exegesis, they usually travel to urban areas to study at specialized institutes. One of these institutes is the Primary Holy Qur'an Institute, which offers courses on basic Arabic grammar, rhetoric, principles of exegesis, and theology. The Primary Holy Qur'an Institute has two branches in the Darfur region, one in al-Fashir and another in Nyala. These institutes employ teachers from different Islamic learning backgrounds depending on their expertise. For instance, *fuqará* are employed for their mastery of Qur'anic memorization while Islamists and Salafis are appointed for their command of rhetoric and textual interpretation. It usually takes about two years to complete a course of study. During this time, students engage deeply and profoundly with the holy texts and with each other, developing and transforming both themselves and their communities of practice.

At these institutes, students are influenced by other epistemic orientations and may start to (un)consciously adopt new ideas. After two years, graduates of the Primary Holy Qur'an Institute often enroll in the Secondary Holy Qur'an Institute for an additional three years of study. The Secondary Holy Qur'an Institute is located in central Sudan; as a result, it is more diverse than the primary institute, representing a wide spectrum of Islamic perspectives among both staff and students. Thus, the transformation continues as long as students engage in social learning practices in these institutes. Here, students from Darfur may drift away from memorization toward theoretical Islamic knowledge and rhetoric. In this sense, old learning epistemologies may fade as new ones develop.

Those who graduate from the Secondary Holy Qur'an Institute have the chance to join one of three universities in Sudan: the University of Holy Qur'an and Islamic Sciences (UHQIS), the Omdurman Islamic University (OIU), or the International University of Africa (IUA). These universities have special registration offices responsible for enrolling graduates of Qur'anic institutes and schools. To prove their qualifications, students usually submit to written and oral exams. Students who pass obtain certificates to enroll in Islamic science-based colleges within those three universities. Usually, they enroll in programs of *shari'a*, *da'wa* and media, and Arabic language, as well as the Holy Qur'an. These colleges and faculties are attended not only by students from Qur'anic institutes and schools but also by those who attended secular schools and want to specialize in Islamic studies. These faith-based colleges also have postgraduate programs for graduates who want to continue their studies. Like other colleges, their degrees include high diplomas and masters and doctoral degrees.

These three universities are dominated administratively by Islamists; however, the teaching staff hosts a wider spectrum of religious ideologies, mainly Islamist, Sufi, and Salafi. These ideologies are gradually inculcated in students' minds through pedagogical structures or curriculum. More importantly, Islamists and Salafis allocate substantial resources for the mobilization and ideological recruitment of students on campus. For this purpose, they establish associations from the membership of students. These student associations represent and promote mainstream religious ideologies on campuses. During student elections, these diverse associations often unite in political alliance against secular associations. As a result, there is substantial evidence of religious cooperation among different Islamic sects in Sudan.

Conclusion

In Sudan, four Islamic schools of thought—traditionalism, Sufism, Islamism, and Salafism—comprise the foundation of Islamic education and practice. While these movements share a deep commitment to the study of scripture, they maintain unique religious philosophies and epistemic orientations, based on their historical narratives and subjective experiences. For example, traditionalist Muslim scholars focus on Qur'anic memorization and embodiment while Islamists and Salafis value intellectual and theoretical Islamic knowledge. Moreover, these four schools of thought did not develop in a vacuum; rather, throughout history, they have profoundly influenced each other and often blurred boundaries of interpretation and practice in Sudan. This phenomenon of religious osmosis occurs in religious institutions of higher learning, where faculty and students represent and are exposed to a wide spectrum of Islamic ideology and epistemology. As a result, these religious and intellectual exchanges shape not only individual identities but also their communities of practice.

Note

1. This holistic approach to education recalls the work of philosophers like Mortimer Adler (1982), who wrote about paideia, meaning a deep education that reinforces selfhood, inclusivity, and perfection.

References

Abdelwahid, M. A. 2008. *The Rise of the Islamic Movement in Sudan (1945–1989)*. Lewiston and Queenston: The Edwin Mellen Press.

Adler, M. J. 1982. *The Paideia Proposal: An Educational Manifesto*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.

Ahmed, E. 2015. "Militant Salafism in Sudan." *Islamic Africa* 6 (1–2): 164–184.

Beck, K. 1998. "Tribesmen, Townsmen and the Struggle over a Proper Lifestyle in Northern Kordofan." In *Kordofan Invaded: Peripheral Incorporation and Social*

Transformation in Islamic Africa, edited by E. Stiansen and M. Kevane, 254–279. Leiden, Boston, and Köln: Brill.

Burr, J. M., and R. O. Collins. 2009. *Sudan in Turmoil: Hassan al-Turabi and the Islamist State, 1889–2003.* Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers.

Csordas, T. J. 1990. "Embodiment as a Paradigm for Anthropology." *Ethos* 18 (1): 5–47.

Eid, O. M. 1985. "The Khalwa as an Islamic Educational Institution in the Sudan." Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh.

El-Affendi, A. 1991. "Turabi's Revolution: Islam and Power in Sudan." London: Grey Seal Books.

El-Tom, A. O. 1983. "Religious Men and Literacy in Berti Society." Unpublished PhD thesis, University of St. Andrews, St. Andrews.

Fluehr-Lobban, C. 2012. *Shari'a and Islamism in Sudan: Conflict, Law and Social Transformation.* London and New York: I.B. Tauris.

Gallab, A. 2008. *The First Islamist Republic: Development and Disintegration of Islamism in the Sudan.* Burlington: Ashgate.

Gallab, A. 2014. *Their Second Republic: Islamization in the Sudan from Disintegration to Oblivion.* Burlington: Ashgate.

Halstead, J. M. 2004. "An Islamic Concept of Education." *Comparative Education* 40 (4): 517–529.

Ibrahim, A. A. 1989. "Popular Islam: The Religion of the Barbarous Throng." *Northeast African Studies* 11 (2): 21–40.

IIIT. 1989. *Islamization of Knowledge: General Principles and Work Plan.* Edited by Abdul Ḥamîd Abu Sûlaymân. Herndon: International Institute of Islamic Thought.

Karrar, A. S. 1992. *The Sufi Brotherhoods in the Sudan.* London: Hurst Publishers.

Launay, R. 2016. "Introduction: Writing Boards and Blackboards." In *Islamic Education in Africa: Writing Boards and Blackboards*, edited by R. Launay, 1–26. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Mamdani, M. 2004. *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War, and Roots of Terror.* New York: Tree Leaves Press.

Manger, L. 2002. "Religion, Identities, and Politics: Defining Muslim Discourses in the Nuba Mountains of the Sudan." *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 4: 132–152.

McHugh, N. 1994. *Holymen of the Blue Nile: The Making of an Arab-Islamic Community in the Nilotic Sudan, 1500–1850.* Evanston: Northwestern University Press.

Mead, G. H. 1934. *Mind, Self and Society: From the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist.* Edited by C. W. Morris. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Moosa, E. 2015. *What Is a Madrasa?* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Mukhtar, A. A. 2010. "The Assault on Indigenous Islam." In *New Sudan in Its Making? Essays on a Nation in Painful Search of Itself*, edited by F. M. Deng, 159–192. Asmara: The Red Sea Press.

Nur, B. M. 2017. *The Religious Men in Jebel Marra: The Process of Learning and the Performance of Islamic Rituals and Practices.* Berlin: LIT Verlag.

O'Fahey, R. S. 1980. *State and Society in Dâr Fûr.* London: C. Hurt and Company.

Osman, A. M. 2011. *Salṭanat al-Fûr al-Islâmiyya: Dirâsah taḥliliyya (1400–1916).* Khartoum: Sharikat Matâbi' al-'Amla al-Mahdôda.

Rosenthal, F. 2007. *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.

Roy, O. 1994. *The Failure of Political Islam*. Edited and Translated by C. Volk. Cambridge, MA: Havard University Press.

Roy, O. 2004. *Globalised Islam: The Search for a New Ummah*. London: Hurst Publishers.

Scheper-Hughes, N., and M. M. Lock. 1987. "The Mindful Body: A Prolegomenon to Future Work in Medical Anthropology." *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, New Series 1 (1): 6–41.

Seesemann, R. 1999. "Where East Meets West: The Development of Qur'anic Education in Darfur." *Islam et société au sud du Sahara* 13: 41–61.

Seesemann, R. 2005. "Islamism and the Paradox of Secularization: The Case of Islamist Ideas on Women in the Sudan." *Journal for Empirical Social Anthropology* 55: 89–118.

Seesemann, R. 2011. *The Divine Flood: Ibrâhîm Niasse and the Roots of a Twentieth-Century Sufi revival*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Sidahmed, A. S. 1997. *Politics and Islam in Contemporary Sudan*. Richmond: Curzon press.

Sidahmed, A. S. 2011. "Islamism and the State." In *The Sudan Handbook*, edited by J. Ryle, J. Willis, S. Baldo, and J. M. Jok, 94–107. London: The Rift Valley Institute.

Strathern, A. J. 1996. *Body Thoughts*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Trimingham, J. S. 1965. *Islam in the Sudan*. London: Frank Cass.

Warburg, G. R. 1990. "The Sharia in Sudan: Implementation and Repercussions, 1983–1989." *The Middle East Journal* 44 (4): 624–637.

Warburg, G. R. 2003. *Islam, Sectarianism and Politics in Sudan Since the Mahdiyya*. London: Hurst Publishers.

Ware III, R. T. 2014. *The Walking Qur'an: Islamic Education, Embodied Knowledge, and History in West Africa*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Wenger, E. 1998. *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wiktorowicz, Q. 2005. "Anatomy of the Salafi Movement." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 29 (3): 207–239.

Worthen, J. B., and R. R. Hunt. 2011. *Mnemonology: Mnemonics for the 21st Century*. New York and London: Psychology Press and Taylor & Francis Group.

African Education: National or Neocolonial Constructions?

Presents contemporary African national education systems and contemplates the variation and extent of its role within and across African societies. These chapters examine the nation-state norm of a Western-structured education institution infused with Afrocentric curriculum and methodology to varying degrees. Each chapter asks questions to identify and interrogate the juxtapositions and interactions of Indigenous African, and in many areas African Islamic or Muslim education structures, to understand how these knowledge bases and educational structures shape and inform national education systems.
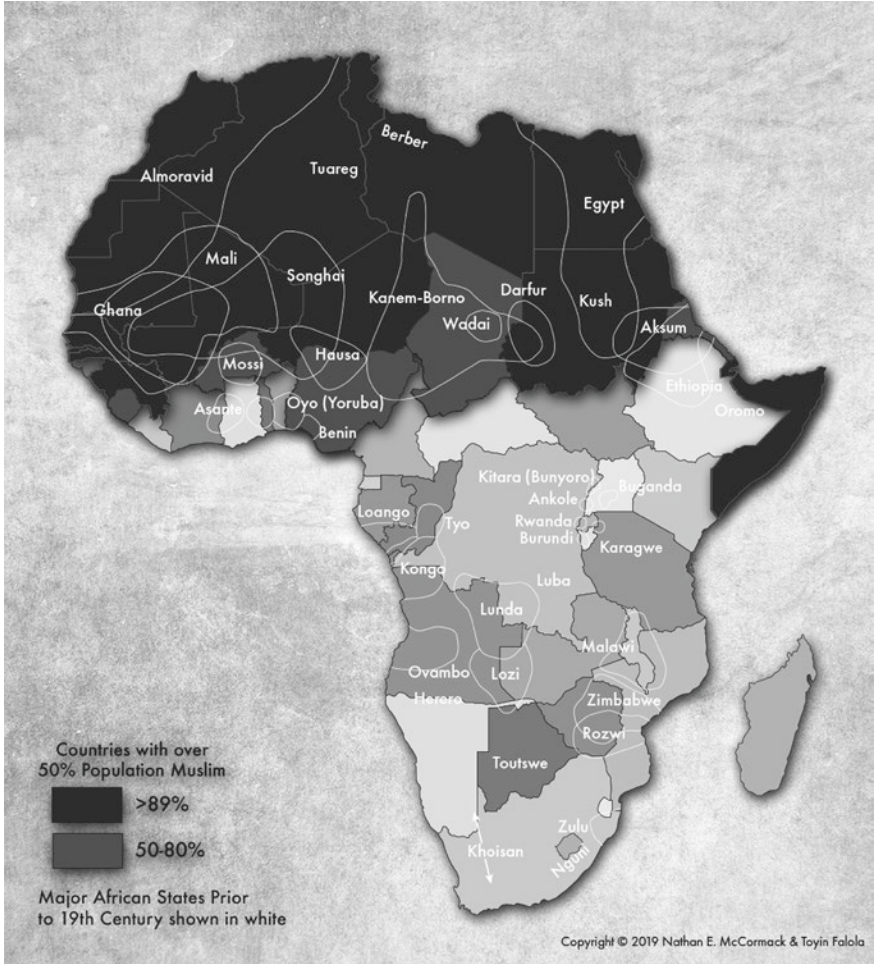
African Education: Consciencism or Neocolonialism

Kofi Kissi Dompere

Some Historical Conditions

To discuss African education in the context of *Consciencism* and neocolonialism, it is useful to have some working definitions of the concepts of education, Consciencism, and neocolonialism. The structures of these definitions will keep in focus the African goals of decolonization, independence, complete emancipation, and continental unity with state identities. One cannot speak and discuss any type of education without a clear understanding of the meaning of the concept of education. Similarly, one cannot speak of goals and objectives of education without a clear understanding of what constitutes education. The concept of African education implies the existence of other types of education with different characteristics. What are the distinguishing factors of different types of education at the levels of history and philosophy? Different types of education present themselves as educational varieties which find different expressions in the set of characteristic-signal dispositions for identifications, identities, and transformation. In an epistemic frame, we need to define and explicate the notion of education and then place distinctions among educational varieties so as to examine their individual contributions to the national effort in providing socioeconomic development, freedom-justice structure, and nation-building processes with security of the national-sovereignty.

K. K. Dompere (✉)
Department of Economics, and Research Institute of Information Decision and Economic Sciences (RIIDES), Howard University, Washington, DC, USA
e-mail: kdompere@Howard.edu

Education produces mindsets for individual and collective behaviors over the social decision-choice space. Different mindsets are produced by different consciousness and historical awareness which are the results of curricula and methods of information transmission. The mindsets simplify the individual and collective decision-choice behaviors within themselves and to one another. This mindset controls the individual and social preferences over the decision-choice activities and the problem-solution behavior in terms of activities over the goal-constraint space.

The Concept of Education and the Mindset Process

Let us provide a working definition of education and see how it produces a mindset.

Definition I: Education

Education is a concept of institutional process through which social policies of teaching and learning social accumulated knowledge, creativity, techniques of thinking, problem-solving skills, cultural values, accepted mode of behavior, habits, linguistic skills and communication skills as well as methods of reasoning to understand the accumulated knowledge system and to discover new knowledge items are formally or informally transmitted by the use of appropriate instruments of information transmissions and communications to arrive at a goal of mental powers and acceptable social character.

There are many types of education where each type is defined by a goal-objective element. Every educational type is transmitted by instruments of either formal, informal or both. In all contemporary societies, the practice of education is a combination of formal and informal in nature, where the formal dominates the informal in social acceptance and approval of behavior. The formal and informal transmissions of educational materials in African countries in colonial and decolonized states exhibit intense social contradictions and conflicts, where the informal dominates the formal but the national governance is controlled by small formally educated individuals using colonial languages not understood by the majority of the population in sociopolitical and policy discussions under a phantom non-traditional democratic political structure.

The main concern in this chapter is to deal with the formal transmission of education in African states with formally approved curricula, methods of instructions, certification, and national acceptance of the end products, which are also referred to as formal education of the decolonized countries. We shall also refer to the informal transmission of education as the *informal education* which is the traditional way for the intergenerational transfer of social know-hows and traditional cultures which may be regional-specific or ethnic-specific. The national education policy is always in reference to the formal, the services of which are seen as part of national production and computed into the gross national product (GNP).

The informal education is viewed in terms of traditional cultural process of transmitting social values without nationally defined methods of transmission of the know-hows. The values of traditional methods of education and the labor time spent do not enter into the calculus of the value of GNP which must include the sum of the values of formal and informal education services. Each education type has a corresponding philosophy and ideology that guide the individual and collective decision-choice system. The embodied philosophy and ideology are referred to as the *Philosophical Consciencism* (Dompere 2017; Nkrumah 1964). It is this Philosophical Consciencism that defines the social and individual personalities in addition to national consciousness to influence human activities over the social decision-choice space for problem-solving and social progress. Every type of education with the corresponding curriculum generates a Philosophical Consciencism that controls cognitive behaviors and social practices over the social decision-choice space of domestic and international settings.

Both the formal and informal education must be related to the manpower needs of the country to transform the social system through the development of an efficient decision-choice system in relation to information processing and problem-solving skills. The skills of the traditional mode of production for the maintenance and continuity of the African existence are transmitted by the informal education such as apprenticeship system, community teaching under learning by doing and others. The skills of the colonial mode of domination are, in part, transmitted by colonial formal education. What are the skills of social production toward independence and a complete emancipation transmitted by? One important thing that is clear is that all forms of education whether national or international have a philosophy and ideology that define the controllable cognitive zone of acceptable individual and collective decision-choice activities in the creation and utilization of skills and knowledge of the people, their individual and collective decision-choice actions, processing of socio-natural information that together establish a collective personality and an individual personality within the collective as well as the national identity and the character which contains the social consciousness that is either individual-welfare-based or community-welfare-based.

When education generates a Philosophical Consciencism that is individual-value-based, it seeks to promote individual welfare and the exploitation of social welfare of other members of the society to enhance an individual wealth accumulation at the expense of the collective wealth accumulation. This individual-value-based Philosophical Consciencism will be referred to as *envy Philosophical Consciencism*. Similarly, when education generates a Philosophical Consciencism that is community-value-based, it seeks to empower the members of the community to improve their production and management know-how to collectively solve the problems of economic, technological, and scientific knowledge with minimal selfishness in protection of the individual as well as the community. The community-value-based Philosophical Consciencism will be referred to as *altruistic Philosophical Consciencism*.

At the level of the community, education is produced for intergenerational transfer of knowledge as an input into individual and collective decision-choice activities in the socio-natural plane of the national production in relation to a continual search for variety solutions to conditions and varieties that are considered as social problems for national positive progress. Education, at the level of the collectivity, is also seen as a national liberator when education instills into the people a transformative consciousness to create their own personalities in relation to the national aspirations and collective vision. It is here that an understanding of the philosophy of education acquires effective role in shaping the direction of national transformation through the educational impact of social know-hows and collective behaviors over the social decision-choice space.

Education, the Mind and Thinking

Education produces the national intelligentsia, but the intelligentsia may reside in a non-transformability state, in the sense that the national intelligentsia lacks the appropriate *philosophical Consciencism* that must support transformative actions on colonial or dependent personality. Similarly, education may be used to produce a national intelligentsia that resides in a transformative state in the sense that the national intelligentsia is equipped with an appropriate Philosophical Consciencism that must support transformative actions against dependent or neocolonial personality to independent personality. In this way, the members of the intelligentsia know their historic role as well as protecting themselves from entering into the space of neocolonial personality. The understanding of the relationship among Philosophical Consciencism, national personality, and decision-choice behavior requires an explicit definition of Philosophical Consciencism.

The understanding of the relationship between education and thinking begins from a philosophy of education, where every attempt to understand the individual and collective mindsets in thinking and problem-solving in a social setup demands historical analytics to understand how education has shaped the individual-collective personalities and mindsets of nations over the social decision-choice spaces regarding domestic-international struggles for freedom-and-justice, on one hand and independence and self-governance on the other hand. In this way, philosophy of education, like history of education, may be seen as shaping the national behavior and social history toward the creation of either colonization projects or national-independent project.

Education, Philosophical Consciencism and Thinking

We shall now define and explicate the concept of *Philosophical Consciencism* and relate it to the mindset and indirect control of the social decision-choice behavior.

Definition 2: Philosophical Consciencism

Philosophical Consciencism is the intellectual path and logical framework, made up by a relational unity and continuum of philosophy, ideology, and social consciousness, with a socially specific supporting ideology, that are developed from the experiential information structure of a given social setup with its mode of reasoning for integrating competing social forces in a society, and develop them in a manner that allows for the digest and reconciliation of the social contradictions in such a way that these contradictions fit into a progressive social personality for progressive social transformations of the given society to set the potential against the existing actual or to defend the existing actual against an emerging potential.

The definition of Philosophical Consciencism is general and applicable to all societies in terms of its effects on individual and collective decision-choice activities to affect the direction of, as well as effect social transformations as viewed in terms of distributions of actual-potential social polarities for socio-economic progress. It unifies the cognitive social activities in the information space, decision-choice space, and social-action space of the social system and its organizational parts. In a sense, the Philosophical Consciencism indirectly controls and manages the individual and collective thinking, preference ordering, and decision-choice implementations through the educational processes. It seeks to establish the purposeful foundation of social decision-choice actions and the framework of social intentionality for the management of the social system in both static and dynamic states. The Philosophical Consciencism is a product of education that simplifies thinking toward problem-solving and the creation of institutions through which policies are created, transmitted, and implemented in the problem-solution space to bring about social transformations.

The relational nature of philosophy, ideology, and social conscience that Philosophical Consciencism engenders will vary from society to society, and from generation to generation for any given society depending on the history, experiential information, their interpretive structures and the conditions of mode of production and social welfare. In each society and for each generation, the conditions of experience must historically be identified and analyzed for epistemic integration in order to develop the required individual and collective personalities and transformative leadership for the right decision-choice activities in the social space. In all respects, Philosophical Consciencism defines the *sufficient conditions* of social thinking to establish the purposeful foundations for social decision-choice action space with a framework of social intentionality for the management and control of the social system for national progress in both static and dynamic states. Philosophical Consciencism generates the sufficient conditions for the required categorial convertor that changes the opposing forces of negative-positive relation in the social game of change and progress.

In terms of the African context, for which we are concern, the historical circumstances are defined by the conditions of Western Euro-Christian and Islamic traditions as impositions on the African traditions. The experiential information structure, given these traditions, is expressed in terms of colonialism, slavery, brutality, inhumanity, terror, racism, and complete resource exploitation without shame and without mercy by the Europeans and others. Corresponding to the sufficient conditions as established by the Philosophical Consciencism are the *necessary conditions* as established by categorial-conversion process. The existence of the Philosophical Consciencism provides effective tools to acknowledge and understand the necessary conditions as presented by the categorial conversion in the decision-choice space. By controlling the structure of Philosophical Consciencism through the formal education, one controls the mind and the thinking of the nation in all fields of socio-natural decisions and hence shapes the socioeconomic development process of the nation.

The Philosophical Consciencism, composed of the social philosophy, ideology, and national conscience, which has taken hold of a society is the product of traditional education supported by a formal education. The Philosophical Consciencism is dynamic under the changing nature of traditional education, the curricula of the formal education and the historico-cultural dynamics. In this respect, intellectual colonialism with the corresponding colonial intelligentsia is created by the colonial formal education with colonial curricula to promote disinformation and misinformation, where the colonial intelligentsia under the mind-control of colonial Philosophical Consciencism serves the colonial machine by constituting a buffer class, acting as slave-head, between the masses and the colonizers for useless foreign prestige and small remuneration as slave-control incentive. With a well-established internal colonial intelligentsia whose interest is aligned with the colonizers, the members of the colonial intelligentsia are trusted with the maintenance of the colonial curricula at the secular level without any reference to the traditional mode of education except to degrade it and ridicule its cultural foundations as primitive, satanic and unworthy of teaching, learning and practice.

In the same colonial formal education system arises the class of the colonial intellectual clergy also controlled by the colonial Philosophical Consciencism at the spiritual level of the African national life. The members of colonial secular intelligentsia in collaboration with the members of colonial religious intelligentsia (the clergy) condemn any traditional views on God as satanic except what the colonial masters consider as *Divine* truth from mysteriously given book of the word of God from which quotations are taken to justify claims and actions. The effects of this colonial educational process are to create schizophrenic African, non-African from the Africans who struggle to be what they are not as well as struggle to run away from what they are (Abraham 1962; Ahuma 1979; Rodney 1972). New Africans with colonially subservient personality are manufactured by the colonial educational process. These colonially manufactured Africans have been conditioned by the

colonial African education to dislike themselves as Africans, to condemn their culture and their people's way of life as godless savagery (Woodson 1933). Through a colonial education they emulate non-African values and become subservient and useful idiots to the colonial machine (Diop 1991; Dompere 2006b; Smith 1980). The objective of the colonial education process is to create a *categorial convertor* to bring about the negation of the African traditional personality through the creation of contradictions and self-hatred, where the Africans, through the colonial education, become instruments of their own demise in time and over time (Dompere 2016, 2017).

Colonial Education and Thinking

Let us turn our attention to the explicit effects of colonial education and the African thinking and decision-choice actions.

Definition 3: Colonial Education

Colonial education is an institutional framework through which colonial policies of teaching and learning colonially accumulated knowledge, creativity, techniques of colonial thinking, problem-solving skills in favor of colonial exploitation, colonial cultural values, accepted mode of colonized behavior, habits, colonial linguistic skills and communication skills (Abraham 1962; Amin 1989). It defines and implements colonial methods of reasoning to understand the accumulated colonial knowledge system, designed not to discover or produce new knowledge, but to mimic the colonial way of life through its formal setting (Dompere 2018a). This is accomplished via the use of appropriate instruments of formal transmission and communication to arrive at a goal of mental powers and acceptable social character consistent with colonial needs of domination to manage the colony.

The objective of colonial education is not to encourage thinking, but to negate the traditional Philosophical Consciencism that supports the traditional African personality of the colonized (Fanon 1967). It replaces this with a colonial Philosophical Consciencism to instill a colonial personality and to manufacture a subservient domestic intelligentsia in order to control the colonized people and resources for colonial exploitation. The colonial education, with corresponding colonial Philosophical Consciencism, was then established in Africa as the intellectual order for producing educated persons who must reside in a zone of intellectual subservience and to become useless idiots to the colonial administration without knowing how to build strong institutions for freedom-and-justice as well as independence and self-reliance (Dompere 2018a; Fanon 1967; Woodson 1933).

Colonial Traumatic Stress Disorder

At the point of decolonization toward independence and complete emancipation of the African countries, the traditional individual and collective African personalities have been damaged by the colonial education with its

colonial Philosophical Consciencism to the point of unrecognizability, where the population of each African state is divided into two parts. One part is untouched by the colonial education and holding on to the African traditional personality with no political power under the colonial state. The other part, completely under the control of the colonial Philosophical Consciencism and colonial personality, acquires the title of educated to form a buffer class with the decision-making power to control the rest of the African population for colonial resource exploitation. This colonial damage has created national and individual personality crises. The crises have manufactured *colonial traumatic stress disorder* which has become engrained in the mental attitude and decision-choice behavior of the African with the *colonial African personality* which is remotely controlled by the colonial Philosophical Consciencism. The colonial traumatic stress disorder, after decolonization, has become the *post-colonial traumatic stress syndrome* through the continuation of the colonial education with the colonial curricula. It is a serious mental disease and a social problem affecting the mode of individual and national decision-choice behavior requiring a revolutionary solution.

Definition 4: Colonial Traumatic Stress Disorder
Colonial traumatic stress disorder is a socio-psychological disorder that develops in response to prolong wars of resistance against colonization and colonial governance with repeated experiential conditions of violence, atrocities, slavery, human degradation, human-right abuses, destruction of traditional institutions of social setup, continual internal displacement, violently imperial exploitation, armed robbery of African resources, forced occupation of fertile lands, forced appropriation of art forms, teaching of inferiority of traditional African culture and superiority of the culture of the colonizer and the negation of the African personality, where such stress disorders are maintained through formal education systems with forced colonial secular and religious curricula in different African areas as controlled by different colonizers.

The colonial education in Africa generated the Africa's colonial traumatic stress disorder under the created colonial Philosophical Consciencism through the intentional construct and implementation of the colonial educational curricula at both the level of secularity and religiosity. The current education system of Africa is inherited from the colonial educational legacy and carries with it all the ills of the colonial structure with its curricula without any serious modification to accommodate the conditions required to negate the colonial Philosophical Consciencism in order to destroy the colonial personality, treat and cure the colonial traumatic stress syndrome so as to root out the cognitive cancer and intellectual behavioral maladies which are consuming the efficient Africa's decision space. In other words, there has not been a negation of negation of the colonial Philosophical Consciencism which acts as the cognitive foundation of individual and national decision-choice actions.

This defective epistemic approach to decision-choice actions is a characteristic of all the members of the colonial African intelligentsia who are considered as enlightened servants of imperial colonial administrations.

POST-COLONIALISM, EDUCATION, AND NEOCOLONIALISM

After decolonization, every African country had the option to stay on the same path of colonial education with the colonial curricula or redesign her path of education structure to Africanize its curricula, in particular, the curricula of the social sciences such as economics, philosophy, sociology, political sciences, law and religion, and their relationships to the curricula of the natural sciences. The continuation of the structure of the colonial education and its curricula after decolonization leads to a neocolonial education, where the colonial Philosophical Consciencism with colonial personality, colonial intelligentsia, and colonial traumatic stress disorder is transformed into *neocolonial Philosophical Consciencism* with a *neocolonial personality*, neocolonial *intelligentsia*, and *post-colonial traumatic stress syndrome* to control the national decision-choice space. At this decolonized stage, the neocolonial intelligentsia with neocolonial personality claims to be independent but mentally controlled by their neocolonial education to align their interest with the interest of neocolonialists to exploit the African states for foreign benefits and personal clumps.

Most of the times, the members of the African intelligentsia, equipped with colonial Philosophical Consciencism, become internal colonialists practicing the colonial artistry to exploit their own people and share the exploited resources with their former colonial masters or new neocolonialist. The colonial trauma is transformed into *post-colonial traumatic stress syndrome* after decolonization. The symptoms of the post-colonial traumatic stress syndrome include but not limited to a) the development of individual and national schizophrenic personalities leading to a national somatization disorder and bizarre behaviors in the individual and the collective decision-choice spaces, where the members of the national intelligentsia work against (a) their national interests by becoming puppets for personal external-aggrandizement, (b) changes in the colonial domestic-regulatory actions in the national decision-choice space, (c) the reclaim of African community consciousness and in favor of individual greed, (d) the development of self-confidence and for the acceptance of external dependency over the social and individual problem-solution spaces, (e) alteration of positive inter-African relations and for the development of distrust among the African states, (f) the development of solutions to the problems of collective and individual inferiority complex through the secular and religious curricula of the colonial education, and (g) the solution to the development of unthinking and subservient national intelligentsia supported by an unthinking population under the influence of vestiges of colonial education and political atrocities.

The development of unthinking intelligentsia and the schizophrenic behavior of the general population through the neocolonial Philosophical Consciencism is to keep the colonial umbilical cord, maintain the colonial dependency and irrelevant foreign political structure in the name of a foreign concept of philosophy of democracy which is not understood by the governing intelligentsia and which is completely foreign to the African population, as well as has nothing significantly to do with the efficient organization of the members of the general population and their regionalism toward the national reconstruction and development in decolonized African states.

NEOCOLONIAL TRAUMATIC STRESS SYNDROME AND THE AFRICAN EDUCATION

It was the recognition of the relational structure of the wrong Philosophical Consciencism with *slavery traumatic stress disorder* and the danger of its practice by the individual and the collective, the emancipated Africans, in the post-slavery at the social decision-choice space that lead Carter G. Woodson to reflect on the general cognitive conditions of the freed enslaved Africans brought to America, which under the Pan-African extensions applies to all Africans under indirect colonial slavery in Africa and other parts of the world with colonial traumatic stress disorder and the neocolonial traumatic stress syndrome in terms of the damage that the Eurocentric educational framework has produced. In this regard, he states:

> The same educational process which inspires and stimulate the oppressor with the thought that he is everything and has accomplished everything worthwhile, depresses and crushes at the same time the spark of genius in the Negro [African] by making him feel that his race does not amount to much and never will measure up to the standards of other peoples. The Negro [African] thus educated is a hopeless liability of the race. (1933, 33)

On the question of the damage and usefulness of the non-Africanized Eurocentric education to the African people, Carter G. Woodson has this to say:

> The so-called modern education, with all its defects, however, does others so much more good than it does the Negro [African], because it has been worked out [secular and religious syllabi] in conformity to the needs of those who have enslaved [colonized] and oppressed weaker people. For example, the philosophy and ethics [with oppressive religious doctrine] resulting from our educational system have justified slavery, peonage, segregation, and lynching [with toucher, violence and human-right abuses]. The oppressor has the right to exploit, to handicap, and to kill the oppressed. Negroes [Africans] daily educated in the tenets of such a religion of the strong have accepted the status of the weak as divinely ordained, and during the last three generations of their

nominal freedom [decolonization] they have done nothing to change it. Their pouting and resolutions indulged in by a few of the race have been of little avail. (1933, 32–33)

Many scholars, for example, Abraham (1962), Diop (1991), and Dompere (2006a, 2017, 2018b), have over the years affirmed and expanded on Woodson's analysis.

In this sociopolitical frame, the members of the African intelligentsia and the clergy are nothing but a hopeless liability to Africa and her people. With these reflections on the historical context of the cognitive problem of the Negro [African] in the thought and decision-choice spaces toward behavior over the space of problem-solution dualities, Carter G. Woodson reflected on the contents of education and cognition within the development of the mind and thinking of Negroes (Africans) and stated that after the transition from slavery [colonial] traumatic stress disorder into post-slavery [post-colonial] stress traumatic syndrome,

> No systematic effort toward change has been possible, for, taught the same economics, history, philosophy, literature and religion which have established the present code of moral, the Negro's [African] mind has been brought under the control of his oppressor [through neocolonial Philosophical Consciencism]. The problem of holding the Negro [African] down, therefore, is easily solved. When you control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his actions. You do not have to tell him not to stand here or go yonder. He will find his "proper place" and will stay in it. You do not need to send him to the back door. He will go without being told. In fact, if there is no back, he will cut one for his special benefit. His education makes it necessary. (1933, 33)

This hopeless liability of the educated African under neocolonial education expresses itself in multiple socioreligious fronts to place him or her in the irreducible *zone of useful idiocy* for the benefit of the neocolonialists and imperialists. The traditional self-motivation of the African in taking bold initiatives, creating instrumentations and designing the management of command and control systems for his/her progress was lost for a long period of imperial, colonial, and neocolonial destruction as well as the continual interference by the neocolonialists and imperialists (Rodney 1972; Williams 1974). This hopeless liability is also expressed in the destruction of the true African personality where the colonial and neocolonial education and mindset after decolonization have estranged the members of the African intelligentsia and the clergy from their African roots. They have come to replace the external colonizers as internal colonizes using the same colonial methods and techniques to subjugate their own people by continually pocketing the people's surplus for useless personal enrichments. They have lost their way and their traditional knowledge of independence (Armah 1973).

The cognitive frame defined by neocolonial Philosophical Consciencism is the oppressor of the African intelligentsia and the clergy on the basis of which the members derive their living. The members of the African intelligentsia and clergy, intellectually controlled by the neocolonial Philosophical Consciencism, are blind to the damaging effects of their education on their collective personality which has created anti-African and bizarre behavior over the individual and national decision-choice space. Inherited the secular and religious colonial governance, they do not even know or admit that they are managing client (neocolonial) states for the benefit of the imperial and neocolonial order, making African independence a mockery of their own intellects as well as pushing the general African mind into the zone of critical imbecility which forces them to function in the zone of irreducible ignorance.

The minds of the members of the African intelligentsia and the clergy are under a system of external controllers from the neocolonial education, the curricula of which are designed with anti-African Philosophical Consciencism to produce subservient personalities and not African personality required to solve the problems of African transformation from colonialism to independence and complete emancipation, contrary to Africentric traditions as they were. The control of the minds of the members of the African intelligentsia and the clergy by the neocolonial Philosophical Consciencism has made a mockery of African education, where the members have been deprived of the mode of originality of thinking and moved to the *zone of familiarity and intellectual credulity* of the neocolonial education with the corresponding neocolonial Philosophical Consciencism which has no legitimacy in creating solutions to the cluster of Africentric problems in the post-colonial Africa. It is useful to keep in mind that new discoveries are made by freeing oneself from the oppressive zone of intellectual familiarity and credulity and to practice the principle of doubt.

It is on the reflection of this cognitive destruction and the rise of African dependency and mimicry of other peoples' epistemic process without particular reference to African conditions that lead Attoh Ahuma (1979) to the following statement:

> As a people [Africans], we have ceased to be THINKING NATION. Our forebears, with all their limitations and disadvantages, had occasion to originate ideas and to contrive in their own order. They sowed incorruptible thought-seeds, and we are reaping a rich harvest to-day, though. For the most part, we are scarcely conscious of the debt we owe them. Western education or civilization undiluted, unsifted, has more or less enervated our minds and made them passive and catholic. Our national [African] life is semi-paralysed; our mental machinery dislocated, the inevitable consequence being, speaking generally, the resultant production of a Race of men and women 'who think too little and talk too much. But neither garrulity nor loquacity forms an indispensable element in the constitution of a state or nation. [2, 166]

A critical reflection on the statements by Attoh Ahuma and Carter G. Woodson is instructive in understanding the prolonged damage that the colonial traumatic stress disorder and colonial Philosophical Consciencism have done to the African personality, and the neocolonial Philosophical Consciencism and education have also done and continue to do in the development of transformative African cognitive operations in the current human existence. It is very important for the understanding of the socioeconomic development of African and transformation of the decolonized states to the attainment of independence and complete emancipation to change course by destroying the neocolonial Philosophical Consciencism and replace it with African-centered Philosophical Consciencism to create a true African intelligentsia and clergy with African personality for chartering the course of African progress by fighting against internal strives such as domestic exploitation, conflicts, wars and oppression and external strives such as imperialism, neocolonialism and global racism, invasion and imperial policy of regime change.

In this respect, the current education system with a continuation of the colonial curricula in African states is producing neocolonial Philosophical Consciencism, intelligentsia, personality, and neocolonial states. This must be changed to African-centered curricula to produce an Africentric Philosophical Consciencism, intelligentsia, personality, and independent states to rejuvenate the African originality in science, artistry, and communalism. This is the alternative path to African education.

The alternative path to African education, besides the neocolonial path, is the development of African-centered education system directed to educate the African to acquire relevant knowledge and skills to solving African problems rather than to maintain the path of the intellectual dependency in the maintenance of neocolonial states with the sickness of the beggar's syndrome for neocolonial solutions to Africa's transformation problems. The Africanized path of education structure will have curricula that have African contents to produce *African Philosophical Consciencism* with *African personality* to deal with the conditions of post-colonial traumatic stress syndrome after the decolonization in order to control the decision-choice behavior in favor of Africa's true independence and complete emancipation at the world stage as the solution to the post-colonial traumatic stress syndrome.

The African Philosophical Consciencism crafted from an Africanized education with African curricula will lead to the emergence of an awakened African intelligentsia whose members' intellectual activities will be directed to create social decision-choice structures that will serve their nations for individual and collective development with social welfare improvement as well as work the African nations toward independence, complete emancipation, and continental unity.

The most important thing about the type of education and the curricula is the creation of Philosophical Consciencism that establishes a mindset, controls and thinking over the national decision-choice space relative to the

problem-solution space and the space of info-statics (identification problem) (Dompere 2018a) and info-dynamics (transformation problem) (Dompere 2018b). The Philosophical Consciencism acts as categorial convertor that changes the negative-positive relationality in transformations. The driving force to destroy neocolonialism, imperialism, and racism that have taken hold over the African society to remotely control the national intelligentsia and the clergy with its derived effects on the decision-choice behavior of the national population, resides in the development of *African Philosophical Consciencism* with the corresponding African intelligentsia, clergy and personality to acquire transformative characteristics in African social dynamics. The African Philosophical Consciencism will be produced by an African-centered education with intentionally crafted African curricula to destroy the neocolonial traumatic stress syndrome and restore the important Africentric traditions for African progress over the African social decision-choice and problem-solution spaces. The result of the process will be an African transformative education. The true Africanized educational process is the negation of negation by creating a categorial convertor to change the negative-positive social relation in favor of African intellectual independence.

Conclusion

The core of any educational system is its curricula that form the contents of what is to be known. The methods of teaching may place the learner in a zone of familiarity and credulity with a least thinking, creating an unthinking educated class with less skills for problem-solving outside the zone of familiarity. The methods may also place the learner in a zone of doubt to motivate thinking with increasing ability to solve problems outside the familiar. The former corresponds to neocolonial education in Africa where the principle of familiarity and credulity is governed by the neocolonial education. The latter corresponds to a true Africentric education that must be constructed with a vision and understanding of the time trinity of past-present-future conditions from the African experiential information in order to maintain the *sankofa principle* of history.

The end product of a transformative education induced from the African experiential information is to equip the educated African, the clergy, and the population with the art and science of problem-solving through thinking as well as make an African an African. Education on the part of a teacher is about teaching thinking and not simply teaching what has been intellectually produced by others. Learning on the part of the learner is about learning to think but not simply learning what has been intellectually produced. When African education acquires the character of teaching thinking and learning to think in relation to African conditions, and research and scholarship become relevant in solving African problems, then African education will become transformative, liberating, and not neocolonial. In this respect,

a transformative African education will serve as the foundation in African liberation by defeating neocolonialism, imperialism, racism and economic backwardness of all forms, and establishing an African economy which, backed by African-centered philosophical Consciencism, will serve as a foundation of African power system composed of demographic power, military power, political power, cultural power, technological power, environmental-resource power through African cultural unity, intellectual unity, political unity and African awareness of global instability under the principle that education is to liberate and not to oppress and exploit.

References

Abraham, W. E. 1962. *The Mind of Africa*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson.

Ahuma, Attoh. 1979. "*The Gold Cost Nation and National Consciousness*." In *Ideologies of Liberation in Black Africa: 1856–1970*, edited by Ayo J. Langley, 161–172. London: Rex Collings.

Amin, Samir. 1989. *Eurocentrism*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Armah, Ayi Kwei. 1973. *Two Thousand Seasons*. Oxford, UK: Heineman.

Asante, Molefi K., and Abu S. Abarry, eds. 1996. *African Intellectual Heritage: Book of Sources*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Ben-Jochannan, Joseph A. A. 1970. *African Origins of Major Western Religions*. New York, NY: Alkebulan Books.

Ben-Jochannan, Joseph A. A. 1988. *Africa: Mother of Western Civilization*. Baltimore, MD: Black Classic Press.

Cowan, L. G. 1964. *The Dilemmas of African Independence*. New York, NY: Warker and Co.

Danquah, J. B. 1949. *Friendship and Empire*. London, UK: Fabian Colonial Bureau.

De Graft-Johnson, J. C. 1955. *African Glory*. New York, NY: Praeger.

Diop, Cheikh A. 1974. *The African Origins of Civilization: Myth or Reality*. New York, NY: Lawrence Hill.

Diop, Cheikh A. 1978. *The Cultural Unity of Black Africa*. Chicago, IL: Third World Press.

Diop, Cheikh A. 1991. *Civilization or Barbarism*. New York, NY: Lawrence Hill.

Dompere, Kofi K. 1982. "On Epistemology and Decision-Choice Rationality." In *Cybernetics and System Research*, edited by R. Trapple, 219–228. New York, NY: North Holland.

Dompere, Kofi K. 2006a. *Polyrhythmicity: Foundations of African Philosophy*. London, UK: Adonis-Abbey.

Dompere, Kofi K. 2006b. *African Union: Pan-African Analytical Foundations*. London, UK: Adonis-Abbey.

Dompere, Kofi K. 2016. *The Theory of Categorial Conversion: Rational Foundations of Nkrumaism in Socio-natural Systemicity and Complexity*. London, UK: Adonis-Abbey.

Dompere, Kofi K. 2017. *The Theory of Philosophical Consciencism: Practice Foundations of Nkrumaism in Social Systemicity*. London, UK: Adonis-Abbey.

Dompere, Kofi K. 2018a. *The Theory of Info-Statics: Conceptual Foundations of Information and Knowledge Dynamics*. Studies in Systems, Decision and Control, Vol. 112. New York, NY: Springer.

Dompere, Kofi K. 2018b. *The Theory of Info-Dynamics: Rational Foundations of Information-Knowledge Dynamics*. Studies in Systems, Decision and Control, Vol. 114. New York, NY: Springer.

Dompere, Kofi K., and M. Ejaz. 1995. *Epistemics of Development Economics: Toward a Methodological Critique and Unity*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

DuBois, W. E. B. 1961. *The Souls of Black Folk*. New York, NY: Feiwcell World Library.

DuBois, W. E. B. 1975. *The Education of Black People: Ten Critiques, 1906–1960*. Edited by. H. Aptherker. New York, NY: Monthly Review Press.

Fanon, Frantz. 1964. *Toward the African Revolution*. New York, NY: Grove Press.

Fanon, Frantz. 1967. *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York, NY: Dover Press.

Hayford, Casely J. E. 1979. "African Nationality." In *Ideologies of Liberation in Black Africa: 1856–1970*, edited by Ayo J. Langley, 203–219. London: Rex Collings.

Herman, Edward N., and N. Chomsky. 1988. *Manufacturing Consent*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books.

Ibekwe, Chinweizu. 1975. *The West and the Rest of Us: White Predators, Black Slaves and the African Elite*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.

James, George G. M. 1989. *Stolen Legacy*. Newport News, VA: United Brothers Communication System.

Langley, Ayo J., ed. 1979. *Ideologies of Liberation in Black Africa: 1856–1970*. London, UK: Rex Collings.

M'buyinga, E. 1975. *Pan-Africanism or Neo-Colonialism: The Bankruptcy of the O.A.U.* London, UK: Zed Press.

Nkrumah, Kwame. 1963. "'Principles of African Studies.' Address, Official Opening of the Institute for African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon." *Voice of Africa* 3 (3).

Nkrumah, Kwame. 1964. *Consciencism*. London, UK: Heinemann.

Nkrumah, Kwame. 1965. *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*. New York, NY: International Publishers.

Nkrumah, Kwame. 1967. *Axioms*. New York, NY: International Publishers.

Nsanze, Terence. 1968. "In Search of an African Ideology." *Pan-African Journal* 1 (1): 27–30.

Nyerere, Julius K. 1966. *Freedom and Unity (Uhuru Na Umoja)*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press.

Obeng, Samuel. 1979. S*elected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah*. Vols. 1–4. Accra: Afram Publications.

Padmore, George. 1949. *Africa: Britain's Third Empire*. London, UK: Dennis Dobson.

Resnick, Idrian N. 1968. "The University and Development in Africa." *Pan-African Journal* 1 (1): 30–34.

Rodney, Walter. 1972. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. London, UK: Bogle-L'Ouvertune Pub.

Seme, Pixley Isaka. 1979. "The Regeneration of Africa." In *Ideologies of Liberation in Black Africa: 1856–1970*, edited by Ayo J. Langley, 261–265. London, UK: Rex Collings.

Smith, A. 1980. *The Geopolitics of Information, How Western Culture Dominates the World*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Van Sertima, I., ed. 1987. *Great African Thinkers, Vol. 1: Cheikh Anta Diop*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.

Williams, Chancellor. 1974. *The Destruction of Black Civilization: Great Issues of Race from 4500BC-2000AD*. Detroit, MI: Harlo Press.

Woodson, Carter G. 1933. *Mis-Education of the Negro*. Washington, DC: The Associated Publication.

Yesufu, T. M., ed. 1973. *Creating the African University: Emerging Issues of the 1970s*. Ibadan, Nigeria: Oxford University Press.

Visual Studies of Community Schools in an Inner Suburb of Bamako, Mali

Sidy Lamine Bagayoko

INTRODUCTION

Background

From 2012 to 2017, I visited community schools in an inner suburb named Sabalibougou of Bamako, the capital of Mali. I am not from Sabalibougou and have never lived there but I have lived in a neighborhood not far from there. My practical knowledge about the neighborhood enabled me to get in touch with the different actors involved in the field of education. I was worried about how it would be possible to use a camera in a neighborhood where people consider themselves to be living in extreme poverty. Lack of educational access, and securely acquired knowledge and skill, is both a part of the definition of poverty and a means for its diminution (Laugharn 2007).

My first step was to meet the mayor of Sabalibougou in order to get his permission despite the fact that I had an official research permit. The assistance of the city council helped me to be accepted by some people and to carry out my research and filming. I then started to look at different community schools and eventually decided to choose the community school Sector II as my research headquarter. I chose this particular community school because its principal allowed me to film in his school without any constraint, and in addition, it was one of the community school officially recognized by the local education authorities.

S. L. Bagayoko (✉)
Faculty of Humanities and Educational Leadership,
University of Arts and Humanities, Bamako, Mali

Community schools are nonprofit making schools, which aim at acquiring and developing instrumental and professional knowledge. They are created and managed by rural or urban communities or associations.[1] There are three kinds of schools following the curriculum of the Malian government: public schools, private schools, and community schools.

In Mali, the idea of creation of community schools was conceived for rural areas but because of the increasing educational needs, some urban areas created community schools to fill the gap left by government schools. That is the case in Sabalibougou. Creating a community school gives access to schooling for the children, knowing that many parents are not able to afford the private schools. The official aim of the creation of the community schools in general is thus to alleviate the task of the government in terms of schooling and at the same time to give parents more influence in the management of their children's education. Laugharn referring to DeStefano introduces some of the aims of the community schools: Children are able to attend school in their own village; the education is perceived as relevant to village needs; and parents feel they have a say in how the school is organized and run (Laugharn 2007, 10). I decided to study community schools in Sabalibougou because the first time I saw Sabalibougou I was very young and surprised to find this kind of quarter in the middle of a large city. I was struck by the living conditions of the people living here. As a little boy, I played football several times against the teams of Sabalibougou. I remarked the talent and skills of the members of the Sabalibougou team. I remarked the talent and skills of the children of Sabalibougou, their teams always consisting of good players. The three important things I remember from then are that they were obviously very good football players, that their supporters were violent when they played at home in Sabalibougou, and, finally, that most of them did not attend school. It was not common to see very young boys in my own neighborhood not attending school.

SHORT PRESENTATION OF THE MALIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Many efforts have been made to improve education in Mali since independence in 1960. However, the schooling rate remains among the lowest in the world. As cited in Okonkwo (2014):

> According to the CIA Factbook, adult literacy rate (2011 est.) was 33.4% in Mali ranking 146th out of 147 countries. The education system is in an abysmal state – there is dearth of schools in rural areas as well as shortage of teachers and educational facilities and materials. Also, primary school enrollment rate is below average owing to the high level of poverty in the country. (12)

The government has set up different strategies to resolve this problem. The latest was the Ten-Year Program of Development of Education (PRODEC[2]), which aims at improving education management in terms of quantity and quality. This program was reformulated in 2000 with the objective to achieve

universal primary education (La Banque mondiale 2007). One of the cornerstones of this program is to involve local communities in school management.

Different reforms made since 1962 have contributed to a rapid development of the Malian education system. Despite the efforts made by communities, many problems persist such as low school attendance, lack of financing, lack of teaching materials and human resources, and misunderstanding of the roles and responsibilities of some actors and partners within the education system.

The Malian educational system consists of four levels:

1. Preschool education.
2. Primary school. In Mali, it starts from age six and is composed of two cycles. The first cycle is six years and the second cycle three years.
3. Secondary school is what is called "lycées"[3] high schools or professional schools that are the intermediary level between primary school and higher education.
4. Higher education is composed of the university and the institutes (presently Mali has 5 universities).

There are four kinds of education in Mali:

A. Non-formal education including the *Medersas*,[4] the Koranic schools, and other training and courses conducted in institutions with no links with the Ministry of Education;
B. Special education, for example, for persons with disabilities and adult learning (the institute for the blind, the institute for the deaf, and courses in adult education);
C. General education or formal education in Mali; it concerns all the primary schools and secondary schools, and tertiary education at the university;
D. Technical and professional training at secondary schools which are different from *lycées*. They run shorter training courses.

There are three different kinds of schools: public schools, private schools, and community schools, which are considered as semi-private. It is important to note that since 2013, the government of Mali has started the process of transformation of community schools in public schools. That process should have as results, the recruitment of all the community schools' teachers in the State civil service. Unfortunately, still in 2019, more than 2/3 of those community schools remained in their former situation, managed by local communities, having the same problems, as in the lack proper premises in urban areas, for example, because the government could not afford for their transformation in public school. Some West African Francophone countries educational authorities committed themselves to focusing on increasing school attendance since this was very low in comparison with other Anglophone African countries. This situation of Mali may be explained by the poverty of the country, considered to be among the 10 poorest countries in the world since several years, among 188 countries classified in 2016, Mali was at the 175th rank, and

in 2018, Mali was at the 182th rank among 189 countries.[5] Education is one of the components of the Human Development Index; this goes to show how vital education is to the advancement of an economy (Okonkwo 2014, 1). Financially, Mali could not support the educational needs of the majority of citizens. The major challenges are access, capacity building, and quality. Many strategies were designed to promote education access to all, especially girls, to support teachers' recruitment, and financing the building of schools. However, the difference is huge between all the plans and the reality on the ground, for example in the inner suburb of Sabalibougou. Through the problems of education, I have seen all the other difficulties the populations of Sabalibougou are confronted with in order to cope with the extreme poverty with which the majority of the population in Mali are living.

RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES

In the course of this study, my focus has been on *why and how some community schools exist in a town like Bamako and which constraints the community schools in the inner suburbs are confronted with?* In trying to reach my objective, I defined the following tasks:

1. To understand the role and significance of all stakeholders, i.e., the population, teachers, authorities, parents, and pupils in the context of community schools.
2. To identify the problems and challenges faced by the community schools and the factors causing these problems.
3. To assess whether the community sees the schools as their own schools, i.e., is there a sense of ownership and responsibility? And why or why not?

In this chapter, I intend to show which impact the absence of community schools could have for the children of Sabalibougou. I identify the reasons for the difficulties with which the community schools are confronted. I also show the impact of the community schools in increasing the schooling rate especially for girls and its importance for children. In addition, I look at the involvement of the whole educational community in Sabalibougou: the school authorities, the political and administrative authorities, the board committees, the parent associations, the teachers and pupils of community schools, and the local population, i.e., what Ogbu (1981, 4) calls the "school population" in his work on school ethnography.

METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL APPROACH

There were both advantages and disadvantages to using a video camera in my research. With the camera, I always received several questions regarding my presence. The questions asked did not only concern the camera but also the future impact of the use of camera, especially what could they gain from being filmed. Most of them categorically refused to be filmed, and in addition, they

refused to give information even without the camera for fear that anything they said might have unwanted consequences. On the other hand, the use of camera helped to bring to life vividly the actors involved for the audiences of my film. Thanks to the camera, the real expressions and feelings of people appear. Looking through the audiovisual material, I realized that certain facts, reactions, and answers would be difficult to describe using simple field notes. An example is the director of the local department of education, C.A.P, who hesitated in his responses because he was not fulfilling the obligations of C.A.P. Another is the stormy debate between Sector II teachers during a staff' meeting about the salary. Finally, there are the classroom activities in which Negueting Traoré, the school principal, corrects the misspelling of a pupil during a reading session. There is also another scene in which Maimouna, the wife of Negueting, teaches the little children how to read, by following the text from the left to the right side of the board. Despite her enthusiastic explanation, we see a child continuing to read from the right to the left.[6]

Methods of Data Collection

I have used various methods to collect my data. Structured interviews were carried out with some people to obtain specific information. This was the case, e.g., community school' principals, the head of school local authority, and other government officials. Participant observation was an important tool throughout the fieldwork; I observed settings and social situations, sometimes participating actively, for example in the classrooms and other activities. Observation was essential both with and without a camera. The utilization of video camera was following an observational cinema method of Henley, involving in the processes of discovery and participation with my informants (Henley 2004, 166). The camera was to me almost like the microscope is for the biologist investigating (Loizos 1993, 17).

Doing anthropology almost at home made the process in many ways easy for me but I do not feel that like I was affected by what Eriksen describes as home blindness (Eriksen 2004, 34).

In the sense that every single fact, scene, and story aroused my curiosity, I remained keen to discover all the aspects of the lives of my informants both with and without the camera, including everyday matters such as when they drink from the same cup, eat an unpeeled mango, or brush their teeth with a toothpick among the family.

I held discussions and conversations with people whenever the opportunity arose. This was done most of the time in either Bamanankan (the lingua franca in Mali) or in French, the official language of Mali. I felt I was doing fieldwork in my own culture, as an "insider" referring to Holliday's concepts of "insider" and "outsider."

I had the most joyful, and worst, moments with my informants when they talked about their sadness, anger, and disease. I attended official and unexpected meetings of the school board and board committee.[7] I attended social

events like funerals, sacrifices, and baptism ceremonies, i.e., everyday events and daily routines as mentioned by Emerson et al. (1995, 1). I traveled with some of my informants, prayed with them in the mosques, played football and cards with them, and ate with them. Eating with people in Sabalibougou represents a great mark of respect and friendship which made them feel pride. In the course of different encounters in the community, I managed to construct bridges of understanding between different actors in discussing the objectives and targets of my fieldwork among them, allowing me to get information. According to Dahl (2006, 2), constructing bridges of understanding in inter-cultural communication research may be difficult or even unsuccessful in certain cases.

Observation Without a Camera

In the beginning, I was interested in getting in touch with key actors and decision-makers. Sabalibougou is reputed to be dangerous because of the crime and vandalism of certain unknown groups of young people. I met one of the city councilors who are actually known to be quite violent himself and good at dealing with criminals. My close relationship with the mayor helped me to start my research in safety. I first made a "grand tour" observations of the quarter following the method described by Spradley (1980, 77), seeking the locations and actors, etc., of the different community schools and then chose the school on which I would focus. In the end, I chose a school named Sector II for many reasons as described above.

I first talked with the students who brought me to the principal's home. I discussed my project with the principal and entered an agreement concerning the development of my research. Before starting shooting, I met more than one hundred children, asking them questions about the conditions at school and in the local community. I also looked for suitable characters for my film. Even without the camera or notebook, I used my own ability to find out what was going on in certain situations, such as at teachers' board committee meetings and visits by school managers to the town hall, in which I could not ask questions for fear of provoking conflicts between stakeholders (Hobbs and May 1993, 10).

Observation with a Camera

I used the camera both to observe and to document discussions with people. By doing this, I privileged certain of my informants with whom I spent more time than others. My focus groups included the headmasters, teachers, and pupils of community schools, those responsible for the community schools at a local level, such as the director of the local of salaries, payment of rent, and so on. It is totally different from a school board composed of teachers, whereas the only teacher represented in the board committee is the principal.

The Department of Education (C.A.P), the director of the regional department of education (Academy), as well as the pupils' parents, the mayor

of Sabalibougou, and the general public. Since my research focused on school issues, I chose Negueting, the school principal, as my main informant. Three pupils (one boy and two girls) were chosen to show the daily life of a child in Sabalibougou. Although I spent much more time with them than other children, many others took part in the filming and as informants. The age of my child informants is between 4 and 14 years. I filmed in all the seven classrooms of the community school in which I was based, enabling me to record the situation in the classrooms and the work atmosphere that exists between teachers and pupils. I also filmed a group of young women in the street where many women do activities because of the heat in the narrow family compounds. I filmed general footage of the quarter of Sabalibougou including the town hall, the market place, the sheep's market place, the location of the schools, and water supply points.

The presence of the camera had a general effect. People would like to understand why I used the camera as a research tool. They were not familiar with the use of camera which had not been used by previous researchers in the quarter. On the other hand, the presence of the camera did not have any influence on the content of my field materials. To them, the camera provided an opportunity for the community school to be broadcast all over the world in order to allow people to understand their predicament.

Interviews with Camera and Without Camera

I filmed interviews with different people who, for example, gave me more attention when referring to them while interviewing the school and political authorities. Interviews were efficient because they revealed the background of many conflicts and difficulties that gave me an understanding of current problems related to community schools. While filming, despite the fact that certain questions were conceived beforehand, different improvised questions became necessary in order to get more information and clarification about main questions. Interviews were also carried out without the camera, often informally in talking with people and holding spontaneous discussions about a particular problem raised by an informant. When we ate, slept, or traveled together we would discuss matters regarding community schools. Besides all these interviews, some informants required formal questionnaires which they were going to read in order to prepare for our meeting. I also carried out a formal interview in order to get information about the salaries of teachers and the monthly student fees of each school.

Theoretical Framework

The focus of my thesis is why and how some community schools exist in a town like Bamako and which constraints the community schools in the inner suburbs of Bamako are confronted with? The theorists I draw on are:

- Benedict Anderson, Anthony P. Cohen, Olivier de Sardan, Goffman, Frederick Barth, and Reidar Grønhaug;
- Albert Antonioli, John U. Ogbu, Pia Christensen and Margaret O'Brien, Peter I. Crawford, and Gardner and Lewis; and
- Hilda Kuper, Jonathan Baker, and Thomas Hylland Eriksen.

The community school belongs to the community in which it is situated. In order to understand the interaction between people in Sabalibougou, I will try to show what a community like Sabalibougou with about ten ethnic groups is like. Whatever these people might have in common in that community, my fieldwork experience has shown me that they have many differences. I concluded that it is an imagined community based on Anderson's model (1991): "all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined" (6). While Anderson is referring to the nation, the concept works equally for the community of Sabalibougou. Within the community, people belong to different ethnic groups and religions, and within those religions, they belong to different sects, which makes them so different in their way of thinking and their behavior. To paraphrase Anderson, I would say a community in Sabalibougou is imagined because the urban forces people to overcome ethnic and religious barriers. Here, former rural practices are replaced by practices shared by the rest of the community in the city. This concept of imagined communities becomes relevant because it can be linked to the idea of belonging of Anthony P. Cohen (1982).

Since I am dealing with education in an extremely poor area, I have been utilizing development theory in order to understand the link between education and community development. Again, Olivier de Sardan (1995) has been a strong voice in the discourse of development in anthropology. In his work *Anthropology and Development*, he wrote:

> 'Development' is just another form of social change; it cannot be understood in isolation. The analysis of development actions and popular reactions to these actions should not be isolated from the study of local dynamics, of endogenous processes, of 'informal' processes of change. Hence, anthropology of development cannot be dissociated from anthropology of social change. (23–24)

On the other hand, Gardner and Lewis (1996) summarize what development means shortly in the following term "In virtually all its usages, development implies positive change or progress" (3). Of course, I admit that I would also like my study to contribute to the improvement of the conditions of community schools in Sabalibougou, as is common in the social sciences according to Olivier de Sardan (1995, 110). This positive change is also sought for by the principal Negueting Traoré. In his interview, he emphasizes the need for a plot of land in order to build suitable school, furniture and decent salaries for teachers. The principal Negueting continues by saying that the parents want to school their children, but they cannot afford it.

   Kuper says that: "Towns, as strategically situated centres of innovations, have always received immigrants" (1965, 2). In addition, she finds two forms of migration: One is migration through coercion owing to negative forces and the other is voluntary migration, motivated by positive inducements (ibid., 2). For Kuper whatever the reasons, migration is not only related to urbanization. Like Kuper, Baker, in dealing with migration in francophone Africa, talks about climate effects on the soil throughout the decrease in rainfall in certain francophone landlocked countries (Baker 1997, 16).

Sabalibougou: A Village in the City of Bamako

"There are several related causes of urbanization. Population growth in the countryside and transitions from subsistence agriculture to the production of cash crops lead to a general land shortage and greater vulnerability; simultaneously, new opportunities for wagework arise in and near the cities" (Eriksen 2001, 245). When the founding fathers of Sabalibougou created the neighborhood, it was situated in a suburban area instead of the center, like it is today. In the late 1960s, Sabalibougou was considered a village outside the city. The founders created it because they wanted to benefit from the proximity to the city center of Bamako. They continued to practice agriculture, cultivating a small piece of land during the rainy season, and were involved in small manual jobs or, in the worst cases, in seasonal labor like *bara-gnini*[8] (Meillassoux 1965, 40). Nowadays, the factors that urge people to move from rural areas to Bamako remain the same. Most of the families in the suburb and squatter areas are from the rural areas.

   The family situation of some of my informants gives an understanding of the current situation in the community and the community school issue. According to some elder members of the quarter, in the past, people from Sabalibougou did not need to be qualified in order to get a factory job and other small jobs like a house-worker or servant in the rich quarters of Bamako. They built their own houses and did not pay rent. They used to have no electricity and did not need to take the *sotrama* for the simple reason that it did not reach Sabalibougou. For public transport, it was the *Dourouni*[9] that was four times cheaper than the *sotrama* of today. Life in Sabalibougou was less stressful as was life in Bamako in general. There was no stress linked to unemployment and uncertainty about getting daily food as today. Community schools and poverty are the main focus of this thesis. Sabalibougou is like a village in the city, migration being the source of its population. There are severe problems with health, hygiene, and sanitation. I discuss the perception people have of themselves as well as the way outsiders see them. Religion is an important cultural aspect in the community in general, and sport is an important aspect of youth culture in particular. I try to demonstrate the holistic character of what Ogbu calls a "school ethnography," which attempts to show how education is linked with economy, the local situation, the belief systems and practices of the people served by the schools (Ogbu 1981, 7).

The lives and realities of families, teachers, and the school principal helped to show different aspects of the situation in the quarter linked to education and the Sector II community school. Negueting, the school principal, came to Bamako for the first time because the city needed him. While families migrate for various reasons, his migration was voluntary. Migration has resulted in an increase in the number of absolute urban poor in many cities, as foreseen by a World Bank report from 1991 (Baker 1997, 17). Different short-term survival strategies are required to fight against urban poverty. I believe that a long-term investment through education could be a solution for the poor urban area to prevent extreme poverty in the future (Crawford 2001, 1). Such an investment could help the community schools of Sabalibougou, which are dealing with extremely poor people who are not able to afford education fees for their children.

Exodus from Rural Areas to an Urban Setting

"Most urban dwellers in non-industrial countries, however, are usually classified as poor, although their lot might not have been better if they had stayed in the countryside" (Eriksen 2001, 245–246). Many discussions I had during fieldwork revealed that most of the people living the quarter with children in the community school Sector II have migrated from rural areas, being part of what has been known as the Malian rural exodus. The migrants have chosen to live in Sabalibougou, as well as in any other suburbs and slums of Bamako, because they were attracted by the advantages linked to the life in the city. They had escaped from the terrible famine in their villages linked to the merciless droughts in many Sub Saharan countries. Others, such as civil servants like Negueting Traoré, decided to move to Sabalibougou as part of what Hilda Kuper calls coerced or voluntary migration (Kuper 1965, 2). Sabalibougou became for them the place where they can manage with their low salaries due to their ability to cope with the life in the village. The story of Negueting constitutes a tool for grasping the dynamic of rural–urban interaction.

In the course of discussions and trips, I relived certain aspects of my informants' stories with them, often through conversations that did not form part of the filming, which was also the case with Negueting, although he is the main protagonist of the film. Negueting is both the community school principal and a night watchman. As principal, he teaches one class like the other teachers. The fact that the principal gives courses is not common in the other community schools of Sabalibougou. As principal he is busy with all the administrative tasks and school interrelations with parents and so forth. He combines the job as principal with that of teacher of the fourth grade. In addition, he is employed by a security firm. He is at school during the day and spends nights protecting a house as guardian.

Negueting is from a village called Nonsombougou, a village of the second administrative region (Koulikoro) of Mali, about 130 kms from Bamako. He completed primary school in his own village and then attended the institute

of training to become a junior secondary schoolteacher in Bamako. After he graduated, he first became a teacher and afterward the supervisor of a school for the Malian civil service.

After four years of complete disillusion, Negueting left his farming equipment with his mother and brothers and returned with his family to Sabalibougou to re-begin his life. Since he had resigned from the public service, he could not expect to have any monthly remuneration while in Bamako. He urgently needed to find a job to feed his family back in Sabalibougou. Fortunately, he did not sell his house when he left Bamako, although houses do not cost much. The first job the former civil servant and professional farmer got was selling cakes, which, however, did not enable him to feed his family. He then got a chance to get a formal job. He was first employed by a security firm, working as night watchman at the house of an American diplomat. Meanwhile, due to his qualification and background in teaching, the community school Sector II approached him and he became night watchman and schoolteacher at the same time. Since he did not have time to sleep during daytime, because of the teaching job, the security firm dismissed Negueting because most nights he fell asleep. He could not, however, survive on the miserable salary of a community schoolteacher alone and managed to find another job as watchman.

Negueting is responsible for about fifteen people, including the children of his deceased brothers and other relatives. Like Negueting, most people live in Sabalibougou because the life in their rural area became almost impossible for them.

Many informants told me that life does not exist in the village. While in the village one is dependent on the fragile economy of farming, one has at least hoped to improve one's situation in the city. Negueting Traoré's case shows that migration is not necessarily related to urbanization but may depend on the pressure and the need of migrants rather than the fact that the area is urban (Kuper 1965, 17).

From Own Perception to Outsider Perception

The conditions might be hard in a community but may become even harder when people under-estimate themselves because of the social conditions. The term class is not so much used in Bamako because it is difficult to distinguish between definite social classes since we may find, inside the same family or the same friendship group, wage earners, craftsmen, high officials, rich businessmen, and laborers (Meillassoux 1965, 140). But in Sabalibougou people do not hesitate to regard themselves belonging to a lower class. When one talks about lower class in a poor country, it does not necessarily mean the layer composed of workers the low salaries but concerns people who live on the poverty line, surviving from informal and manual jobs such as water carrying, brick-making, and small trades.

The *Sabalibougoukaw*[10] regard themselves as extremely poor. Everybody emphasizes extreme poverty when they talk about the importance of the community school for the local population. Most people in Sabalibougou are aware that they are illiterate and also that the majority is extremely poor. The situation affects children in their daily lives, acknowledging that they are different from people of other neighborhoods in Bamako. The city-makers of tomorrow feel stigmatized for living in a place associated with poverty and discrimination (Christensen and O'Brien 2003, 118–122).

In the book of Christensen and O'Brien, the living conditions of the pupils of Sector II seem to be unfolded by Chawla and Malone when they portrayed the indicators of community quality from children perspectives (Christensen and O'Brien 2003, 122). I noticed that the children of Sabalibougou in general are stigmatized for living in a quarter associated with poverty, discrimination, violence and crime, dirtiness, and teenage pregnancy. They feel politically powerless to improve the current conditions of lack of provision for basic needs like clean water and sanitation. All the points in those works are raised to improve the environment for children both by safeguarding their lives and providing them with opportunities in the future.

What is crucial about Morrow's work (in Christensen and O'Brien 2003, 168) is the pupils' sense of belonging. Despite the conditions of Sector II, pupils said that they prefer the school environment over that of the home. They feel harassed by the non-stop work they do at home, such as carrying water from the water pump every day. Children do not enjoy themselves at all when they stay home. This joy, however, could be seen on the face of the pupils at school in the course of the celebration of the end year in my film. This celebration is a unique event at school, though many pupils cannot attend because they cannot afford the price of admission.

Referring to some of my young informants who have siblings at Sector II, the reason in some families for not sending all the children to school is due to the huge number of children. For example, one informant says: *If you have more than five children for example, you cannot put all of them in school because you cannot afford it*. I often asked why people had so many children when they knew that they could not cope. I asked some young women and men why they did not use contraception when discussing birth control and sexually transmitted infections. But they said that it is not possible to talk about such subjects with someone who is older than you. The principal of the community school "ATT" told me that the lack of birth control and teenage pregnancies are main factors in the increasing number of children. He actually said that "… if you have difficulties or are unable to have a baby, you should come to Sabalibougou." The subject of reproduction remains a taboo due to lack of awareness and because of cultural barriers, such as the way many adults say that it is forbidden to use contraception and impolite for young educated relatives to talk about these issues with them.

Despite the differences in religion, social practices, and cultural values, people attend each other's social events and help each other with small daily

problems. People take part in their neighbors' wedding or baptism ceremonies, and in the cases of death, there is always a lot of support. In this last situation, the neighboring families spending the whole day with the grieving family. Schools and shops close down and young people take on the role of gravedigger. The solidarity between people is thus evident in Sabalibougou. It is through these social events that the distinctive sense of solidarity and of belonging (see Cohen 1982) is expressed between members of the community in Bamako.

People used to ask me if I thought Sabalibougou was different from other neighborhoods of Bamako. My answer was always that it is a neighborhood of the capital city like any other neighborhood. Once I wanted to print out some pictures, I took in the community school Sector II. I went to a place not far from Sabalibougou, and yet the person in charge of the shop asked me in which village I had taken the photos. I was surprised and shocked and wondered "what is the reason for this kind of question?" After I told him the location, he just said "Oh anyway that quarter is equal to a village."

The majority of people involved in small trade with, for example, peanuts, bananas, and melons are children from Sabalibougou. They have to walk long distances, so their feet become red from the particular dust in Sabalibougou. Most of my child informants are either pupils of the community schools or have dropped out from school because the parents could not afford the fees. Many of the children attending Sector II are trading during afternoons and weekends when they do not have class.

Main Findings

When Albert Antonioli talks about the right to learn, a school for all the children in Africa, he thinks that hunger and sickness in the world are the direct consequence of illiteracy (Antonioli 1993, 17). In Mali, community schools have been created in general with the will to resolve the lack of public education (see Cissé et al. 2000). Furthermore, they contribute in tackling the problem of access to school in certain poor urban areas like Sabalibougou. The board committees are designated by the communities to manage the school as it should be. Those school managers being a part of the community are poor as well as the population customers. Therefore, the equation between poverty and education is unbalanced. Education belonging to an entire community cannot be managed without the commitment of the whole community, and their awareness about the importance of education is not sufficient if their contribution is lacking. Existing in the same environment with people having the same social conditions, the community schools are almost confronted with the same major constraints denying their progress, and their management becomes problematic, to some extent impossible. The constraints are the main reasons impeding the progress and the management of the community schools in Sabalibougou. The case of Sector II highlights all these issues.

Background of the Common Problems

The first condition to establish a community school is to possess an adequate schoolyard with a proper school building (see Marchand 2000). By an adequate schoolyard, I mean a place where one can build classrooms, toilets, have a water supply and playing ground for children, thus where pupils can learn and stimulate (Loi 99-046 AN RM, du 28 décembre 1999). All of the five community schools visited during my research do not fulfill these conditions, which were fixed by the educational law in Mali. All the community schools in Sabalibougou are located in the places formerly reserved for housing purposes. The same yard used for a family compound is used for a schoolyard, equivalent to more than one hundred as many people.

From the point of view of the schools' managers, the problem is neither the size of the premises nor the size of the classrooms built, but the cost of the site. In most of the cases, the owners of the sites are not members of the board committees for fear that the school will confiscate its own pupils and thus not having enough children in the community school. So the school managers have to pay expensive fees each month if they want to stay where they are. Sometimes the payment of the bill for the premises is more pressing than the salaries of teachers. All the constraints are linked because when the school managers threaten to leave the premises because of lack of money, their only alternative is to press the delayed parents who have two or three months to pay before removing their child. When the non-paid months accumulate, the amount becomes higher and thus more difficult for the poor parents to pay. The concerned parents try to negotiate a little bit and when the school managers remain inflexible because of the pressure from the premises' owner, the parents become discouraged and take out their child from the school. The main reason advanced by many parents is that they are not sure about the future even if the children remain at school because the degree does not ensure the job for the children.

The source of the real reason is lack of money to keep paying the school fees of children from one side and from the other side lack of money to keep the family viable. The pressure is appreciated because the overwhelming majority of the children, attending school or not are involving in the small trades to help their family in Sabalibougou.

Negueting Traoré the Community School's Principal

The principal Negueting Traoré runs an elementary community school in an inner suburb of Bamako, the capital of Mali. His fight is about keeping the school open in the face of minimal state support and the inability of parents to keep up with even the modest fees he needs in order to pay teachers and secure decent premises.

The struggles of Negueting Traore and his fellow teachers are to keep their community school of Sector II functioning. To show their commitment, various government officials emphasize the importance of community schools to the nation without being able to guarantee sufficient support to keep Sector II viable. Along the way of our research, we see something of the home life of Principal Traoré and his wife—who also teaches at the school—and we come to realize that they have a fight on their hands just to support their own family. The film part of this research titled "The Principal's Fight" is itself inspired by a film entitled "Bamako" by Sissako in which African civil society spokesmen have taken proceedings against the World Bank and the IMF whom they blame for Africa's woes. Among the pleas and the testimonies, there is one who says "Two thirds of our children are illiterate and now we're being asked to pay to acquire knowledge" (Sissako 2006). This situation is a reality in Sabalibougou because without knowing the exact figures of illiteracy among children, many are without education owing to lack of money to pay the fees since they do not have access to free education. Without a primary education, children lack the skills and knowledge required to improve their situation and are likely to remain impoverished for the rest of their lives (see Tabacaru 2018). The film part also highlights aspects of the city, with the traffic and noises as attributed to African cities by Rouch in *The Mad Masters* (Rouch 1955).

Negueting Traoré the principal of Sector II is in fact the main protagonist of this research. In the film part of this work, his life and realities are shown through his family and workplace and different facets of his personality.

Goffman stated:

> Defining social role as the enactment of rights and duties attached to a given status, we can say that a social role will involve one or more parts and that each of these different parts may be presented by the performer on a series of occasions to the same kinds of audience or to an audience of the same persons. (1959, 12)

In addition, Goffman also talks about the "backstage" and "frontstage." That view of Goffman can be highlighted by Negueting through his social role in different situations and contexts, such as with family, at school, in the classroom, at the night watchman place, in the office of the director of the local Department of Education. Negueting is the principal of Sector II, and in Mali, this normally requires only taking responsibility for administrative duties. In addition to being principal, Negueting is required to teach one class like all the normal teachers. In fact, many people regard Negueting as to be more or less wealthy and too fond of money because of his social role as school principal in charge of collecting pupils' monthly fees. He is the principal for everybody at school but for the pupils of his class, he is both a teacher

and the principal. This official role as principal allows Negueting to meet various government officials representing Sector II community school, and to be respected.

For Maimouna, the wife of Negueting who also teaches at Sector II, Negueting is above all her husband and head of the family, as well as a principal, member of the board committee of Sector II community school and CSCOM II (*Centre de Santé Communautaire*—Community Healthcare Center–), and a night watchman. These aspects of his personality show the backstage of his life which proves he is obliged to do several jobs in order to support his own family.

Gronhaug noted, "*The complexity is the fact that the same individuals within a population seek out, and are drawn into different fields of activity, where the rules for participation, the forms of interaction, and the number of actors involved, will vary from case to case*" (1978, 5). I found it necessary to use Grønhaug' concept of social field in this study because his concept can help to understand, organize carefully, and give a meaning to the different stages of involvement in the community's daily life throughout the interaction of Negueting. Like Grønhaug, Barth also points out social statuses as important in the interactions in his "Models of social organisation." Barth stated, "Behind this creation of organised encounters, we can identify the interests and goals that set social life in motion: we can recognise social statuses as assets, and situations as association for realising them by enactment" (1966, 122). All of these three scholars mention social status and its effect on the actor interactions of different settings in the community. Analyzing my empirical materials, I agree that the social statuses of Negueting are assets for him playing several roles of interaction on behalf of his school, his community, and above all his own family. These statuses were also assets for me as a researcher because they allowed me to have a better possibility to explore the life of my main informant in different contexts, situations, and interactions highlighting different themes about his life. In the paper as well, his current situation and condition of life is described in addition to his life story.

These show the different forms of social suffering, like living in a deprived area (Sabalibougou), unemployment, poverty, failed expectations, even neighborhood feuds, and crime Negueting experienced (see Bourdieu et al. 1999). Rather than having societal consequences on their current life like in most of those kinds of life stories, as Trine Fossland utilized to treat the young marginalized immigrants in Norway (Fossland 2008, 56), Negueting is continuing the fight with his schoolteachers' colleagues and certain devoted families who have experienced some of the same forms of social suffering to do their best to save children from illiteracy. In the actual discussion about the payment, some parents accuse the principal aggressively to be too fond of money. These accusations are most of the times accompanied by insults and end up in a quarrel. One of these cases was when a mother of two pupils came to complain

by insulting the principal, threatening to remove her children from the school because she thinks that her children failed an exam through the fault of the principal Negueting and the teacher in charge of the class.

Conclusion

The main question of this research was how and why some community schools in the inner suburbs of Bamako and with what constraints the community schools are confronted in order to survive. Of course, this research has not covered all the inner suburb areas of Bamako but it focuses on the neighborhood of Sabalibougou. Here, people are confronted with the same problems and have the same social backgrounds as in any populated inner suburban area of Bamako. In particular, the inner suburbs are characterized by poverty and migration owing to the population explosion of this postcolonial city since the 1960s.

This work highlights the struggles of Sector II as a community school and its analyses show that the conditions of community schools in Sabalibougou remain deplorable; the staff including principals and teachers is extremely underpaid in comparison with the average salary of other schoolteachers in Mali. The salaries while very low are delayed and paid only for nine months instead of twelve. The delay and the lack of salary are due to the incapacity of parents to afford it. The infrastructure is almost nonexistent, with a lack of elementary facilities like acceptable classrooms, usable blackboards, and appropriate educational materials.

This study attempts to grasp the difficulties linked to the existence of the community schools in Sabalibougou. Through this study, it has been shown that a child's education is hindered by different factors in Sabalibougou. The opinions and the attitudes of the local population contribute widely to the planning of some ideas about the future success of the community school. The authorities, both political and educational, have much to do in the issue of education in the area. With the support of the authorities, the community school will be able to transform their service to their pupils as well as the rest the youth of Sabalibougou, who could carry out other "cultural activities" in addition to sport activities which will be practiced on the ground in the community school.

Finally, it has been shown in this work that, contrary to assumptions about the shortage of education in rural areas as well as rural poverty, the situation might be worse in certain urban areas like Sabalibougou. In sum, the process and the results of this research show me the necessity of film in representing the realities of people, which is in turn supported by the text that counts my experience shared with the community of Sabalibougou. It highlights what film can do for text in ethnographic research (Henley 2004, 111). Since the observational film method has been privileged, I realized the value of many facts in looking through the footages of my video materials. The editing process became like reliving the fieldwork.

Notes

1. This definition of community schools is given according to decree number 944778/PRM 28, December 1994 concerning the regulation of community schools in Mali (Cissé et al. 2000, 42).
2. A strategic planning of the national policy of education system recondition from the period of 1999 to 2009, launched by the Malian president in 1999, the orientations and the objectives of this programme are defined in the work of Cissé et al., Les écolescommunautaires au Mali. UNESCO, IIEP (Cissé et al. 2000, 172–188).
3. In Mali, the Lycée is a three-year course. In the third year, students obtain the baccalaureate, which is the requirement for entering university.
4. Medersa or Madrasa (Cf. Sanankoua 1985) is a school in which the language of instruction is Arabic. There is at times an emphasis on religion and the curriculum is different from the official curriculum of the Ministry of Education.
5. UNDP. 2016. *Présentation Rapport sur le développement humain 2016 Le développement humain pour tous/Presentation Human Development Report 2016 Human Development for All. New York, NY: UNDP.* http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/HDR2016_FR_Overview_Web.pdf, http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2018_summary_human_development_statistical_update_en.pdf.
6. There are many other examples from my footage but these are included in the film, "The principal Fight," which forms part of this work.
7. The term board-committee is the literal translation of "*comité de gestion*" in French, the organ composed of local people in charge of the management of the community school in terms of recruitment of teachers, payment of salaries, of rent, and so on. It is totally different from a school board composed of teachers whereas the only teacher represented in the board-committee is the principal.
8. *Bara-gnini* literally means 'work seeker' from Bambara, *bara*: work and *gnini*: to seek.
9. This term is from the Bambara word *dourou* that means 'five' in English, it became the name of the public transportation in Bamako because the trip cost only 25 CFA francs, but today the Sotrama costs 150 CFA for the same trip.
10. Someone from Sabalibougou is called Salibougouka in Bambanankan; in plural, it becomes Sabalibougoukaw, the inhabitants of Sabalibougou.

References

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London, UK: Verso.

Antonioli, Albert. 1993. *Le droit d'apprendre, une école pour tous en Afrique*. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Baker, Jonathan. 1997. *Rural-Urban Dynamics in Francophone Africa*. Uppsala: The Nordic Africa Institute.

Barth, Frederick. 1966. *Model of Social Organisation*. London Royal Anthropological Institute.

Barth, Frederick. 1981. *Model of Social Organisation and Analytical Dimensions in the Comparison of Social Organisation in Process and Form in Social Life. Selected Essays of Frederick Barth*. Vol. I. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Bourdieu, Pierre, Alain Accardo, Gabrielle Balazs, Stephane Beaud, Franois Bonvin, Emmanuel Bourdieu, Philippe Bourgois, Sylvain Broccolichi, Patrick Champagne, Rosine Christin, Jean-Pierre Faguer, Sandrine Garcia, Remi Lenoir, Francoise CEuvrard, Michel Pialoux, Louis Pinto, Denis Podalydes, Abdelmalek Sayad, Charles Soulie, Loïc J. D. Wacquant. 1999. *The Weight of the World Social Suffering in Contemporary Society*. Translated by Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, Susan Emanuel, Joe Johnson, and Shoggy T. Waryn. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Christensen, Pia, and Margaret O'Brien. 2003. *Children in the City Home, Neighbourhood and Community*. London, UK: Routledge Falmer.

Cissé, Morifing, Abel Diarra, Jacques Marchand, and Sékou Traoré. 2000. *Les écoles communautaires au Mali*. Paris: UNESCO, IIEP.

Cohen, Anthony P. 1982. *Belonging Identity and Social Organisation in British Rural Cultures*. Manchester, UK: Manchester Press.

Crawford, Peter Ian. 2001. *Social Protection in Asian and the Pacific*. Manilla: Asian Development Bank.

Dahl, Øyvind. 2006. *Bridges of Understanding: Perspectives on Intercultural Communication*. In edited by Øyvind Dahl, Iben Jensen and Peter Nynäs. Oslo: Unipub forlag Oslo Academic Press.

Emerson, Robert, Rachel Fretz, and Linda Shaw. 1995. *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Eriksen, Thomas Hylland. 2001. *Small Places, Large Issues: An Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology*. 2nd ed. London, UK: Pluto Press.

Eriksen, Thomas Hylland. 2004. *What is Anthropology?* London: Pluto Press.

Fossland, Trine. 2008. Young Marginalised Immigrants in Norway, Migration Challenges and Marginalisation Processes Among Young Non-western Immigrants. In *Encounters & Place Enactment, Working Papers-Approaching Citizenship*, edited by CEPIN Research School, 53–77. University of Tromsø.

Gardner, Katy, and Lewis David. 1996. *Anthropology, Development and the Post-modern Challenge*. London: Pluto Press.

Goffman, Erving. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Middlesex, UK: Penguins Books.

Grønhaug, Reidar. 1978. "Scale as Variables in Analysis: Fields in Social Organization in Heart, Northwest Afghanistan." In *Scale and Social Organisation*, edited by F. Barth, 78–121. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Henley, Paul. 2004. "Putting Film to Work. Observational Cinema as Practical Ethnography." In *Working Images Methods and Media in Ethnographic Research*, edited by S. Pink and A. Alfonso. London, UK: Routledge.

Hobbs, Dick, and May Tim. eds. 1993. *Interpreting the Field: Accounts of Ethnography*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Kuper, Hilda. 1965. *Urbanization and Migration in West Africa*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

La Banque Internationale pour la Reconstruction et le Développement / La Banque mondiale. 2007. *L'éducation au Mali Diagnostique pour le renouvellement de la politique éducative en vue d'atteindre les objectifs du millénaire*. Washington, D.C.: Banque mondiale. https://poledakar.iiep.unesco.org/sites/default/files/fields/publication_files/resen_mali_2007_0.pdf.

Laugharn, Peter. 2007. "Negotiating 'Education for Many'. Enrolment, Dropout, and Persistence in the Community Schools of Kolondièba, Mali." *Create a Pathway to Access.* Research Monograph No. 14. London: Institute of Education.

Loizos, Peter. 1993. *Innovation in Ethnographic Film: From Innocence to Self-Consciousness 1955–1985.* Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.

Marchand, Jacques. 2000. *Les Ecolescommunautaires au Mali, Senegal, Togo.* Paris: Institut international de plannification de l'education (IIEP).

Meillassoux, Claude. 1965. "The Social Structure of Modern Bamako." *Journal of the International African Institute* 35(2): 125–142.

Ogbu, John U. 1981. "Issues in School Ethnography." *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 12 (1): 3–29.

Okonkwo, Jenifer. 2014. *Financing Education Reforms in Francophone West African countries.* Addis Abba, Ethiopia: African Economic Conference 2014. https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/AEC_2014__financing_education_reforms_in_francophone_west_african_countries_-_11_2014.pdf.

Olivier de Sardan, Jean-Pierre. 1995. *Anthropologie et developement. Essai en socio-anthropologie du changement social.* Paris: Karthala.

Sanankoua, Diarah Bintou. 1985. "Les écoles "Coraniques" au Mali: Problèmes actuels." *Canadian Association of African Studies* 19 (2): 359–367.

Spradley, James P. 1980. *Participation Observation.* South Melbourne, VIC: Wadsworth Learning.

Tabacaru, Ana Maria. 2018. "Adapting a New Educational Approach to Francophone West Africa." Cambridge, MA: JPAL. https://www.povertyactionlab.org/blog/5-31-18/adapting-new-educational-approach-francophone-west-africa.

UNDP. 2016. *Présentation Rapport sur le développement humain 2016 Le développement humain pour tous* [Presentation Human Development Report 2016 Human Development for All]. New York, NY: UNDP. http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/HDR2016_FR_Overview_Web.pdf, http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2018_summary_human_development_statistical_update_en.pdf.

Films cited

Bamako. DVD. 2006. Directed by Aberrahmane Sissako. Une coproduction Archipel 33—Chinguitty Films, Mali Images et Arte France, France. Distribué par les films du Losange.

The Mad Masters. VHS. 1955. Directed by Jean Rouch. Paris: Une Production des FILMS de la PLEÎDE.

The Principal's Fight. DVD. 2009. Directed by Sidy Lamine Bagayoko. Visual Culture Studies, University of Tromsø, Department of Social Anthropology.

CHAPTER 29

Afro-Anglophone Education

Peter Otiato Ojiambo

Introduction

In the postcolonial period, several Anglophone African countries have undertaken numerous educational reforms. Many of these reforms have been shaped by various educational historical forces both within and outside these countries' borders. Drawing on various educational reforms that have taken place in different Anglophone African countries in the last five decades, this chapter examines how their postcolonial educational undertakings have largely been influenced by their historical colonial educational legacies, and other Western external forces. This chapter interrogates in-depth the impact of these colonial and postcolonial historical influences on these countries national educational systems and it provides possible remedies.

Given the complex colonial and postcolonial educational historical experiences and reforms that have taken place in various Anglophone African countries, this chapter focuses on a few selected countries. In this regard, ideas advanced in this chapter must be regarded as broad generalizations that attempt to discuss the state of Afro-Anglophone education in Africa in the postcolonial period. Having said this, however, it is vital to note that there are indeed several educational characteristics which are common to most Anglophone and other African countries due to common external forces involvement in their educational reforms, sufficient to justify the general approach this chapter takes and the conclusion it makes. Specifically, the chapter provides a synthesis of education in Anglophone countries in the

P. O. Ojiambo (✉)
Department of African and African-American Studies,
University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS, USA
e-mail: ojiambo@ku.edu

postcolonial period; external influences on Anglophone and other African countries postcolonial education systems; alternative forms of education in Anglophone and other African countries in the postcolonial period; contemporary educational challenges in Anglophone and other African countries and; What the future holds with regard to education in Anglophone and other African countries.

Education in Anglophone African Countries in the Postcolonial Period

In order to comprehensively understand the current educational situation in Anglophone Africa, it is vital to understand its colonial and global history. Peter Kallaway (2019) observes that:

> Changes in African education cannot be understood outside of the historical traditions of education in Europe, North America, and the Middle East; the rise of mass education in the late nineteenth century linked to the evolution of nationalism, democracy, and modern capitalist society; the focus on curriculum reform related to the secularization of knowledge and the introduction of science into the curriculum; the emergence of managerialism imported from industry in relation to school management, control and assessment; the evolution of a new philosophy and pedagogy of *Progressive Education* that placed the child and the community at the centre. (n.p.)

There are limited studies on the history of education in the post-independence era and the impact of their colonial history, and even less in the way of external factors that have shaped the process. Most of the written works illustrate that much of the African educational historiography is dominated by the seminal studies of the formal history of colonial education systems. This presents a challenge for educational researchers that is of utmost importance for a deeper understanding of the roots of African educational reforms and their correlation to societal change in the postcolonial period, something that would make a vital contribution to the solution of the numerous intractable problems facing contemporary African education.

Postcolonial education policies in Africa were framed on two seminal policy documents—*Mass Education in African Society* (1944) and *Education for Citizenship in Africa* (1948). These two documents provided the template for the foundation of national education systems of various Anglophone and other African countries in the context of the political crisis that was precipitated by World War II and the need to rethink the role of the colonies in the global context of the post-war era period. After independence, colonial education systems in many African nations were merely replaced by those that, although satisfying the aspirations of many African countries, conformed, to a large extent, to their former colonial countries. Although some African countries have attempted educational reforms in the last fifty years, in practice,

education has remained a colonial legacy. The school systems have remained European, with the focus still on competitive examinations. Daniel Sifuna (1990) notes that "in the former Anglophone Africa some school systems still write British certificate examinations, and where local examining boards have been established, they are mere carbon copies of the same" (106).

The dominance of foreign teachers in many postcolonial African education systems in the first decade of independence continued to influence the process of educational reforms and curriculum innovations posing great challenges to the indigenization of the education. Citing the case of the Kenyan school curriculum, Sorobea Bogonko (1992) notes that "British teachers, course writers, project developers, disseminators, inspectors of schools and expatriate educationists dominated these areas of curriculum while Africans played subordinate roles" (80). The absence of indigenous personnel to take charge of their own education and curriculum reform process meant continued presence of foreign assumptions about what constituted valid school knowledge, and the means of teaching and assessing it. By 1981, the main secondary school examinations of seven Anglophone countries were still being set by Cambridge University and the curriculum of examination including authors of the selected literature works was essentially British. Despite some curriculum revisions that were made in some Anglophone African countries like Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Nigeria, in many countries the curriculum content, the examination structure at all levels remained British in outlook. An important departure from the British style was at tertiary level where some adaptations were made. For instance, all students at the universities of Nsukka, Ghana, Lagos, and Dar es Salaam were required to take an African Studies course (see Sifuna 1990). H. K. Wright and Ali Abdi (2012) argue further that in most Anglophone and other African countries minimal changes were made to the colonial philosophies of education. One exception was Nyerere's *Ujamaa* (villagization) programs of the 1960s in Tanzania. Nyerere advocated for an education that provided students, with a sense of self-reliance, the focus being mainly on agrarian economy.

British colonial education in most Anglophone African countries for several decades has also been unsuitable because it is closely allied to the history of Britain that is highly stratified. But the reality of the situation as Thandika Mkandawire (2005) observes is that "colonial education cannot be adapted to conditions in Africa because of the neat absence of a clear-cut social class structure" (49). The urge to reevaluate the education system inherited from colonialism is often felt in most Anglophone and other African countries though not necessarily achieved. In some instances, African neo-bourgeoisie have prolonged the life of colonialism inadvertently by talking so much of educational reforms and achieving little in this direction and by sustaining imperialism through neo-colonialism as a way of entrenching themselves in power.

It is clear, therefore, that the current educational challenges in many Anglophone and other African countries are deeply rooted in a long history.

Although colonial experience was relatively short-lived, its effects on African nations were profoundly phenomenal and disturbing. It is important too to note that an examination of the state of education in most Anglophone and other African countries in the postcolonial period although has vestiges of their colonial histories several of them have been re-shaped by external influences. It is in this regard that Phillip Coombs (1985) argues that Africa's educational enterprise cannot be properly assessed, nor rationally planned without examining the major global forces that strongly impinge on it.

External Influences on Anglophone Africa and Other African Countries Postcolonial Education

External Influences and Frameworks, 1960s–1980s

From the sixties to the early eighties what is commonly referred to as the era of independence was a period of optimism and expansion in African education. Abdelhag Rharade (1997) writes:

> It began with the historic 1960 Ashby Report on education in Nigeria and the equally widely quoted 1961 Addis Ababa conference. Before the decade was over some 40 manpower education plans had been published, not to mention the reports of a host of commissions of inquiry and academic studies. In the first five years alone, school enrolment in Africa rose by almost a half; the average proportion of the government budget spent on education jumped from one-seventh to over one-sixth and the proportion of national income devoted to education increased from 3 percent to 4.3 per cent. (29)

Education in Africa during the first decade of independence was shaped by several external forces. First was the *Report of the Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa* that was held in Addis Ababa in May 1961, under the joint sponsorship of UNESCO and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). The central aim of this conference was to provide a forum for African states to prioritize educational needs that could promote their economic, political, and social needs. Emphasis was placed on educational reforms that could produce the required manpower that was essential for the new African nations (see Bogonko 1992). Much emphasis in educational development was given to secondary and post-secondary education rather than universal primary education. Effecting the proposal required massive national budgetary allocations and external aid. In line with the resolution of the conference, African ministers of education met in Paris in March 1962 to discuss the implementation of the Addis Ababa plan.

The African educational framework for higher education during this period was also built on *The Tananarive Conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa* that was held in September 1962 under the leadership of UNESCO and the ECA as a follow up to the Paris March 1962 meeting.

The conference adopted the Addis Ababa Conference plan in estimating the qualitative and quantitative educational changes that were necessary to meet the manpower requirements of various African nations. According to Jeanne Moulton (2002), it established targets in higher education and made recommendations for the overall planning, financing, curriculum, and staffing of higher institutions in Africa. Additionally, it indicated the responsibility of higher educational institutions in the advancement of development of African nations in all spheres. The report recommended high enrolments of students in science, technology, and agricultural courses.

The Tananarive Conference was followed by the Kinshasa meeting in February and March of 1963. The meeting reaffirmed resolutions of the Paris and Tananarive meetings. It advocated for the provision of more funds from UNESCO and other agencies to help African nations meet their educational needs. Another conference that was held during this early period that spearheaded education on the African continent was the *Abidjan Regional Conference on the Planning and Organization of Literacy Programs* of March 1964. It reviewed educational regional visions and targets that were set up at the Addis Ababa, Tananarive, and Kinshasa conferences. It underscored the need for African countries to use targets of these conferences as a guide to their educational expansion and future development depending on their resources. It placed emphasis on the role of education in the economic and social progress of African rural communities. It encouraged the establishment of more tertiary institutions. This conference was followed by two central conferences: *The Teheran Conference of September 1965* that emphasized adult literacy and *The Lagos Conference on the Organization of Research and Training in Africa in Relation to Study, Conservation and Utilization of Natural Resources* that was held in July 1964. These two conferences addressed the organization and financing of scientific and technical training in African nations that was vital for industrial growth.

These conferences set the stage for educational development in Africa and influenced their educational frameworks in their first and second decades. In line with the Addis Ababa Conference, the orientation of African education shifted toward training Africans to fill high-level positions in the public and private sectors. To achieve this, priority was put on secondary and higher education. To meet public demand pertaining to more manpower development, many African nations began to devote large portions of their national budgets on education. For instance, in Ghana's Second Development Plan (1959–1964), projected investment in education was 27.8 million pounds, 11.4% of the total expenditure; this later rose to 17.3 million pounds, 13.4% of the budget in 1961–1962 recurrent expenditure. In Nigerian's six-year Educational Plan, 32.8 million pounds, three-fifths of the federal expenditure on education was earmarked for higher education. In Tanzania, the Three-Year Plan proposed that a high proportion of central government available for education be devoted to secondary education. Between 1961 and 1962,

30.5 million was spent on education (see Sifuna and Otiende 2006). Similar plans were made in the French-speaking countries. Due to these massive investments in education in the postcolonial period, primary school enrolments rose from 12 million in 1965 to 50 million in 1983, and the number of students in Higher Education increased from 21,000 in 1960 to 430,000 in 1983 (see Sifuna and Sawamura 2010).

During the first two decades, the rate of educational expansion within African schools outstripped the possibilities for employment that once existed for school-leavers. New job creation proved difficult, slow, and expensive. Nevertheless, the kind of employment which school-leavers and particularly their parents expected remained constant—the desire for wage-earning employment, especially white-collar jobs employment. The quest for modern employment of this nature led to considerable migration of young people from rural to urban areas. In the late 1960s, African governments began questioning the continued rapid expansion of formal education systems that had minimal economic returns. It was clear during this period that the small, modern sector of the economy had been Africanized much more rapidly and jobs had already become scarce. The consequent frustration among the youth who had expected that more years of formal secondary education would provide automatic access to wage employment and a better life led to serious doubts among African leaders about the direction education in their various countries was expected to take in the second decade and beyond.

It is important to note that Africa's educational developments in the 1960s conformed to United Nations strategies for development in Third World countries. The so-called First Development Decade of the 1960s accentuated the importance of education in the production of highly skilled manpower and the larger national development. By the end of the First Development Decade, educational results, though quantitatively impressive, were unsatisfactory. The unemployment problem was prevalent and evident in many African countries. This prompted the United Nations resolution on the strategies of the Second Development Decade. The Second Development Decade placed greater emphasis on the role of social factors in development, the reduction of social imbalances, and structural changes in basic education. The *UNESCO General Conference of 1970* that was held during this period formulated a set of recommendations which placed emphasis on the need for long-term educational reforms that could mitigate critical educational needs. To achieve this, the *International Commission on Educational Development* was established. Its report, *Learning to Be*, became the seminal guide on the importance of universal education for African development. It called for a learning society which could widen access and the scope of education as an act of lifelong learning. It advocated for "indigenous education," "recurrent education" and sought as reported by Faure et al. (1972) to "resolve the contradiction between institutionalized and non-institutionalized education" (189).

In spite of the remarkable achievements in the initial targets of universal literacy and enrolments by the 1990s, many of the targets were far from being

met in many African countries. The 1990s begun with two major initiatives namely: 1990 as "*International Literacy Year.*" Second, there was the "*World Conference on Education For All*" (WCEFA), where WCEFA (1990) viewed "basic education" as the "foundation for lifelong learning and human development. It recommended the need to expand its vision to surpass its resource levels, institutional structures, curricula, and conventional delivery systems" (3). Universalization of access and the promotion of equity were expected to be accompanied by a broad education.

It is important to note that in the first two decades of independence, the establishment of a culture of schooling in new African states was a complex process that was beset by several ambiguities. The existence of "fragile states" which lacked deep-rooted legitimacy, especially in the rural areas where the majority of the population resided, meant that governments needed to enhance their shallow authority by appearing to be "modern." One important way of doing this according to Kallaway "was to signal to the population the existence and constant extension of meritocracy and mass opportunity through education" (2019, n.p.). This meant that schools as government institutions symbolized modernity and bureaucracy in the new era of nation-states.

Education policy formulation in various African national educational systems in the first two decades must be interpreted in the context of funding constraints and the relative economic frailties of most African states during this period, rather than their rhetoric of nation-building, democratization, community, or manpower development that dominated much of the discourse at the time. In the heady atmosphere of independence, there was a danger of overloading African schools with tasks of transformation beyond their capacity to deliver. The ambiguity of the situation lay in the pressing desire for change and for the expansion of the state education systems to offer mass education to all citizens. The new political leaders and educated elites soon discovered that there were limits to the kinds of educational innovation possibilities that could be undertaken, given the high demand for formal education (see Kallaway). Attempts to introduce a richer and innovative curricula in the 1970s did not garner much support.

It is in this vein that Daniel Sifuna (1990) asserts that it is important to examine the dramatic rhetoric of mass education for democracy that was prevalent in many African nations in the first two decades within the context of the perception by communities, parents, and students that a formal curriculum opened the door to the formal job market, especially in the new bureaucracy. This weighed the balance of education reform in favor of existing structures, which emphasized formal education and continuity with earlier perceptions of colonial schooling rather than contributing to the radical innovation that was required at the time and the national and global trends that demanded moving away from colonial educational frames. Many of the educational plans associated with the United Nations First Development Decade (1961–1971) and Second Development Decade (1971–1980) can

thus be interpreted as having been strong on rhetoric on the transformative power of education but weak on a detailed historical educational analysis of the colonial education situation that had been inherited, policies that had been attempted in the past and realities in most African nations that required comprehensive reforms.

World Bank Interventions and Impact on Anglophone Africa and Other African Countries Education Systems, 1980s–2000s

By the end of 1980s and early 2000s, an examination of national educational systems in several Anglophone and other African nations shows that they were heavily influenced by the Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) of the World Bank (WB) policies and frameworks. Kallaway (2019) writes:

> By the end of the 'eighties the milestone report of the World Bank on *Education in Sub Saharan Africa* (1988) signaled a new phase in African education that was heavily influenced by neo-liberal policies of the West that flowed from major economic changes in the world that attempted to steer away from the welfarism focus of education that had emanated from the post-War era towards an education that could meet the demands of the new emerging global economic order that was driven by new market demands. (n.p.)

This report, together with the works of Philip Coombs's *The World Crisis in Education* (1985) and the report for the Jomtien conference on a sustained campaign on *Education for All* (EFA) in 1990, signaled a "deterioration of educational services" in various African countries within the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and the 1990s that was evidenced in enrolment stagnation, poor-quality schooling, non-completion of education at several levels, gender bias, among others. These weaknesses were attributed to a combination of several factors—principally unprecedented population growth, weak political and administrative institutions context, and mounting fiscal austerity that could not meet educational demands. A key element in educational policy in most African countries during this period "was a redefinition of the notion of accessibility and equality in education that was marked with a dramatic shift from government responsibility for delivery of quality equal education for all, to increasing emphasis on the responsibility of parents, community, and private control in the education sector" (Kallaway 2019, n.p.) This emphasized "cost recovery," or the freedom to purchase quality education in the marketplace for those who could afford it. The overall effect was to make it increasingly difficult for minority groups such as the urban poor, rural youth, minority ethnic groups, or women to access quality education, especially at the secondary and tertiary levels. These policies, developed in an era of financial stringency and fragile African economies, gave rise to a range of responses and programs to address the consequent fall in student enrolments, equity, physical facilities, quantity, and quality areas through new programs and the increasing international intervention.

Through the SAPS, African governments were urged to "improve efficiency" through "adjustment, revitalization and selective expansion" of their education sectors and services (see World Bank 1988). The WB recommended that in order to lower the cost of mass education, African governments were required to introduce "user charges" and cost recovery or cost sharing arrangements by passing a substantial amount of the responsibility of schooling to parents and communities and allowing more room for the privatization of the education sector. Several recommendations were made for selective expansion, particularly regarding Universal Primary Education. Vocational education was seen as expensive and ineffective in creating employment opportunities. While there was an emphasis on improving quality and academic standards, the climate of economic austerity, poor and fragile economies in most African nations left little room for maneuver and innovation. The role of donors in effecting SAPS was identified as central to promoting equity, equality and the "African nations catch-up" with other developing nations in the education field (Kallaway 2019). WB policy prescriptions were often controversial and the source of national resentment and suffering of many poor African parents who could not afford the new costs of education because the insights were not based on research and actual socioeconomic realities in Africa.

By the turn of the twentieth century, a good number of international conventions and instruments to which many countries in Africa are signatories recognized inequalities in African education and set goals and targets to address them. These included: the *World Conference on Education for All* that was held in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990, the *Dakar World Education Forum of 2000*, the *Millennium Development Goals* of 2000, the *United Nations Girls' Education Initiative* of 2000, among others. They provided a strong impetus to many African countries and international partners to formulate strategies that were vital for the provision of the Universal Primary Education, free secondary education, and overall improvement of African education. Many countries in Sub Saharan Africa proclaimed it their goal to provide free universal primary schooling to all children, and the period between 1990 and 2000 saw the international community pay renewed attention to this goal. In 1988 the World Bank Policy Study, *Education in Sub Saharan Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization and Expansion*, documented in detail the sad reality that African educational systems had entered a period of deterioration and disrepair as a result of intensifying economic and political instability. The call for expanded international action to support African education systems was front and center at the 1990 EFA conference. Virtually all the major international funding agencies responded by launching new programs to support the process. African governments joined in these efforts, often by preparing their own EFA plans. A spirit of cooperation and commitment grew among major international funding agencies, education development specialists, and African Ministries of Education, as was exemplified in the work of the *Association for the Development of Education in Africa* (ADEA) in 1988.

In the last several years, commitment to EFA has also become an essential part of the new debt relief initiatives for highly indebted African countries (HIPC) led by WB. African Union too has been active in pushing for educational reforms. It is vital to note according to Jeanne Moulton (2002) that although the intensity of the educational reforms in Africa continues to heighten both at the international and African nations level, there remains a serious lack of research on its design and implementation (comprehensive, systemic/system-wide reform). According to Moulton (2002), they assert that "there have been serious difficulties in implementing comprehensive, multifaceted educational reforms. The political, economic and physical environment, policy content, plans, interests, abilities of African nations and uncoordinated donor efforts have often affected the process" (1). Sifuna and Oanda (2014) observed further that although these bold educational international interventions have faced several challenges, they have played a key role in increasing access to education for children from marginalized groups in various African countries. Further, they have contributed considerably to the African education theoretical, practical discussions, and postulations.

From the discussions in this section, it is clear that following the achievement of independence, the formal educational systems in many African countries were massively expanded resulting in significant enrolments. John Simmons (1979) observed that despite the successful expansion of the educational system during this period, the education sector was expensive, inefficient, and inequitable. Another challenge was the relapse into illiteracy of many students after leaving school because the knowledge and skills acquired were not utilized in daily activities. In terms of inequalities, the female enrolment ratios in rural areas were worse than in urban areas. Again, the same applied to illiteracy among adult females that stood at 73% in 1980 compared to 48 percent among adult males. The financial constraints on poorer students led to severe reduction of their chances to complete their education at all levels. These views already sharpened by the Vietnam War were voiced in official documents such as the 1969 Pearson Report, *Partners in Development*, the 1972 Faure Report, *Learning to Be*, and the 1974 Club of Rome report, *Limits of Growth*. As a consequence, at the beginning of the 1970s alternative forms of education were seen as being critical in addressing these challenges.

ALTERNATIVE FORMS OF EDUCATION IN ANGLOPHONE AFRICA AND OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Beyond the internal and external forces that have shaped education development in the postcolonial period, there have been a variety of educational initiatives that have been undertaken by African governments to complement their formal education. These alternative forms of education have paralleled the global education radical reform movements of the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s,

1990s, and 2000s for instance—the Deschooling Movement associated with Illich, Goodman and Kohl in the USA; the challenges set by Paulo Freire in his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2002) in Latin America that focused on education of the rural and urban poor; Student Freedom Rebellions of the 1960s; the Chinese Cultural Revolution; the Cuban Revolution; and Mikhail Gorbachev *Glasnost* and *Perestroika* tenets in Russia of the 1990s (see Kallaway 2019). These alternative forms of education were also in part influenced by the works of Frantz Fanon, Amilcar Cabral, Albert Memmi, Julius Nyerere, and other scholars who provided a trenchant critique on the role of education in shaping Africa's destiny in the post-independence period and beyond.

Examples of alternative models of education that have been utilized in several African nations include: self-development programs; rural or village polytechnics; rural education development and cooperative programs; the brigades; mass literacy programs; the national youth service schemes; agricultural extensions and farmer training programs; pre-employment and multi-purpose programs; distance education schemes; adult education programs; national development strategy programs; urban and rural self-employment programs; empowerment programs among others (see Thompson 1981). *Self-development programs* were common in Ethiopia, Tanzania, Ghana, and Zambia. They sought to promote the capacity for self-development of local communities. *Rural or village polytechnics programs* were evidenced in Kenya, Tanzania, Nigeria, and Gambia. They strived to offer cheaper programs that were closely related to the needs of the rural villages. *Rural education development and cooperative programs* were run in Ivory Coast, Ghana, Liberia, Kenya, and Zambia. They entailed artisan and craft vocational and preparation programs. *The brigades programs* were conducted in Botswana, Ghana, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Benin. They offered general skill-based training and sought to promote rural development through specific training activities. Some brigades also offered in situ programs essential for employment. *Mass literacy programs* were conducted in Algeria, Guinea, Tanzania, and Ethiopia. They provided general literacy that was vital for national development.

Examples of *The National Youth Service schemes* in Africa included Ghana Young Pioneers, National Youth Service Corps of Nigeria, Malawi Young Pioneers, Kenya National Youth Service, and Zambia Youth Service Corps. Their purpose was to mobilize unemployed youth to undertake projects that could promote national development in rural areas. According to Thompson (1981), they sought to inculcate in the youth ethos that could promote national unity, a strong work ethic and service. They offered courses in masonry, carpentry, motor vehicle maintenance, and electrical installation. *Agricultural extensions and farmer training programs* included young farmers' clubs, youth land settlement schemes, and cooperatives' farm learning centers. They were common in Kenya, Tanzania, Lesotho, and Botswana. Similar to these programs were *animation rurale* programs in Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Mali, and Senegal. Their aim was to harness the energy and

resources of local communities. The *pre-employment programs* sought to service urban industry. They were common in Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya, Ethiopia, Tanzania, and Zambia. They encouraged the growth of small-scale industries and self-employment. *Multi-purpose programs* were common in Tanzania, Ghana, Nigeria, and Cameroon. They were determined by local communities, had great flexibility, and drew their resources from various sectors.

Distance education schemes offered flexible correspondence courses. They were evidenced in Kenyan Distance Learning Program, Tanzanian Teacher Training Program, Bophuthatswana Project, and Zimbabwe Integrated Teacher Education programs. *Adult education programs* sought to meet educational needs of out-of-school youths and adults. They were viewed as part of lifelong learning. They offered production-related skills, post-literacy, health education courses. Examples of adult education programs included: Zambia up-grading courses and Madagascar rural centers. *National development programs* used mass literacy campaigns to raise the level of literacy of the adult population. Examples that suffice here include Tanzania's education for self-reliance programs, the Kenya adult education programs, and Ethiopia development programs. *Urban and rural self-employment programs* encompassed economic activities that included various micro-enterprises. They were common in several Eastern and Southern African countries and in Nigeria's open apprenticeship schemes. *Empowerment programs* enabled learners to challenge their education quality, the redistribution of power. Additionally, they aggravated socioeconomic conditions (see Thompson 1981). They were common in Kenya.

On the whole, alternative forms of education in Africa in the postcolonial period have been attempts of providing micro-solutions to macro-problems of development. They have challenged the formal education of various African nations and proposed several kinds of interventions aimed at rural development. Most of them have been centered on immediate production. Sifuna and Otiende (2006) stated, they have been viewed as "tending to be part of life, integrated with life and inseparable from it. They are designed to change society and make it self-reliant and self-sustaining" (251). In some ways, these alternative forms of education have reflected endeavors of the colonial period and in many instances have repeated their failures. Lacking an industrial base, the lessons of the Asian Tigers regarding vocational and technical education entailed in these programs failed to attract the imagination of African governments. The conservative model of education in most African nations remained the high road to jobs in civil and private sectors (Kallaway 2019). The general experience in various alternative forms of education that have been undertaken in Africa is that many of them have been viewed as being expensive compared to formal education. Their programs seldom attracted large numbers of students, and in most countries, they have remained a second choice. This is attributed to factors such as: poor instruction, lack of political will, adequate teachers, funds, appropriate teaching materials, among others.

CONTEMPORARY EDUCATIONAL CHALLENGES IN ANGLOPHONE AFRICA AND OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES

George Dei (2004) asserts that from the current scholarly educational research it is evident that there are many problems facing education in many Afro-Anglophone and other African countries. Some of these problems include: lack of access to basic education, unemployment for trained school-leavers, unwillingness of school-leavers to serve in rural areas, curriculum relevance, lack of basic educational materials, embezzlement of educational funds, duplication of educational services, stagnating school enrolments, constrained educational finances, and administrative bottlenecks. Dei observes that today education in Africa is in "crisis." This "crisis" is, to some degree, a colonial legacy of often misguided educational policies and practices.

In most African countries, one area that has continued to impact education has been the issue of language. Sifuna and Otiende (2006) discuss the phenomenon where many African countries on achieving independence, chose to continue using the former colonial languages as the main medium of instruction in schools, a situation that has continued to the present. There were few exemptions, for instance, the case of Tanzania where Kiswahili was chosen as the medium of instruction. For those calling for support of the indigenous languages in African education, there is the recognition that sustainable development can only be achieved if the masses are engaged through literacy in their own languages. Affirming this, George Dei (2004) notes that "human-centered development must be carried out in the language spoken by the community" (250). Ngugi wa Thiong'o in his two very important works, *Decolonizing the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* and *Moving the Centre: The Struggle for Cultural Freedoms* (1986), attempts to re-contextualize the place of language, culture, and literature in African education. In these works, he reminds us of the nuances that characterize the dense and very active relationship between languages and their users, complemented by the de-culturing processes (both in philosophical and epistemological terms) that take place when the world of the learner is disembodied from dominant spaces of schooling where only European languages are used. He observes that the question of language and the base is critical in addressing Africa's contemporary educational challenges. It points to the need for clarity with regard to the direction of African education, its purpose, relevance, guiding philosophical stands, national objectives, content, and instruction.

Many African countries have failed to incorporate indigenous education into their education systems. Wright and Abdi (2012) note that reclaiming cultural identities rooted within the authentication of indigenous traditions has been perceived as a way of decolonizing Western-dominated school curricula. The current global discourse on the value of incorporating indigenous knowledge in formal education systems in African countries has been a central theme by African scholars and governments and the United Nations (217).

Conclusion and What the Future Holds Regarding
Education in Anglophone Africa
and Other African Countries

Adriaan Verspoor's important report on *Education at the Crossroads: Choices in Secondary Education in Sub Saharan Africa* (2008) provides a succinct picture on the future of education in postcolonial Africa. He posits that the challenges of educational development in Africa at the beginning of the twenty-first century and beyond are "urgent and unprecedented" and there is still a lack of a long-term view of national development in many African countries as evidenced in the "firefighting and politics" that have characterized their education sectors and most of their educational policies and frameworks. Most of them are externally driven, theorized, funded, politically driven and have minimal input from relevant stakeholders.

Although many lessons can be drawn from the many educational challenges that most African nations have faced in the postcolonial period, it is clear that no one educational policy approach can apply to all African countries given their varied histories. As the Delors Commission (1998) points out, educational reforms in Africa can only work if they fit a given country's context, development, objectives, and vision. Such strategies according to Kallaway (2019) will need to be parsimonious with resource use and sustainability; recognize the bottom-up sequential nature of educational development; be closely aligned with national development priorities and, strengthen autonomy; ensure central direction and support; and build public-private partnerships. All this imply that for educational reforms to yield success, African governments will have to evolve toward an education policy formulation that is clearly defined theoretically and philosophically. Additionally, education policy will have to be legislatively protected from any political dictates, owned by relevant stakeholders, adequately financed, and periodically subjected to technical reviews to ensure that it is in harmony with local, national, and global needs.

In addition, African nations are also expected to support a broadly based, equitable expansion of educational provision at all levels, thereby ensuring that the needs of disfranchised and vulnerable groups like the poor, special needs persons, children, women, and rural populations are adequately met. Such an educational approach will provide hope, empowerment, freedom, social justice, peace, equity, democratic and human liberation, wholeness, and transformation to these marginalized populations that are essential for tackling challenges of national development and a new world order. It will be an education according to Ngugi wa Thiong'o that:

> Urges men and women to use their seriousness of study, cheerfulness of knowledge, and intellect creatively to fight against all social-cultural, political and economic struggles and various prejudices prevalent in most African nations. It will be a transformative education that is expected to turn various challenges of African nations into spheres of common knowledge, experience, justice, liberation and development. (1986, 108)

This type of education will enable African nation's developmental agendas and frameworks to take off since it will be rooted in holistic societal reforms. This approach will necessitate going beyond the current myth of traditional education pedagogy that is examination and career centered. It will require putting great emphasis on innovative and alternative models of education that permit African nations to utilize modern technological advances. To this end, future transformative African educational policies will be expected to transcend mere transmission of factual knowledge to also include knowledge, skills, and values that are liberating in as far as they create new horizons and opportunities for development. For this to be effective, the education process will require a paradigmatic shift in its conceptualization and management and will need to be multi-dimensional, broad, explicit, and systematic in its commitment to preparing students who can transform society. This type of education will require having a strong and secure base that links formal and informal education and one that will address Africa's unique historical challenges and dilemmas that include breaking with imperialism and its internal ruling allies.

The process will require deconstructing colonial philosophies of education and theories of knowledge, and reconstructing new platforms of education, culture, and development that are inclusive in their Africanity. There are a number of possibilities that may be considered in this regard. Key among this is the urgent need to indigenize knowledge systems, languages and ways and relationships of knowing. This will entail an immediate but select or even expansive indigenization of African spaces of schooling, philosophies, and epistemic foundations of knowledge. George Dei (2005) advocates for an approach that is anchored on revitalization and restoration of the indigenous African sense of shared, sustainable, and justice-centered education.

The pragmatic relationship between culture (as implicated in either formal or informal education) and development in the African context cannot be highlighted enough with regard to its significance in a rich African education. According to Wright and Abdi (2012), it is vital to "see the cultural, philosophical and epistemological contours of education, knowledge and development from an inclusively Africanist vantage point that sees the multiplicities of realities, relationships, and analysis" (23). Counter-hegemonic platforms are thus important because if African education is to achieve inclusive and culturally relevant intersections of social development, it must be itself culturally inclusive and relevant.

A transformative African education will need to root its work in progressive, home-grown African paradigms. The process will necessitate African nations to lead and own their educational reform process, to be self-sufficient and sustainable in their education vision, policy, planning, management and implementation processes. Affirming this, Ngugi wa Thiong'o (2016) observes that "the most successful struggles in Africa were based on self-reliance and a belief in their capacity to change the world" (34). Supporting this view, President Julius Nyerere argued that "people cannot be

developed. They can only develop themselves from within."[1] This is because development can only be endogenous, thought out by people, springing from the soil on which they live and attuned to their aspirations, environment, resources and the genius of their culture.

Education of most worth for postcolonial Africa in the twenty-first century and beyond will also require redefinition and reconceptualization in terms of its philosophy and purpose. It will, according to Magnus Bassey (1999), require going beyond being a "preparation for a career in the civil service or the bureaucracy, but a preparation for life" (108). It will have to be an education that develops and nurtures talents in every person that can enable them create, invent, invest, and venture into the unknown. Its goal will be "a preparation for service to and for the upliftment of the community through investment in the economic, social and intellectual needs of the people" (Ibid.). Additionally, it will have to be an education that lays emphasis on democracy and critical consciousness with a vision of creating wealth for African nations. This will entail preparing of individuals for self-sufficiency, risk taking, awakening the moral, economic, political and civic responsibilities, adventure and "creating new opportunities and new ideas" (Ibid., 111). Further, it will be an education that has ethical caring, empowering and emancipation capacities at its core.

It will be an education that strives to inspire people to find ways to get involved in societal development and reconstruction with an intention of making a difference. It will be expected to provide according to Paulo Freire (2002) both reflection and action required in tackling critical societal challenges prevalent in Africa. It will be required to be a transformative, citizen and possibility-centered education that inspires dreaming dreams, exploring them and acting on them for the betterment of society. Furthermore, as Freire explained it will have to be an education that fosters informed critical consciousness that is accompanied with active critical thinking and dialogical skills vital for inquiry into possible solutions to Africa's challenges.

For educational reforms to succeed in various African nations, African languages will need to be at the center of the process. They, Ngugi wa Thiong'o stated, "will be required to accept the challenge, the duty and the responsibility of speaking for the continent in advancing its developmental agenda" (2009, 129). Ngugi wa Thiong'o argues that this is important for the recovery of the African historical memory, intellect, dreams, development, and renaissance. It is possible for African education to foster African languages. This is evidenced in the works of Ngugi, Cheikh Anta Diop, Kwesi Wiredu, Kwesi Prah, Paulin Hountondji, Language Plan of Action for African Development and AU's proposed activities of the Academy of African Languages. Efforts to demonstrate the significance of African languages in all spheres were evident in the year 2000 when a number of African scholars and writers met in Asmara, Eritrea to explore the possibilities.

Ngugi wa Thiong'o asserts that it can be done. It has been done in Tanzania where Kiswahili is used in various branches of learning. Further, through the tool of translation, African languages can also create a firmer educational base (see wa Thiong'o 2009). All these are possible because African languages despite colonial efforts to prevent their use have survived.

Summing up the significance of African languages to Africa's future, Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986, 2009) notes that they are not merely an expression of cultural chauvinism or romanticism. But rather they are vital for harnessing the continents human, scientific, and technological power. Micere Mugo (2013) notes that they can make "turned sideways walls that once hindered communication and development into bridges, they can create liberated zones, theories and practices that can complement creative efforts that emphasize self-determination and embrace a collective vision for development" (129). It can also lead to what Carole Boyce-Davies calls "uprising discourses" that are vital for living, self, collective liberation and healing."[2] Underscoring the significance of African languages in education and national growth, Thandika Mkandawire (2005) notes that whatever economic paradigms are postulated for African development they need a reconceptualization that integrates in language.

Further, there is need for African education to foster an integrative curriculum that does not compartmentalize learning. The challenges of the modern world demand equipping students with skills to communicate across the porous borders of various disciplines. African education should encourage a pragmatic, broad-based interdisciplinary education. The challenges that African nations experience in the postcolonial period can only be solved through a reformed interdisciplinary educational curriculum according to Mkandawire that has "rigorous intellectual encounters with contemporary African problems" (2005, 39).

In conclusion, the search for an effective education process in postcolonial Africa is not an easy undertaking as evidenced in this chapter. It is an intricate, complex, and multi-layered process. It requires collective bold, dynamic, and transformative leadership at the national, community and individual level and a vision and mission that is clear, holistic, flexible, purposeful, and historically attuned to educational policy development and implementation. African nations must get the process right and recognize the vitality of education to the future survival of their nations and, as Dickson Mungazi (1993) reminds us, "human history is a race between education and catastrophe and education is the main spring of all national action and survival. Unless it is right and purposeful people either crawl or limp along" (43). Africa is at crossroads of her history. If her educational path is not properly directed, she will lose her way. African nations must use education to transform their societies the same way other nations in history have done.

Educational renewal in Africa will require understanding in-depth what Ali Mazrui (1978) refers to as "the need to combine the philosophy of intellectual concentration and the philosophy of intellectual involvement. It has to avoid the making of African education an ivory tower, an orgy of thought or an isolated academic oasis from the process of living" (241). Education thus must unleash the power of human and intellectual agency, and according to George Dei (2004), "must genuinely articulate educational options, approaches and alternatives, in ways that recognize the African conditions, histories, creativity, resourcefulness and local specificities" (4). This entails going beyond the 1960s and 1970s popular and ambiguous connections between education and development that are not firmly anchored in research, theory, practice and policy.

It is critical too to recognize that a vital component of genuine African education will be the application of its indigenous knowledges to its human concerns. It is in this regard that Ali Mazrui argues that African education reforms if they have to be effective must start from within our communities—with what we know, our past, histories and cultures. He states that "educational reform initiatives that fail to tap local creativity and resourcefulness are doomed to fail. Such reform can only further external dependency" (1978, 191). An effective African education must also be inclusive and strive to address issues of equity and justice. This will entail tapping the diverse local cultural resource knowledges of the African people and ensuring that the education process is inclusive and has a strong understanding of the issues of social difference (race, ethnicity, gender, class, culture, language, religion) that constitute important sites of unequal power relations. These emerging alternative educational models according to Micere Mugo (2013) will take us away from colonial and neo-colonial educational paradigms.

Additionally, African education, as Mkandawire (2013) explained, is expected to foster the spirit of Pan-Africanism whose essence is the "liberation of the African mind, body, spirit and physical spaces from oppression and exploitation. It must create "liberated zones within occupied territories in all spheres" (64). Pan-African educational discourses are thus expected to rescue African sites of knowledge from dismissal, distortion, and demonization. This requires a solid democratic political and financial base, solidarity and a collective self-reliance within various African nations. For this to succeed, there has to be can do mentality and no room for lowered vision but rather "a collective capacity to aspire clear educational agendas and policies. This is the new struggle, a sublime struggle that requires continuation" (Ibid.). This requires a new educational discourse that Issa Shivji (2015) describes as "evocative in its audacity, imagination, creativity, innovation, action and one that can sustain hope that can spring eternal and give a glimpse into what can be done in education, even if it not being done" (xiv). This entails in the words of Gamal Abdel Nasser in his opening remarks during the founding conference of the OAU "organizing mind, dynamic nerves" to confront Africa's numerous educational challenges."[3]

Notes

1. As quoted in Magnus Bassey, 1999, *Western Education and Political Domination in Africa: A Study in Critical and Dialogical Pedagogy.* London: Bergin and Garvey, 111.
2. As quoted in Mugo, 2013, *Art, Artists and the Flowering*, 19.
3. As quoted in Mkandawire, 2005, *Fifty Years of African Independence*.

References

Bassey, Magnus. 1999. *Western Education and Political Domination in Africa: A Study in Critical and Dialogical Pedagogy.* London: Bergin and Garvey.

Bogonko, Sorobea. 1992. *A History of Modern Education in Kenya, 1895–1992.* Nairobi Limited: Evans.

Coombs, Phillip. 1985. *The World Crisis in Education.* London: Oxford University Press.

De Lors, Jacque. 1998. *Learning: The Treasure Within: Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-First Century.* Paris: UNESCO.

Dei, George. 2004. *Schooling and Education in Africa: The Case of Ghana.* Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Dei, George. 2005. "Rethinking the Role of Indigenous Knowledges in the Academy." *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 4 (2): 111–132.

Faure, Edgar, Felipe Herrera, Abdul Kaddoura, Henri Lopes, Arthur Petrovsky, Majid Rahnema, and Fredrick Ward. 1972. *Learning to Be: The World of Education Today and Tomorrow, Report of the International Commission on the Development of Education.* Paris: UNESCO.

Freire, Paulo. 2002. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* New York: Continuum.

Kallaway, Peter. 2019. "The Rise of National Education Systems in Africa." In *Oxford Handbook of History of Education*, edited by John Rury and Eileen Tamura. Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199340033.013.13.

Mazrui, Ali. 1978. *Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Mkandawire, Thandika. 2005. *African Intellectuals: Rethinking Politics, Language, Gender and Development.* New York: Zed Books.

Mkandawire, Thandika. 2013. *Fifty Years of African Independence: Personal Reflections.* Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.

Moulton, Jeanne. 2002. *Education Reform in Sub Saharan Africa: Paradigm Lost?* Westport: Greenwood.

Mugo, Micere. 2013. *Art, Artists and the Flowering of Pan-Africana Liberated Zones.* Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.

Mungazi, Dickson. 1993. *Education Policy and National Character: Africa, Japan, the United States and the Soviet Union.* West Port, CT: Praeger.

Rharade, Abdelhag. 1997. "Education Reform in Kenya." *Prospects* 27: 165.

Shivji, Issa. 2015. *Reimagining Pan-Africanism: Distinguished Mwalimu Nyerere Lecture Series-2013.* Dar es Salaam: MkukinaNyota.

Sifuna, Daniel. 1990. *Development of Education in Africa: The Kenyan Experience*. Nairobi: Initiatives Publishers.

Sifuna, Daniel, and Ibrahim Oanda. 2014. *Historical and Contemporary Trends in the Development of Education in Kenya: Government Policy, Gender and Regional Dimensions*. Nairobi: The Jomo Kenyatta Foundation.

Sifuna, Daniel, and James Otiende. 2006. *An Introductory History of Education*. Nairobi: Nairobi University Press.

Sifuna, Daniel, and Nobuhide Sawamura. 2010. *Challenge of Quality Education in Sub Saharan African Countries*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.

Simmons, John. 1979. "Education for Development, Reconsidered." *World Development* 7 (11–12): 1005–1016.

Thompson, Richard. 1981. *Education and Development in Africa*. London: Macmillan Publishers.

Verspoor, Adriaan. 2008. *At the Crossroads: Choices in Secondary Education in Sub Saharan Africa*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

wa Thiong'o, Ngugi. 1986. *Decolonizing the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*. Oxford: James Currey Limited.

wa Thiong'o, Ngugi. 2009. *Something Torn and New: An African Renaissance*. New York: Basic Civitas Books.

wa Thiong'o, Ngugi. 2016. *Secure the Base*. London: Seagull.

WCEFA. 1990. "World Declaration on Educational for All: Meeting Basic Learning Needs." Declaration of World Conference on Education for All. Jomtien, Thailand.

World Bank. 1988. *Education in Sub Saharan Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization and Expansion*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Wright, Handel Kashope, and Ali A. Abdi. 2012. *The Dialectics of African Education and Western Discourse: Counter-Hegemonic Perspectives*. New York: Peter Lang Inc.

Universal Primary Education in Africa: Facets and Meanings

Nobuhide Sawamura

INTRODUCTION

This chapter attempts to illustrate the situation, issues, and challenges on primary schooling in Sub-Saharan Africa (Africa) and the different perspectives of progress toward achieving Universal Primary Education (UPE). It particularly explores the differential between education policy and practice by carefully looking at individual schools and people. Different phenomena are frequently observed even within the same country. In order to seize the meaning of these realities, I will pay particular attention to how and why these phenomena occur in certain contexts, taking a look at actual cases encountered at Kenyan schools, where I have been doing research for many years.

The number of out of school children is estimated at 61.36 million (2015) in the world, and 32.64 million (53% of them) are found in Africa (UNESCO 2017, 320). These figures in 2005 were 72.12 million and 32.77 million (45% of them), respectively (Ibid., 291). That is, there is little decrease in the number of out of school children in Africa, on the contrary, their percentage increases. In terms of the Net Enrollment Ratio (NER), Africa is far behind compared with other regions. World average NER is 91% (2015), while in Africa, it does not exceed 79% (boys at 82% and girls at 77%) (Ibid., 320).

N. Sawamura (✉)
International Collaboration and Development Studies,
Graduate School of Human Sciences, Osaka University, Suita, Japan
e-mail: sawamura@hus.osaka-u.ac.jp

Considering Africa's population growth, expanding access to primary education is much needed even for only maintaining the current ratio.

More importantly, apart from the problem of access to school shown by the low NER, children's academic achievement is extremely low. Although African countries rarely participate in international evaluation and assessment tests, South Africa recently participated in TIMSS (Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study) 2015 and ranked second-to-last among 49 participating countries in the 4th grade mathematics results (Mullis et al. 2016). Within Africa, South Africa is known as relatively advanced in education, and these results have shown the harsh reality of education in Africa (see World Bank 2018).

It may be assumed that African countries do not give priority to education. However, they have actually placed an extremely high priority on achieving UPE since their independence. Nevertheless, the overall NER of primary education is still low, as low as 58% (boys 61%, girls 55%) in 2000. Many children from poor families have recently had new opportunities to go to school with the promotion of UPE policy, frequently with abolishing fees (Free Primary Education: FPE). Nonetheless, even with increasing primary enrollment figures, questions arise about education quality.[1] On the other hand, wealthy children can benefit from good quality education and have continuous access to secondary and tertiary education. Thus, we see that not everyone is granted the privilege to receive a quality education and that education is not equally provided in Africa.

This chapter is organized as follows: First, current situation and issues on UPE are examined along with school fees abolition after a brief review on an attempt to achieve UPE in post-independent Africa (sections "African Countries Moving Toward Universal Primary Education" and "Issues in Achieving UPE and School Fees Abolition in Africa"). Second, the realities of primary schooling across Kenya are explored based on my fieldwork (section "Various Aspects and Realities of Primary Education in Different Parts of Kenya"). Finally, various aspects and multiple meanings surrounding UPE are presented referring to their individual contexts (section "Multi-facets and Multi-meanings of Universal Primary Education in Africa").

African Countries Moving Toward Universal Primary Education

Africa lags behind in access to primary education. However, when we look at African countries after their independence in the early 1960s, they were on the way to steady progress and they experienced a rapid improvement in education, benefitting from the favorable international economy and abundant natural resources.

At that time, regional conferences on education were organized by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

(UNESCO) around the world, and the one for the African region was held in Addis Ababa in 1961.[2] This meeting adopted the "Addis Ababa Plan" that set a goal for achieving UPE by 1980. It was a rather optimistic time. Many African countries adopted the UPE goal in their national development plans and enthusiastically promoted education for their economic growth.

For example, when Kenya gained independence in 1963, achieving UPE was included in the manifesto of Kenya African National Union (KANU), which later became the ruling party (Republic of Kenya 1964, 66). Then, school fees were abolished for the first four years of primary school in 1974. Further, the government abolished all school levies as well as fees in the whole seven years of primary education in 1978 (Sifuna 2014). It is worth noting that UPE with FPE policy was gradually implemented and it took more than 10 years from its first announcement. This shows that the government was serious about autonomous development and appeared to responsibly utilize international assistance, rather than relying on it.

In the 1960s, education was considered essential in economic growth. It is partly because of Human Capital Theory widely accepted then. Education was perceived as an investment and a way to increase people's productivity. Many African countries allocated a significant share (often more than 30%) of their government budget to education.[3] However, due to the oil crisis in the 1970s and the depreciation of primary products, they faced economic recession, and primary school enrollment ratios began to stagnate and decline. It is in contrast with East Asian countries that experienced rapid economic development and an increase in school enrollments.

The expansion of education opportunities did not advance as expected due to such economic stagnation. Structural adjustment programs imposed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are said to be among the factors that led to this difficult situation. The enrollment ratios in many African countries decreased in the 1980s and they were also confronted with a deterioration of education quality. Economic reforms had to be done to alleviate the governments' financial burden, and the beneficiaries were expected to bear their costs. A user charge was getting common and they had to pay school fees that used to be free.

In response to the alarming decline in primary school enrollment and the quality of education, in 1990 the World Conference on Education for All (EFA) was held in Jomtien, Thailand. At this conference, the new concept of "basic learning needs" was agreed to be promoted in line with the idea of EFA. This Jomtien conference reformulated basic education as a more flexible and inclusive manner beyond the conventional image of primary education that focuses solely on children and encouraged the understanding of basic education in more expanded vision.[4]

However, many African countries could not achieve EFA despite favorable international supports. Furthermore, international assistance tended to support primary education exclusively, although primary school is not the

only place to meet the basic learning needs.[5] Based on such experience in the 1990s, the World Education Forum was held in Dakar, Senegal in 2000, to take stock of EFA achievements since the 1990 conference. In this forum, the Dakar Framework for Action was adopted and achieving UPE by 2015 became one of the six EFA goals.[6] When EFA started in 1990, they were concerned with human-centered learning. However, in the process of policy formulation and implementation, only the visible UPE target was retained and highlighted from diverse ambitious objectives of EFA.

The achievement of UPE is stated in the UNESCO (2015) in Goal 2 of these goals, as follows, "Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to, and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality." This goal clearly describes the importance of the quality of education. On the other hand, the UPE target in Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) is different.[7] They are composed of the eight goals that were to be achieved by 2015. Goal 2 is about UPE and aims to "Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling." Goal 3 deals with gender equality and proposes to "Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015." It must be noted that these two goals in MDGs do not refer to education quality despite its omnipresence in the EFA goals agreed in Dakar in the previous year.

As successors of the MDGs, Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were agreed in September 2015 and 17 goals were set to be achieved by 2030. Goal 4 concerns quality education and aims to "Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education for all and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all."[8] This goal was set in correspondence with Education 2030 agreed in the World Education Forum held in Inchon, Korea in May 2015. The difference between MDGs and SDGs resides in the fact that the MDGs consist of goals that should be met by developing countries while the SDGs are goals that engage all countries including developed countries. In target 1 of this goal 4, "by 2030, ensure all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes," universalization of both primary and secondary education became an international goal. However, the majority of African countries could not even achieve UPE. Besides, it seemed to be too difficult to produce "relevant and effective learning outcomes."

It may be reasonable that many African countries become keen in expanding secondary education, rather than challenging the learning outcomes. The aid community is much concerned with substantial learning and the World Bank recently published a report entitled "*Facing Forward: Schooling for Learning in Africa*" (Bashir et al. 2018), which underlines the importance of learning outcomes and suggests ways to improve learning for all students.

Issues in Achieving UPE and School Fees Abolition in Africa

The Universal Declaration on Human Rights, adopted in 1948, stated that education shall be free and compulsory at least in the elementary stage. This must be the origin of FPE and it is ideal. Nevertheless, the government budgetary resources of African countries generally do not permit such a leeway. Promoting FPE would be perceived as an impulsive measure unless the international community provides assistance to implement it. Education is the fundamental human right and UPE must be attained in the near future. However, solely abolishing school fees without a solid plan merely encourages them to rely on external aids.[9] Behind the seemingly "successful" increase in students' enrollment, various problems occur at school. It may even hinder the healthy development of the education system as a whole.[10]

The Rapid Increase of School Enrollments and the Lack of Planning to Cater

Some African countries attempt to achieve UPE through abolishing school fees. The first country introducing FPE in East Africa in the 1990s was Malawi in October 1994 and then Uganda in January 1997. For Malawi, that was the year they shifted to a multiparty system with the first democratic election. FPE was President Muluzi's election promise. Yet, with an inflation of 25% and a GDP growth of minus 10% a year, there was virtually no government financial support. For Uganda, President Museveni announced the FPE policy in 1996 but no concrete plan was ready for its implementation. In both countries, rapid increases in enrollment were observed. For example, Malawi counted 1.90 million children enrolled in 1993, which suddenly increased to 2.86 million in 1994 and Uganda almost doubled from 2.74 million in 1996 to 5.30 million in 1997. Enrollment ratios also drastically improved. It is worth mentioning, however, that these two countries received assistance from the World Bank and the British Department for International Development (DFID) to promote FPE.

As for Kenya, the country reintroduced FPE in January 2003 and this was part of President Kibaki's campaign promises. Education was being used in politics without a solid and feasible plan just as the two precedent countries. By introducing FPE, the number of children enrolled increased from 5.90 million in 2002 to 7.20 million in 2003.[11] It was extremely effective in bringing children to school and boosting the enrollment ratio. It is obvious that an appropriate learning environment could not be provided especially for the fast-growing first-grade population. It is in contrast with the fact that the government initiated an approach of slow but steady expansion of primary education in the first decade after independence.

It is reasonable that large classes became usual alongside the lack of teachers and classrooms and this problem persists nowadays.[12] While the Ministry

of Education perceives it as a step to the "achievement" of UPE, it may be a "crisis" for many schools and teachers. Children are enrolled in primary education but many of them attend school with little learning. FPE policy could possibly work as the opposite of UPE that comes with quality. For parents and their children, the quality of education is a crucial matter. Although it is always asserted that improving education quality is so important in the policy papers, its realization must be far more difficult than the simple attainment of UPE.

Difficulties in Managing School and the Decline in Parental Participation

FPE lightened the economic burden of the household and promoted the enrollment of poor children. It is obvious from the rapid increase in the number of students. However, some inconveniences occurred in terms of school operation and management. First, until then, each school collected fees according to their specific situations, allowing them to buy scholastic materials whenever they needed. When it was replaced by government subsidies, many head teachers complained that neither the amount of the grant nor the time of distribution was known to them.

In Kenya, for example, before implementing FPE, each school used to collect fees/levies from parents for each term to use for the school operation. Due to school fees abolition, however, such effort at school was discouraged and the government had the responsibility for the necessary costs. As capitation grant was provided in accordance with the number of students, it is naturally advantageous to larger schools. The abolition of school fees seemed to be an ideal policy but it means that they have to rely on international assistance since the government does not have sufficient budgets for that purpose. Even worse, the subsidies did not fit the needs of each school, since they were not provided at the beginning of the new term and how they are spent was tightly regulated. Hence, it created dissatisfaction and confusion at the school level.

The next issue is the support from parents in school operation. Before, parents automatically got an opportunity to participate in school activities by bearing the expenses. However, some parents understood that the government is providing education for free and that they have nothing to do about the school. As a result, it became difficult to have their support, for example, in constructing school facilities such as classrooms, which used to get great contributions from parents.

The Deterioration of Education Quality and the Booming of Private Schools

The importance of education quality is well recognized. The goal 6 of the EFA goals stresses on "improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills." "The

Quality Imperatives" was the subtitle of *the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2005* (2005) and the international community certainly recognizes education quality as a serious matter that should not be overlooked.

According to the report, quality is defined from the perspective of the learner's cognitive, creative, and emotional development (citizenship, values, and attitude change). The importance of education quality is repeatedly mentioned in the education policy of any country. Nevertheless, in reality, quantitative expansion such as the improvement of access is prioritized. There is a tendency to sacrifice education quality because the definition itself is vague and diverse, and it is almost impossible to measure it right. In this regard, it was frankly admitted by the EFA Global Monitoring Report team that "quickly expanding a school system without reducing its quality may be difficult" (UNESCO 2004, 126). In reality, it seems that a priority is given to a quantitative expansion of secondary education and the improvement of education quality in primary education is left behind. Furthermore, SDG4 that promotes the universalization of primary and secondary education may exacerbate this trend.

Actual learning is different from being enrolled at school. It is not enough to push children to go to school. Education quality matters. It was evident from the Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ) or Uwezo data (Uwezo, which means "capability" in Kiswahili, is an initiative aiming to improve competencies in literacy and numeracy in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda) that the academic performance of primary school children is extremely low in Africa (e.g., Hungi et al. 2010; Uwezo 2011). For the government, the increase in school enrollment remains the ultimate objective. However, there is a lack of understanding what each child learns and how he/she thinks about the values and meanings of his/her schooling. It is unfortunate that teachers' voices are never heard in the process of policy formulation and the government high-rank officials do not really know the actual condition of the schools.

In Kenya, after the introduction of FPE, it was not the government schools that grew rapidly but private ones. The comparison of the years 2003 and 2006 shows virtually no change in the number of government schools, from 17,697 to 17,946 institutions, and in contrast, private schools increased from 5857 to 7983 institutions (KNBS 2008, 49). This number of private schools is surely underestimated since many low-fee private schools are not recognized by the government. Among such private schools, some are established by NGOs or charitable persons but many private schools are run as businesses by individual entrepreneurs.

Growing Disparities Among Schools and Misrecognition of the Factors Hindering School Enrollment

African education is characterized by a low enrollment ratio coupled with a wide disparity. Disparities, for example, due to geographic and economic conditions, affect children's enrollment.[13] Because of social and cultural

problems, the enrollment of children, especially girls from poor families, is often hindered. Even though both rich and poor children attend school, a great discrepancy usually remains in the learning environment. This is not a mere difference between urban and rural areas but disparities between schools of every area exist and it is difficult for poor children to have a good quality education.

In Kenya, for example, it is thought that the low enrollment ratio experienced in the 1980s was due to structural adjustment programs that required parents to bear school fees which used to be free. That effect was significant but was not the only factor that led to the stagnation of enrollment. Such stagnation was so often attributed to the family's economic burden, but there are so many other factors that obstructed children's enrollment.

Makau et al. (2000, 17) analyzed the factors leading to education stagnation in the 1990s following seven aspects: (1) traditional cultural values and practices, (2) cost and financing, (3) curriculum, (4) institutional governance, (5) macro- and micro-policy and planning, (6) teaching force issues, and (7) effects of external funding. It should be noted that the introduction of FPE could barely solve the factors attributed to the stagnation of primary education that they proposed above (Sawamura 2005). As the essential funds are dependent on external supports, it does not represent a viable and sustainable solution.

After the introduction of FPE in Kenya, parents who feared the decline of the quality of government schools started to transfer their children to private schools or boarding government schools in the major cities of each district. In Nairobi, for instance, in a certain well-performing government day-school, one-third of the students transferred to these schools due to FPE.[14] It was also reported that government schools that used to charge high fees received a surge of registration. The quality of education received by children depends on the economic strength of their families. It means that not all children have the same opportunity to have an education with the minimum quality.

Increasing Aid Dependency and Hindering Sustainable Development

In Africa, especially in low-income countries, it is difficult to implement UPE policy exclusively depending on their own budgetary resources. Despite favorable support to basic education in the 1990s, solid outcomes were hardly apparent. Accordingly, EFA Fast-Track Initiative (FTI) was introduced, mainly funded by the World Bank, to attempt to focus the aids on poor countries that would not be able to achieve UPE by 2015. This FTI was later renamed into Global Partnership for Education (GPE), the only global fund solely dedicated to education in developing countries. The GPE targets 65 countries and provides assistance for a quality basic education. It does not only focus on expanding education opportunity but also considers the effort to provide quality education.

However, in the formation of international development projects, monitoring indicators are usually set in advance alongside concrete targets. Aid agencies are concerned with aid effectiveness, and visible and measurable outputs are needed to show the impact of such aid. It is needless to say that measuring the qualitative aspect of education is so difficult. In addition, subsidies distributed to the schools depend on the number of students, which did not encourage each school to improve education quality. The most concerned about education quality are the parents and the students themselves. Children from rich families transfer to better quality schools and the other children have no other choice but to continue with poor quality education.

The increase of aids to basic education is essential to achieve UPE but, on the other hand, it also increases aid dependency. It is often mentioned that the project is owned by the recipient country, however, the real situation may have hindered autonomous development by the government. For example, Uganda implemented UPE since 1997 but around 2000, 54% of the current primary education budget was dependent on international aids (UNESCO 2003, 208). This country is acknowledged to be a successful example for primary education development. Nevertheless, the reality points out a high aid dependency. Furthermore, it is important to know that the government bears a considerable burden only in coordinating development projects/programs and aid agencies. Many education ministries in African countries could be working as if they serve the aid agencies.

Various Aspects and Realities of Primary Education in Different Parts of Kenya

I have been carrying out fieldwork on primary schooling in various regions of Kenya since 2000, dealing with individual schools and conducting interviews with students, parents, and teachers, mostly in difficult conditions. Despite many differences found within them, one thing remains the same, their great passion for education however poor they are. Four cases will be presented in this part while exploring the various meanings of primary education from the individual's point of view.

Role and Meaning of Primary Schooling in the Maasai Community

An investigation was conducted at one government primary school in Narok, where the majority of the populations are Maasai people. This examines the meaning and role of primary education for the rural community, focusing on the viewpoint of the children and their parents. The school counted 856 (boys: 426; girls: 430) students and 20 teachers (male: 10; female: 10) in 2008. Maasai people are traditionally pastoral nomads but the majority of those who live around that school area were practicing farming on their own land. This phenomenon was accelerated by the frequent drought in recent

years in addition to the decrease of commune land. One of their strategies to cope with the situation was to send their children to school. This school was built in 1978 and is the oldest among the 19 schools in the area, with the largest student number. It ranked 47th of 243 schools in KCPE (Kenya Certificate of Primary Education; Primary school leaving examination) in Narok district (2006).

There was little access to education in this area until the early 1970s. As of 2007, 69% of the fathers and 67% of the mothers of 73 grade eight students have never been to school. It is often said that parents with no education do not understand the importance of their children's education, but this is not the case in this rural community. Although the school activities are examination-oriented, anticipating to obtain high marks in KCPE and then proceeding to secondary education, the majority of the school leavers (55% in 2005/2006) could not continue into secondary school.

According to our interviews with parents, children, and teachers, the actual meaning and role of primary schooling revealed the following four aspects (Sawamura and Imoto 2009):

(1) the acquisition of new skills and knowledge: for employment opportunity and self-employment, life improvement, contribution to the community, betterment of agriculture and cattle breeding,
(2) the opportunity for collaboration and experience sharing: building friendships, developing the awareness of autonomy and independence,
(3) the acquisition of the notion of sociality and citizenship: the establishment of the sense of equality, the maintenance of discipline,
(4) freedom from harmful cultural practices: no excessive housework, protection from early marriage, prevention from Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) and moranism (preparation for war as "warriors").

Upon a detailed investigation of these meanings of primary schooling, different tendencies have been observed for students, teachers, and parents. Parents fully expect their children to get employed and earn money while children and teachers have a wider view and perception of the use of knowledge acquisition in addition to employment. Students and teachers differ in that the teachers emphasize on the importance of sociality while the students stress the benefits from collaborative activities and experience sharing, as well as the freedom from traditional harmful practices. Apart from cognitive skills, it is evident that acquiring non-cognitive skills was also of significance as outcomes of schooling.

Nevertheless, the dropout of several girls was observed every year. The reasons for that are early marriage, pregnancy, and childbirth. In the Maasai community, the status of women is considerably lower than men, even within the household. In our study conducted in 2011, the value of education was asked to a 27-year-old woman who dropped out of school when she was in

grade 7 (17 years old) because of pregnancy. The investigation revealed the following effects of school experience (Sawamura et al. 2013): (1) social network extension, (2) official language acquisition, (3) hygiene and health improvement, (4) equal marital relationship, (5) planning capacity acquisition, and (6) soft skills improvement. It can be concluded that primary schooling contributes to improving the quality of life even in the traditional rural community.

High Enrollment Rate and Low Academic Performance in the Lamu Island of Coast Region

The Coast region on the Indian Ocean is different from the inland areas in the natural and cultural environment. The majority of people there are Muslims while in Kenya as a whole, the majority are Christians. Lamu Island is part of Lamu district (currently known as Lamu county), the primary enrollment ratio of which is generally as high as the national average. However, they performed poorly at KCPE and were ranked 140th out of 150 districts (2008). The districts with the lowest ranking were generally found in the places where the natural environment is harsh and the poverty rate is high. However, Lamu district is the only exception.

On Lamu Island, there were 7 government and 3 private primary schools in 2007. Lamu old town is famous for its mixture of African and Arab culture depicting Swahili culture with a large number of mosques. With a moderate rainfall and a warm temperature throughout the year, there is no need to worry about food and clothes. As a touristic area, primary schools received many external supports and looked prosperous compared to other districts such as Narok. It could be interpreted as the "abundance" of everyday food lowering the expectations on education.

It is frequently remarked that Muslim parents do not want their children to be taught by Christian teachers. However, rich families who can send their children to private schools prioritize the quality of education (good performance at KCPE) over religion in their school choice. The high enrollment with low academic performance could mean that school activities were not much oriented to examinations and students appeared to enjoy their learning without rushing at them. Thus, primary school students in Lamu district were not necessarily receiving a poor quality education even if the KCPE scores were low.

In Islamic areas, apart from formal schools, there are educational institutions called *madrasas*. The Lamu old town had a total of 4 government primary schools along 15 madrasas for boys and 5 madrasas for girls. More than 95% of the children who studied at the madrasas also attended primary schools at the same time. Their total learning time is astonishingly long, working from early in the morning till night.[15]

The community surrounding the primary schools on the Island of Lamu can be characterized as follows: (1) They do not have an excessive expectation for school education: access to alternative education opportunities such as madrasas secured. (2) They do not have to change their traditional lifestyle: clothes, food, and shelter available, and a mild climate unchanged. (3) There is no excessive housework for girls: few harmful cultural practices that impose a burden on girls. This case may suggest that there is a limitation in discussing education quality only from the perspective of cognitive skills measured by test scores. Moreover, it may also mean that the lack of academic performance does not necessarily lower the value of schooling in a substantial manner.

Management and Operation of Low-Fee Private Schools in the Slum Areas of Nairobi

In the slums of Nairobi, there are many low-fee private schools, the majority of which are not recognized by the government. However, this kind of schools contributes to providing a wide range of school choice to low-income families, attracting growing interest owing to its potentially important role in achieving UPE (Tooley and Dixon 2005; Oketch et al. 2012). Being unrecognized may be positively understood that they do not need to obey government regulations. We carried out fieldwork in 2015, exploring the management and the roles of such unrecognized low-fee private schools (Sawamura 2015).

It is known that 60% of Nairobi's population (3.36 million) lives in slums (informal settlements), occupying only 6% of the land. There are ten slum areas in Nairobi, and Kibera is the largest urban slum in Africa. The schools in Kibera are not fully grasped by the Ministry of Education and the number of students enrolled is not well counted. Moreover, it has been proved that such unrecognized private schools are not providing low-quality education for the poor; they are even better compared to the government ones (Dixon et al. 2013). According to Map Kibera Trust (2015), there are 11 government schools and 141 private schools in Kibera including the estate area, and 92 of which are presumably unrecognized in the slum area. The government schools are big and the private schools are small in the number of students; the average student populations are around 1200 and 120, respectively.

The three schools examined were established between 2006 and 2009 with 100–350 students and 9–14 teachers. Monthly school fees amount to 4–5 dollars and teachers receive at most 60 dollars per month. The largest school is run as a business independently. It became possible because they are situated in the slums, where there are so many children, and they can effectively manage their schools without bearing high costs on land and buildings.

Some low-fee private schools are supported by religious organizations or NGOs but the ones in this research are founded and operated by slum dwellers. Where the government does not reach to provide education, people take actions themselves to build and run schools autonomously. It is also interesting that all of the students and teachers are not wealthy, but there appear to be measures that support the very disadvantaged children and their families among the poor, such as the deferment of school fees collection. Besides, the school functions as a central point that interconnects the people there. It may be assumed that a safety net supporting the poorest exists in the slum. A sense of solidarity with the students, the parents, and the teachers could be observed, which is not so common in government schools. This would be mainly due to all of them residing in the same community and the teachers themselves having experienced the hardship the children are facing.

One woman, who sends her child to such a private school, was asked about the value of providing school education to the child. She was born in a town near Lake Victoria, entered secondary school in 1991 but after two years, she lost her uncle who supported her education and had no choice but to drop out. She was 19 years old when she got married to a carpenter in 1994. In 1995, as job opportunities became scarce in the neighborhood, they moved to Kibera with their one-year-old first daughter. They had a relatively stable income until 2009 when her husband died suddenly. From then on, she has been working from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m., mainly selling dried fish on the street and undertaking different temporary jobs such as babysitting.

A reason for sending her children to school, she said, was "for the children's lives, for the mother's life." She also replied that education beyond the secondary level is important in the Kenyan society nowadays. This is not merely a dream to aim at university; she fully understands that a decent work is impossible unless one possesses a secondary school leaving certificate.

Life and Schooling in Kakuma Refugee Camp, Northwestern Kenya

Kakuma Refugee Camp was built in 1992 to mainly receive Sudanese refugees (16,000 people) and is situated in Turkana county, northwestern Kenya. In 2016, Kenya hosted 560,000 refugees, the 160,000 (51% are from South Sudan) of which live in Kakuma. 55% of the refugees are under 18 years old and the demand for education is high. With a semi-arid climate and high temperature, life is hard. In this area, there are originally Turkana people who are predominantly pastoral nomads. For them, it is as if a cosmopolitan "city" arose in the very rural area. Fieldwork was conducted in 2015 and 2016, investigating the case of a primary and a secondary school to explore their schooling alongside their lives in the refugee camp (Sawamura et al. 2017). Most of the students there are from South Sudan or southern part of Sudan.

In the camp, there are 12 preschools, 21 primary schools, and 5 secondary schools established by the UNHCR. In addition, it is worth noting that there are 4 preschools, 1 primary school, and 1 secondary school, independently run by the refugees themselves. The camp counts 66,047 (2015) students as a whole, which shows an increase of 14% compared to the 57,700 students of the former year. 54,564 (boys 33,630; girls 20,934) attend the primary school and the preschool counts 11,483 children (boys 5947; girls 5536). These figures clearly show a great discrepancy between the number of boys and girls in primary school compared to preschool. In addition, for 2859 KCPE examinees (2015), only 587 were girls; the majority of female students are dropping out. In 2016, the Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) in primary education was 122% (boys: 139%, girls: 103%) and the NER was 70% (boys 75%, girls 64%).

There are many studies conducted or commissioned by aid agencies such as the UNHCR. They usually analyze the factors affecting school attendance (LWF 2015) or point out problems pertaining to education (Mendenhall et al. 2015; Wright 2011). However, few studies (e.g., Kurimoto 2009) have tried to look at the refugee children actually involved, life in camps or the meanings of schooling for them.

It was revealed that the realities of their schooling are as follows: (1) Refugees come to Kakuma to seek for education; they feel safe owing to the 25 years of existence of Kakuma and desire the relatively high quality of Kenyan education. (2) The learning environment in Kenya is far better than in their mother country; the fact of being "a refugee" does not hinder schooling, rather the opposite. (3) They get better performance than Kenyans at KCPE; it could be because the people who have a keen interest in education came out of the country as refugees. (4) The disparity between boys and girls grows remarkably as they attain a higher grade; cultural practices that hinder girls' education remain. It is noteworthy that there are subtle differences between the above findings and the outputs of aid agencies investigation.

Multi-facets and Multi-meanings of Universal Primary Education in Africa

It is useful to quote from *the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2015*, which highlighted the achievements and challenges of EFA goals by taking stock of progress toward them.

> Universal primary education was the most prominent EFA goal, as reflected by its inclusion in the MDGs. It has been funded, politically supported and extensively monitored. Nevertheless, it will not have been realized by 2015. Countries that do not reach the marginalized cannot attain universal primary education. Improvements are needed to reach the poorest populations, ethnic and linguistic minorities, rural girls, working children, nomadic communities, children affected by HIV and AIDS, slum dwellers, children with disabilities and children living in complex emergencies. (UNESCO 2015, 19)

We will all agree that "Improvements are needed…." But how much do we precisely understand the current situation and issues in primary education in Africa? The majority of them do not get much external support. They are rather trying to connect with each other, help one another, and struggle by themselves in order to open up their future. The real situation is often different from the one described by the aid agencies concerned. They tend to try to find the problems which could be sorted out by giving aids and may not be so interested in the proactive actions taken by individual people.

As detailed in the previous section, despite being in difficulties, parents are aware of the value of schooling and make efforts to regularly send their children to school. Children wear school uniforms, learning with their friends enthusiastically regardless of where they are. Some Maasai girls refused to get married despite their parents' intention, protecting themselves by continuing schooling. Some orphaned children, without anyone to count on, have no choice but to work in order to continuously go to school. In the slum areas, families in extreme poverty save small money to pay school fees. There are also schools, built, managed, and taught by slum dwellers affected by HIV. The nomadic families, giving high priority to their children's education, try to find grazing land near the schools. Many teachers are concerned with giving education for children with disabilities. Many families from conflict-affected areas also flee and become refugees just to get the opportunity to continue their education.

African children appear to find the school an enjoyable place to spend time with their friends even if teachers are strict and often absent. At school they are free from regular housework and protected from evil in the traditional community. Several decades ago, it happened that children were being forced to go to school, but nowadays, the school became a place to which parents send their children and the children are eager to go. Children, even in difficult circumstances, understand the importance of schooling and have a high desire to go to school. Nevertheless, there are still many out of school children in Africa.

One critical question should be asked. Could the children who have completed primary education escape from poverty and have a wealthy life compared to those who have not been to school? It is actually difficult to get employed and generate cash with primary education alone. On the contrary, there is a case that they could not acquire the necessary life skills they needed because they went to school. Even if primary education is completely free of charge, once the children advance to secondary school, much more costs are required. Moreover, even if secondary education was free as in Kenya or Uganda, parents still bear expenses, including the opportunity cost. Hence, a great majority of the children tend to feel frustrated as they would not be able to advance to secondary schools because of poverty. In other words, the school is in a position to fulfill children's expectations but also to make them disappointed.

Conclusion

UPE in tandem with FPE should be realized in all countries in the long term. However, we should notice that the education system often includes various challenges. As long as they are not improved, continuing FPE and aiming for UPE, apart from political meanings, gives no benefits to children. Relieving the family's financial burden by abolishing school fees will surely be one factor that promotes enrollment. However, that is not the only factor that hinders schooling. That is, the reason for the low enrollment is not only poverty but some parents' latent mistrust toward school. Receiving education is a fundamental right for the children but along with access to education, its quality should be called into question. As long as learning outcomes are lacking, poor families would not regularly send their children to school.

UPE, with the minimum quality, could not have been achieved without some support from parents and the community. Historically, African people used to overcome any difficulties through the power of the communities. Many countries made use of this power of the people to help their children's schooling, but this system partly seemed to break down since international assistance became common and interfered in African development. Without government attitude toward supporting self-help efforts by individual schools, African countries would continue to depend on foreign aids. Unfortunately, the majority of education officials do not try to understand such efforts devoted by the schools and have a tendency to blame the teachers for any failure.

Even if education opportunity could be given equal, the disparities between schools are growing, and the quality of education is low apart from the education received by children from wealthy families. The reality at school is significantly different from what the international community understands. It was evident that the improvement of enrollment ratio was easy to attain at the national level with FPE. However, the sudden increase of enrollment with little planning frequently creates some distortion at individual schools.

To fully understand the facets and meanings of UPE in African education, we have to be critical, insightful, and then modest. It is crucial to know that we still do not know much about African education in its diverse contexts.

Notes

1. Some African scholars in conversation refer to UPE as Universal Poor Education, as current poor education getting poorer.
2. This meeting was also supported by UN Economic Commission for Africa, being widely understood that educational investment was a prerequisite for economic development.

3. In response to human resource development, priority was given to secondary and tertiary education, primary education being allowed to expand at a relatively lower rate in comparison.

4. Consequently, it is considered that basic education sometimes includes lower secondary education, early childhood education as well as literacy and nonformal education for the youth and adults.

5. It is noted that the focus on primary education seemed to be guided by a World Bank study (Psacharopoulos and Woodhall 1985) which had come up with the so-called rates of returns for the various levels of education including primary education which was said to have higher returns in comparison.

6. At this stage, the original idea of EFA seemed to be transformed into UPE alone which focuses on access to primary school and less attention was paid to what children learn at school.

7. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as quoted in this chapter may be found on the United Nations website "Millennium Summit (6–8 September 2000)", https://www.un.org/en/events/pastevents/millennium_summit.shtml. The MDGs were finally adopted by the United Nations at the very beginning of 2001 and have a significant impact on the aid community.

8. The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals can be found in their entirety at "The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals: Knowledge Platform" https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdgs.

9. It is important to note the political motivation in the provision of FPE to achieve some mileage with popularity going to the government in power. Abolishing school fees was a major issue at the presidential elections of several African countries.

10. It is no exaggeration to say that African education has been bombarded with the changeable aid policy.

11. The capitation grant provided then was 1020 shilling (= 15 US dollars) per student per year.

12. A comparative overview of the challenges and lessons by the countries that had abolished school fees in Africa is found in World Bank with UNICEF (2009).

13. The proportion of the poorest children who can complete primary education in Africa represents less than half of those from the other regions (UNESCO 2017, 364).

14. The reason behind it was that they think that as boarding expenses are required in these schools, only rich children can attend them, and the quality of education remains unaffected.

15. The courses at one madrasa are described as follows: All students take part in the first period, from 6:00 a.m. to 7:00 a.m. The afternoon between 2:00 p.m. to 3:30 p.m. is dedicated to grade 1 and 2 children who go to school only in the morning. Students from grade 3 to 8 attend the madrasa from 6:30 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. in the evening. It is open all day from Saturday to Wednesday and closed on Thursdays and Fridays. The main subjects taught there are Arabic and the Qur'an.

References

Bashir, Sajitha, Marlaine Lockheed, Elizabeth Ninan, and Jee-Peng Tan. 2018. *Facing Forward: Schooling for Learning in Africa*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Dixon, Pauline, James Tooley, and Ian Schagen. 2013. "The Relative Quality of Private and Public Schools for Low-Income Families Living in Slums of Nairobi, Kenya." In *Low-Fee Private Schooling: Aggravating Equity or Mitigating Disadvantage?* edited by Prachi Srivastava, 83–103. Oxford: Symposium Books.

Hungi, Njora, Demus Makuwa, Kenneth Ross, Mioko Saito, Stéphanie Dolata, Frank van Cappelle, Laura Paviot, and Jocelyne Vellien. 2010. "SACMEQ III Project Results: Pupil Achievement Levels in Reading and Mathematics." Working Document 1, Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ).

KNBS (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics). 2008. *Economic Survey 2008*. Nairobi: Government Printer.

Kurimoto, Eisei. 2009. "Challenging Identifications Among the Pari Refugees in Kakuma." In *Challenging Identifications and Alliance in North-East Africa, Volume II: Sudan, Uganda, and the Ethiopia-Sudan Borderlands*, edited by Gunther Schlee and Elizabeth E. Watson, 219–233. New York: Berghahn Books.

LWF (Lutheran World Federation). 2015. *Rapid Assessment of Barriers to Education in Kakuma Refugee Camp: With a Focus on Access and Quality in Primary Education*. LWF Kenya-Djibouti Program.

Makau, B. M. with M. W. Kariyuki, A. Obondoh, and G. A. Syong'oh. 2000. "Harnessing Policy and Planning for Attainment of Education for All in Kenya." Research Report Prepared for ActionAid, ActionAid, Nairobi.

Map Kibera Trust. 2015. "Kibera Schools Map." http://openschoolskenya.org.

Mendenhall, Mary, Sarah Dryden-Peterson, Lesley Bartlett, Caroline Ndirangu, Rosemary Imonje, Daniel Gakunga, Loise Gichuhi, Grace Nyagah, Ursulla Okoth, and Mary Tangelder. 2015. "Quality Education for Refugees in Kenya: Pedagogy in Urban Nairobi and Kakuma Refugee Camp Settings." *Journal on Education in Emergencies* 1 (1): 92–130.

Mullis, Ina V. S., Michael O. Martin, Pierre Foy, and Martin Hooper. 2016. *TIMSS 2015 International Results in Mathematics*. Chestnut Hill, MA: TIMSS & PIRLS International Study Center.

Oketch, Moses, Maurice Mustiya, and Jackline Sagwe. 2012. "Do Poverty Dynamics Explain the Shift to an Informal Private Schooling System in the Wake of Free Public Primary Education in Nairobi Slums?" *London Review of Education* 10 (1): 3–17.

Psacharopoulos, George, and Maureen Woodhall. 1985. *Education for Development: An Analysis of Investment Choices*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Republic of Kenya. 1964. *Kenya Education Commission Report (Part I)*. Nairobi: Government Printer.

Sawamura, Nobuhide. 2005. "Challenges and Contradictions in Free Primary Education in Kenya." In *Reintegrating Education, Skills and Work in Africa*, edited by Maike Beveridge, Kenneth King, Rob Palmer, and Ruth Wedgewood, 85–103. Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh.

Sawamura, Nobuhide. 2015. "Exploring the Realities of Unrecognized Private Schools in the Slums of Nairobi, Kenya: Solidarity Among the Poor to Support Independent School Management (original in Japanese)." *Africa Educational Research Journal* 6: 70–84.

Sawamura, Nobuhide, and Chieko Imoto. 2009. "The Realities and Meanings of Primary Schooling in the Rural Area of Kenya: Through Interviews with Students, Teachers and Parents (original in Japanese)." *Journal of International Cooperation in Education* 12 (2): 119–128.

Sawamura, Nobuhide, Seiji Utsumi, and Daniel Sifuna. 2013. "Primary Education Experience of Maasai Women in Kenya: The Long-Term Impact of Schooling Beyond Subject Knowledge." *Education Quality Improvement and Policy Effectiveness. CICE Series* 5: 1–9.

Sawamura, Nobuhide, Kaoru Yamamoto, and Seiji Utsumi. 2017. "Life and Education in Kakuma Refugee Camp, Northwestern Kenya: The Realities of Schooling and the Perspective of Refugees (original in Japanese)." *Comparative Education* 55: 19–29.

Sifuna, Daniel N. 2014. "Growth, Expansion and Gaps in Primary Education in Kenya." In *Fifty Years of Education Development in Kenya: Mapping out the Gains, Challenges and Prospects for the Future*, edited by Okwach Abagi and Ibrahim Oanda Ogachi, 133–165. Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation.

Tooley, James, and Pauline Dixon. 2005. *Private Education Is Good for the Poor: A Study of Private Schools Serving the Poor in Low-Income Countries*. Washington, DC: Cato Institute.

United Nations. 2000. "Millennium Summit (6–8 September 2000)." https://www.un.org/en/events/pastevents/millennium_summit.shtml.

United Nations. 2016. "The United Nations Sustainable Development Goals: Knowledge Platform". https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdgs.

UNESCO. 2003. *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2003/4, Gender and Education for All: The Leap to Equality*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. 2004. *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2005, the Quality Imperative*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. 2015. *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2015, Education for All 2000–2015: Achievements and Challenges, Summary*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. 2017. *Global Education Monitoring Report 2017/8, Accountability in Education: Meeting Our Commitments*. Paris: UNESCO.

Uwezo. 2011. *Are Our Children Learning? Annual Learning Assessment Report 2011*. Nairobi: Uwezo.

World Bank. 2018. *World Development Report 2018: Learning to Realize Education's Promise*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

World Bank with UNICEF. 2009. *Abolishing School Fees in Africa: Lessons from Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, and Mozambique*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Wright, Laura-Ashley. 2011. *The Case of Refugee Education in Kenya: An Analysis of Kakuma and Dadaab*. Raleigh, NC: Lulu Press.

Tertiary Education in Anglophone West Africa: Contextualizing Challenges

Bukola Adeyemi Oyeniyi

Introduction

I was elated when I scored 256 out of 300 in the 1993/1994 Joint Admission and Matriculation Board (JAMB) examination.[1] JAMB was the body in charge of conducting entrance examinations for Nigerian universities. With a score of 256, I believed that I had finally overcome one hurdle on the path to my desired course of study, having previously fallen short of the required score four times. Not only was my score, I believed, good enough for admission to any course in any Nigerian university, it was also among the three highest scores in the country.

After months of waiting, my admission letter finally came in the mail one Friday afternoon. The eagerness with which I had waited for the letter turned to sadness and hesitation—JAMB had offered me an alternative course of study at an entirely different university. As I re-read the offer letter, I could not understand who had made the changes and why. When I visited the JAMB office the following Monday morning to demand answers, I was told that because the National University Commission (NUC), the body in charge of university accreditation in Nigeria, had denied my desired course accreditation the department could not take new students. Why then had JAMB included the course in its 1993/1994 brochure? This was my first encounter with NUC and university accreditation, and I felt something had to be done to remedy the situation. After all, the fault was not mine.

B. A. Oyeniyi (✉)
Missouri State University, Springfield, MO, USA
e-mail: BukolaOyeniyi@MissouriState.edu

Background, Aims and Methodology

While my first experience was that of a helpless student unable to pursue his chosen course, even after performing so well in the national entrance examination, I subsequently, as a mature adult and Head of Department, had to deal with the decisions made by NUC staff over programs of study and, by extension, the fate of students.

In 2005, I was appointed the first Head of Department (HOD) of the Department of History and International Relations at a privately owned university. At the time, I was more than three years into my doctorate at the Department of History, University of Ibadan and was employed as a Lecturer Grade II. Two assistant lecturers were also employed. Like me, both had master's degrees, but not PhDs. Although many candidates with PhDs and years of experience were offered positions, none of them took these up. This development was not peculiar to my department. Although the HOD of the English Department had a Ph.D., the Theatre Arts HOD was also on her Ph.D. and the same applied to many other departments in the university.

Technically, I was not the most senior in the department. The Dean of the College of Humanities was a full professor from one of Nigeria's first-generation universities, but since he could not hold the two positions simultaneously, I became the HOD, a position I held for almost three years.

Early in 2010, I joined the Department of History and International Relations at another privately owned university where there were only two assistant lecturers, one full time and one part time. Neither had a Ph.D., nor were they registered for doctorates in any university at the time. I was employed as a Lecturer Grade I and again held the position of HOD for almost three years.

Unlike in my first encounter with the NUC and university accreditation, this time I was a player in the accreditation processes. Both experiences improved my understanding of the procedures and processes involved in ensuring quality in tertiary education in Nigeria.

It is true that using participant observations from two universities, both private and both mission owned, and two departments, both History and International Relations, to study accreditation of hundreds of institutions—federal, state, and private—and thousands of courses across Anglophone West Africa could be misleading and potentially lead to unhealthy generalizations. To ameliorate these inadequacies in sample size and scope, I assembled insights gained from interviewing selected stakeholders, including professors, administrators and students, in both private and public universities and colleges in Ghana, Sierra Leone, and Liberia. I also used datasets from organizations and institutions in charge of tertiary education accreditation in the same three countries. Further material was drawn from official reports by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Education Trust Fund (ETF), and the International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP).

Secondary literature such as journal articles, chapters in edited volumes, and texts on ensuring quality assurance in higher education in Ghana, Sierra Leone, and Liberia were also used. To assess the strengths, weaknesses, and gaps in tertiary education policies and practices in these Anglophone West African countries, I compared the policy requirements of accrediting institutions with the actual practices found in institutions such as the two that I worked with between 2005 and 2012 in Nigeria.

University Accreditation in Anglophone West Africa

The history of higher education in West Africa cannot be told without mentioning the pioneering role of Sierra Leone. The Church Missionary Society (CMS) established the Fourah Bay College (FBC) in 1827 to train its clergy. The oldest tertiary institution in West Africa, FBC began awarding degrees in 1867 through its affiliation with the University of Durham, UK. The CMS also founded the Union College (now Bunumbu Teachers College) in 1933 and the Government Technical Institute in 1957. Milton Margai College of Education was founded in 1964, and shortly after independence, Njala University College, with a focus on agriculture and education programs, was established with the generous support of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (World Bank 2013, 8). With the passing of the University Act of 1972, Njala University College and FBC became constituent colleges of the University of Sierra Leone (USL). In the 1970s and 1980s, other teacher training colleges, together with tertiary-level technical and vocational institutes, were established in Bo, Port Loko, Makeni, Freetown, and Magburaka (ibid.).

Nigeria's NUC, established in 1962 but becoming a statutory body only in 1974, is the oldest accrediting institution in West Africa. It conducts postgraduate, undergraduate, institutional, and affiliate institutional accreditations for all the country's higher educational institutions.[2] From its inception, the NUC was managed by career civil servants and a handful of retired academics. The first Executive Secretary was Professor Jubril Aminu (see Oladele 2015). Like its counterparts elsewhere in Anglophone West Africa, the NUC granted approval for the establishment of all degree-awarding higher education institutions and for all their academic programs. It also acted as a clearing house for all external supports to Nigerian universities. In 2009, the NUC's mandate was widened to include ensuring the quality and orderly development of a well-coordinated university system delivering programs relevant to national development and global competitiveness, as well as regulating and ensuring innovation (NUC 2019).[3]

Similarly, in 1993 the government of Ghana established the National Accreditation Board (NAB),[4] an agency under the Ministry of Education, to regulate, supervise, and accredit tertiary institutions, ensuring a world-class accreditation and quality development institution. The NAB's goal is to

establish, measure, and improve standards in higher education, providing a systematic and rational benchmarking system for accreditation and quality assurance and ensuring the proper operation of tertiary institutions (see NAB website 2019). It also facilitates the accreditation of public and private tertiary institutions and determines equivalences of local and foreign tertiary and professional qualifications.

Similar functions are performed by Liberia's National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE),[5] established in 1989, and Sierra Leone's National Council for Technical, Vocational and Other Academic Awards (NCTVA),[6] established in 2002. All these organizations have in common the implementation of national aspirations on the regulation of higher education, the need for quality assurance and the determination of different procedures to achieve these objectives.

Common to all these agencies, whether in Nigeria and Ghana or Sierra Leone and Liberia, is the oversight of institutional and programmatic accreditations. The Resource Verification and Programmatic Accreditation Exercises conducted by these agencies involve on-site visits and peer review, generally by university professors (Okojie 2018) who are thus able to contribute to evaluations of programs, institutions, and their affiliated bodies. While the accrediting agencies are mandated to carry out accreditation and other exercises, the evaluation and approval, or otherwise, of a program of study, an institution, or its affiliate is actually based on reports filed by these professors in their capacity as ad hoc officials.

The accrediting agencies in Anglophone West Africa award results based on a variety of scales. In Nigeria, the NUC uses a three-level rating scale of full accreditation, partial accreditation, and denial of accreditation; in Ghana, the NAB uses a four-level rating scale of excellent, good, satisfactory, and poor. If a program, institution, or institutional affiliate is not approved, a list of actions required to gain approval is provided,[7] and a further Resource Verification or Programmatic Accreditation Exercise is scheduled. Consistent denial of accreditation might lead to automatic loss of accreditation for programs or institutions,[8] in which case existing students are either allowed to graduate or merged with another department.

The remainder of this chapter examines the politics and practices of Resource Verification and Programmatic Accreditation Exercise in higher education in Anglophone West Africa, drawing on my own experience as HOD at two private universities between 2005 and 2012. In both universities, I not only led the design and teaching of various departmental courses and offerings,[9] but also saw the departments through the NUC's Resource Verification and Accreditation Exercise,[10] two stages in the NUC's accreditation of academic programs. The chapter will consider the impact of accreditation on course design, accreditation ethics, resource input, and the quality of process, output, and academic content, showing how policies are translated into concrete, actionable practices and how this impacts educational goals and educational standards.

Among other questions, the chapter seeks to answer the following:

- What are the nature and characteristics of the relationship between the NUC and universities in Nigeria?
- With the NUC appointing professors as ad hoc staff charged with Resource Verification and Accreditation Exercises, what sort of relationship has developed between the NUC, its ad hoc staff, and the universities?
- How does this relationship impact Resource Verification and Programmatic Accreditation Exercise processes?
- Is there any connection between quality of education and the quality of Resource Verification and Programmatic Accreditation Exercise?

THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY COMMISSION AND AN APPREHENSIVE AND RELUCTANT HOD

Before starting my academic career in 2005, my understanding of the role of NUC emanated from two periods of employment as a research assistant to two retired professors, both of whom were, at the time, documenting their experiences as vice chancellors in two different universities. As a research assistant, I was privileged to read their views on a variety of different subjects, ranging from the inner workings of the university in Nigeria to the role of the NUC in higher education administration, in diary entries, scribbled notes, and memos that were privately or publicly shared with others within the university system. While many of these source materials were written during their active years, many years of retirement had given them the opportunity to reflect on some of these issues. Among their major concerns were: the role of the NUC in the administration of higher education; government intervention in university administration; the design and implementation of courses and programs; and funding.

Despite all I had learned, I was apprehensive when I was made HOD in 2005, mainly because the department was new and I had no experience whatsoever of course design and university administration. More importantly, from reading pieces from my previous employers, I knew the importance of getting it right from the start.

The job was, however, made easier because the founding Dean of the College of Humanities, who had spent many years as a professor at a public university and had considerable experience in university administration and course design, came to my rescue. He provided not only the encouragement but also the leadership that saw my colleagues and me through.

Under the tutelage of the Dean, we not only designed a four-year History and International Relations degree program but also led the department through both the Resource Verification and Accreditation Exercises. In both exercises, the NUC awarded the department full accreditation.

When I was appointed HOD at the second university in 2009, I knew not only what was expected of me, but also how to go about securing positive results for the department. My colleague and I successfully designed a four-year degree program in History and International Relations and led the department through both the Resource Verification and Accreditation Exercise.

University administrators dread NUC visits. Among the issues of serious concern during the NUC visits at the two universities were carrying-capacity (or ratio of teacher to student), teaching personnel, teaching accommodation, and learning resources, including number and quality of textbooks and journals. Others were quality of process, quality of output, and quality of content. My research assistant experience had taught me that these concerns were not peculiar to private universities, as both my retired professors had also detailed their experiences in public universities. Notwithstanding this, responses to these concerns differ remarkably from one university to the other.

The following sections deal with the issues that interested NUC officials in the two universities where I served as HOD. The activities in the two will be compared and contrasted, and differing approaches and actions explained where necessary. My own observations and experiences will be supplemented by secondary sources.

Accreditation and Quality of Input

In my first university, we started with just four full-time lecturers—a full professor who also served as Dean of the College of Humanities, a Lecturer Grade II, and two assistant lecturers. In terms of carrying capacity, our student/teacher ratio of 21 to 4 was a recipe for success from the department's inception, even though the Dean's administrative duties restricted him to teaching only two courses in our first year. Not only were we able to monitor these students effectively, we could also act *in loco parentis*.

For the Resource Verification exercise in our second year, two full-time Lecturers Grade II and three part-time adjuncts were employed. Until the third year, by which time our student population had risen to 60 across the three levels, only these three part-time adjuncts had PhDs.

The situation in the second university was completely different. As a full-time Lecturer Grade I, I joined one full-time and one part-time assistant lecturer, teaching 18 students between us. None of us had a Ph.D. For the Resource Verification exercise in the third year, the university recruited a professor and one other Ph.D. holder, both full time. Later on, another Ph.D. holder was added as an adjunct, with two more assistant lecturers. By this time, our student population had risen to 52 across the three levels.[11]

In both universities, the teaching staff complement grew in line with student population in the first three years of the department's life, satisfying the NUC's carrying capacity requirements. In both cases, the fear of not securing

full accreditation forced management to recruit. Both departments, however, were staffed by lower-cadre academic or teaching staff, a situation that paved the way for aberrations, such as my own appointment as HOD in both institutions.

The use of personnel who were either studying for their PhDs at the time or who only held a master's degree was not limited to these two universities. As a Ph.D. student at the African Studies Center in Leiden University in 2009, I met five other doctoral students who were also holding higher positions in both private and public universities in their home countries of Ghana, Sierra Leone, and Liberia.

In one of the universities, first-year students, most of whom had no background in history, were made to take upper-level history courses, normally only on offer to third- and fourth-year students, in their second semester, simply because the staff had no experience of course assignment and curricular design. I solved this problem by obtaining the University Senate's permission for first-year students to take extra foundation courses in their second semester in order to gain the minimum number of credits required to qualify for graduation at the end of their four-year program. This example shows that the use of barely qualified and inexperienced personnel is an affront to the system itself.

Before opening its doors to students, one of the two universities had established a well-stocked library, most of the books being donations from well-wishers and friends of the university, its founding vice chancellor, and its proprietor. A few weeks before the Resource Verification exercise, our department realized that the majority of the books in the library were not on history and international relations. As a stop-gap, we agreed to loan the library our own books. While some of these books were returned to their owners, a larger percentage ended up as donations to the library. A sizable number of books were also donated by the Nordiska Afrika Institute in Upsala, Sweden, following my attendance at a conference.[12] After the Resource Verification exercise, we compiled a list of 'must-have' books and journals and submitted a budget to the university. We liaised with the subject officer in the library to ensure that these teaching and learning resources were purchased before the Programmatic Accreditation Exercise.

In my second university, there were college libraries as well as a central library. When I took up my appointment there and found that few books and not a single journal in the field of history and international relations were available, it was agreed that all lecturers should compile a list of key books and journals that were germane to our different classes. A budget was subsequently drawn up and submitted to the Dean.[13] With the modest sum provided by the university, we procured current editions of relevant journals. We then resorted to sourcing books privately and a number of individuals from Leiden University donated books. Having successfully scaled the hurdle of Resource Verification, a year later we obtained full approval for our program at the end of the Programmatic Accreditation Exercise.

The library is an important component of any academic institution. Well-stocked college libraries can make the teaching and learning processes much simpler. Library holdings and procurement decisions were different in the two universities, but both suffered from poor allocation and resources. In the first university, far more resources were devoted to procurement of relevant literature, while in the second, lack of funds limited the university's intervention in the library. Moreover, the two universities adopted different systems for managing their libraries. In one, teaching and learning materials, including computers, were procured on a yearly basis, while in the other, departments were required to submit lists of required teaching and reading materials once every three years.

Both universities had subject officers who worked with HODs to ensure that up-to-date literature was available. In both universities, I encountered well-trained subject officers, whose jobs were hampered by the institution's parlous financial state. In both cases it was generally easier to get funding for procurement of relevant literature during Resource Verification and Programmatic Accreditation Exercises.

Accreditation and Quality of Process

According to Oprea Mihaela (2011), external examination, self-assessment, and student assessment of lecturers are among the instruments used for quality assurance measurement and reporting. In my first year in the first university, lecturers were required to issue assessment forms to students that asked, for example, whether a teacher assigned an adequate amount of reading material, or whether a teaching method was engaging. As HOD, I did not appreciate the importance of such student assessments and, as many of my colleagues noted in private conversations, we were all concerned that our students might not be knowledgeable enough to evaluate which reading materials or teaching methods were appropriate. Like many colleagues, I found it insulting to have my teaching, relationships with students, engagement with teaching materials, presentations, and other classroom skills evaluated by my students. No explanation was offered when the system was discontinued after a semester. If anything, this demonstrated the importance of qualification and experience in university administration. It was not until I joined the University of the Free State, Bloemfontein, South Africa that I realized the advantages of student assessment of lecturers.

In the other university, no assessment of lecturers by students or similar internal quality assurance measure was implemented, nor did such assessment appear to interest the NUC during Resource Verification or Programmatic Accreditation Exercises. In neither university was there a system in place, nor was any effort made to measure or evaluate teaching through a peer evaluation system. During my undergraduate and postgraduate studies at the University of Ibadan the university did not at any time afford students the

opportunity to provide any feedback whatsoever about teachers, teaching methods, teaching resources, and so on, nor can I recall any occasion when another professor was in class to evaluate teaching.

The simple truth is that Nigerian universities did not consider student evaluation and peer-review mechanisms suitable instruments for measuring quality. There is therefore an acute need to study the impact of the absence of these feedbacks and measuring instruments on Nigeria's educational system.[14]

The case of Ghana was different in many respects. At the University of Ghana, Legon, evaluation of lecturers by students was a critical part of academic life. In interviews with a cross-section of Ghanaian students studying for a variety of master's degrees in different departments across Missouri State University, it was confirmed by all respondents that before the end of each semester, students were mandated to fill an anonymous form evaluating content, engagement, and student–lecturer relationships. While many saw no significant changes in student–lecturer relationships or course contents after each iteration of the lecturer evaluation exercise, the existence of such a system attests to the importance placed on quality assurance by the NAB, compared with its counterparts in Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and Liberia where no such evaluation instrument was in place.[15]

Although student assessment of lecturers was discontinued after a semester in one of the universities where I had worked, one of the Departments of History and International Relations enshrined the practice of peer reviewing all examination questions prior to any examination. All teaching staff submitted their final examination questions to the Dean through their HOD. The Dean, working with the HODs, assigned a colleague to review the questions for rigor, depth, and standard. Where necessary, corrections and adjustments were made. Only after this process could an examination be administered. At the other university, no such system existed, and my attempts to introduce it were rebuffed, with teaching staff expressing concerns over the integrity of their questions.

At both universities, the use of external examiners was emphasized. The department appointed an external examiner from a parallel department at another university whose responsibilities included evaluating final year students' long essays and the grades awarded to them, sample examination questions, and so on. External examiners also led others during the mandatory *viva voce* oral thesis defense.

ACCREDITATION AND QUALITY OF OUTPUT

As the IIEP has noted, academic achievements in terms of test scores, progression, and pass rates are some of the instruments used to measure students' skills, knowledge acquisition, and attitudinal changes (Anderson 2005, 1–2). To this end, student evaluation, peer review, annual performance review, and drop-out and retention rates become important for evaluating institutional outputs.

As noted in the previous section, neither of the two universities conducted any evaluation of teaching by students or peers. There were no annual reviews; nor was there any attempt to measure quality of teaching and curriculum or to capture drop-out and retention rates. As the NUC, UNESCO, and ETF have established in various studies based on a larger dataset, the absence of these and many other measures has contributed to the deterioration of the quality of Nigerian graduates, especially in respect of communication and professionalism (Danjuma et al. 2018, 267).

It must however be noted that both universities invested in staff development, and especially in the provision of research support for their teaching staff. Given the scarcity of PhD holders, one of the universities provided funding to its staff on doctoral programs.[16] Such staff were offered full tuition, with a proviso that they serve the university for the same number of years as they received funding for. Financial support for teaching staff to attend academic conferences was also offered, including, for example, the costs of flights, conference registration, accommodation, and local transportation to one international conference and two local conferences annually.[17]

In one university I received many conference grants between 2005 and 2009, but the situation in the other was different. Although I was eligible for a conference grant and was approved for one in 2010, the money was never released. I also do not know of any teaching staff whose doctoral degree tuition was covered. Despite this, the university continually declared its support for staff development in these two key areas.

Experiences in other institutions within Nigeria and other parts of Anglophone West Africa differ from mine. Twenty-nine students from different West African countries enjoyed all manner of institutional support to enable them to complete their doctorates while I was a doctoral student at Leiden University. During my studentship in Leiden, two other Nigerian students—both from a federal university in northern Nigeria—were also studying for their PhDs in my department, enjoying a full scholarship from their own university and paid leave of absence to enable them to focus on and complete their studies. While I had no scholarship, my university had given me six months' paid leave as a contribution to my doctoral studies.[18] Another Nigerian student had been granted paid leave and a full scholarship by his university, also a privately owned university, for his Ph.D. at the Leiden University Center for the Arts in Society (LUCAS). Although all four of us were Nigerian students studying for our PhDs in the same university, two were from state-run institutions while the other and myself were from privately owned institutions.

It can be argued that while the ownership structure does contribute to quantity and quality of input, it is also important to note that the value accorded to staff training varied between institutions, and correlated directly with their ability to retain staff. My three fellow Nigerian students, now PhD holders, remained with their respective universities, while I left my former university in January 2013 after serving the mandatory six months that were a condition of my leave of absence.

ACCREDITATION AND QUALITY OF CONTENT

Despite its mission to guarantee quality education, neither the Resource Verification nor the Programmatic Accreditation Exercise conducted by NUC measures quality of academic content. Such items as lecturer assessment by students, sample syllabi, and teaching modules were not included in files submitted or required for NUC assessments in both institutions. Although departments ensured that files of all teaching staff contained their up-to-date CV, I noted that between 2005 and 2012, while I was teaching in Nigeria, the emphasis was on the number of publications rather than on their quality or where they appeared. This narrow approach failed to show how universities and departments translate NUC's policies into action in the areas of faculty, curriculum, student services, and libraries.

CONCLUSION

Insights from Resource Verification and Programmatic Accreditation Exercises in both universities where I worked between 2005 and 2012 revealed that both exercises ensured resource input and quality of process. In both institutions, shortly before the two exercises, managements injected more funds into the system. While this ensured that teaching staff were recruited, books and journals were purchased, and other teaching and learning resources were procured, it could be argued that its primary purpose was to facilitate positive results from these critical accreditation exercises.

Interviewees from Ghana and Liberia expressed similar sentiments. In addition, Nigeria's NUC, Ghana's NAB, UNESCO and ETF also affirmed that accreditation exercises of different kinds have a positive impact on the quality of input into education, as university managements tend to spend lavishly on recruitment and staffing, teaching and learning materials such as books and journals, and classroom and office facilities in advance of these exercises.

As the two cases examined above show, the higher education sector in Anglophone West Africa is beset with the problem of insufficient numbers of Ph.D. holders. This atypical situation has led, in many cases, to all kinds of adjustments, such as non-Ph.D. holders heading departments. In some cases, Ph.D. holders were combining a full-time position in one institution with a series of adjunct positions in others. Cases of Ph.D. holders who are employed full time in two or more universities have also been reported. Are the accrediting agencies aware of this problem? What impact does this development have on the quality of education in Anglophone West Africa? Although there are as yet no studies on these questions, it is certain that the recruitment of lower-level and inexperienced teaching staff impinges on the quality of both management and education.

The impact of accreditation on quality of output is mixed, though the tendency is generally negative. Writing in the *Sierra Leone Telegraph* of July 21,

2013, Abdul Rashid Thomas decried the state of higher education in Sierra Leone, noting among other things that "institutions which would otherwise struggle to gain university accreditation status in other parts of Africa, are not only mushrooming across Sierra Leone, but receiving university status."[19] In other words, whatever activities are initiated by NCTVA to guarantee quality, the outcomes included the emergence of higher educational institutions and programs that produced graduates "with qualifications that are unfit for purpose and making little contribution to wealth creation," according to Thomas. Thomas went on to attribute the problem to poor funding. Professor Abu Sesay, the Principal of Njala University, corroborated Thomas' view thus: "our constraints are so many – our science and teaching labs are below standard; our equipment are poor; we have inadequate library facilities; poorly stocked computer labs; inadequate infrastructure and classrooms, including offices; and inadequate staff accommodation" (Sesay 2017).

Of course, feedback is important for institutional success. No matter how teaching staff feel about students, evaluation of lecturers by students is important, not just as a response or feedback reporting mechanism, but also for internal quality assurance. In the two cases considered in this chapter and as students from across Nigerian universities have claimed, universities paid little or no attention to the use of student or peer evaluation of lecturers as two realistic ways of ensuring quality and generating feedback from students. Although professors at various stages of their careers have expressed reservations about student evaluation of lecturers, these concerns cannot eliminate the need for feedback from students on teaching and learning. The same applies, among other issues, to peer evaluation and annual reviews.

As we have seen, accreditation exercises have a positive impact on the quality of input, process, and output. They do not, however, affect quality of content in concrete terms. Underlying this problem is the fact that across Anglophone West Africa, there are more students than the number of higher educational institutions available. From Nigeria and Ghana to Sierra Leone and Liberia, the democratization of the higher education sector through the establishment of privately owned universities and colleges has done little to solve the problem. In these circumstances, most institutions and accreditation agencies are more concerned with providing education to a greater number of citizens than with measuring quality, drop-out and retention rates, and statistical variables.

NOTES

1. In the 1993/1994 academic year, JAMB cancelled the English Language paper due to widespread leakage. As a result, the entrance examination for the year was out of 300 marks and not the usual 400 marks.
2. See section on "Function" on http://nuc.edu.ng/. Accessed June 10, 2018.
3. For details on the National Universities Commission's establishment, functions, processes, and procedures, see http://nuc.edu.ng/. Accessed September 15, 2019.

4. For details on the National Accreditation Board's establishment, functions, processes, and procedures, see http://www.nab.gov.gh/vision-and-mission. Accessed September 15, 2019.

5. For details on the National Commission on Higher Education's establishment, functions, processes, and procedures, see http://ncheliberia.org/. Accessed September 15, 2019.

6. For details on the National Council for Technical, Vocational and Other Academic Awards (NCTVA)'s establishment, functions, processes, and procedures, see https://nctva.org/. Accessed September 15, 2019.

7. For a complete list of required documents and to-do-list for accreditation, the NAB has posted a list of documents on its website at http://www.nab.gov.gh/accre-docs. Accessed September 15, 2019.

8. It was because of this problem that I was denied the opportunity to study law at the University of Ilorin.

9. At one of these universities, the department was provided with a course design along the lines of what obtained at another university. Within our first year, my colleagues and I worked through this document and within the first two years, we were able to devise a four-year degree in History and Strategic Studies. We were forced to change the name of the department to History and International Relations in 2006 when parents and students bombarded us with questions on the meaning of 'Strategic Studies' and what students would gain from it.

10. Before the Programmatic Accreditation Exercise, the National Universities Commissions required a campus visit by ad hoc officials to examine the level of preparedness and resources available to a prospective department. This Resource Verification Exercise enabled departments to prepare for the subsequent accreditation exercise proper.

11. By 2013 when I was leaving this university, the student population had grown to above 60; however, by 2016, the department had less than 10 students left.

12. I thank NAI for the assistance in this regard.

13. The small amount of money released to us was facilitated by the Dean, College of Humanities.

14. For this chapter, I interviewed a cross-section of former students from different universities in South-West Nigeria to see if any system of evaluation was implemented during their university days. None confirmed the existence of any such system.

15. In order to obtain information on student evaluation of lecturers, the author created a WhatsApp group and invited a few students to join who later facilitated recruitment of their fellow students in various institutions of higher education in the United States and also in Ghana. Also included in the WhatsApp group were five professors, of whom three were currently employed at the Missouri State University and two in Ghana. Altogether, more than twenty students and five university professors were actively involved in discussing (i) existence of student evaluation of lecturers; (ii) peer review of lecturers in different universities and colleges in Ghana; (iii) effectiveness of these instruments. Opinions were freely expressed, and the consensus is reported above.

16. The first university also established a system whereby the best graduating students were retained and recruited as assistant lecturers and were given full

funding for their doctorates in any university worldwide. The second university also had a system of this kind, the only difference being that students were not funded for their doctorates.

17. I was the first recipient of this staff development grant in my first university, while in the second I was granted study leave with full pay for six months to complete my doctorate at Leiden University. I thank the managements of the two universities for these gestures.

18. I thank the management for this rare and unprecedented feat.

19. Abdul Rashid Thomas 2013, "Sierra Leone's Higher Education Sector in Crisis: Njala Fights to Survive," *Sierra Leone News*, July 21, 2013. Accessed September 15, 2019 at https://www.thesierraleonetelegraph.com/4436/.

References

Anderson, Jo Anne. 2005. *Accountability in Education*. Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning and Brussels: International Academy of Education.

Danjuma, Mohammed, Sani Ahmed Yauta, and Musa Jerry. 2018. "Outsourcing as an Alternative for Higher Education Financing (HEF) in Nigeria: The Case of Adamawa State University Mubi, Gombe State University and Taraba State University, Nigeria." *European Scientific Journal* 14 (16): 263–286.

Mihaela, Oprea. 2011. "A University Knowledge Management Tool for Academic Research Activity Evaluation." *Informatica Economica* 15 (3): 58–71.

National Accreditation Board. 2019. *Vision and Mission*. Accra: Ghana National Accreditation Board. http://www.nab.gov.gh/vision-and-mission.

National Universities Commission. 2019. *National Universities Commission: About Us*. Abuja: NUC. http://nuc.edu.ng/.

Okojie, Julius A. 2018. "Licensing, Accreditation and Quality Assurance in Nigerian Universities: Achievements and Challenges." Paper Presented, 2008 CHEA Summer Workshop, Abuja, Nigeria. https://www.chea.org/userfiles/Conference%20Presentations/2008_SW_Julius_Okojie_paper.pdf.

Oladele, Adeoti Ezekiel. 2015. "The Role of the National Universities Commission (NUC) in the Development of University Education in Nigeria: Reflections and Projections." *Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal* 2 (3): 116–130.

Sesay, Abu. 2017. "Njala University Is Grossly Under-Funded." https://njala.edu.sl/about/njala-university-grossly-under-funded-principal-prof-abu-sesay.

World Bank. 2013. *Republic of Sierra Leone: Higher and Tertiary Education Sector Policy Note*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Whose African Education Is It?

Marika Matengu and Ailie Cleghorn

This chapter draws on studies carried out over the last five years in Namibia, most recently Matengu's research in three areas: Namibia's education policy, teachers' folk pedagogy in pre- and lower primary classrooms, and indigenous parents' views of what they aspire to for their children. These studies, each in different ways, illustrate contradictions between Namibia's policy that expresses a value on the country's linguistic and cultural diversity, in contrast to the concurrent national need to maintain a uniform standard 'for all.' This body of research, especially along with that of Prochner et al. (2016), shows how a globally defined national standard collides with the need for local, contextual solutions in order to increase equitable outcomes within an education system that has long been marked by extreme inequality. It is in this context, for example, that interviews with severely marginalized indigenous parents show how parents want their children to be educated so that they may retain their identity while also being fully prepared to take part in modern society; survival of their indigenous lifestyle is becoming increasingly challenging and even prohibited in some communities. In this way, a call is sent to education planners for a system that ceases to be discriminatory, while adapted to the needs of local indigenous communities by being inclusive and promoting social justice—for all.

M. Matengu (✉)
Faculty of Education, University of Oulu, Oulu, Finland

A. Cleghorn
Concordia University, Montreal, QC, Canada
e-mail: ailie.cleghorn@concordia.ca

Background

The question at the core of this chapter and its focus asks to what extent, if at all, Namibia's national education system effectively incorporates or acknowledges indigenous knowledge, structures, and methods, or, as an imposed Western education system systematically negates and marginalizes indigenous African knowledge and its production? While taking an Afrocentric perspective, we will first provide a brief overview of two distinct African cultures in Namibia: The dominant Owambo culture and the unique San indigenous culture, with special reference to their indigenous education structure, knowledge production, and methods of dissemination. This discussion will then be tied to previous studies in order to clarify the contradictions within the Namibian education system. The chapter will end with a few thoughts on how the education system could be reconstructed to make it more African, less discriminatory and attuned to the needs of each cultural community.

Overview of Indigenous Cultures in Namibia

Located in southwest Africa, Namibia is a vast country of some 824, 000 square kilometers with a small population of approximately 2.1 million, of which the Owambo group represents nearly 50% of the total population and the nomadic San indigenous groups represent a small population of approximately 30,000 people. The San have lived in Namibia as hunter-gatherers for thousands of years; they inhabited Namibia before the arrival of the Nama, Damara, Owambo, and Herero groups, who migrated from different parts of the African continent and who represent the current dominant tribes. Namibia's population is culturally and linguistically diverse, with 13 languages recognized in the national language policy but more than 20 dialects and unwritten languages are spoken in homes.

Namibia has been recognized as an excellent example of a country in the Global South that was on the receiving end of the spread of long-dominant education concepts from the Global North. There is little evidence to suggest that local or indigenous knowledge systems infuse or underlie the ongoing trend toward a modern system that purports to meet the needs of all, including the most marginalized in rural communities where the local-global tensions are noted through a focus on language issues.

The current education system evolved through periods of German colonial rule from 1884 until World War I when the apartheid system of segregation that emerged in South Africa was enforced in Namibia. Through over 100 years of oppression, Namibians have maintained their informal education system alongside a racially discriminatory formal education system. In rural communities, informal education has served the needs of the local economy, equipping people with relevant skills and competences such as hunting and gathering. However, as the economic environment has become more dependent on formal employment and traditional livelihoods are threatened

particularly by climate change, the relevance of informal education has become debatable while the importance of formal education has become increasingly important for traditional, rural communities.

Owambo Culture

The Owambo people are a southern African ethnic group, representing nearly 50% of the Namibian population. The Owambo people are an ethnolinquistic group who speak the Owambo language, with the main dialects of Oshindonga and Kwanyama, but many Owambo people also speak either English or Afrikaans as their second language which they have learned mainly through the public education system. In many spheres of their lives, the Owambo people have adapted to modern life introduced by the colonizers and missionaries. For example, the traditional religion of the Owambo people is the primary faith of less than 3%, as most state Christianity to be their primary faith. Culturally, dancing combined with drumming is an important way of cultural expression. The traditional livelihood of the Owambo people has been to raise cattle, fish in the oshanas, and farm. They are skilled craftsmen. They make and sell basketry, pottery, jewelry, wooden combs, wood iron spears, arrows, richly decorated daggers, musical instruments, and also ivory buttons. However, the traditional agricultural lifestyles are rapidly being replaced by educated Owambo people who prefer to seek livelihoods through formal employment in various sectors. In national politics, Owambo people's representation is larger and more dominant than that of any other cultural group.

San Culture

The San have experienced serious demands in a short period of time to move away from the traditional hunter-gatherer lifestyle to a modern life and cash economy. The values and norms by which the San have lived for centuries are different in many respects from those of the dominant tribes in Namibia, such as the Owambo. In San traditional society, children have not been kept apart in specific age groups nor confined to 'classes.' Children were brought up as equals with adults, with plenty of practical contact in the field to learn the intricacies of tracking, hunting, and gathering. When small, they were in almost continual bodily contact with adults; they learned by listening, watching, and practicing; they were disciplined orally, not physically.

The land and natural resources in some parts of the country that have provided a livelihood for thousands of years have recently been declared areas for conservation and national parks. In the areas of such restrictions, those who gather certain plants and hunt without formally acquired permits face the threat of arrest. The San are thus engaged in a fight for recognition of their cultural and social existence. Despite independent democratic governments in southern Africa, the San are still extremely poor and seen as the lowest group in the social hierarchy (le Roux 2002). San children suffer from

discrimination and negative perceptions by other groups due to lack of cloth-
ing, transport problems, hunger, and disease. The enrollment of San children
in school is much lower than the national average; and due to early drop-out,
few San children are able to finish secondary school (MoE 2010, 2015), a
rate that has not changed significantly regardless of the adoption of policies
that enforce inclusion, suggesting strategies to prevent educational marginali-
zation (MoE 2015).

Policy

Several African studies highlight policy implementation as a matter of con-
cern. In many instances, there is an evident gap between policy rhetoric and
implementation (Ebrahim 2012). This gap is largely attributed to the policy
content which tends to reflect the ideological origins of the Global North
(Penn 2011) or the realities of the wealthier political class and education elite,
(Nsamenang 2005) rather than the cultural values and belief systems of the
majority of the citizens (Carnoy 1999; Serpell and Nsamenang 2014). With
reference to the field of early childhood education (ECE), if the theories that
inform the development of ECE fail to capture local realities, policy makers
are only creating 'fictions of childhood' (Lewis and Watson-Gegeo 2004).

Critical policy research recognizes the complexity and ambiguity of pol-
icy formation during which mediators interpret the policies "in relation to
their history, experiences, skills, resources and contexts" (Ball 1993, 11).
Policy content is compromised at various stages through bargaining, arguing,
and lobbying (Dyer 1999; Gale 2003). Any compromises during the pro-
cess are often made at the expense of those who have less voice in the polit-
ical and administrative arenas of society. It is worth noting that in countries
like Namibia, policy development and reforms are often largely funded by
Euro-American donors; hence, their voice is dominant in debates and argu-
ments about the content of policies. Levinson et al. (2009, 774) observe that
"dominant groups position themselves best to order an education system in
its own vision and interest." Even if policies appear to defend the rights of
vulnerable groups, without a situationally constructed will to policy forma-
tion, they might remain as mere political symbolism (Jansen 2002). Especially
in the former apartheid countries, policies should be seen as the practice of
power that requires constant and critical review in order to bring about a
more just education (Jansen 2002; Sayed and Ahmed 2011).

We conducted a study in Namibia on how local policy actors make sense
of educational marginalization, something that is very evident among indig-
enous Namibian communities (Matengu et al. 2018a, b). Eight participants
were selected based on their active engagement with ECE policy formation.
We investigated dilemmas and solutions for provision of a more equita-
ble ECE. Our findings were in line with the critical policy approach in that
policies are reproduced through interpretative processes which are messy,

socially constructed, and context bound (Ball 1993; Gale 2003; Levinson et al. 2009). In this process, the voice of international partners and donors is loud and clear. The majority of policy actors make sense of educational marginalization constricted by international ECE agendas which offer few alternatives and little flexibility to policy actors at the community level who are seeking contextual solutions. The sense-making processes suggest a top-down policy formation in which the policy mediators are only implementers of predetermined best practices to which communities are expected to assimilate themselves. This calls broader attention to the hidden aspects of power in policy formation if policy processes are to be owned by the people whom the education system serves. While broader efforts to improve the socioeconomic condition of the rural poor are needed, to improve the current policy implementation process requires developing a policy environment that allows and encourages maneuvering for contextualized ideas. The principles of democratic participation should guide the policy formation process leading to narrowing the gap between theory and practice. Our study also identifies with the sense-making framework in that local preferences should be given a higher priority in developing more just ECE policies. The findings suggest that policy formation is led by the idea of international standards rather than the needs of educationally marginalized communities and their children.

Teachers' Roles and Taken for Granted Pedagogical Beliefs

The role of the school is to deal with social, cultural, and individual diversity in a manner that promotes unity in a nation to which all citizens have allegiance. The challenge is to forge a common nation and social justice in the face of increasing ethnic, cultural, and language diversity (Buckler 2015; Jorgensen et al. 2010). To forge a sense of common purpose and a social justice mandate, teachers must respect and build upon the cultural strengths and characteristics which learners from diverse communities bring to school (Banks et al. 2001). At the same time, teachers are expected to assist all learners to acquire the knowledge, skills, and values needed to become participating citizens of society at large (Howart and Andreouli 2015). Cultural, ethnic, and language diversity provide schools with rich opportunities to incorporate diverse perspectives, issues, and characteristics into the nation generally and within schools specifically in order to strengthen both.

Ellis (1996) has argued that the ideal role of a teacher in a multicultural setting should be that of a cultural mediator rather than a facilitator of learning (Ashton and Pence 2016). This role is even more crucial in early childhood education in which culture has been recognized as an important construct in teaching and learning (Myers 1996). Tillman (2002, 4) has defined culture as "a group's individual and collective ways of thinking, believing, and knowing, which includes their shared experiences, consciousness, skills, values, forms of expression, social institutions, and behaviours."

Teachers who are good mediators seek to "find points of congruence between seemingly contradicting cultural norms" while at the same time they also reach learners at a more emotional and personal level, by having "the ability to empathize with the experiences of others" (Ellis 1996, 217).

The findings of the Matengu 2018 study indicated very little if any attempts to utilize traditional knowledge in the classroom environment. Instead, the early-career teachers preferred to use picture books for teaching despite the plea from learners to listen to traditional folk stories. This finding suggests that especially young teachers perceive traditional knowledge to have very little relevance to the development of the mind. Further, it appeared as if cognitive content had to be derived from somewhere, or someone who had already acquired it, outside the local community. This is not far from conceptualizing the mind as a blank receptacle, a stance that may come easily to teachers working in a hierarchical system in which elders or persons of authority are the 'holders of knowledge', to be respected as such and not to be questioned. When teachers perceive their own role as that of an elder with authority, it is a short step to disregarding the experience or knowledge that a learner might bring from home to the classroom.

We saw that teachers similarly held in high respect the authorities within the school system who they did not feel comfortable to question. Instead, they chose to keep their concerns about the system to themselves, expressing a reluctance to question or suggest changes. This was most evident from the way teachers approached mother tongue education. The language policy states that instruction is to be by mother tongue. Since it was often the case that neither teachers nor learners shared the same mother tongue or knew the local mother tongue well, the situation became confusing both for the teacher and the children. Although one teacher stated that no quality education could be delivered under such circumstances, the teachers were immobilized by the conviction that policies should be followed as written. This finding brings us back to the initial question of "Whose African education is it?" In line with other studies (Daiute et al. 2015), we concur that field-based experience has not sufficiently informed education reform. To tackle the challenge of social inclusion, we argue that deliberate, critical, creative, and informative reflection from the field should guide future practice and policy especially in societies such as Namibia which are culturally heterogeneous and still struggling with the challenges of teacher education, linked as they are to the economics of national development.

Indigenous Parents' Views

Education reports from African indigenous communities have increased international interest and attempt to make education more appealing for the most marginalized (Rios-Aquilar et al. 2011; UNESCO 2014). Most of these efforts have focused on why or how the content of education is socially

and culturally irrelevant to communities that differ from the dominant soci-ety. Two key recommendations emerge from the literature. First, the learning content should maintain communities' values and cultural heritage, and build on the knowledge capital already available and needed in the immediate sur-roundings of the child (Modica et al. 2010; Ng'asike 2014). Second, the con-tent of learning should also contribute toward desired social transformation (Crago et al. 1993; Inglis 2008). In practice, many African countries, includ-ing Namibia, have focused mainly on the first recommendation by develop-ing policies that require learning in the main native languages during the first years of schooling. This is due to the considerable amount of research that shows mother tongue education to be the best foundation for early learning, smoothing the social and cultural transitions between home and school envi-ronments. However, the language used in the smallest and most marginal-ized groups tends not to be officially recognized with the result that mother tongue education in these groups remains close to non-existent (Hays 2011). Furthermore, it is not well established how, in countries with marked soci-oeconomic inequalities, understanding of minority communities' values and culture could foster social transformation (Moll et al. 2011).

In the study being discussed here (Matengu et al. 2018b) parents made no reference to age-specific cognitive and academic skills and knowledge as described in formal education policies. This may well be explained by par-ents' own disrupted education paths which have resulted in low levels of lit-eracy as well as a sense of disempowerment and lack of awareness of what education content actually entails (Pamo 2011; UNESCO 2014). However, this also brings attention to the need for education that covers broader and deeper issues of wellbeing and development than what the education system currently offers (le Roux 2002).

In the study under discussion right now, parents, young and old, talked freely about gaining more freedom of choice and eliminating all resource-related dependencies, both which presented issues in their own lives. These findings suggest that educational or social equality does not just hap-pen by applying international benchmarks such as new policies, legal frame-works, and theoretical universal access to basic education. The impact of education in indigenous communities will remain limited, unless the deeper feelings and effects of marginalization are taken into account. Thus, we agree with the suggestion of Balto and Ostmo (2012) that there is a need to help indigenous communities to engage in critical reflection on the effects of col-onization and marginalization so that they are empowered to ensure that education in those communities responds to their complex needs and goals. The attempt, reinforced by researchers and education planners to make pre-defined education models acceptable if not appealing, has met with poor results (Penn 2011; Serpell and Nsamenang 2014). Furthermore, there is a significant gap in the literature with regard to most parts of Africa where fam-ily is a highly valued and central social and cultural structure, and how this

fact could be at the core of planning an appropriate curriculum and teaching approach. Evidence and rich insights from indigenous communities themselves are needed to inform future education models.

The culture of the San in Namibia and other parts of southern Africa is interestingly similar to that of the Inuit in northern Canada, a topic that will be further developed in a subsequent article. For the moment, the San kinship system reflects their interdependence as traditionally small mobile foraging groups. The San kinship system now uses the same set of terms as in European cultures, but also uses a name rule and an age rule. The age rule resolves any confusion arising from western kinship terms, as the older of two people always decides what to call the younger. Relatively few names circulate (approximately 35 names per sex), and each child is named after a grandparent or other close relative.

Again, similar to the Inuit, San children have no social duties besides playing; however, play is directly linked to learning what is required for the livelihood of the community. Leisure is very important to San of all ages with large amounts of time spent in conversation, joking, music, and sacred dances. Women have high status in San society, are greatly respected, and may be leaders of their own family groups. They make important family and group decisions and claim ownership of water holes and foraging areas. Although women are mainly involved in the gathering of food, they may also take part in hunting.

As implied earlier, parents in Namibia, as elsewhere in Africa, value education as the only way out of the hardships in which they live. But at the same time, education should recognize these hardships and give attention to capabilities about which the current education models are silent. The question that we would like to pose at this stage is to what extent parents have possibilities to help shape current educational models into something that they find meaningful for their children. Our findings suggest two things. First of all, communication between home and schools rarely happens and, when it does, is characterized by one-way communication from teachers to parents in a language other than that of the parents. In most instances, the purpose of this communication is to inform or correct the parent rather than seek opinion and participation. As Smrekar and Cohne-Vogel (2001) have noted teachers see parents as involuntary clients of the institution, responding as subordinate consumers or receptors of information. Secondly, this institutionalized social order appears to limit the involvement of parents; even if parents value education and would like to be more involved, their roles are seen as distinct from the role of the school. At the same time, parents do not perceive themselves as having the right to question or suggest changes to school practices, bringing us back to the point made earlier by Balto and Ostmo (2012): There is a huge need to raise the consciousness of indigenous groups, not only in Namibia but likely elsewhere.

DISCUSSION AND A FEW OUT-OF-THE-BOX THOUGHTS TOWARD FURTHER REFORM

The present education system in Namibia remains problematic, especially for minority cultures such as the San, despite the fact that change is quickly taking place in Namibia. As of now it appears that a form of acculturation is taking place which ideally will permit the development of a degree of biculturalism, allowing the San to live in both worlds, their own and the modern. As long as San families remain under-educated and minimally literate children are burdened with unrealistic expectations both from their parents and school authorities. Indigenous parents, knowing that traditional livelihoods are likely to continue the circle of poverty, see education as the means to gaining access to the world of employment and political power while policy makers and educators expect indigenous children to bring development and change to the indigenous communities.

At present, indigenous African cultures are influenced dramatically by Euro-American models of education. The non-formal or informal indigenous education practices are rapidly disappearing due to lack of effort to understand the indigenous pedagogies and values that they are rooted on. There is a dire need to develop more flexible structures of education as well as platforms for exchange of traditional knowledge and modern education. Whose African education is it is a complex question that has to be explored widely from social, cultural, historical, and economic angles.

By way of bringing this chapter to a close, we offer some thoughts about how the system is tied to the society's needed reforms to come and how they may relate to quite different matters than those discussed so far. We have in mind three related matters: teacher education, the ethics of educational research, and innovation at the level of the classroom.

Firstly, teachers work in classrooms, often in considerable isolation from other teachers, school administrators, and surely educational policy planners. In order to construct a true community of practice (Lave and Wagner 1991) teachers' knowledge and practices and aspirations for their learners need to be recognized and valued. This means that for educational research to be useful to future reforms teachers need to be brought into studies as collaborators if not co-researchers. In terms of research ethics, this means that teachers will be part of the community of practice of researchers, sharing in authorship that acknowledges their input, their participation in the selection of research tools and in the analysis of data. Teachers would thus gain voice in the development of reforms that work, in a climate of social justice for all children, marginalized and not marginalized.

These ideas may appear to be too radical and idealistic, but is there a choice? For the teacher to make innovations in the classroom, she needs the autonomy (power) to try different things, to see if they work and to monitor the process of all that. This does not mean taking the teacher out of the classroom to become a co-researcher; it means keeping the teacher IN the

classroom. When teachers work closely with researchers, minds intermingle. Such an approach combines research with innovation and true development.

What does this mean in practical terms? Here is an example. A teacher and community leader had the idea of building a museum in the village where she worked and lived. The museum would portray the local and indigenous people's knowledge of environmental conservation. Local, indigenous knowledge would be made visible to members of the community as well as local schools, generating discussion. The values and culture of the people would be thus acknowledged and honored. The project, as proposed, would combine ethnographic monitoring in its development (research) and collaboration between teachers, the school, the specific needs of the community and local education officials.

We come back to the question: Whose African education is it? How can it be owned by the people themselves in a decentralized manner where power and control are local while systematically and responsibly accounting for change and development 'up the line.' This suggests a major conceptual shift on the part of those officially concerned with African educational reform. The shift would be from one of holding on to power no matter what, and moving to a truly democratic notion of what it means to provide educational 'justice for all.'

References

Ashton, E., and A. Pence. 2016. "Early Childhood Research in Africa: The Need for Chorus of Voices." In *The SAGE Handbook of Early Childhood Research*, edited by E. Tisdall, M. Kay, S. Kagan, L. Sharon, and A. Farrell, 380–397. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ball, S. J. 1993. "What is Policy? Texts, Trajectories and Toolboxes." *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 13 (2): 10–17.

Balto, A. M., and Ostmo, L. 2012. "Multicultural Studies from a Sámi Perspective: Bridging Traditional and Challenges in an Indigenous Setting." *Issues in Educational Research* 22 (1): 1–17.

Banks, James A., Peter Cookson, Geneva Gay, Willis D. Hawley, Jacqueline Jordan Irvine, Sonia Nieto, Janet Ward Schofield, and Walter G. Stephan. 2001. *Diversity Within Unity*. Seattle, WA: Center for Multicultural Education.

Buckler, A. 2015. "Quality Teaching in Rural Sub-Saharan Africa: Different Perspectives, Values and Capabilities." *International Journal of Educational Development* 40: 126–133.

Carnoy, M. 1999. *Globalization and Educational Reform: What Planners Need to Know*. Paris, France: UNESCO.

Crago, M., B. Annahatak, and L. Ningiuruvik. 1993. "Changing Patterns of Language Socialization in Inuit Homes." *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 24 (3): 205–223.

Daiute, C., A. Ataman, and T. Kovács-Cerović. 2015. "Minority Educators Discuss a Public Story That Challenges." *Learning, Culture and Social Interaction* 7: 109–125.

Dyer, C. 1999. "Researching the Implementation of Educational Policy: A Backward Mapping Approach." *Comparative Education* 35 (1): 45–61.

Ebrahim, H. 2012. "Tensions in Incorporating Global Childhood with Early Childhood Programs: The Case of South Africa." *Australasian Journal of Early Childhood* 37 (3): 80–86.

Ellis, G. 1996. "How Culturally Appropriate Is Communicative Practice?" *ELT Journal* 50 (3): 213–218.

Gale, T. 2003. "Realizing Policy: The Who and How of Policy Production." *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 24 (1): 51–65.

Hays, J. 2011. "Educational Rights for Indigenous Communities in Botswana and Namibia." *The International Journal of Human Rights* 15 (1): 127–153.

Howart, C., and E. Andreouli. 2015. "'Changing the Context:' Tackling Discrimination at School and in Society." *International Journal for Educational Development* 41: 184–191.

Inglis, C. 2008. *Planning for Cultural Diversity*. Paris, France: UNESCO.

Jansen, J. D. 2002. "Political Symbolism as Policy Craft: Explaining Nonreform in South African Education after Apartheid." *Journal of Education Policy* 17 (2): 199–215.

Jorgensen (Zevenbergen), R., P. Grootenboer, R. Niesche, and S. Lerman. 2010. "Challenges for Teacher Education: The Mismatch Between Beliefs and Practice in Remote Indigenous Context." *Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education* 38 (2): 161–175.

Lave, Jean, and Etienne Wenger. 1991. *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

le Roux, W. 2002. *The Challenges of Change: A Tracer Study of San Preschool Children in Botswana. Early Childhood Development: Practice and Reflections*. The Hague, The Netherlands: Bernard van Leer Foundation.

Levinson, B., M. Sutton, and T. Winstead. 2009. "Education Policy as a Practice of Power: Theoretical Tools, Ethnographic Methods, Democratic Option." *Educational Policy* 23 (6): 767–795.

Lewis, J., and K. Watson-Gegeo. 2004. "Fictions of Childhood: Towards a Sociohistorical Approach to Human Development." *Ethos* 32 (1):3–33.

Matengu, Marika, Ailie Cleghorn, and Riitta-Liisa Korkeamäki. 2018a. "Keeping the National Standard? Contextual Dilemmas of Educational Marginalization in Namibia." *International Journal of Educational Development* 62 (C): 128–135.

Matengu, Marika, Riitta-Liisa Korkeamäki, and Ailie Cleghorn. 2018b. "Conceptualizing Meaningful Education: The Voices of Indigenous Parents of Young Children." *Learning, Culture and Social Interaction* 22. http://doi.org/10.1016/j.lcsi.2018.05.007.

Ministry of Education (MoE). 2010. *The Education Management Information System (EMIS)*. Republic of Namibia.

Ministry of Education (MoE). 2015. *Pre-primary Syllabus*. Windhoek, Namibia: Government of Namibia.

Modica, S., M. Ajmera, and V. Dunning. 2010. "Meeting Children Where They Are: Culturally Adapted Models of Early Childhood Education." *Young Children* 65 (6): 20–26.

Moll, L. C., C. Amanti, D. Neff, and N. Gonzalez. 1992. "Funds of Knowledge for Teaching: Using a Qualitative Approach to Connect Homes and Classrooms." *Theory into Practice* 31 (2): 132–141.

Myers, R. 1996. *The Twelve Who Survive: Strengthening Programmes of Early Childhood Development in the Third World*. London and New York: Routledge.

Nsamenang, A. B. 2005. "Educational Development and Knowledge Flow: Local and Global Forces in Human Development in Africa." *Higher Education Policy* 18: 275–288.

Pamo, B. 2011. "San Language Development for Education in South Africa: The South African San." *Diaspora, Indigenous and Minority Education* 5 (2): 112–118.

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.

Prochner, L., A. Cleghorn, A. Kirova, and C. Massing. 2016. *Teaching Education in Diverse Settings: Making Space for Intersection Worldviews*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Rios-Aguilar, C., G. M. Kiyama, M. Gravitt, and L. C. Moll. 2011. "Funds of Knowledge for the Poor and Forms of Capital for the Rich? A Capital Approach to Examining Funds of Knowledge." *Theory and Research in Education* 9: 163–184.

Sayed, Y., and R. Ahmed. 2011. "Education Quality in Post-apartheid South African Policy: Balancing Equity, Diversity, Rights and Participation." *Comparative Education* 47 (1): 103–118.

Serpell, R., and A. B. Nsamenang. 2014. *Locally Relevant and Quality ECCE Programmes: Implications of Research on Indigenous African Child Development and Socialization*. Paris: UNESCO.

Smrekar, C., and L. Cohen-Vogel. 2001. "The Voices of Parents: Rethinking the Intersection of Family and School." *Peabody Journal of Education* 76: 75–100.

Tillman, L. C. 2002. "Culturally Sensitive Research Approaches: An African-American Perspective." *Educational Researcher* 31 (9): 3–12.

UNESCO. 2014. "Teaching and Learning: Achieving Quality for All." *Education for All Global Monitoring Report*. Paris, France: UNESCO.

Rethinking Pedagogy and Educational Practice in Africa: Comparative Analysis of Liberative and Ubuntu Educational Philosophies

Pamela Machakanja and Chupicai Shollah Manuel

Introduction: Problematizing Educational Pedagogy and Practice in Africa

Discourses on educational pedagogy are gaining currency because of the disconnect between theory and practice that pervades the educational enterprise. Educational challenges in Africa continue because of the historical colonial baggage upon which many educational systems remain modelled, despite political independence having been gained. The colonial system's function was mainly to sustain administrative systems (Mazrui 1979, cited in Woolman 2001, 30–31). Le Grange (2016), using the divide, rule, and segregated educational system aimed at oppressing the mind-set of the indigenous African. Although most African countries have attained political independence, they continue to experience a myriad of challenges to achieving educational policy reforms that propel Africa into a developmental state satisfying people's social and economic aspirations. The colonial curriculum and pedagogical challenges have become intermixed with the fractured economic and political historical legacies of a colonial and oppressive past.

P. Machakanja (✉) · C. S. Manuel
College of Business, Peace, Leadership and Governance,
Africa University, Mutare, Zimbabwe

C. S. Manuel
College of Social Sciences, Theology, Humanities and Education,
Africa University, Mutare, Zimbabwe

683

As such, the need to reconstruct and transform both the educational system and educational practice has become an urgent matter—in search of quality education that will propel the African continent into the future. First, the proliferation of educational institutions has pushed the agenda to view education as an entrepreneurial enterprise, where creativity and innovation should thrive as alternatives responsive to the needs of people and society driven by market-oriented demands and technological changes. Second, these emerging trends imply that educational pedagogy and practice in Africa is under pressure to overhaul most curricula in line with the aspirations of an emerging Pan African society eager to reclaim knowledge systems that are innovative, creative, and customized to the cultural context and values of a liberated and conscious society.

RELOCATING AFRICA'S EDUCATION SYSTEM IN UBUNTU PHILOSOPHY

We would like to begin with a position that education by its nature is a process of endless dialogue between learners (the instructed) and educators (the instructors). By so doing, it is a dramaturgical process of dialogue between the world of educators and learners which also then shapes everyday human life experiences that form the integral part of human existence through co-knowledge development. This world is in a ceaseless pursuit of knowledge and as a point of departure we would like to point out that every knowledge system has a value system that shapes the way society learns, re-learns and de-learns the social world. Therefore, African society's knowledge system is rooted in concepts such as Pan Africanism, African renaissance, and Ubuntu/hunhu/harambee/umuntu—collectively ujamaa (they are variably used in different African contexts but hold the same meaning)—and is framed as a set of four ontological realities, based on fear and self-scrutiny, and in cross-shaped interactions between African agents and their structures (Elonga Mboyo 2017a; Diop 1962; Dixon 1977; Gyekye 1997; Mnyaka and Motlhabi 2005).

A number of scholars have converged on the definition of Ubuntu, such as Mnyaka and Motlhabi (2005), Broodryk (2006), Msila (2014), Murithi (2007), Chitumba (2013), and Letseka (2012), and suggested that although there is a diversity of African cultures, "there are commonalities to be found among them in areas such as value systems, beliefs, practices, and others," which constitute an African worldview through such concepts of humanness and spirituality. In relation to educational discourse and praxis of teaching and learning in Africa, we would like to borrow from Gade (2011), whose thesis on the "narrative of return" provides a string foundation through which we approach the current education system that is divorced from the value system of African society. Gade (2011) points out that the "narrative of return" advocates a return to past values often associated with

what is popularized as the African renaissance. This facilitates a process of empowerment of both educators and learners as they use value systems and beliefs like loving their neighbors and "I am because we are" (Broodryk 2005; Quan-Baffour and Romm 2015). The empowerment process is collective and less individualist since both teachers and learners have a communal identity in the classroom. In essence, the African knowledge system does not monopolize knowledge and demarcates educational society into a community of experts (educators who know everything—usually in monologue mode—in their field of education) and learners (who are tabula rasa—usually those who do not know anything unless they come into contact with experts). African education suffers from a double dilemma in that it is based on the global value system (capitalist culture) that is premised on the individualist approach but does not have a proper education system pioneered by an indigenous knowledge system, hence it is trapped in a vicious cycle of hybrid knowledge systems. This theorization, sets the tone for a dialogue between Freire's liberative theory of education and the Ubuntu philosophy which in our view has great influence on how Africa can rethink, reflect, and re-institutionalize its education system to facilitate the empowerment of both learners and educators.

Re-Imagining Paulo Freire's Philosophy of Liberative and Transformative Education

The foregoing educational historical background helps us to re-imagine Paulo Freire's philosophy of liberative and transformative educational pedagogy and practice as a starting point to unpack the notion of what he called "critical pedagogy" (Freire 1970; Kanpol 1994), popularized through his renowned work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Freire (1970) starts by posing the central question that:

> How can the oppressed, as divided inauthentic beings, participate in developing the pedagogy of their liberation…? As long as they live in the duality in which to be is to be like, and to be like is to like the oppressor, this contribution is impossible. (51)

From this viewpoint, Freire saw the moral potential of transformative education which has the potential to liberate both teachers and learners from pedagogical subjugation. This became his point of departure in challenging the perpetuation and domination of the colonial system of education. For Freire, education should be a practice of freedom and not domination, that is, not an exercise of power and control over the less privileged. To achieve this liberative agenda Freire (2006) sought to empower those who were illiterate by enabling them to become oriented with the world around them through civic engagement. This orientation process recognized their humanity through

an integration into the very fabric of society and provided the freedom to change the future (4). Freire's critique of oppression and his ideas about education were informed by how he problematized the concept of being human as a "project." In problematizing the notion of being human Freire (1970) argued that:

> There would be no human action if there were no objective reality, no world to be the 'not I' of the person and to challenge them; just as there would be no human action if humankind were not a 'project,' if he or she were not able to transcend himself or herself, if one were not able to perceive reality and understand it in order to transform it. (53)

To achieve his aspiration for liberative and transformative education, Freire spent many years developing a pedagogy to promote humanity. His goal was to demonstrate that a literate person will ultimately live a better life as they will be free from oppression and domination (1970, 54).

This is the basis upon which Freire problematized the "banking approach" to education which he described as constraining opportunities for the generation of authentic knowledge systems grounded in people's contextual settings (Freire 1970, 53). The banking system of education constrained the active engagement of people as learners by silencing differing views and experiences. Such an education system did not represent the realities of people's experiences, neither was it responsive to the developmental needs of society. Freire's argument was that theory and practice should not contradict each other but should help raise people's consciousness for the betterment and advancement of their lives as active agents of change in society. His reflective and philosophical ideas about liberative education became prominent when he was Secretary of Education in Sao Paulo, during which time he advocated the revolutionization of the education system by enacting policy reforms which projected problem-solving philosophical ideas and approaches (Freire 1993, 160–163). Freire saw the problem-solving approach to education not only as liberative but as an emancipatory and empowering political project, which provided opportunities for people to explore and question their realities as part of the appreciative enquiry process of life-long learning (Freire 1970, 53–54). Freire advocated the implementation of these transformative educational policy reforms following systematic stages, starting with evaluation of the existing curriculum to ensure that it incorporated his liberative philosophical ideas generated as coherent and collective or holistic knowledge components representing, and informed by, people's cultural contextual experiential realities. The central argument proffered by Freire and Faundez (1992) and Freire (2000) was that the progressive process of instituting any educational policy reforms should be able to facilitate the problematization of education as a dynamic, systematic, and continuous process which would allow all stakeholders to conceptualize the kind of education and schooling they envision. Such a process would then inform the development of an appropriate pedagogy.

The second stage involved creating different forms of basic education relevant and representative of all facets of human knowledge and development. The third goal encompassed the use of scientific and technological knowledge and skills for the advancement of human empowerment, enhancement of the envisioned educational system, and in pursuit of innovative pedagogy and praxis. Therefore, for Freire, education should provide a framework that guarantees experiential and reflective teaching and learning as part of the continuous reconstruction of the transformative education practice. It is for these reasons that Freire viewed education as a philosophical expression of ontological and epistemological approaches to teaching and learning, essential for any transformative democratic society (Freire and Faundez 1992, 74–75). This implied that liberative and transformative education and practice should facilitate the development of people's critical consciousness in ways that would help them to develop and institute innovative and transformative interventions to societal challenges for the betterment of their lives.

The purpose of education, as Freire pointed out, is to provide opportunities for all citizens to meaningfully engage in inclusive and participatory processes that bring relevance to their everyday cultural, political, and economic lives. This interactive life process should allow learners, teachers, and the community to become co-creators of knowledge experiences, talents, and competencies to solve the historical, social, and economic challenges they face in the contemporary world. Teaching and learning according to Freire are intertwined and complementary, such that one cannot exist without the other. Therefore, thinking, listening, speaking, reading, observing, and writing as life competencies should be critical forms of knowledge in any curriculum and educational praxis. Teaching and learning represent an interactive and cyclical human act through which knowledge emerges as a result of problem-posing and problem-oriented experiential learning (Giroux and Aronowitz 1987; McLaren 1999).

Thus, linking Freire's philosophical ideas to the philosophy and importance of Ubuntu in education resonates with his argument that authentic humanism permits the emergence of awareness of our full humanity as a condition, obligation, situation, and project. Therefore, embedding Ubuntu into the education systems within a Pan African, multi-cultural milieu would require an appreciation of the values that defined the cultural identity of that society. The Ubuntu philosophy comes through in Freire's conceptualization of what it meant to be human, rooted in one's cultural values, his position on education as a universal right, and literacy as an instrumental commitment to people's revolutionary struggle against oppression and domination (Freire 1994). According to Freire (2006, 4), literacy, consciousness, and freedom are essential dimensions in empowering people to integrate the values of humanity and dignity into the social fabric of their society, to become transformative agents of positive change. Freire's argument (2000) was that people as active beings strive to be fully human, and when that is

thwarted by injustice, exploitation, or violation of their rights they remain oppressed and passive. For Freire, transformative change can only be realized by challenging the banking approach to educational pedagogy and praxis and replacing it with problem-solving approaches that are liberative, emancipatory, and empowering. From this perspective Freire contrasted what he called problem-posing education from the banking model of education. The banking model of education is a term used by Paulo Freire to describe and critique the traditional education system. The name refers to the metaphor of students as containers into which educators must pour knowledge (Freire 1970, 2000).

Freire's vision of education liberates the development of critical consciousness, essential for any educated person; that is, people with the capacity to intercede in complex situations with the view of transforming their society for the better. Such liberating education is comprised of acts of cognition, not transferals of information (2000, 79).

LOCATING FREIRE'S BANKING MODEL OF EDUCATION IN THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

According to Freire, what makes us human is the ability to think and use our brains, make sense of what is going on around us, and have the capacity to adjust and adapt, unlike animal species that follow a predetermined pattern of life. For Freire, when the ability to think is suppressed or oppressed people are forced to accept whatever reality is presented to them without question. This is the basis upon which he compared and contrasted the two educational systems—the "banking concept" and the "problem-posing concept" (Freire 1985). The banking method of teaching and learning is viewed as retrogressive in the sense that learners are stockpiled with prearranged information transmitted by an authoritative teacher, in a linear, monolithic way devoid of any quizzical approach. Instead, Freire proposed that education should be a dialogical process, in which students and teachers share their experiences in a "non-hierarchical" manner (Palmer 2004, 2). The expression "non-hierarchical" becomes significant here in that hierarchy is what is experienced in a teacher-centered class where the banking model of education is taken as the norm. Freire also condemned the teacher as the almighty who is responsible for creating an "inferiority complex" in the minds of learners—hence for him such a kind of education suffered from what he called "narration sickness" in the sense that the traditional teacher–student relationship revealed its fundamentally narrative character (ibid., 3–5).

In Freire's view, narration by the teacher results in students memorizing mechanically the narrated content. This process turns them into "containers" and "receptacles" to be filled by the teacher (Palmer 2004, 7). Freire stressed that in such learning environments the more the teacher fills the "receptacles" the more the teacher feels a sense of self-satisfaction and the more

meekly the "receptacles" permit themselves to be filled—becoming better students (Freire 1970, 72). Freire exemplified this classroom scenario as follows, "Four times four is sixteen," the students record, memorize, and repeat it without realizing what four times four means. Then he says, "education thus becomes an act of depositing, in which students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor." This type of learning only allowed students to receive, fill, and store deposits of information, having little meaning and relevance in the lives of learners and society. According to Freire this represented what he called a "misguided" system of education as teachers indoctrinate students to accept their viewpoints unwittingly (ibid., 71–73).

While not necessarily downplaying the power of the banking concept of education, Palmer (2004), clearly articulated Freire's preference for the problem-posing and liberating educational system which he defended when he said, "look at the brightest people on earth, past and present, and we see that these unique individuals had or have the power of imagination as well as intellect" (3–4). Thus, Freire's analysis of the teacher–student relationship at any level, according to Palmer, inside or outside the school, revealed its fundamentally narrative character grounded in theoretical and pedagogical imperatives.

Banking Model of Education and the Denial of Learners' Potentiality

Influenced by Karl Marx's humanism and socialism, Freire argued that the banking approach to educational pedagogy was dehumanizing as it did not view the learner as endowed with the potential to develop his/her critical consciousness, creativity, and innovativeness as an active human being (Dale 2003). Instead, the banking model of education controls thinking and reduces the creative and critical powers of learners, transforming them into passive, inferior, and mechanical objects. Condemning the banking concept of education, Freire, argued that humans have the capacity to think critically—denying humans the opportunity to reason is a violation of their basic humanity (Dale 2003, 57). Analysis shows that the metaphor of the banking model of education transmits toxic and dehumanizing effects in learners in the sense that the teaching–learning system and classroom environment are detached from both the learners' reality and the social milieu that shapes the cultural identity of who they are and how they view themselves as human beings. Freire equates the banking approach to teaching and learning to the act of depositing, in which students are the depositories and the teacher the depositor. The learners progressively become inactive objects of deposition, far from being active participants in the classroom, resulting in the devastating consequence of being alienated from their cultural reality. Thus, Lavine (2004), arguing from the Marxist perspective, agrees with Freire who posits that "Man the producer, who transformed the world of

nature and created the world of culture, is estranged from his creative human powers." Similarly, in banking education the learner is "estranged from his creative human power" (282); and his potentiality is not only denied but destroyed (Dale 2003, 58). Thus, as Freire argues, teachers who use this type of pedagogy do not realize that it takes away the student's imagination and creativity, as it only allows the learner to accept the world as given. Therefore, the banking model of education is a reflection of the denial of intellectual potentiality, and is dehumanizing machinery for the oppression and violation of a child's right to a universal education. Furthermore, a critical analysis of the banking pedagogical approach using the Marxist notion of class-consciousness, sees the teacher belonging to the elite class exhibiting monopoly over knowledge, and learners representing an oblivious lower class ready to receive knowledge supplied by an elitist teacher in highly selective, discriminatory, and biased ways.

Banking Model of Education as Representing Derrida's Logocentrism

Freire's critique of the banking concept of education resonates with Jacque Derrida's theory of Deconstruction, which opposes the notion of logocentrism (Chowdhury 2006, 75) which advocates for the centralization of knowledge in the teacher, represented as a god-like figure, with a monopoly over the logocentric knowledge being poured into the empty vessels that are students. Affirming Derrida's logocentrism equated with the banking concept of education, Freire (2000) explains that in such an educational system knowledge is viewed as a talent granted to the privileged elite who are eager to share with those of limited intellectual capacity (72). Such knowledge therefore represented a dogmatic philosophy of oppression.

Thus, Freire like Derrida rejects the manifestation of logocentric ideological thinking as scholarship. Derrida like Freire advocates for the decentralization or deconstruction of knowledge which is a shared process between teacher and students rather than being incorporeal or a disembodied process where the teacher plays a mystical role. The central objective of deconstruction is to make the teaching–learning experience a cooperative meaning-making process. The classroom becomes a dynamic interactive space for knowledge creation through the sharing of experiences (Chowdhury 2006, 76). The teacher's pedagogy is responsive to diverse views of a situation, empowering and giving a voice to students as active agents of transformative change. From this perspective Freire and Derrida share the same platform regarding the deconstruction of teacher–learner dualism, where the teacher's role is to guide the learners through a set of reflexive curricula towards achieving effective learning for academic success. Deconstructed knowledge represents a map which permits both teacher and learner to avoid tangents or digressions, but shares pathways leading towards directional

transformative learning, hence, Freire like Derrida emphasizes the precarious nature of logocentric education and pedagogy.

The banking model of education can also be juxtaposed with John Locke's pragmatist philosophical theory of learning which argues that education should be about life, collaboration, and growth involving interactive processes of experiential learning converging with the everyday practical realities of learners and not just idealistic notions of who they are. The banking model of education is further characterized by the mismatch between the knowledge and skills acquired by graduates and the skills and competencies required by industry or for self-employment or employment creation. Thus, in such an empiricist view of learning the learner's brain is considered as tabula rasa—aligned with Ubuntu philosophy. Within the framework of Ubuntu philosophy, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) also supports Freire's problem-posing pedagogy based on the argument that transformative education becomes critical if Africa is to achieve ethical and cultural awareness, a consciousness of environmental values, a change of mind-set, attitudes, skills, and behavior consistent with sustainable development, and as a prerequisite for effective and inclusive democratic participation by all stakeholders in decision-making regarding educational policy reforms (UNESCO 1992). According to UNESCO, Freire's liberative and transformative educational pedagogy is instrumental for sustainable development, as it provides policy direction in striking a balance in the dynamic relationship between the social, economic, and cultural systems, a balance that seeks to promote social equity among the twenty-first century generation (UNESCO-UNEVO 2004, 8; World Bank 2002).

Banking Model of Education and Post-method Pedagogy

Freire's critical disposition against the banking model of education is positively recognized by the proponents of post-method pedagogy which views education as a collaborative endeavor for excellence in student success and community advancement or growth. According to Kumaravadivelu, post-method pedagogy is a reaction against any methodological boundaries in educational pedagogy. It emerged from a "dissatisfaction with the limitations of the 'method' and transmission model of teacher education" (2001, 537). Thus, post-method pedagogy relates to Freire's problem-posing learning which treats learners, teachers, and teacher educators as explorers (Lather 1998; Kumaravadivelu 2001). This means both student and teacher become reciprocal agents in the making of (new) knowledge arising from a praxis-oriented curriculum whereby theory informs practice and practice mutually informs theory. The teacher is not viewed as a superior being in the classroom and is not the only one who teaches, but also learns from dialogical interactions with learners. Unlike banking education pedagogy, the

role of learners in post-method pedagogy is to co-create teaching–learning experiences as independent and autonomous thinkers and agents of change, reflecting a two-way process of sharing, collaborating, and experiencing academic autonomy and social autonomy embedded in the cultural diversity of humanity. Academic autonomy is associated with learning that is empowering, liberative, collaborative, and engaging as learners take charge of their own learning with a sense of responsibility and accountability to both the teacher and themselves (Holec 1998, cited in Kumaravadivelu 2001, 545). It can be argued that post-method learners have the capacity and capability to identify their learning strategies and styles, and to evaluate their ongoing learning outcomes with realities of their transformative society.

On the other hand, social autonomy correlates with the ability and willingness of learners to function effectively as cooperative members of a classroom community, a situation which resonates with the Ubuntu philosophy of community engagement and mutuality between learners, teachers, and the community that shapes their identity, and relationships informed by common values of respect for diversity and co-existence. The ambience of a teaching–learning classroom environment is characterized by an open door policy in terms of communication, student counselling, advising, and mentorship, ensuring the academic success of students and their development as useful members of society. As active agents of change, both learners, teachers, and parents interact on the basis of trust, respect, a sharing of problems, and a celebration of life experiences. From this perspective, academic autonomy and social autonomy offer useful guidelines for learners to realize their learning potential as espoused by Freire's concept of the practice of freedom and critical thinking as essentials for achieving liberative consciousness (Freire 2000; Kumaravadivelu 2001).

Thus, critical thinking in education, Freire argues, allows students to recognize connections between their individual problems and the broader social contexts in which their experiences are embedded. Freire (2005) calls the process of realizing one's own consciousness "conscientization," which is also the first step in becoming aware of one's own power, what Giroux refers to as "emancipation" a process of taking action against oppression and liberating education (Freire 2005; Giroux 1983). For Freire, the greatest barrier would be the belief in the inevitability of developing a critical consciousness and a necessity of the status quo. In this context, Freire's commitment in spreading literacy was motivated by the belief that illiteracy equals powerlessness and dependence. But, through literacy training a sense of individual and collective self-esteem and confidence can be achieved with a potential desire of changing oneself and one's social group (Burbules and Berk 1999).

Giroux pointed out that what educators need to do is make the pedagogical more political by addressing both the conditions through which they teach and what it means to learn from a generation that is experiencing life in a way that is vastly different from the representations offered in modernist

versions of schooling (1999, 93–101). For Giroux, teachers need to recognize several issues. First, that the emergence of electronic media coupled with a diminishing faith in the power of human agency has undermined traditional visions of schooling and the meaning of pedagogy. Second, the language of lesson plans, upward mobility, and the forms of teacher authority on which schooling was based have been radically de-legitimated by the recognition that culture and power are central to the authority–knowledge relationship. Finally, modernism's faith in the past has given way to a future for which traditional markers no longer make sense (ibid., 111–115).

Therefore, for Freire, following the philosophy of post-method pedagogy, the traditional concept of education, where learners have no scope of discovering their own intellectual consciousness and freedom to experiment or transform their learning environment and society is not only acceptable but represents alien and unauthentic values and a sense of being human.

Comparative Analysis of Ubuntu and Liberative Education Theory by Freire

At the core of both Ubuntu philosophy and the liberative theory of education by Freire is that the education systems should be inclusive of both learners and educators. Ubuntu is driven by interdependency, collectivity, and positive feedback while Freire is of the view that there is need to rename the world through a process of redrawing the curriculum and meaning of education between instructors and the instructed (Freire 1970). Both theories are alive to the fact that the current education system in Africa (imported from the west) creates what Marcuse (1964) termed a "one dimensional society"—so absolute that education systems facilitate depersonalization and create hegemony through a banking type of education. Both theories identify with an engaged pedagogy. hooks (1994) expounded this notion of engaged pedagogy and painted a picture where educators are encouraged to view their students as whole human beings who bring complex lives and experiences into university classrooms.

According to Giroux (1993), for education to be liberative, it requires paying attention to the issue of voice: who speaks, who listens, and why? She premised her argument on the notion that the experiences of students must be situated within the pedagogy of learning. These ideas are the bedrocks of Ubuntu philosophy and the liberative theory of education which place emphasis on the experiences of the learner and their external environment being mutually reinforcing. The incorporation of multiple voices into the learning process opens opportunities for engaging differently with others, and with the world: Giroux (1993) notes, "Students have memories, families, religions, feelings, languages, and cultures that give them a distinctive voice. We can critically engage that experience and we can move beyond it" (16). This resonates well with Ubuntu and Freire's liberative theory of

education—co-learning through each individual's experiences yields positive results in the practice of education and emancipation of the individual through collective bargaining.

Ubuntu as a Humanizing Agent in Educational Practice in Africa

The traditional education systems in Africa follow colonial fault lines that facilitate and reproduce a pattern of domination (a community of educators wielding excessive power in the instruction process versus learners who are examined based on the knowledge and power of experts). The elitist education models facilitate what Freire (1970) termed anti-dialogical practices, where the education system deposits knowledge but offers no two-way systems to provide feedback. Feedback entails dialogue—not grandstanding—but meaningful dialogue that is not merely a process of talking. It involves understanding and affirming one another as pointed out by Ryan (2007, 33) within fair and equitable processes (Buchanan and Badham 2011) that can build trust and secure commitment. This comes with proper recognition of the available knowledge systems, local resources, and community led processes that create ownership and co-interpretation of the world of meaning between learners and educators. Findings from urban and rural schools in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) confirm the hypothesis that Ubuntu philosophy provides steam for the rediscovery of the human face of educational practices, negated by capitalist one-dimensional education systems. It provides the agency required to facilitate a road-based process of empowerment of communities of learners, educators, leaders, and administrators in the education system. This also creates a shared vision and helps with strategic planning and provision of sustainable education systems where the naming and interpretation of the social world is a result of dialogue and consensus.

Re-imagining of the education systems in Africa through Ubuntu calls for dialogue (Chimakonam 2016; Eliastam 2015) that needs to go beyond operational aspects of leadership between heads and teachers. One study by Elonga Mboyo (2017a) further revealed that school-based actors can exercise operational power as well as reclaiming criteria power (Simkins 2003) by engaging policy makers in low-fear and high-scrutiny discussions aimed at securing systemic changes which set the direction for future education. Therefore, Ubuntu philosophy provides a paradigm shift in the way education systems and practices in Africa operate and reignites the values lost in Africa through its detrimental colonial history. It is an alternative source of empowerment from a depersonalized learner, in terms of class, to an empowered learner experiencing humane teaching practices and co-learning process. Both Freire's liberative education theory and Ubuntu philosophy converge in their interpretation of learners in an education system and both suggest an

all-inclusive learning process for educators and learners. Building from values such as "I am because we are" under Ubuntu philosophy, teachers or educators only become teachers because of the existence of learners. Therefore, the call for humanizing African education systems transcends the duty felt by the teacher, extending to encompass love and compassion. A study by Elonga Mboyo (2017b) in DRC schools revealed that Ubuntu was at the center of the education system. The study shows the Ubuntu operational patterns of understanding the needs of others, negotiating and prioritizing needs, assessing available resources, attending to the needs of others, and raising expectations and a commitment to organizational goals.

Implications for Rethinking Educational Pedagogy and Practice in Africa

The quest to transform the education system in Africa in order to achieve the goals of the Agenda 2030 and Agenda 2063 requires a change in mind-set that accommodates the participation and inclusion of all stakeholders including youths as the next generation of leaders. This calls for the reengineering of pedagogical strategies to embrace technologies associated with Industry 4.0 or 5.0 without dismissing the educational values derived from traditional and cultural educational systems in Africa. This dialogical process resonates with Freire's (1985, 1994, 2000) argument that the education of the young and the old should take on more relevance and acquire a better fit in the African context. The cultural rediscovery of African education was also echoed by delegates at the Second Conference of Ministers of Education of the African Union (COMEDAF II) in 2005—that the prerequisites for sustainable development should anchored on educational policies that embrace an awareness of a culturally sensitive view of education and a thriving, dynamic cultural identity deeply rooted in contextual values of its people and be open to changing educational global trends (African Union 2005, 5). Thus, governments, educators, and parents alike must ask questions about how they can prepare present and future generations to thrive in this transforming world.

In line with the shift towards Ubuntu and Freire's liberative and culturally relevant education the envisioned curriculum for the twenty-first century should be science and technology based and fused with competencies that promote critical thinking and problem solving, creativity and innovation, collaboration, teamwork and leadership, communication, and information and media literacy. Such new pedagogical initiatives will allow students to be inquisitive, innovative, adaptive, critical and analytical, technological, and media and communication literate (Freire and Faundez 1989).

The relevance of Freire's analysis of the education system and pedagogy is that with communication and dialogue not only do teachers teach, but learners teach too, as they co-create learning experiences with teachers. The

students do not have to worry about the consequences of not accepting a teacher's view and can even alter a teacher's thinking if he/she is capable of adapting to the teaching–learning process. Borrowing from the Ubuntu philosophy of life, Freire's discursive analysis acknowledges the relevance of culture, identity, and values as pillars that links us all with life from the past, present, and future.

As Obanya argues, there is need to locate "the Education that Africa lost" so that it can be resuscitated for the genuine development of the mind and soul, bearing in mind that African traditional knowledge grounded with Ubuntu cultural values respect the influence of the past in shaping our present and future realities (2005, 2). Affirming the evolving nature of African traditional knowledge, Dei reiterates how indigenous knowledge does not reside outside the influences of other knowledge but still exists in society with the purpose of socializing the young in Ubuntu's culturally engrained values of respect, humility, love, dignity, and collectiveness. The essence and importance of traditional or grassroots education is further summarized by Mungazi and Walker, in that African education was accessible to all people including students as its functional role was to develop self-sufficiency opposed to colonial labor. According to Mungazi and Walker, people in Africa regarded their grassroots education as a means to an end, rather than an end in itself, implying that education was a lifelong endeavor, fully integrated into the major institutional structures of society and responsive to the needs of society from one generation to the next (1997, 38). Furthermore, the Fifth Conference of African Ministers of Culture also noted how in colonial Africa, education was equated with mere schooling and "Education for All" was a challenge in terms of access, whereas in traditional African societies the concept of "Education for All" was taken for granted as part and parcel of the social system (Obanya 2005, 2).

Policies on education in Africa can draw on Freirean educational philosophy in developing educational goals, objectives, knowledge content, and pedagogy that are in line with the quest to achieve functional literacy closely tied to employment creation and economic development. The aims and goals of such liberative and transformative education would provide an appropriate educational framework within which to situate the teaching and learning processes enacted in an indigenous African cultural context as espoused in Ubuntu philosophy. Such *transformative* education holds that "learning is understood as a process of using a prior interpretation to construe a new or revised interpretation of the *meaning* of one's experience in order to guide future action" (Mezirow 1996, 162).

Drawing upon the work of O'Sullivan et al. (2002), teaching and learning as envisioned by Freire's liberative and transformative education and Ubuntu philosophy would involve a deep structural shift in the basic premises of thought, feeling, and action; a shift of consciousness that alters our way of being in the world; understanding ourselves, our self-locations, and

our relationships with others in the world; understanding relations of power in interlocking structures of race, class, and gender; envisioning alternative approaches and possibilities for social justice (xvii). In other words, as Mezirow (1996) pointed out, transformative education is teaching and learning which effects a change in perspective and reference frame by placing increased emphasis on shifts taking place ontologically as well as epistemologically, so that learners become actively engaged in new avenues for social justice.

Therefore, in re-imagining our education system, pedagogy, and practice in the twenty-first century we need to reclaim the fundamental values and principles of Ubuntu so they inform our reconceptualization of education, departing from the myopic and simplistic notion of education being linked to only attending a school building. There is need to extend our notion of education beyond the formal setting, allowing it to transcend into an innovative and enterprise-oriented educational system that aims to develop entrepreneurial and transformative mind-sets as well as reinvent the learning environment to suit scientific and digital landscapes where twenty-first century learners are located. This transformative educational trajectory resonates well with Freire's visionary arguments for a liberative education system that provides opportunities for equal access, innovation, and creativity to thrive in a highly connected and digitalized world in which today's younger generation live. This new radical and transformative way of seeing and re-imagining reality is the only true essence of transforming educational pedagogy and practice in Africa. The contribution that education can make to transforming African society leads to the choice of Paulo Freire and Ubuntu philosophy as interlocutors, because all thinking occurs in cultural and socio-cultural settings, and the African philosophy of Ubuntu is in existence and must be respected and be maximized in all educational systems.

Thus, Waghid's (2014) argument is that the contribution of Paulo Freire and his transformative focus on education policy, embracive and in defense of the Ubuntu philosophy of education, can contribute towards imagination, liberation, deliberation, and responsibility that can enhance justice and equality in educative relations, specifically in relation to African education pedagogy and practice. The contribution of Freirean and Ubuntu-based epistemology also becomes valuable because of Freire's leaning towards historical, contextual, and philosophical integration.

Freire's central argument is that to be truly committed, educators must reject the banking concept in its entirety, adopting instead a concept of people as conscious beings, and consciousness as critical consciousness directed towards the world (Freire 1972, 45–46). The educational goal of deposit-making must be rejected and replaced by the posing of problems facing people in their relations with the world. "Problem-posing" education responds to the essence of consciousness that embodies communication. Thus, transformative education must create a consciousness in both learners,

teachers, and the community so that they are encouraged to think creatively and positively in reclaiming and reconstructing their history, cultural heritage, identity, and personhood.

Ubuntu together with the liberative theory of education by Freire should provide standards and operational patterns for understanding the needs of others, negotiating and prioritizing needs, assessing available resources, attending to the needs of others, and raising expectations and commitment to organizational goals. In addition, both Ubuntu and Freire's theory of liberative education call for the decolonization of educational practice by way of emphasizing collaboration and through consensus. In addition, these two worldviews also call for a process of rethinking global norms in educational practice in Africa and glocalize[1] through indigenous knowledge systems that are informed by compassion, love, peace, unity, self-consciousness, and social cohesion, allowing for an education system that is empowering—not one which creates a one-dimensional society.

NOTE

1. A process of customizing global norms, processes, and practices into local contexts.

REFERENCES

African Union. 2005. "Education and Culture in Africa' Quest for Development." Report COMEDAF II, Algiers, 8–11 April. http://ocpa.irmo.hr/resources/docs/COMDAFII_Unesco_EdCultRole-en.pdf.

Broodryk, J. 2005. *Ubuntu Management Philosophy: Exporting Ancient African Wisdom into the Global World*. Knowres Publishing.

Broodryk, J. 2006. *Ubuntu, African Life Coping Skills: Theory and Practice*. Lefkosia: Cyprus.

Buchanan, D., and R. Badham. 2011. *Power, Politics and Organizational Change*. Revised 2nd ed. London: Sage.

Burbules, Nicolas C., and Repert Berk. 1999. "Critical Thinking and Critical Pedagogy: Relations, Differences, and Limits." In *Critical Theories in Education*, edited by Thomas S. Popkewitz and Lynn Fendler, 45–66. New York, NY: Routledge. http://faculty.ed.uiuc.edu/burbules/papers/critical.html.

Chimakonam, J. O. 2016. "The End of Ubuntu and Its Beginning in Matalino-Kwindigwi-Metz Debate: An Exercise in Conversational Philosophy." *South African Journal of Philosophy* 35 (2): 224–234.

Chitumba, W. 2013. "University Education for Personhood Through Ubuntu Philosophy." *International Journal of Asian Social Science* 3 (5): 1268–1276.

Chowdhury, M. 2006. "Jacques Derrida's Philosophy: Logocentrism, Difference and Deconstrucion." In *Jacques Derrida*, edited by P. Hossain and F. Alam. Dhaka: Sangbed.

Dale, J. A. 2003. "Freire, Aristotle, Marx, and Sartre: A Critique of the Human Condition." Unpublished paper, Midwest Research to Practice Conference in

Adult, Continuing, and Community Education, The Ohio State University, Columbus, OH, October 8–10.

Diop, C. M. 1962. *The Cultural Unity of Negro Africa*. Paris: Presence Africaine.

Dixon, V. J. 1977. "African-Oriented and Euro-American Oriented Worldviews: Research Methodologies and Economics." *The Review of Black Political Economy* 7 (2): 119–156.

Eliastam, J. 2015. "Exploring Ubuntu Discourse in South Africa: Loss, Liminality and Hope." *Verbum et Ecclesia* 36 (2): 1–8.

Elonga Mboyo, J. P. 2017a. *Comparative Leadership: Pathways, Scope and Values in DRC-English 'Urban' Schools*. Doctoral Thesis, Sheffield Hallam University.

Elonga Mboyo, J. P. 2017b. "Framing Ethical Isomorphs in Educational Leadership: A Sociological Approach." *International Journal of Leadership in Education*. https://doi.org/10.1080/13603124.2017.1349184.

Freire, P. 1970. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York, NY: Herder and Herder.

Freire, P. 1972. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin.

Freire, P. 1985. *Learning the Politics of Education: Culture, Power and Liberation*. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.

Freire, P. 1993. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 30th Anniversary Ed. and trans. Myra Bergman Ramos With an Introduction by Donaldo Macedo. New York, London: Continuum.

Freire, P. 1994. *Pedagogy of Hope: Reliving Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York, NY: Continuum.

Freire, P. 2000. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York, NY: Continuum.

Freire, P. 2005. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New revised 30th anniversary edition. New York, NY: Continuum.

Freire, P. 2006. *Cultural Action for Freedom: Harvard Educational Publication Group*. Penguin.

Freire, P., and A. Faundez. 1989. *Learning to Question: A Pedagogy of Liberation*. New York, NY: Continuum.

Freire, P., and A. Faundez. 1992. *Learning to question*. New York: Continuum.

Gade, C. B. N. 2011. "The Historical Development of the Written Discourses on Ubuntu." *South African Journal of Philosophy* 30: 303–329.

Giroux, H. 1983. *Theory and Resistance in Education: A Pedagogy for the Opposition*. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.

Giroux, H. 1993. *Border Crossings: Cultural Workers and the Politics of Education*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Giroux, H. A. 1999. "Schools for Sale: Public Education, Corporate Culture, and the Citizen-Consumer." *The Educational Forum* 63 (2): 140–149.

Giroux, H., and S. Aronowitz. 1987. "Ideologies About Schooling: Rethinking the Nature of Educational Reform." *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing* 7 (1): 7–38.

Gyekye, K. 1997. *Tradition and Modernity: Philosophical Reflections on the African Experience*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

hooks, B. 1994. *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Kanpol, B. 1994. *Critical Pedagogy: An Introduction*. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.

Kumaravadivelu, B. 2001. "Toward a Post-Method Pedagogy." *TESOL Quarterly* 35: 537–560.

Lather, P. 1998. "Critical Pedagogy and Its Complicities: A Praxis of Stuck Places." *Educational Theory* 48 (4): 487–497.

Le Grange, L. 2016. "Decolonising the University Curriculum." *South African Journal of Higher Education* 30 (2): 1–12. http://dx.doi.org/10.20853/30-2-709.

Letseka, M. 2012. "In Defence of Ubuntu." *Studies in Philosophy and Education* 31 (1): 47–60.

Marcuse, H. 1964. *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society*, 2nd ed. Boston: Beacon Press.

McLaren, P. 1999. "A Pedagogy of Possibility: Reflecting Upon Paulo Freire's Politics of Education: In memory of Paulo Freire." *Educational Researcher* 28 (2): 49–56.

Mezirow, J. 1996. "Contemporary Paradigms of Learning." *Adult Education Quarterly* 50: 5–23.

Mnyaka, M., and M. Motlhabi. 2005. "The African Concept of Ubuntu/Botho and Its Socio-moral Significance." *Black Theology* 3 (2): 215–237.

Msila, V. 2014. "Challenges to the Introduction of an Alternative Leadership Style: A School Principal's Journey in the Introduction of an 'Ubuntu Leadership Model'." *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 5 (20): 1738–1747.

Mungazi, D. A., and Walker, L. K. 1997. *Education Reform and Transformation of Southern Africa*. Greenwood Publishing Group: Westport.

Murithi, T. 2007. "A Local Response to the Global Human Rights Standards: Ubuntu Perspective on Human Dignity." *Globalisation, Societies and Education* 5 (3): 277–286.

Obanya, P. 2005. "Culture-in-Education and Education-in-Culture." Report on the Fifth Conference of African Ministers of Culture, 10–14 December, Nairobi. Accessed September 14, 2019. http://www.acpcultures.eu/_upload/ocr-document/UA-AfrMinCult-Culture+Education-2005-en.pdf.

O'Sullivan, E., A. Morrell, and M. A. O'Connor, eds. 2002. *Expanding the Boundaries of Transformative Learning: Essays on Theory and Practice*. New York, NY: Palgrave.

Palmer, J. 2004. "Critical Pedagogy: An Overview." Case Western Reserve University Press. http://www.case.edu/artssci/eng/emmond/writing/pedagogy/critical.pdf.

Quan-Baffour, K. P., and N. R. Romm. 2015. "Ubuntu-Inspired Training of Adult Literacy Teachers as a Route to Generating 'Community' Enterprises." *Journal of Literacy Research* 46 (4): 419–421.

Ryan, J. 2007. "Dialogue, Identity and Inclusion: Administrators as Mediators in Diverse School Contexts." *Journal of School Leadership* 17: 337–370.

Simkins, T. 2003. "Reform, Accountability and Strategic Choice in Education." In *Strategic Leadership and Educational Improvement*, edited by Margaret Preedy, Ron Glatter, and Christine Wise. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

UNESCO. 1992. United Nations Conference on Environment and Development: Agenda 21. UNESCO, Switzerland.

UNESCO-UNEVO. 2004. *UNESCO-UNEVOC in Action Report on Activities 2004–2005*. Bonn, Germany: International Centre for Technical and Vocational Education and Training.

Waghid, Y. 2014. *African Philosophy of Education Reconsidered: On Being Human*. Oxon: Routledge.

Woolman, D. C. 2001. "Educational Reconstruction and Post-colonial Curriculum Development: A Comparative Study of Four African Countries." *International Educational Journal* 2 (5): 27–46.

World Bank. 2002. *Constructing Knowledge Societies: New Challenges for Tertiary Education*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Where Religion and Education Meet in Africa

Amy Stambach

In early October 2018, three media reports caught my eye. The first was an account of Nigerian President Muhammadu Buhari's commendation to the Qadiriyya Islamic Movement in Africa for "promoting education, inter-faith dialogue and good moral conduct in the society" (*The Will* 2018). The Qadiriyya Islamic Movement in Africa is a Sufi-order brotherhood whose members preach peaceful co-existence with other groups. Buhari's remark followed the Qadiriyya leader's congratulations to President Buhari for emerging as his party's 2019 candidate and for having diversified the economy and increased the national energy supply.

The second report that caught my eye was an account of children in Mombasa who refused to go to school because, reported the journalist (Otinga 2018), these children claimed that the Bible did not require them to enroll. The children said they were associated with Good News International Ministries, a US-based, mission-sending group of lay Catholics whose members preach the right and duty of lay Christians to spread the Gospel.

The third report conveyed that legal actions were being taken in Gauteng Province, South Africa, against a girl who wore a hijab to school. The problem, conveyed the school authorities, was not the hijab itself but that the student wore it with the school uniform. School policy required that if girls wear a hijab to school, they must also wear "a black cloak" and not "the official school blazer or school colors" (Germaner 2018).

Although popular media accounts such as these sometimes suggest that religion and state institutions compete (state institutions educate nation-state citizens, religious groups support personal belief), scholars of religion and the

A. Stambach (✉)
University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, WI, USA

state have long acknowledged that state education and religious institutions are connected. Prior to the seventeenth century, religious schools and madrasas operated with administrative authorities spanning a wide range of locations in Africa, from as far west as Timbuktu to as far east as the islands of Zanzibar. These schools educated pious administrators and clerics, created scholarly networks, and transmitted religious knowledge.

During the approximately one hundred years of European colonization (1860s–1960s), Christianity was then put to the service of colonial offices. Colonial offices funded "bush" mission schools and religious schools through grants-in-aid of education. Religious and state reformers during the independence era then formalized state institutions. Post-colonial administrators continued to distance independence era institutions from European colonialism and to create transnational connections that leapfrogged over (or at least worked around) dependency-creating economic and social ties with former colonizers. All of this pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial background continues to influence "where religion and education meet in Africa."

In this chapter I will argue that religion and education "meet" in Africa when either or both religion and education are institutionalized, and that, contrarily, religion and education "do not meet" when everyday expressions of ethical imagination, affective receptivity, and creativity operate in the realm of daily life.

To understand my argument, one might—at least provisionally—envision a logical matrix comprising two columns, one labeled institutionalized religion and the other institutionalized education. I realize such matrices are contrivances, but that is in fact my point: to use this contrivance to highlight the limits of seeing religion and education, institutionally, as discrete. When both religion and education are institutionalized, both columns receive a check. When both are not, both columns receive a blank. Where one or both are institutionalized, religion and education "meet" even though proponents or people involved in these religious and education institutions may not necessarily "agree." By institutionalization I refer primarily to matters of administrative systems and bureaucracy. Contrarily, where everyday forms of expressivity and pedagogy co-occur, human sociality can be better understood as a dynamic matrix of relations that defies shoehorning into categories of religion and education. The passing down of Indigenous knowledge through rites of initiation and dances is one example of the creative making, marking, and re-making of everyday ethics through collective ritual and heighten consciousness (Fair 1996; Ndangam 2008).

In the following pages, I will unpack the above-mentioned media reports, and I will contrast these accounts with an educative story I recently heard that raises questions about the scope and limits of institutional religion and education in people's everyday lives. Two conclusions will emerge: One is that when religion and education are both institutionalized, religion and education are neither necessarily monolithic nor pedagogically conservative but can be characterized by ongoing experimentation—a conclusion supporting Hefner's (2010, 498). Second, everyday forms of religious and ethical life often derive from age-old rituals, routines, stories, and practices that are

particular to places in Africa yet vary considerably across the continent. Where everyday forms of expressivity and pedagogy co-occur, human sociality can be better understood not as "where religion and education meet" but as a dynamic matrix of relations defying easy fixity in either of the two categories.

I use the concept of sociality to refer to the ways people create and are created by a dynamic interaction of relations they deem ethical and imaginative, supernatural and variously institutional. This concept of sociality was developed in the 1980s to get around distinguishing between the anthropological study of culture as meaning, on the one hand, and the anthropological study of culture as social structure, on the other (Long 2015). The "cultural anthropology" of an American interpretive school and the "social anthropology" of British structural functionalism are brought together in this concept of sociality.

Everyday Expressions of Supernatural Power and Pedagogy

I open this section with a story I recently heard that raises questions about the scope and institutionalization of religion and education in Africa. I heard the story while sitting on the back porch of a cement house in rural Tanzania, peeling garlic and helping to prepare a meal for a wedding. The Lutheran Bishops had just left the compound; they had attended the earlier send-off party. Mama Fulani and four other women were now getting ready to cook and then serve the evening meal. Mama Fulani told the story.

> "Once there was a baby who was born to a woman who lived next door to my sister. They lived in one of those places where one house was connected to the next, like a drive-in motel. The woman was known to practice witchcraft, and her baby was the victim of her witchcraft. When it was twelve or thirteen months old, the baby's eyes started to roll in its head and the baby was always falling down."

Mama Fulani rolled her eyes, showing the bottom half of her whites. Mama Fulani's sister's friend, and that woman's other neighbors, including a Maasai woman, told that woman, "'Take take that baby to the hospital!' They took the baby to Mawenzi (the woman lived in Old Moshi). The doctors wanted to give that baby a shot but the mother of the baby said, 'No, do not give that baby a shot!' The woman took her baby home.

> "Back home, the baby's eyes continued to roll." And so did Mama Fulani's. "The baby tried to walk but got off balance and fell down."

Mama Fulani sat in her chair and swayed around showing imbalance.

> "The baby died later that night and the mother had to bury it. The mortuary fees were too high so her Maasai neighbor said, 'Just wait, I can help you bury it in the traditional way.' So that woman took some sand and put it on the

ground and lined the area with rocks. She put the baby in that sand and said some words saying it was dead. But really that baby was not dead.

"The baby was standing behind the door, watching the entire thing. The baby, that person, standing behind the door is called *msukule*. The mother of that baby cut the baby's tongue, as witches do when fake *msukule* bodies are buried, and hid the baby inside the house and made it to grow up without coming out.

"You can see these *msukule* walking around at night with eyes rolling and wandering aimlessly." The story continued, but I will stop it here.

I heard this story just the other week when, even at the time of hearing, it reminded me of just how much is missing from popular media accounts about where religion and education in Africa meet. The media accounts mentioned above deal with schools, mosques, and churches. This story told by Mama Fulani deals with birth and death. The media accounts allude to politics. Mama Fulani's story concerns the preternatural. I thought it odd that, even as institutions of the state and religion also deal with life and death, religion and education are more often mobilized in public discourses (such as in media accounts) to address and defend relations of power, not to deal with deep matters such as are discussed by Mama Fulani.

Certainly, such accounts as this of *msukule* speak to how people create and are created by a dynamic interaction of relations they deem ethical and imaginative, supernatural and institutional. Such accounts co-occur with, and within, the institutions of the church and the school. Mama Fulani went to school and she goes to church. Why, then are these issues not discussed, more broadly? Why don't the Bishops take on these kinds of transcendent stories in church or school, in ways that go beyond vilifying stories' characters and instead connecting them to issues of supernatural power expressed through everyday religious practices of people living in local communities? Why is Mama Fulani's sister's neighbor's struggle conveyed in hushed tones and not humanized? I will return to these questions at the end.

For now, I conclude this section by saying that, with this short story of the undead child as a background—and with this school girl listening intently as a reminder that much of life is learned outside of school, impromptu—I turn next to discuss the institutionalized histories of religion and education that underpin the opening three reports.

"Education Is an Antidote to Terrorism," Says Buhari to the Qadiriyya Movement

Since at least the 1990s, the Government of Nigeria has worked to contain a militant Islamist group known as Boko Haram. Nigerian President Buhari's commendation to the Qadiriyya leader (in the report) is an offer of thanks to that leader for helping to contain the militants. Frequently translated "western education is a sin," Boko Haram has targeted churches, mosques, schools, and other sites associated with the state. During the 2014 Nigerian

presidential campaign, Muhammadu Buhari ran as the candidate who could contain Boko Haram while advancing religious plurality in Nigeria. In this report, he is portrayed as having succeeded.

The philosophy and political ideology of the Sufi Qadiriyya Islamic Movement stands in contrast to those of the militant group Boko Haram. Named for a medieval saint from Baghdad, the Qadiriyya order has emphasized "educational reform to promote Islamic practice and piety through peaceful means" since its earliest days in West Africa (Ware 2014, 180). Today the Qadiriyya movement is one of largest Islamic *tariqa*s or "ways" worldwide and was probably one of the first to have appeared in West and East Africa (Loimeier 2009). With emphasis on mystical experiences, members generally adhere to mainstream principles within Sunni Islam.

Within *The Will* (the media outlet of the report), the Qadiriyya is represented as an important group for fostering peace and dialogue. It is also represented as an important group whose support President Buhari needs to succeed in the next elections. In turn, President Buhari is portrayed as praising the Qadiriyya for promoting education, interfaith dialogue, and peace. *The Will* suggests that both the President and the religious group need one another and are working together.

Moreover, the title of *The Will's* article speaks to the matter of education and religion in Nigeria: "Education is an antidote to terrorism." This quote is taken from one of President Buhari's speeches. It distances state-sponsored, institutionalized education from the education claimed as "western" and "haram" by Boko Haram members. Education is not an antidote to religion, Buhari seems clear not to say, but to terrorism. And terrorism is itself "haram," as Buhari makes clear in his analogy. Religious-identified militants are excluded from the state. The Qadiriyya, in contrast, is a key religious partner.

According to the rubric assessing where "religion and education meet in Africa" in relation to their institutionalization, this case involving Buhari's and the Qadiriyya's mutual endorsement is a thought-provoking instance. Both religion and education in Nigeria are institutionalized. Both the Qadiriyya Movement in Africa and in Buhari's government "meet" over matters of faith and schooling. Religion works in the interest of state education, and state education works to protect religion, including religious schools and knowledge. Importantly, relationships of power and inequality exist within and between these different institutions. Buhari's government competes with new presidential contenders, and the Qadiriyya is one of many whom *The Will* suggests are a diversity of groups promoting interfaith networks. Buhari's government and the Qadiriyya pressure one another to advance interests of their own: the Qadiriyya to ensure Buhari's government advances "diversification of the economy, increased power supply, and food sufficiency" that will meet the needs of an Islamic majority, and Buhari's government to ensure the Qadiriyya movement promotes "education, interfaith dialogue and good moral conduct in the society" in a manner that keeps the radicalization of Nigerians by Boko Haram in check.

So long as these institutional interests overlap, religion and education meet at the place where both can promote Islam as a religion of peace and where both regard the Nigerian state as a constitutionally created governing entity that is committed to advancing equality of opportunity through education to religious groups. In terms of the rubric I set up, Qadiriyya religious teaching and Nigerian state education "meet" when they operate under conditions that are mutually re-enforcing.

A Church in Kenya Where Children Are Advised Against Going to School

Nigeria is no more representative of social life in West Africa than Kenya is representative of social life in East Africa. However, I selected a report from Nigeria for the same reasons that I have selected to discuss a specific report from Kenya: to illustrate general trends while locating them in specific contexts.

The article, titled "The Mombasa church where children are advised against going to school," addresses yet another transcontinental (and, indeed, diasporic and transnational) issue about the meeting point between religion and education in Africa. This report comes from a news source called *Tuko*, founded in Nairobi in 2015. In the Kiswahili language, *tuko* means "we are here." *Tuko* is affiliated with a parent company, Genesis Media, whose homepage is in the Russian language. *Tuko* offers what it calls on its website a "manifesto" to its readers, including the statement: "We are an independent source of information. We exist on money from advertising and we are not being financed or influenced by government, parties, or by private individuals. Our aim is to collect information from all the available sources, systematize it and explain it in a really understandable and neutral manner in English and in Swahili languages."

Understanding that *Tuko* relies on ad hoc contributors as well as reports from social media helps to contextualize the report's statement that although the children "claimed to belong to the Good News International church," *Tuko* "could not independently verify the claim." This theme of doubt pervades the report. How could a church advise its children not to go to school? How could these children talk back to their parents and elders? "One of a parent's worst nightmare as far as child upbringing is concerned is to raise a child who does not value religion and education," writes the author, Rene Otinga. "But what happens when the child believes in religion to the extent it is interfering with the desire to get a decent education?" Otinga continues. The children are misguided. Religion has supplanted parents and state, and the church has brainwashed children and sent these minors to the care of an institution that is anti-modern. So runs the argument. "'We don't go to school, we don't go to hospital because they are ways of the world,' one confident child sensationally declared," publishes *Tuko*.

Understanding where "religion and education meet" and where the two are institutionalized are difficult to discern in Otinga's report. However, three observations may help to clarify their relationship. The first is that, historically, Mombasa and other coastal Kenyan locations have long been regarded as sites of convergent religious communities. For generations, beginning in at least the fourteenth century (Seesmann 2016), Muslim teachings and Islamic institutions have played an important role in East Africa—interacting with Mijikenda communities, also living along the coast. Early Islamic institutions of learning encountered and were influenced by these Mijikenda groups. In turn, Islamic institutions were followed by Christian Europe's colonization, when Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran, and other Christian missionaries docked in Mombasa before working their way westward across the continent. Mombasa was a major East African port of call from which European missionaries posted and received letters.

Second, to this day, Mombasa remains a favored location for missionaries from the USA. Independent churches such as the Good News International Ministries are not unknown among Mombasans. However, GNI is a bit unusual because, unlike most US evangelical groups in Mombasa, GNI ministers are affiliated with Catholicism. The Good News International Ministries is composed of lay Catholic Church members who subscribe to Vatican II ideas that Catholic Mass and Church teachings ought to be conducted in vernacular languages, not Latin; that clerical regalia ought to be minimized and the dress of everyday, or lay, people be used; and that laypersons should be allowed to participate in the liturgy. In their approach to missionizing, Good News ministers adopt a quasi-sectarian approach. Good News International adherents may well see themselves as self-directed and more accountable to biblical injunctions than to those of teachers, government, or adults.

The third observation perhaps useful in clarifying where education and religion meet in this case from Kenya has to do with scattered calls for political secession on the eastern coast of Kenya (Park 2015). The Kenyan government sees government schools as important for educating the next Kenyan generation and for keeping the coast connected with the rest of the state. Key religious groups such as the Aga Khan Islamic Foundation based in Mombasa align their educational work with the goals of the state. However, secessionist groups, some of whom identify as Mijikenda or Digo, regard the island and city of Mombasa as the site of an ancient Digo dynasty that has been displaced by exogenous forces. Digo groups seek to reclaim positions of status and inclusion within a political-economic system that currently marginalizes them. The Kenyan government in turn seeks to retain the use of primary and secondary schools as a one means through which to integrate and educate a Kenyan national community. In such a context, media accounts of children who value neither schooling nor religion tap into concerns about statelessness and secession.

All of this is to say that, religion and education overlap less completely in this account of Kenya than they do as represented in the Nigerian report.

The aims and objectives of institutionalized Kenyan schooling, and the aims and objectives of this religious group, seem not to be commensurate. The state is concerned with educating children. Good News International Ministries is concerned with developing children's personal beliefs. While local readers of the *Tuko* article might see these children as itinerant and aimlessly wandering on the street, a more cynical political reading might see these children as being portrayed to represent the effects of an ineffective state: US evangelists or Russian media might be seen from within this view as foreign forces from beyond the state that are raising doubts about the Kenyan state. In terms of the rubric I set up, Good News International teaching and Kenyan state education do not "meet" because the former is not aligned with the institutions of the state.

Jeppe Girls High Hijab Fiasco May End Up in Court

The South African case tells yet another story although it, like the others, is part of a larger picture concerning the intersection of religion and education in Africa and elsewhere today. The South African media outlet, *The Star*, reported in September 2018 that one well-known private school in the country—Jeppe Girls High School—was under scrutiny for potentially violating students' rights to freedom of religious expression. The girls in question wore a hijab to school but were required either to remove the hijab or to wear it with a full "black robe" and not with the school uniform, as the girls had chosen to do. Muslim parents in turn alleged that Jeppe Girls High School discriminated against girls' rights to freedom of religious expression. These parents prepared to take the school to court.

Speaking to the press, a pro bono advocate of the families alleged that requiring girls to attend school disciplinary hearings because they wore a hijab with their uniform was discriminatory. The Gauteng Department of Education stepped into request the Jeppe School Governing Body (SGB) to temporarily permit the hijab to be worn with the uniform, before fuller deliberations could be made, and it seems that the SGB did in fact stop the disciplinary actions, although only after being challenged by social media activists who posted copies of the students' disciplinary notices. "Why are these young women being punished for covering their hair?" one social activist, Yusuf Abramjee, tweeted in so many words. The school's principal, Panyaza Lesufi, suspended the disciplinary action and called for further investigation.

To what extent, and how, do religion and education meet in this case? How are religion and education institutionalized? How are they experienced in everyday life? As background, Jeppe Girls School is one of the oldest private schools in the Johannesburg area. Established in the 1890s as an Anglican school for children of English parents living in the Transvaal, the school today is open to all qualifying students, not only to girls with Anglican ancestry. In 2018, annual fees were R20,800 or about $2078USD, while the average annual household income in Gauteng Province in 2011 was

R29,400. The cost of enrollment is thus beyond the means of most Gauteng residents.[1]

Today, Jeppe has no visible contemporary connection with a religious institution but continues to advertise its Anglican history prominently on its website and social media pages. A SGB comprising parents, teachers, and three students administers the institution. This Jeppe SGB sets policies regarding dress and uniforms and recently approved enrolling the school in a government program designed to advance math and science skills among non-traditional students. On its webpage, the SGB indicates current challenges and plans for moving Jeppe Girls School forward:

> As South Africa has changed around it, the school has also been challenged to meet the needs of its diverse community. Despite many difficulties the school continues and will continue for many years to come to produce young women of high calibre who have learnt to respect, tolerate and understand others. They will carry this heritage through to future generations.

Like some other former British colonies once backed by the Anglican religion (including Nigeria and Kenya), South Africa has *not* cordoned off religious expression from the public sphere. Instead, the government "has tried to draw upon the resources of the many religions of the country in the national interest" (Chidester 2006). In turn, a variety of religious groups engage themselves in education, including advocating for religious expression at private schools. Yet doing so is not always easy. Protectionists with the Dutch Reformed Church have sought to preserve a "Christian National Education" curriculum. Conservative Christians, influenced by right-wing evangelicals in the USA, have sought to promote a literal reading of the Bible. Compared with such groups' illiberal arguments against religiously pluralizing state institutions, Jeppe's Muslim parents' appeal to the courts and to the SGB to resolve the dress issue is a sign of parents' and the school's shared principles of defense of plurality through democracy.

The Gauteng Province Department of Education, operating with the national Ministry of Education, sets, implements, and monitors education policy only to a degree within a private institution. The private school establishes rules and, so long as they abide by the constitution, the Department of Education supports them. As noted, the South African Constitution supports religious plurality; yet in setting a policy about school dress, Jeppe School risks discriminating against students by curtailing their rights to freedom of religious expression.

Given this, where and how do the institutional boundaries of religion and education meet in this case? To a point, religion and education meet at the intersection of the state constitution and school policy. Unlike the Nigerian news item that made no mention of students but featured a tete-a-tete between state and religious leaders—and unlike the Kenyan report about out-of-control students who sought no connections with institutionalized

schools (or hospitals)—this account from South Africa shows people planning and calculating how to mobilize institutional structures in the interest of changing policies and supporting students' activities. School uniforms and wearing a hijab constitute the minutiae of everyday life. While institutional structures regulate policies, social individuals enact these regulations and in doing so, reinforce or challenge them; and they refer to policies and constitutionality to support their claims.

However, more fully than this, this case reveals that even when religion and education partly overlap procedurally and constitutionally, the intersection of the two is still a composite of the social activities—the sociality—of the people who engage in and with the institutions. Whereas in the Nigerian case, President Buhari and the Qadiriyya leader were seen as high-level actors engaging Nigerian institutions, and whereas in the Kenyan item, the Kenyan children were cast as "sensational" actors unable to understand the power of institutions, actors in this story—the SGB, parents, students, principal, and tweeter—are seen as operating from different structural positions within the institutions they participate in, or "inhabit," everyday.

To answer the question, "where, in Africa, do religion and education meet" with reference to this South African case, we might say that they meet where people meet, and where people operationalize arguments about the everyday and the extraordinary, transcendent, or supernatural. In this regard, education in Africa is characterized by a vast plurality of interests and groups who enact religion and religiosity everyday.

Msukule

But what about the *msukule*? What about that schoolgirl listening to Mama Fulani's story about the not-dead baby? How are such transcendent and extraordinary encounters as Mama Fulani's expressed and understood? What about these out-of-school and out-of-church-or-mosque experiences of transcendence? What about these stories that display profound ethical reasoning about good and bad, and affective and emotive receptivity?

In this chapter I have argued that religion and education "meet" in Africa when either or both religion and education are institutionalized, and I have used the cases from Nigeria, Kenya, and South Africa to illustrate this argument. Authors of all three media discussed in the previous pages have highlighted tensions between state education and religious institutions; however, none entertained a discussion of the everyday religious or educative practices of people in their local communities.

Yet insofar as people make sense of their worlds on the basis of everyday interactions and beliefs, these religious and educational institutions of the Qadiriyya, Jeppe Girls School, and Good News International intersect with other systems of power and are connected not only with international movements and institutions but with people's lives as lived in the everyday. Beliefs and rituals are created and explored through dynamic

interactions—sociality—by which people make the world, and are made by it. In this chapter I have sought to indicate places where the boundary between religion and education blurs and to underscore that cultural meaning and social or institutional power are intertwined. Understanding both the everyday expressions of ethical imagination, affective receptivity, and creativity that operate in the realm of daily life *and* the institutionalized systems of the state and of religious organizations is important to achieve a picture of how religion and education meet in Africa.

Across the continent since the 1990s, religious movements have spread in rural and urban areas. Government downsizing and liberalized markets partly created new spaces for transnational and local groups to emerge and interact. However, the uptake and expansion of religious activity was most vibrant where it incorporated local expressions. Established churches (Lutheran Catholic, Anglican, and others) that were once associated with the colonial state increasingly faced local communities' competing interest in Pentecostal and independent churches, or, in Muslim communities, in smaller sometimes radical groups such as Boko Haram. Everyday education and religious life throughout Africa today include fluid movements between morality tales and school lessons, between sacrifices favoring ancestors and spirit forces and offerings made with money in the mosque or church.

More recently, the forces of social and online media have stretched and shaped understandings about where religion and education in Africa meet. At the same time that information about religion and education has become more standardized and globalized, religious and pedagogic institutions remain connected to everyday lives like Mama Fulani's that are not bureaucratically institutionalized. Instead of shoehorning Mama Fulani's and her neighbor's experiences—like so many people's experience across the continent and worldwide—into categories of religion and education and pinpointing where they meet, I have presented Mama Fulani's story as an indicator of some of the creative and particular forms of religious and ethical life. Where everyday forms of expressivity and pedagogy co-occur, human sociality can be better understood not as "where religion and education meet" but as a dynamic matrix of relations defying easy fixity in either of the two categories.

NOTE

1. https://wazimap.co.za/profiles/province-GT-gauteng/.

REFERENCES

Chidester, David. 2006. "Religion, Education, and the Transformational State in South Africa." *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice* 50 (3): 61–83.

Fair, Laura. 1996. "Identity, Difference, and Dance: Female Initiation in Zanzibar, 1890 to 1930." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies* 17 (3): 146–172.

Germaner, Shain. 2018. "Jeppe Girls High Hijab Fiasco May End Up in Court." *The Saturday Star*, September 30, South Africa.

Hefner, Robert W. 2010. "Islamic Knowledge and Education in the Modern Age." In *The New Cambridge History of Islam: Muslims and Modernity, Culture and Society since 1800*, edited by Robert W. Hefner, 497–520. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Loimeier, Roman. 2009. *Between Social Skills and Marketable Skills: The Politics of Islamic Education in 20th Century Zanzibar*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.

Long, Nicholas J. 2015. "Sociality in Anthropology." *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences* (2nd ed.) 22: 854–860.

Ndangam, Lillian N. 2008. "'Lifting the Cloak on Manhood': Coverage of Xhosa Male Circumcision in the South African Press." In *Masculinities in Contemporary Africa*, edited by Egodi Uchendu, 209–228. Dakar, Senegal: CODESRIA.

Otinga, Rene. 2018. "Mombasa Church Where Children Are Advised Against Going to School." Kenyanews247, Local Headlines. October 4.

Park, Jeong Kyung. 2015. "The Use of Autochthony in Popular Politics: The Story of *Mwambasho* Among the Digo of Kenya." *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 27 (2):191–204.

Seesmann, Rüdiger. 2016. "Changes in Islamic Knowledge Practices in Twentieth-Century Kenya." In *Islamic Education in Africa: Writing Boards and Blackboards*, edited by Robert Launay, 212–233. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Ware, Rudolph T. 2014. *The Walking Qur'an: Islamic Education, Embodied Knowledge, and History in West Africa*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

The Will (Nigeria). 2018. Education Is an Antidote to Terrorism—Buhari, October 9. Downloaded October 20, 2018.

Linguistic and Cultural Rights in STEAM Education: Science, Technology, Engineering, Arts, and Mathematics

Zehlia Babaci-Wilhite

INTRODUCTION

The premise for this chapter is that the integration of African languages into the teaching of Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) subjects is an imperative and will make education more accessible and creative at all levels. This chapter provides tools and strategies for organizing and managing interdisciplinary learning and teaching based on successful collaborations between applied linguists, human rights advocates, STEM researchers, practitioners, and artists in the fields of Arts, and STEM subjects, which creates the acronym STEAM. Through a literature review and collaborative works, this chapter will address how the learning of STEM can be improved through acknowledgment of local languages, cultural context, inserting an "A" for Arts in STEM. This will be demonstrated with cases from Africa with a focus on Tanzania and Nigeria.

Based on contributions from educators, scientists, scholars, linguists, and artists from countries around the world, this chapter will highlight how we can demonstrate teamwork and collaboration for innovation and creativity in the field of STEAM subjects in classrooms and beyond. Just as,

Z. Babaci-Wilhite (✉)
University of California-Berkeley, Berkeley, CA, USA
e-mail: z.b.wilhite@berkeley.edu

> Astronomy is not planets and stars. It is a way of talking about planets and stars. (Postman 1979)

Similarly drawing language and cultural perspectives into educational models can make STEM learning more accessible. For example, recognizing the cultural and historical evidence on the relevance of ethno-mathematical principals is important in establishing an egalitarian connection to STEAM subjects. This can best be accomplished through a model, which accommodates language and Arts as means to demystify STEM and to bridge, for example, the separation of science and mathematics from the contexts of everyday experience. Education should be viewed as the Art of dealing with cultural encounters.

This chapter reflects on the core of human rights education using local languages and local knowledge through the Arts as a tool for teaching human rights in school, bringing to light questions on diversity, environment issues, as well as power relations between non-dominant (minorities) and dominant (the majority) segments of the society based on a renewed pedagogy. This chapter will be based on cutting-edge research and elaborates on how to approach novel methodologies in the production of curriculum for Linguistic and Cultural Rights through STEAM education.

Furthermore, I will give a background of my previous work which argue that this sustenance of learning in mother tongue education based on local knowledge ought to be defined as a human right in education that explores the formal and informal learning of science and how it facilitates the learning process as well as cognitive learning in the development of new knowledge. I draw on my own research on the teaching of science subjects in Zanzibar and Nigeria as well as on a review of research on problems with the learning of science due to decontextualized teaching and learning in Africa.

I will give attention to the conjunction of several aspects to improve the quality of learning through science literacy using eLearning in mother tongue education and local curriculum in the digital age. The introduction of eLearning grounded in the Seeds of Science/Roots of Reading (S/R) approach forms a new platform for innovation based on a unique mix of local and global knowledge. It provides teachers and students with the capacity to understand and deploy new technologies for learning.

There has been a tendency in academic approaches to science literacy to regard literacy as an end unto itself, ignoring structures that undercut disciplinary learning, comprehension, critical literacy, and strategic reading (Cervetti et al. 2005). Therefore, I will argue along with Cervetti et al. (ibid.) that literacy will be better achieved through subjects such as science as developed in the S/R program which can be adapted and developed in eLearning and made accessible on a larger scale in Zanzibar, Nigeria, and elsewhere in Africa.

There is no single theory that encompasses the complex web of epistemological issues embedded in formal and informal knowledge in education. Some of the strands of theory which have been important for framing this chapter are the role of education in society, the role of language in

education, as well as the knowledge embedded in local culture. The central theoretical focus in the article is on the explanatory power of theories related to education for self-reliance and pedagogy of non-dominant groups. The theoretical framework I will put forward incorporates the importance of local context within its cultural identity, emphasizing the development of local capacity on local terms. Such a multiple approach emphasizes the importance of indigenous concepts, articulated in their natural environment. The argument in this chapter draws heavily on the work of three educational theorists. The first is Julius Nyerere and his theory of self-reliance, developed and applied in Tanzania in the 1960s and 1970s. Though his theory no longer governs educational policy in Tanzania, I will argue that it has relevance today in Zanzibar and Nigeria's efforts to achieve equal access and fairness in education and in the society at large. The second theory important to the analysis is Paulo Freire's theory on formal versus informal educational pedagogy. Freire's theory has implications for the language used in schooling and in the society. The third is David Pearson's approach of viewing the role of language and literacy in supporting disciplinary learning, which can be achieved by using literacy skills to think critically and flexibly across many domains of knowledge and inquiry. In line with Pearson, Jacqueline Barber (2005) argues that "Inquiry is curiosity-driven…It involves reading books to find out what others have learned… Inquiry requires the use of critical and logical thinking… Good readers inquire information gathered from text." Furthermore, Cervetti et al. (2005) revised the Concept-Oriented Reading Instruction (CORI), which provides a rich and compelling context for teaching reading strategies, but failed to examine the conceptual learning of science. Therefore, Pearson and Barber's approach to improve literacy through inquiry science (or other subject matter foci) serves as the "real-world" interaction ingredient for the CORI model to achieve better results for science as well as literacy.

I conclude with the notion that *Human rights in education* is intimately connected to the life of the people (Babaci-Wilhite et al. 2012) and their language should be a part of the language of education. In short, language plays a critical role in cognitive learning and in the development of critical thinking and new knowledge (Babaci-Wilhite and Geo-JaJa 2011, 2014). Drawing on my research in Zanzibar and Nigeria, I will argue that eLearning can be a bridge to improve teaching and learning as long as it is contextualized in mother tongue education. This can make a positive contribution to achieve human rights in education in Zanzibar and Nigeria for better learning in twenty-first-century literacies, implementing local languages and local knowledge in education, integrating approaches from the Arts which will improve the learning and teaching of STEM subjects. STEAM should be given the status of a right in education for a multilingual, multicultural, and sustainable development in Africa.

RETHINKING EDUCATION IN AFRICA

Julius K. Nyerere, the first president of Tanzania, with his educational vision insisted on the need for rethinking the relationship between general education and formal education, insisting that the basic system of education, which the Tanzanians took over at the time of independence, should be questioned. Education is more than obtaining teachers, engineers, and administrators or as training students in the skills required to earn high salaries in the modern sector of our economy (Nyerere 1968, 267). The Human Capital Theory pioneered by Theodore Schultz (1963) who considered education relevant as far as it creates skills and helps acquire knowledge that serves as an investment in the productivity of the human being as an economic production factor, that is, as a worker (Robeyns 2006). Furthermore, Robeyns (ibid.) argues that education as human capital only focused on technical progress and macroeconomic development. In line with Robeyns and Nyerere, I argue that the consequences in developing societies as well as in post-industrialized societies, education must acknowledge culture, which includes language and identity, social, historical, and non-material dimensions of life. There are crucial for the learning process as well as well-being (see Babaci-Wilhite et al. 2012).

In line with the ideas of Freire, Nyerere believed that education should be an integral part of daily life not separated from it. Education should address both the needs of the local people and the country they are living in. According to Joseph Ki-Zerbo, an historian from Burkina Faso, these points about cultural learning and local needs have not been adequately addressed in Africa. He claims, "For African societies, education lost its functional role" (Ki-Zerbo 1990). The problem today is that African countries are adopting the standards of the world without the inclusion of local culture in education (Obuasi 2012; Babaci-Wilhite 2014; Okonkwo 2014). Geo-JaJa argues in line with Nyerere who wrote colonial education in Africa is not transmitting the values and the knowledge of African society from one generation to the next; it involved a deliberate attempt to change those values and to replace traditional knowledge by the knowledge from a different society (Nyerere 1968; Geo-JaJa 2013, Babaci-Wilhite 2016).

To motivate the active mind, one has to take into consideration the variations in different societies, differences in knowledge, and different ways of teaching to achieve quality education. If education is conceived of as imparting knowledge about the world, then schooling should be regarded as only one aspect of education, since it does not cover all forms of knowledge. According to Freire (1970), much of the knowledge that forms the basis for schooling has its origins from another place and another time: "Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention" (Freire 1993, 53). The students who catch on to this form of learning will be successful in school, but might actually have less knowledge in the broad sense of the word than one who does not attend school. However, education is most often equated with schooling (Babaci-Wilhite 2015).

The language issue in Tanzania is deeply related to the conceptualization of education and the debate around whether or not education should encompass the local cultural context. Freire (1993) and others scholars such as Martha Qorro (2004), Kwesi-Kwaa Prah (2005), Brock-Utne (2011), Jerome Okonkwo and Ifeoma Obuasi (2014) argue that using a local language as medium of education fosters the broader view of learning which softens the barriers between real-life and classroom experience. Freire proposed a similar theory about the importance of local knowledge and its relationship to empowerment. Pearson's approach to literacy has relevance for the language debate in Tanzania. His approach aims to develop student's potential to use the information one gains from reading and apply it to new situation, problem or project (Pearson et al. 2007; Cervetti et al. 2012). The S/R model acknowledges that knowledge and wider vocabulary are a consequence as well as a cause of reading comprehension (ibid.). Therefore, learning through local languages will improve literacy as well as the learning of the science subject, language is not everything in education, but without language, everything is nothing in education (Wolff 2006). Thus, it is important to acknowledge that local languages need a great amount of linguistic development in order to convey higher levels of knowledge as well as to function as bridges to languages of wider communication. Having several languages within one classroom gives us the opportunity to explore bilingualism and/or multilingualism, which Ngugi (2017) describes "as the oxygen of culture - and monolingualism, carbon monoxide of culture."[1]

The Neglect of Local Knowledge in the Wake of Globalization

In Zanzibar, Tanzania, Nigeria, and elsewhere in Africa, reforms and policies connecting local cultures to education have been neglected. According to Samoff (2007), "effective education reform requires agendas and initiatives with strong local roots" (60). In other words, local knowledge also referred to as indigenous knowledge should be included in the curriculum (Odora 2002; Babaci-Wilhite and Geo-JaJa 2011; Semali and Khanjan 2012). This knowledge should be conveyed in local languages, which is critical to the preservation and development of local knowledge. Storytelling is a way to safeguard local or indigenous knowledge, which can then be shared through contemporary digital media. Digital storytelling also allows for the Arts to be brought into the classroom via written text and images that are composed for the screen for twenty-first-century literacy students. Inspired by DIGICOM, a professional program to train in-service teachers in the use of digital storytelling, in collaboration with colleagues at the University of California, Irvine,[2] I implemented digital storytelling and human rights into the curriculum (2017).[3]

The choice of the Language of instruction (LOI) important not only because of the implications for quality learning, but also because of the

intimate ties between language, culture, and identity (Brock-Utne 2011, 2012; Babaci-Wilhite 2014; Okonkwo 2014). Local knowledge and languages are being severely strained through globalization, which is a shorthand way of describing the spread and connectedness of production, communication, and technologies across the world. Appadurai (1990) argues that "The critical point is that both sides of the coin of global cultural process today are products of the infinitely varied mutual contest of sameness and difference on a stage characterised by radical disjunctures between different sorts of global flows and the uncertain landscapes created in and through these disjunctures" (17). Furthermore, he claims that what is taking place through globalization is a process of cultural mixing or hybridization across locations and identities (1990). We cannot think simplistically about the unidirectional nature of global flows of products and culture, but when it comes to languages there are no doubt that the flow is unidirectional from the Global North to the South. This process has its roots in earlier stages of imperialism and continues to the present.

Geo-JaJa and Yang (2003) describe "Western" imperialism in Africa in four stages: (a) slave trade, which extracted labor and disrupted local societies; (b) colonialism, which divided the continent without regard to ethnicity and cultural boundaries; (c) neocolonialism, which imposed political and economic pressure; and (d) the globalization of the neoliberal ideology, bringing free trade regimes which shrink space, time, and borders through New Information and Communication Technologies (NICT). Over the course of the past two decades, imperialism, globalization, and marketization have impacted education in developing countries. Throughout each of these phases, languages of the "powerful" have been exported to and replaced by local languages in education. Prah (2005) supports this view when he writes that globalization is the continuation of the process of imperialism and implies hegemony at one end and denationalization at the other, processes which are often conveniently forgotten in establishing languages to be used in African curriculum.

Knowledge is equated with what the learner is taught in schools and that knowledge which forms the basis for school curricula is decontextualized. The educated person is one who has mastered sets of facts, propositions, models, and cognitive skills that are fundamentally separated from the context in which they were learned. Stanton Wortham and Kara Jackson (2012) argue that educational approaches differ in their methods for improving student knowledge, ranging from directives to more discovery-oriented pedagogies, but mainstream approaches all assume that student skills and representations are the target of educational interventions. Knowledge is also typically viewed as relatively stable. In mainstream approaches to education, schooling often involves the transmission of isolated, portable bodies of knowledge. Schools make sense as institutions only because stable knowledge and reasoning procedures can allegedly transfer and have value in other contexts where students will use the knowledge they learned in

school. Because the context is not integral to the knowledge or skill, the isolated "bodies of knowledge" often hold little meaning for anyone other than the members of the community who generated that knowledge. The problems students solve in school are thus problems of the disciplinary communities from which the knowledge originated. This often makes schooled knowledge and skills less useful outside of schools. Moreover, given the decontextualized, insular nature of the knowledge being passed on, there is generally little opportunity for students to question the claims on which the knowledge is based.

Glo-Local Learning as a Human Right in Education

I have argued in recent publications that contextualization of education and the use of a local language of instruction (LOI) be considered a right in education. Article 26 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (1948) states that everyone has the right to education. It says little about the nature, kind, and quality of education. Rights in education imply that rights are not ensured unless the education offered is of high quality. The United Nations (UN) called for a mainstreaming of human rights to encourage the government's responsibility to insure the rights-based approach. The rights-based framework includes the principle that every human being is entitled to decent education and gives priority to the intrinsic importance of education, implying that governments need to mobilize the resources to offer quality education (UNICEF 2003, 8). Katarina Tomasevski (2003) advocates that education should prepare learners for participation, stating, "it should teach the young that all human beings – themselves included – have rights" (33).

The rights-based approach had its origins in 1993 when the UN held the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna. During this conference, the Vienna Declaration and Program of Action were conceived, linking democracy, human rights, sustainability, and development (Hamm 2001, 1007). In 1997, the Secretary General to the UN called for a mainstreaming of human rights into all work of the UN, and in 2003, various organizations and agencies met to develop the government's responsibility to insure the rights-based approach. The rights-based approach is crucial for developing countries since this approach works to shift the paradigm away from aid and toward moral duty imposed on the world through the international consensus of human rights. Human rights rhetoric was used to develop a "mode of operation" to describe someone's manner of working, their method of operating or functioning, as a driving force to bring effectiveness to human rights (Nelson and Dorsey 2003). Robeyns (2006) argues "the rights-based approach model of education is that, once the government agrees that children should have the rights to be educated, it may see its task as being precisely executing this agreement, and nothing more" (77). Furthermore, she claims that "well-developed rights-based educational policies will state precisely which

rights are guaranteed to whom, and what the government has to do to ensure that rights are not only rhetorical, but also effective" (ibid.). Education has the potential to empower if teaching and learning give nourishment and self-respect that in turn bring confidence to teachers and learners. I agree with Robeyns when she writes, that "It will be necessary that the government goes beyond its duties in terms of the rights-based policies, to undertake action to ensure that every child can fully and equally enjoy her rights to education" (ibid.). This implies that teachers are well-trained and well-paid, and teaching material is provided and a good curriculum and pedagogy is developed and not only school buildings and teaching staff.

Education is another tool to increase human rights effectiveness as it increases human capabilities, functions, and opportunities in societies. This further leads to the linkage between human rights and development and enables policy makers and developers to incorporate the rights-based approach within the "Common Understanding" of a human rights-based approach, assuring these principles: indivisibility, equality, participation, and inclusion (UNDP 2006, 17–18). Rights are defined as entitlements that belong to all human beings regardless of race, ethnicity, or socioeconomic class (Nussbaum 1998, 273). All humans therefore are rights holders, and it is someone's duty to provide these rights, a government or a system. "Human rights in education" is a powerful notion as it is intimately connected to the social, occupational, political, cultural, religious, and artistic life of the people (Babaci-Wilhite et al. 2012; Bostad 2013). UNESCO's Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions emphasizes the importance of linguistic diversity (2005). Language as part of culture should be part of what Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) calls language as a human right in the education sector. Article 26 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (1948), in education as a human rights, states that:

> Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free…Education shall be directed to…the development of human personality and to the strengthening of human rights and fundamental freedom. (Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948; Preamble)

The globalization trends for language in education outlined above, in which local curricula are decontextualized, are in contravention of the tenets of the rights-based approach to language in education. This approach is based on the premise that the use of a local curriculum should be regarded as a right in education (Babaci-Wilhite 2017).

In an increasingly interdependent global world, it is important to facilitate the mastery of foreign languages as well as mastery of subject matter. The policies for developing countries should also be context-sensitive and in addition one that permits developing countries to remain a partner in the global society. Therefore, education as a set of processes intended to enhance

glo-local learning. This is a radical departure from most mainstream educational research and practice, which is designed to enhance global rather than local learning. An innovation with a unique mix of local and global technologies for learning with a value of local knowledge, local languages, and local teaching and learning of science subjects can be the bridge which will be discussed in the next section.

Improving Science Literacy in Zanzibar and Nigeria

I argue that these important issues of improving science learning and enabling rights in education can be addressed by applying the S/R model in education curricula to resolve the problems of quality of teaching and learning science associated with poor quality of teachers and inadequate teaching aids and facilities. The aim of S/R model is to make sense of the physical world through firsthand and secondhand experiences while addressing foundational dimensions of literacy. S/R has assembled science and literacy experts to study, enact in the form of curriculum, and test the limits and potential of the science–literacy interface answering how can reading, writing, and discourse be used as tools to support inquiry-based science learning and what benefits accrue to reading, writing, and discourse when they are embedded in inquiry-based science as well as what skills and strategies are shared in these subject.

This has the potential to bring the needed outcomes, results, and accomplishments that will improve science as well as the process of teaching and learning science. The emphasis will be moved from rote memorization to deep understanding. Pearson et al. (2007) argue that in the effort to promote understanding, existing background knowledge matters which refers to Goldenberg (2008) who claims that:

> Beginning reading instruction is guided by neither a theory nor a goal of knowledge development. In fact, just the opposite: children are presented with texts—mostly narrative—chosen to reflect their existing background knowledge, the assumption being that they can use that knowledge to comprehend familiar content.

This reflects the current situation in Zanzibar and Nigeria. As argued above, engagement with local language and local knowledge is necessary to facilitate the teaching and learning process. Furthermore, each outcome in the pathway of change is tied to an intervention, revealing the complex web of activity that is required to bring about change (Cervetti et al. 2007, 2012). These principles of learning address the connections between early, intermediate, and long-term outcomes and the expectations about how and why the proposed interventions will bring them about (see Cervetti et al. 2007). In short, the S/R model aims for deep conceptual understanding, implementation of a program of planning and evaluation, and a commonly cross-disciplinary

understanding of the vision of desirable long-term goals and on how they will be reached, as well as what will be used to measure progress along the way.

The S/R model requires teachers to be clear on long-term goals, identify measurable indicators of success, and be accomplished through practices known to meet the linguistic needs, such as using graphic representations of abstract concepts (see Cervetti et al. 2007; Pearson and Hiebert 2013). This fundamental concept builds a curriculum that gives emphasis to literacy through "texts, routines for reading, word-level skills, vocabulary, and comprehension instruction." These work in the service of acquiring the knowledge, skills, and dispositions of inquiry-based science (Cervetti et al. 2007). When it comes to Zanzibar, a "here to there" strategy is direly needed given problems with teacher competence, support materials and confusion about the importance of local language and context. The S/R model is designed to be a core science program that addresses all aspects of science proficiency, while simultaneously serving as a supplementary literacy program. It focuses on reading comprehension, vocabulary development, and inquiry. The implementation of the program takes on learning goals in literacy and science by providing students with explicit instruction, opportunities for practice, and increasing independence in using literacy strategies to make sense of and communicate about the natural world.

The multimodal approach central to S/R provides students with opportunity to access every essential concept to be learned in a unit through a range of different learning modalities called the Do-it; Talk-it; Read-it; and Write-it approach. By doing experiences, it engages students in discussing the essential concepts learned and it makes it easy to understand them by reading and enabling students to write them. For instance, they might read about shorelines and then investigate sand, gathering evidence from sand and a text about its properties which leads to them working to determine what the source of the sand was originally. They discuss along the way, eventually forming expert groups focusing on particular sand samples. What is its source material? Is it young or old sand? So in this case, they read, then do, then talk, then read again, then do more, then talk, then write, then talk again, then finish what they've written (Barber 2005). These multiple modalities provide opportunities for students to apply, deepen, and extend their knowledge of the learned concepts.

This effective research-based curriculum offers students an explicit focus on disciplinary literacy and in the specialized knowledge and skills involved in reading, writing, and talking about science, sorely needed in Zanzibar and Nigeria. The program promotes substantive science knowledge and inquiry skills and involves students in deep forays into learning about the natural world by searching for evidence through firsthand experiences (hands-on activities) and secondhand experiences (text) in order to construct more accurate, nuanced, and complete understandings of the natural world. Furthermore, students engage in written and oral discourse with the goal of

communicating and negotiating evidence-based explanations, and evaluating and revising explanations based on that evidence (Barber 2005).

The S/R approach engages students in using literacy in the service of inquiry science. For example, students predict what objects are attracted to a magnet and test their predictions. Then, in an attempt to understand surprising results, students search for evidence in text about the metal composition of the objects they tested. Based on this new evidence, students make claims about what sticks to magnets and write explanations incorporating their claims and evidence. This synergistic approach to integrating science and literacy is in contrast to less authentic approaches to integration, in which students conduct firsthand investigations about X, read about X, and then write about X, what is called an additive approach to integration. This approach simply adds on literacy tasks to a science curriculum, without connecting those additional tasks directly to the advancement of the understanding from the initial investigation, and does not provide explicit instruction or purpose for how to read and write science text (Pearson et al. 2007). Recent studies have shown that students exposed to the program made significantly greater gains on measures of science understanding, science vocabulary, and science writing (Cervetti et al. 2012).

Adapting the Seeds and Science/Roots of Reading Using a Digital Device

The S/R model links firsthand experiences, discussions, and writing to the ideas and language in informational texts to foster the development of core science knowledge and literacy skills (Cervetti et al. 2006; Afflerbach et al. 2008). The model would address how reading and writing can be used as tools to support inquiry-based science in Zanzibar and how to support their implementation in today's complicated curricular landscape in Zanzibar using a digital device. The computer has been the digital device that has been used in education to facilitate learning. However, it is revealing to note that 80% of the world's population has no access to basic infrastructure facilities that are regarded as commonplace in the industrialized world—and that there are reported to be more computers in New York alone than in the whole of Africa (DFID 2000 quoted by Crossley and Watson 2003). "If every city resembled New York, everyone could access the 'other society's' education systems to discover what can be learned that will contribute to improved policy and practice at home" (Arnove 2003, 6). However, the main digital device used in classrooms is no longer a computer. In 2012, the US Department of Education and the Federal Communications Commission encouraged the development of digital textbooks and digital learning in K-12 public education. According to Pew Research Internet Project (PRIP), the rise of E-Reading (2012) has increased and 50% of US adults owns a tablet computer and/or an e-book reader. Furthermore, PRIP demonstrated

interest in the use of these devices in schools as most teachers and students support tablets for the following reasons:

– much lighter than print textbooks;
– hold hundreds of textbooks;
– reduce environmental impacts by lowering the amount of printing;
– increase student interactivity and creativity; and
– cheaper than print textbooks.

The counter arguments are that tablets are
– expensive;
– too distracting for students;
– easy to break;
– costly/time-consuming to fix;
– quickly outdated as new technologies are released.

Several states in the USA have begun transitioning their instructional materials from paper textbooks to digital learning according to the "Digital Textbook Playbook" such as:
– California started already in 2009 by launching a free digital textbook initiative with
    (1) San Diego United School district distributing 78,000 digital textbooks to teachers and students since 2011 and 26, 000 iPads in 2012;
    (2) Los Angeles United School district (the second-largest school district in the country) purchasing 655,000 iPads for all K-12 students.
– West Virginia started as well in 2009 by replacing social studies print textbook purchases with digital textbooks;
– Florida in 2015 mandated that all K-12 instructional materials are required to provided in electronic format;
– Georgia state law requiring that electronic copies of K-12 curriculum be made available for use by students.

In the African context with no books and no support materials in teaching and learning, tablets can be very useful and adaptable. The American Association of Publishers argues that the average net unit price of a K-12 print textbook has been $65 in 2010 and that digital textbooks on average cost $50–60. The cost of tablets in the USA was on average $489 in 2011 to $343 in 2013 and projected to be $263 in 2015. The implementation costs for e-textbooks on iPad tablets are higher than new print textbooks due to Wi-Fi infrastructure, training teachers and administrators how to use the technology and annual publisher fees to continue using e-textbooks. Advances in technology have long been changing the way scholars' work in terms of teaching and administrative duties; the trends are growing globally. In Zanzibar and Nigeria, with high demands in literacy and technology, the use of tablets has a huge potential to improve teaching and learning as long as the content is contextualized. I propose that the S/R-based model of instruction developed and

taught through a tablet will contribute to the sustainability and development of science literacy in Zanzibar and in Nigeria. Its application can be a major step in correcting violations of children's rights in education due to the weak learning environment pointed out above, especially the lack of trained teachers and support materials. This will contribute to a solid curriculum grounded in thorough teacher preparation and quality support materials. An application of the S/R model has the potential to contribute to a realization of science learning that ensures every child's rights to quality education.

Collaboration for a Renewed Perspective on Human Rights

In most educational models today, the knowledge and information taught in school curricula are decontextualized. The educated person is expected to master facts, propositions, models, and cognitive skills that are separated from the context in which they were learned. Stanton Wortham and Kara Jackson (2012) argue that the many approaches to education we know of today differ in how well they increase the learner's knowledge. Some approaches emphasize the learner as a passive recipient of information. Others encourage the learner to be more proactive in their education, to pursue inquiry, ask questions, and discuss with teachers and peers.

Traditional education involves the transmission of isolated bodies of knowledge. Schools can survive as institutions because this stable knowledge and the reasoning underlying it, can allegedly have value in other contexts outside of the school where the knowledge learned will be applied. Because context is not integral to the knowledge or skill, the isolated bodies of knowledge often hold little meaning for anyone outside the community that generated it. This means the knowledge learned is less useful outside the classroom given the decontextualized, insular nature of the knowledge being passed on; there is generally little opportunity for students to question the claims on which the knowledge is based.

Globalization creates great convenience through the links it creates between production, communication, and technology, primarily through the use of English. But something is lost in this great cultural leveling. In contrast, STEM learners gain a better understanding of the concepts they are studying when they are taught in their local language instead of a foreign language (Brock-Utne 2016; Mchombo 2016). To develop conceptual knowledge, students need help in linking scientific concepts to their everyday environmental and cultural experiences to assimilate new and unfamiliar science words and concepts, and to learn how to use concepts in context (Bravo et al. 2008).

Bigozzi et al. (2002) considered that the main difference between a deep and lasting learning and a learning that is purely oral and superficial is that the former approach offers the ability to justify the data learned. Haug

(2014) argues that when Norwegian students were asked to explain how their newly learned knowledge serves them, none were able to respond since the students had developed no capacity for inquiry. She states that students needed further clarification and explanation to develop a higher level of conceptual knowledge. This shows that knowing definitions and being able to use science concepts in short answers is only the first step toward developing a greater conceptual understanding (Bravo et al. 2008). In order for learners to develop a stronger conceptual understanding of their field of study, teachers must include enough time for inquiry-based discussion about their empirical findings and how they connect to established science.

Through a pre-service teacher collaboration integrating technology, culture, and human rights,[4] our team[5] developed significant conceptual frameworks and novel pedagogical competencies needed to effectively integrate innovative technologies, diverse cultures, and human rights perspectives into comprehensive designs of learning experiences for middle and high school students. The project aimed to enhance teaching competence through critical thinking within education and explore how to best prepare teachers to be most effective in designing and implementing instruction for their students to meet the challenges of a world in rapid technological change in the domains of information access and learning tools made available through digital devices. It offers an original alternative to most approaches to preparing new teachers to become professional practitioners.

Beyond teaching students disciplinary content knowledge, the new exigency is to systematically develop student abilities to think creatively, critically, and comprehensively while understanding how to access, research, and utilize traditional disciplinary knowledge as well as continually emerging digital sources of knowledge (Mahiri 2011). These are skills students need to understand in order to work toward solutions to complex local and global problems, which we refer as twenty-first-century skills, which can be learned through twenty-first-century literacies, by engaging better-equipped students with academic knowledge, technical competence, and research skills needed for them to critically address the challenges of a rapidly changing and increasingly complex, interconnected world. This model of learning allowed for accessing, researching, and utilizing traditional disciplinary knowledge. Furthermore, it facilitated understanding emerging knowledge sources and working toward solutions for complex local and global issues. The kind of education teachers need must be framed by a global awareness philosophy that must be translated into a systematic method of investigative pedagogy to guide their delivery of learning in schools to not want students to just give answers, but to find the right kind of questions (Bostad 2016).[6]

Through virtual intellectual exchanges, the increased understanding of diverse cultural perspectives conjoined with the power of human rights perspectives to inspire and engage both the pre-service teachers and their future

students in rigorous learning. Importantly, the development of competencies in using appropriate technologies was central to how the collaborations between the University of Tromsø and the University of California, Berkeley pre-service teachers mediated. This innovative collaboration has intricately linked technology, diverse cultures, cross-cultural communication, and human rights perspectives. In attempting to improve learning and make it more relevant to real-world issues and challenges, the exploration and documented viable roles for digital technology, both in the actual processes of learning for teachers and students enabled for cross-cultural and cross-continental communication between the collaborating partners. This collaboration enhanced the understanding of a significant issue across societies—how to best prepare teachers to be effective in preparing their students to meet the challenges of a changing world. Furthermore, this model offers an original alternative to most approaches used to prepare new teachers for becoming professional practitioners, in attempting to improve learning and make it more relevant to real-world issues and challenges. To summarize the outcomes, a short video was made to illustrate our collaborative process, which included workshops, virtual meetings, and our mini-conference.[7]

One of the workshops addressed the integration of Arts, with the purpose of promoting inclusion of diverse cultures, cross-cultural communication, and human rights perspectives in teaching and learning through creativity and innovation. This change in focus from STEM to STEAM needs a strong emphasis on interdisciplinary collaboration in teaching and learning at all levels in education. We provided tools and strategies for organizing and managing interdisciplinary learning and teaching based on an Art activity to facilitate inclusion of diverse cultures, cross-cultural communication, and human rights perspectives in a team collaboration of pre-service students, researchers, and artists.

Art Activity to Facilitate Group Collaboration

Art in an academic context or in any other area that involves group dynamics or collaborative interaction can serve as a model insight into process. This is especially true when dealing with the need to overcome cultural or linguistic barriers. Since Art is by its nature cross-disciplinary and universally neutral, it can be utilized in a variety of ways.

One method used in the workshop illustrated the creative use of Art to establish inclusion of diverse cultures, cross-cultural communication, human rights perspectives, collegiality, and collaboration. The students were divided into groups consisting of equal numbers, and each student was given a sheet of paper and drawing materials. They were instructed to make a random mark/figure on the paper representing themselves. At ten-minute intervals, the drawings were passed to the next student on the right and that student added her/his symbol to the previous students work as they saw fit. The

drawings were passed sequentially in this manner at ten-minute intervals until the drawing with all the additional inputs arrived at its originator. The originator then had twenty minutes to complete the drawing by incorporating the additions in a manner that they deemed appropriate. In order to level the playing field, the first round of drawing was done with the *non-dominant hand*, while the finishing work was done with the *dominant hand*.

After completion, there was a period of discussion and comment on the exercise followed by a display of the finished artwork. This activity had many consequences since there was no set of guidance as to how each person made their additions and it revealed something about how students who made their input in collaboration. Some students attempted to compliment others' drawings, some used the new drawing as a starting point for another direction, and some students were neutral. Another result was that students became aware of differences in perception and approach by their collaborators. The finishing work allowed the originator of each piece to express ownership of their work, while recognizing the contributions of their collaborators. In the discussion, students remarked on the flexibility and creativity of their fellows and were pleased with the results both in the actual finished work and the collaborative exercise. This activity reflects on how Art can be a tool for bringing to light questions on diversity, as well as power relations between non-dominant and dominant cultures.

Conclusion

Language is crucial to the learning process inside and outside of schools. Mother tongue instruction is the tool of learning and therefore what tool could be more easy to use than the local language as a language in all forms for education. In this chapter, I have reviewed the theory relevant to understanding the importance of language and culture in learning as well as the need to encompass both formal and informal learning in Zanzibar and Nigeria where the choices are between globally powerful (dominant) and local languages (non-dominant). The theory of self-reliance stresses the importance of the curriculum being grounded in the local context and mediated through a local language. Such an approach emphasizes the importance of indigenous concepts, articulated in their natural environment. Education is more than schooling; therefore, rethinking in re-teaching is crucial. African languages need to be valued and preserved, and students need to be prepared for the world in a language of instruction, which promotes understanding.

The S/R model represents an opportunity to apply a well-tested science curriculum to the Zanzibari and Nigerian teaching of science that has the benefit of considerable empirical testing. Furthermore, the S/R program leads to improved literacy, scientific knowledge, and personal efficacy

for students and greater professional efficacy for teachers (see Cervetti et al. 2007; Pearson 2007). The adaptation of the S/R model to the local context through a tablet will give easy access and contribute to rights in education and to children's confidence in their community as well as their ability to understand and engage with the digital world on their own terms. We owe this to children in order to promote social justice locally and globally.

This renewed pedagogy would examine the whole inquiry cycle in different stages including the pedagogy of digital and critical literacy and how this could be planned for and utilized in teaching and learning. Collaboration could strengthen the teaching of STEAM subjects and allow teachers to engage learners in discussions that build on evidence collected through investigation. This process makes them more aware of what to look for in learners' responses and how to act upon these to promote conceptual understanding. This will contribute to human rights in education, improve teachers' and learner's confidence in their skills in STEM, and facilitate their ability to apply knowledge to projects in their community. Drawing language and cultural perspectives into educational models make teaching and learning in the classroom more accessible. I believe that collaborative projects which include Arts activities offer an original alternative to preparing new teachers for becoming professional practitioners and students to access and understand diversity in dominant and non-dominant languages. A model that embraces and builds on STEM and integrates visual Arts through technology and films or short videos—especially the connection between word knowledge and conceptual knowledge through Human Rights in everyday perceptions of scientific phenomena—is the way forward for STEM education.

Notes

1. Personal correspondence with Babaci-Wilhite on March 26, 2017.
2. I implemented that project while teaching "21st Century Literacies" in Winter and Spring 2017 at the University of California, Irvine in collaboration with Professor Mark Warschauer.
3. Extended to a collaborative project between the University of California, Berkeley, through a digital media in collaboration with Dr. Viet Vu, University of California, Irvine.
4. Sponsored by Peder Sathærn Foundation at the University of California, Berkeley (USA) in collaboration with the University of Tromsø and the Norwegian Center for Human Rights at the University of Oslo (Norway).
5. With Professors Jabari Mahiri, Kirsten Stien, Inga Bostad, as well as Dr. Lanette Jimerson, and Lisbeth Rønningsbakk.
6. Proposal to Peder Sathærn's Grant with gratefulness and thankfulness for the generous grant from 2016 to 2017 renewed until July 2018.
7. See link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Y9BiAJf8Gs&feature=youtu.be.

References

Afflerbach, P., P. D. Pearson, S. G. Paris. 2008. "Clarifying Differences Between Reading Skills and Reading Strategies." *Research Based Classroom Practice* 61 (5): 364–373.

Appadurai, A. 1990. "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Culture Economy." *Theory, Culture & Society* 7 (2): 295–310. https://doi.org/10.1177/026327 690007002017.

Arnove, R. F. 2003. "Introduction: Reframing Comparative Education: The Dialectic of the Global and the Local." In *Comparative Education: The Dialectic of the Global and the Local*, edited by Robert Arnove and Carlos Torres, 1–22. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Babaci-Wilhite, Z. 2014. *Local Language as a Human Right in Education: Comparative Cases from Africa*. Vol. 36. Comparative and International Education: A Diversity of Voices Series. Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers.

Babaci-Wilhite, Z. 2015. "Zanzibar's Curriculum Reform: Implications for Children's Educational Rights." Prospects, UNESCO's Quarterly Review of Comparative Education. Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11125-015-9341-6.

Babaci-Wilhite, Z., ed. 2016. *Human Rights in Language and STEM Education: Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Babaci-Wilhite, Z. 2017. "A Rights-Based Approach to Science Literacy Using Local Languages: Contextualizing Inquiry-Based Learning in Africa." *International Review of Education* 63: 381–401.

Babaci-Wilhite, Z., and M. A. Geo-JaJa. 2011. "A Critique and Rethink of Modern Education in Africa's Development in the 21st Century." Papers in Education and Development (PED). Nr.30. Journal of the School of Education, Tanzania, 133–154.

Babaci-Wilhite, Z., and M. A. Geo-JaJa. 2014. "Localization of Instruction as a Right in Education: Tanzania and Nigeria Language-in Education's Policies." In *Giving Space to African Voices: Right in Local Languages and Local Curriculum*, edited by Zehlia Babaci-Wilhite, 3–21. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Babaci-Wilhite, Z., M. A. Geo-JaJa, L. Shizhou. 2012. "Education and Language: A Human Right for Sustainable Development in Africa." *International Review of Education* 5: 619–647.

Barber, J. 2005. *The Seeds of Science/Roots of Reading Inquiry Framework*. http://scienceandliteracy.org/sites/scienceandliteracy.org/files/biblio/barber_inquirycycle_pdf_54088.pdf.

Bigozzi, L., Biggeri, A., and Boschi, F. 2002. "Children 'Scientists' Know the Reasons Why and they are 'Poets' too. Non-randomized Controlled Trial to Evaluate the Effectiveness of a Strategy Aimed at Improving the Learning of Scientific Concepts." *European Journal of Psychology of Education* XVII (4): 343–362.

Bostad, I. 2013. "Right to Education—For All? The Quest for a New Humanism in Globalization." *World Studies in Education* 14 (1): 7–16.

Bravo, M. A., Cervetti, G. N., Hiebert, E. H., and Pearson, D. P. 2008. "From Passive to Active Control of Science Vocabulary. In *The 56th Yearbook of the National Reading Conference*, 122–135. Chicago: National Reading Conference.

Brock-Utne, B. 2011. "Language and Inequality: Global Challenges to Education." BAICE Presidential Address at the 11th UKFIET International Conference, Oxford.

Brock-Utne, B. 2012. "Language Policy and Science: Could Some African Countries Learn from Asian Countries?" *International Review of Education*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11159-012-9308-2.

Brock-Utne, B. 2016. "English as the Language of Science and Technology." In *Human Rights, Language in STEM Education*, edited by Z. Babaci-Wilhite, 111–128. Rotterdam, NL: Sense Publishers-Springer.

Cervetti, G. N., P. D. Pearson, M. A. Bravo, and J. Barber. 2005. *Reading and Writing in the Service of Inquiry-Based Science*. Oakland, CA: Regents of the University of California.

Cervetti, G. N., P. D. Pearson, M. A. Bravo, and J. Barber. 2006. "Reading and Writing in the Service of Inquiry-Based Science." In *Linking Science and Literacy in the K–8 Classroom*, edited by R. Douglas, M. Klentschy, and K. Worth. Arlington, VA: National Science Teachers Association.

Cervetti, G. N., P. D. Pearson, J. Barber, E. H. Hiebert, and M. A. Bravo. 2007. *Integrating Literacy and Science: The Research We Have, the Research We Need*. In *Shaping Literacy Achievement*, edited by M. Pressley, A. K. Billman, K. Perry, K. Refitt, and J. Reynolds, 157–174. New York: Guilford.

Cervetti, G. N., J. Barber, R. Dorph, P. D. Pearson, and P. G. Goldschmidt. 2012. "The Impact of an Integrated Approach to Science and Literacy in Elementary School Classrooms." *Journal of Research in Science Teaching* 49 (5): 631–659.

Crossley, M., and K. Watson. 2003. *Comparative and International Research in Education—Globalisation, Context and Difference*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Freire, P. 1970, Reprinted in 1993. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. London: Penguin Books.

Geo-JaJa, M. A. 2013. "Education Localization for Optimizing Globalization's Opportunities." In *Economics, Aid and Education: Implications for Development*, edited by S. Majhanovich and M. A. Geo-JaJa. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Geo-JaJa, M. A., and X. Yang. 2003. "Rethinking Globalization in Africa." *Chimera* 1 (1): 19–28.

Goldenberg, C. 2008. "Teaching English Language Learners, What the Research Does-and Does Not-Say." *American Educator*.

Hamm, B. 2001. "A Human Rights Approach to Development." *Human Rights Quarterly* 23 (4): 1005. https://doi.org/10.1353/hrq.2001.0055.

Haug, B. S. 2014. "Inquiry-Based Science: Turning Teachable Moments into Learnable Moments." *Journal of Science Teacher Education* (25): 79–96. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10972-013-9375-7.

Ki-Zerbo, J. 1990. *Educate or Perish: Africa Impass and Prospects*. Dakar, Senegal: BREDA with WCARO (UNESCO-UNICEF, Western-Africa).

Mahiri, J. 2011. *Digital Tools in Urban Schools: Mediating a Remix of Learning*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Mchombo, S. 2016. "Language, Scientific Knowledge, and the 'Context of Learning' in African Education." In *Human Rights, Language in STEM Education*, edited by Z. Babaci-Wilhite, 129–150. Rotterdam, NL: Sense Publishers-Springer.

Nelson, P., and E. Dorsey. 2003. "At the Nexus of Human Rights and Development: New Methods and Strategies of Global NGOs." *World Development* 31 (12): 2013–2026. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2003.06.009.

Nussbaum, M. 1998. "Capabilities and Human Rights." *Fordham Law Review* 66 (2). http://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/flr66&div=18&g_sent=1&collection=journals.

Nyerere, J. K. 1967, Reprinted in 1968. "Education for Self-Reliance." In *Essays on Socialism*, 44–75. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: Oxford University Press.

Obuasi, I. 2012. "Nettlesome Challenges of Uniformation: A Survey of Anaku Public Schools." *Ikogho: A Multi-Disciplinary Journal* 10 (1–2): 52–72. Available at http://ikogho.com/Nettlesome%20Challenges%20of20Uniformation-Ikogho.

Odora, C. H., ed. 2002. "Stories of the Hunt—Who Is Writing Them?" In *Indigenous Knowledge and the Integration of Knowledge Systems: Towards a Philosophy of Articulation*, 237–257. Claremont, South Africa: New Africa Education.

Okonkwo, J. I. 2014. "Appropriate Language in Education: The Strategy for National Development in Nigeria." In *Giving Space to African Voices: Right in Local Languages and Local Curriculum*. Vol. 33, edited by Z. Babaci-Wilhite, 131–146. Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers.

Okonkwo, J. I., and I. Obuasi. 2014. "Onuoha: The Sociolinguistics of Centrality and Equal Validity in Igbo Language Setting." *Nsukka Journal of the Humanities* 22: 96–111. Available at http://nsukkajournalofthehumanities.com/articlepage.php?title=Nsukka%20Journal%20of%20the%20Humanities,%20Number%2022.

Pearson, P. D. 2007. "An Endangered Species Act for Literacy Education." *Journal of Literacy Research* 39 (2): 145–162.

Pearson, P. D., and E. H. Hiebert. 2013. "Understanding the Common Core State Standards." In *Teaching with the Common Core Standards for English Language Arts: What Educators Need to Know*, edited by L. Morrow, T. Shanahan, and K. K. Wixson, 1–21. New York, NY: Guilford.

Pearson, P. D., E. Moje, and C. Greenleaf. 2007. "Literacy and Science: Each in the Service of the Other." *Science* 328 (5977): 459–463.

Pew Research Center. 2012. "Internet & American Life Reading Habits Survey: The Rise of E-Reading." www.libraries.pewinternet.org.

Prah, K. K. 2005. "Language of Instruction for Education, Development and African Emancipation." In *Languages of Instruction for African Emancipation: Focus on Postcolonial Contexts and Considerations*, edited by Birgit Brock-Utne and Rodney Kofi Hopson, 23–87. Cape Town and Dar es Salaam: CASAS and Mkuki na Nyota.

Postman, N. 1979. *Teaching as a Conserving Activity*. New York: Delacorte.

Qorro, M. A. S. 2004. "Popularising Kiswahili as the Language of Instruction Through the Media in Tanzania." In *Researching the Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa (LOITASA)*, edited by Birgit Brock-Utne, Zubeida Desai, and Martha Qorro, 93–116. Zanzibar: African Minds.

Robeyns, I. 2006. "Three Models of Education Rights: Rights, Capabilities and Human Capital." *Theory and Research in Education* 4 (1): 69–84.

Samoff, J. 2007. "Institutionalizing International Influence." In *Comparative Education: The Dialectic of the Global and the Local*, edited by R. F. Arnove and C. A. Torres, 52–91. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Schultz, T. 1963. *The Economic Value of Education*. New York: Columbia University.

Semali, L., and M. Khanjan. 2012. "Science Education in Tanzania: Challenges and Policy Responses." *International Journal of Educational Research* 53: 225–239.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. 2000. *Linguistic Genocide in Education or Worldwide Diversity and Human Rights?* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Tomasevski, K. 2003. *Education Denied: Costs and Remedies.* London: Zed Books.

UNDP. 2006. *Human Development Report.* New York: United Nations.

United Nations. 1948. *The Universal Declaration on Human Rights.* Adopted by the General Assembly on 10 December 1948. Geneva: United Nations.

United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF). 2003. *The State of the World's Children 2004: Girls Education and Development.* New York: UNICEF.

Wolff, H. 2006. "Optimizing Learning and Education in Africa—The Language Factor. A Stock-Taking Research on Mother Tongue and Bilingual Education in Sub-Saharan Africa." Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA): UNESCO Institute for Education—Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit. ADEA 2006 Biennial Meeting, 26–55. Libreville, Gabon.

Wortham, S., and K. Jackson. 2012. "Relational Education: Applying Gergen's Work to Educational Research and Practice." *Psychological Studies* 57 (2): 164–171.

A Gendered Analysis of Indigenous Knowledge, Customary Law and Education in Africa: An Anti-colonial Project

Njoki Nathani Wane, Wambui Karanja
and Hermia Morton Anthony

African Indigenous knowledge as a theoretical framework is an approach that is anchored in a retrieval revitalization or restoration of the African senses of Indigeneity (Wane 2014). That is, people of African ancestry must reposition their Indigenous knowledge in order to appreciate the power of collective responsibility to tackle social issues. In this paper, we argue that Indigenous knowledge is a living, constant experience that is informed by the ancestral voices, past, present, and those to come. Situating this paper on Indigenous knowledge provides a starting point in critical elaboration in the consciousness of what one really is—a product of the historical process to date—which deposits in each, an infinity traces and does not leave an inventory (Wane 2005).

African Indigenous knowledge has been proven that it is based on cognitive understandings and interpretations of social, physical, and spiritual worlds, encompasses concepts, beliefs, and perceptions of local peoples and their natural human-built environments (Wane 2014; Capp 1997). Dei goes on to argue that its parameters are holistic, non-linear and reflect a qualitative

N. N. Wane (✉) · W. Karanja · H. M. Anthony
University of Toronto, Toronto, ON, Canada
e-mail: njoki.wane@utoronto.ca

and intuitive mode of thinking. While Wane states that, the framework does not rely on explicit hypotheses, theories, and laws. It is a way of knowing that is constantly renewed and tries to understand systems within a framework of wholeness rather than isolate interacting parts (Capp 1997). To put it concisely: Indigenous knowledge is Indigenous cultural synthesis (Wane 2005). Indigenous knowledge is primarily non-hierarchal, is collectively and communally owned, although individual elders may be assigned, with group consent, to preserve knowledge for the community. Various members share knowledge while specific elders from the community remain its custodians (Agrawal 1995). As a result, Indigenous communities find intellectual property agreements culturally and ethically alien. Indigenous technology is defined as a community-owned technology. There are no patent rights (Harding 1998). There is no intellectual property ownership for the exclusive benefit of an elite few. It is intended for all members of a community, including children.

We employ this framework as strategic tool to articulate different ways of analyzing African women's education and economic empowerment through Indigenous knowledge standpoint. As well, to challenge the institutional powers and imperialistic structures that have prevented many women of African ancestry from realizing the importance of dismantling the colonial patriarchal structures left behind by colonizers after the attainment of political independence. Also, to articulate the historical depth of Africanness as an ideology rooted in historical Indigenous knowledges of African peoples.

Engaging Indigenous African Knowledges and Customary Laws in Discourses on Postcolonial Education of Indigenous African Women: Historical Overview

Discourse on African women's education in colonial Africa, was introduced by missionaries and later, affirmed by colonial governments who used Western religion and Western education for conversion, economic exploitation, and assimilation of Indigenous Africans into the Western cultures, values, and practices (Owuor 2007). Colonial education and religion were informed by a Eurocentric worldview that was characterized by the superiority of European knowledges, languages, religions, and ways of life. The ideology of European ethno-superiority with embedded colonial structures informed the perception of Indigenous Africans as savages in need of civilizing to save them from their ignorance through Western-style forms of education that privileged Eurocentric knowledges and languages in schools over Indigenous African knowledges and languages (Wane 2014; Shihza 2005). The assimilative role of colonial education has also been well documented (Louie et al. 2017), a task that was achieved by discounting Indigenous African ways of knowing. Thus, Eurocentric values have continued to dominate the school systems in Africa, creating contradictions with traditional values, as the priorities of scientific methods, research, and development

dominate the knowledge construction and production processes that inform contemporary education practices in Africa (Owuor 2007).

What role did Eurocentricity as a discursive framework play in education? Eurocentricity as a discursive development paradigm worked/s to impose Eurocentric knowledge on colonized subjects (Sadar 1999). It almost succeeded in erasing Indigenous knowledges and replacing them with Western knowledges. Eurocentric ways of knowing established binaries of knowledges and people on the markers of white/black; superior/inferior; civilized/uncivilized; modern/primitive ascribed to the colonizer and the colonized (Wane 2006; Shihza 2005). This ideology informed colonial education and worked to erase Indigenous language, knowledges, cultures, and Indigenous people identity and humanity (wa Thiong'o 1985). Consequently, colonial education became a tool for invalidating Indigenous cultures, identities, and language and enforced these practices by forceful use of English as the language of instruction in schools (wa Thiong'o 1985).

It is within this colonial ideology that post-independent development and women empowerment programs were unleased on the Global South including Africa. The colonialism and racism embodied in development discourse are presumptive of a form of linear hierarchical progression from a less developed to a more developed advanced form and this analogy was applied to the discourse on Indigenous African women in postcolonial discourses.

The colonial conceptualization of Africa and African women as underdeveloped and needing to be developed is underpinned by Eurocentric colonizing logics of binaries of knowledge, culture, and identity reinforced by colonial education and the theory of European exceptionalism and superiority. The concept of "underdevelopment" within the colonial and postcolonial paradigm has been described by Walter Rodney (1974) as a social process, a violent colonial tool used as an element of subordination and dependence (Fanon 1967). It is within this language of colonial binaries of knowledge, knowledge production, and identities were constructed to inform the colonizer's engagement with the education of Africans and African women to inform postcolonial discourses on African women's development. It is within this paradigm that Indigenous knowledge and customary laws and practices and their nexus with postcolonial praxis of African women's identity construction were engaged through critical global UN development approaches and racial/ethnicity discourses (Subedi 2008).

Precolonial African Customary Law and Educational Praxis

Early research shows that the sources of law in most African countries are customary law and that before colonization, in a typical African country, the great majority of the people conducted and continue to conduct their personal activities in accordance with and subject to customary law. This was particularly true on issues of personal law in matters such as marriage,

inheritance, governance, divorce, and inheritance. Customary law sources included the practices and customs of the people, giving them their sense of identity and culture. Customary norms entrenched community cohesion and sense of being and way of life (Ndulo 2011). Cultural knowledges come to be because of many centuries of interactions within particular physical milieu, inter- and intra-ethnic contacts, and relations with the supernatural world (Batibo 2001). The term "African customary law," however, should not be taken as meaning that a single uniform set of customs prevailed in any given country but as a blanket description of various community/ethnic legal systems that operated within a given geographical areas occupied by a single ethnic group.

Learning within African customary law did not operate within the narrow definitions and confines of Western education. It took place within social interactions between people with knowledge being passed down through different mediums such as oral storytelling, experientially, through fables, dreams, spiritually, and through cultural and artistic expressions and beliefs. This knowledge impacted Indigenous African peoples' choices, preferences, and knowledge constructions in relation to their local ecologies (Maag 1997; Wane 2003). It is crucial to problematize the word "Education" in the formal Western sense as a colonial construct that did not exist in Indigenous African epistemology. It has been argued that the application of Western concepts and meanings of words to other knowledge forms assumes an element of imperializing universalism based on a hierarchical paternalistic ideal of European ethno-superiority which fails to acknowledge other knowledge forms (Karanja 1991). Modern Western science with its colonial logics of binaries of woman/man, nature/culture/modern/traditional, etc., contributes to the exclusion of Indigenous knowledge in education institutions (Boff 1995; Njiro 1999) a practice that has been considered risky and shortsighted for development practitioners (Wane and Chandler 2002). The principles of obligation and responsibility under African land tenure had guaranteed women's access to land and control over certain food crops. Land reform reversed this order and introduced male domination in income-generating agriculture. The effect of this on women's economic status was to move them from a position of self-sufficiency to one of relative dependency resulting in the loss of their socioeconomic power (Njiro 1999).

Postcolonialism, African Women's Development and Empowerment Discourses

Postcolonial economic development discourses in African and other colonial destinations were engaged in the continued colonial invalidation of Indigenous knowledges and women's rights discourses that sought to liberate women from these destinations from the backwardness and primitiveness of their Indigenous knowledges and cultures. Indigenous African cultures

were considered to be oppressive to and discriminated against women in their rights to own or access land, cultural practices such as the payment of bride price, female circumcision, or female genital mutilation in Eurocentric language, childbirth in the number of children they bore and division of labor both in the public and domestic sphere (Knowles 1991; McGlynn 1991). The overriding thought was that African women were disempowered and discriminated on because customary laws did not allow women to inherit land and so they could not participate in the new postcolonial money economy because they could not access loans without ownership of land as collateral (Himonga 1989). It was argued that customary laws treated women as second-class citizens and were incompatible with international human rights laws and conventions (Allott 1970). In colonial thought, women's rights to land in a wide range of African agricultural systems were said to be anything but secure (Knowles 1991).

The focus on women's empowerment through land ownership theories was a product of the United Nations' Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, Article 14 (Section 2 g) that urged that women be given the right to have access to agricultural credit and loans, marketing facilities, appropriate technology, and equal treatment in land and agrarian reform as well as in land resettlement schemes. Development practitioners came to African countries with agitative theories that told African women they were victims of discrimination by their male relatives and husbands because they did not have the right to own land, that they were second-class citizens and that their customary laws treated them as unequal to men (Karanja 1991). Colonial systems thus found women disadvantaged as to land access and exploited for their productive and reproductive labor, a combination of circumstances which was a convenient "fit" with the then prevailing Western notions of the appropriate roles of women and men (Ndulo 2011).

One thread which links the precolonial, the colonial, and the post-independence experiences is the consistent denial to women of the rights to independent access to land and to control of the resources produced by the combination of land and labor. A salient characteristic of women's access to land Africa is that access to land was derived from someone else rather than existing independently and directly and only accrued through the status women held in the family. That is, rights to land only accrue to women through their status within a family, a status that was mutable and therefore precarious (Butegwa 1991).

The discourse on the disempowerment of African women through customary law made little effort to engage or to explore the strong structural positions that women held under customary law or their customary rights of access to land in cases of divorce or unmarried status. As well, proponents of women's empowerment and development were silent in their failure to interrogate the colonial land reform policies that acquiesced in and remained silent

when customary landholding practices of vesting landholding in men was further reinforced by the registration of titles to male relatives and to married men to the exclusion of their wives. Knowles (1991) in underscoring the role of land in African women's empowerment and development had quoted an African woman as saying, "without land, we are nothing." Interpretative authority of Eurocentric discourses would situate African women as being impoverished by lack of land ownership rights but from a customary landholding regime where land was the source of livelihood for everyone, it could also be true that anybody who did not have land would express such sentiments. Colonial development discourses were based on the notion that African women's empowerment could only be achieved if they owned land and it was registered in their names.

It was argued that access to titles to land would give women an asset they could use as collateral for bank loans and that such access to loans would lift them off their "poverty" and eliminate the discrimination they suffered under customary landholding practices. Financial literacy training required to manage the bank loans was not part of women's colonial education and nor were they educated on the risks of borrowing and the potential for loss of their lands if they were unable to repay the loans. Furthermore, the fallacy of thinking that farming without a guaranteed market and returns for their farm produce would be sufficient to repay the loans was not part of their education. It can be argued that titling and land ownership for the majority of rural women who relied on land for subsistence would expose them to bigger risks of loss of ownership and usufructuary rights if the banks foreclosed on the lands than loss of usufructuary rights under customary law.

This theory provided the backdrop to the myriad development discourses and the unleashing of development practitioners to African to "empower" and "educate" African women on their land rights. It also informed the land reform policies of the 1960s in many countries in Africa such as Kenya that saw land demarcation, consolidation, and registration programs that titling initiatives introduced individual as opposed to customary communal ownership of land and vested titles to land in individuals who would then use the title to land as collateral for loans. Subsequent critical interrogation of these practices has shown that the hidden objectives of these land reform policies were for the commercialization and alienation of land for commercial capital accumulation through the solidification and legalization of land ownership by the colonizers and had little to do with empowerment and development of African women, two contested discursive categories that were germane to postcolonial discourses women in "developing countries." These development and empowerment theories depicted African women as powerless, lacking in agency, exploited, and victimized by their own cultures, in theories that were buttressed by Western women essentialist research findings and "come to save" development agents as well as feminist ideologies that denied the agency of African women not unlike contemporary international aid organizations (Sium 2012) that are to be found in every African country today.

The Limits of Colonial and Postcolonial Development and Empowerment Discourses and Ideologies

Although various definitions of the term empowerment exist in the context of postcolonial theories, anti-development theorists have offered many definitions including "the process of challenging existing power relations and of gaining greater control over the sources of power; desires for social change"; as Eurocentrism's new form of imperialism and also as merely a new way for the Global North to control the Global South (McEwan 2001). The UN Guidelines have defined empowerment as involving a sense of self-worth; the right to have and to determine choices; the right to have access to opportunities and resources; their right to have the power to control their own lives, both within and outside the home, and their ability to influence the direction of social change to create a more just social and economic order, nationally and internationally (UN 2017). However, the term was first used by Freire in 1968 who saw empowerment as a state of reaching a form of critical consciousness for people to become aware of their position in society (Freire 1970). Women's empowerment was linked to gender equality as pathways to boosting economic growth that would result in poverty reduction in developing countries. Through empowerment, the UN considered itself the global savior and champion of women and girls in colonial destinations, a concept that was further buttressed by the establishment of The Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) a part of Agenda 2030 with its focus on gender equality with the end of the MDG UN initiative in 2015 (Engvall 2017).

The coloniality of empowerment and development approaches has been argued by researchers and theorists who have exposed the colonizing role of development in its logics and praxis. The colonial domination of the mind (wa Thiong'o 1986), the power of definition in language, the naturalization of English as the only language of communication in development, and the engagement of divisive colonial binaries of white/black; civilized/uncivilized traditional; superior/inferior were integral to development and empowerment discourses and served to alienate African women from their strong culturally situated structural positions in society. In these theories, women's empowerment became an issue of economic empowerment with little regard to the agency, self-worth, and identities of women.

One challenge that is associated with the empowerment and development discourse is that while women were encouraged to participate in the money economy through access to educational opportunities and credit there was no concomitant requirement for men to take up some of the roles that women performed in the domestic sphere and the division of labor in general. Empowered women who took up breadwinning roles continued to do housework and performed double roles in the household and ended up being further exploited by assuming roles outside of the domestic sphere while still required to perform their domestic responsibilities without a reciprocal requirement for men to assume domestic responsibilities. This

was shortsighted imposition of Western family social relationship values on African families and a deceptive assumption that Western women and men shared domestic responsibilities equally.

Postcolonial African women's empowerment discourses were focused on land ownership, a focus that failed to acknowledge that in a worldview where land could not be owned in the Western sense of "ownership" and where a money economy did not exist, the rights of user were paramount and Indigenous women controlled these rights. Furthermore, development discourse failed to challenge customary laws of inheritance and divorce which were more precarious to women's land rights than "ownership," a concept that was nonexistent and therefore inconsistent with Indigenous landholding regimes. Furthermore, it has been argued that land reform, instead of empowering women through economic development, instead denied women rights access to land use that had been guaranteed under African land tenure by introducing economic male-controlled agricultural activities such as cash-crop farming which adversely affected women's food security and self-sufficiency (Ndulo 2011). As more farmland was reserved for non-food-stuff cash-crop farming, women's social security rooted their abilities to feed their families was threatened as less and less land was available for growing food crops for the family (Karanja 1991).

The land titling regime and the theory of its primacy in African women's empowerment and economic development proved to be a failed experiment by arguing that improving women's access to land without addressing broader gender inequalities has had only limited utility in improving their women's overall status and further that acquiring title to land does not in and of itself guarantee security of tenure (Pankhurst and Jacobs 1988). Furthermore, it has been argued that although women's land rights under customary law were insecure, it is imperative to interrogate the political economy of insecurity of land rights and interpret it through a colonial lens. The privileging of titled land rights against usufructuary access rights introduced Eurocentric binaries of better Western secure rights against precarious, customary inferior land rights, served to introduce a Eurocentric way of relating with the land that worked to disturb the social relations of production and the security of access that women enjoyed under customary law. The advent of European colonialism and land reform programs diminished and eroded the security of access and user rights women enjoyed, a situation that was entrenched by the passing of land reform pieces of legislation that did not acknowledge those rights and eventually extinguished that security that women enjoyed.

The coloniality and failure of the application of Western empowerment and development approaches on Indigenous African women have been evident for a long time despite the postcolonial continuation of land titling

programs and the onslaught of Western education. Eurocentric hegemonic ideologies of assuming homogeneity of all women in the Global South and all African women and their hierarchical grouping as "third world" women portrayed them as victimized and helpless and in need of Western development (Mohanty 1984). This view was premised on the assumption that all women in the Global South had no agency, had similar desires, needs, and aspirations and that they all needed development and empowerment to improve their economic conditions (Kabeer 2005). This denied women the power of choice of whether they preferred participating in commercial economic activities outside of the home or chose to stay in their culturally mediated structural positions. The denial of women's voice and power of choice that characterized empowerment discourses was orchestrated through the infantilizing arrogance of colonizers and their agents allocating themselves the authority to determine what women from the Global South needed and how they would acquire it (Sharp et al. 2003).

It has been theorized that the application of development and empowerment discourses and their gendering attributes were limited to the Global South, a colonial "othering" ideology that worked to sanitize women from the Global North from the negative impacts of gender inequality and created a fallacious purified notion that Western women enjoyed full gender equality and that they were all economically empowered. Such gendered empowerment discourses did not only marginalize but also denied the identities of African women and other women from the Global South who had previously no notion of "precarity" of their positions as women before colonization.

In view of the foregoing, we would argue that the history of colonialism and postcolonial development and empowerment discourses offered only a Eurocentric way of engaging with development measured not by African customary law values of communalism, reciprocity, and equity but by the degree to which the values of capitalism and economic progress was aspired to and achieved, with capitalism and economic growth applied without interrogation of their relevance to African ways of living and in particular, African women's social and structural positions.

Engaging African Indigenous Knowledges and Customary Laws in the Education of Indigenous African Women: A Decolonizing Praxis

In the previous section, we highlighted the political economy of Western development and empowerment discourses, their shortcomings in achieving Western defined gender equality for African women and how they served to undermine Indigenous African women's positions under customary law (Chu 2011). In this section, the extent to which Indigenous African

knowledges and customary laws can be engaged in informing women's education in Africa is explored.

A discussion on the role of Indigenous Africa knowledges and customary laws in informing women's education in Africa calls for an articulation of the different ways in which education is conceptualized within and between Western and Indigenous African epistemologies. Western education in the context of colonialism has been theorized as a colonial tool that served to colonize the minds of the colonized (wa Thiong'o 1986). In Eurocentric thought, colonial education is hegemonic, privileges Western knowledge over all other knowledges through epistemic binaries of knowledge production and validation that places Eurocentric knowledge at the top of all other knowledges as the only valid knowledge form to which all other knowledges are subservient and should defer to.

The legacy of colonialism with its Eurocentric foundations dictates how knowledge is constructed and validated in the development of education in former colonial destinations. As well, has not only dominates but is also in contradiction with Indigenous African knowledge systems and ways of knowing based on colonial ideology of Eurocentric ethno-superiority that assumes that Indigenous knowledge is unsuitable for managing the lives and well-being of colonized people (Abdi 2006). Western knowledge hegemony perceives itself as dominant and maintains its power and privileges by what Dei has called the "promotion of the cultural capital" of dominant Western knowledge through Western education (Dei et al. 2002) through incantations, recitations, and deposits of facts that had no relevance in peoples lived experiences (Freire 1970). While the goal of colonial education was to colonize the minds, identities, and cultures of the colonized, Indigenous African education was informed by the Afrocentric worldview in which education was in the words of Jomo Kenyatta, "as a tool for maintaining the traditional structures of family, kinship, gender, and age groupings as another way of ensuring the stability of African ethnic communities" (Kenyatta 1965). Kenyatta went on to urge educationists to promote progress and preserve all that is best in the traditions of the African people and assist them in creating a new culture, rooted in the soil, yet modified to meet the needs of modern conditions. Although Kenyatta was speaking to the Gikuyu tribe of Kenya, his views of Indigenous African education were congruent with the African worldview. In this way, he was advocating for Indigenous education rooted in African traditions with a goal to meet the social cohesion and well-being of the community.

The role of Indigenous African knowledge and customary laws in education has started to gain prominence due to the failure of Western education in informing women's education in Africa and Indigenous knowledges have re-emerged as desired options for informing meaningful education for Indigenous Africans. This is premised on the belief that if education must be conceptualized within the Indigenous African worldview, to serve the wider

needs of the community and not be about advancing the neocolonial project with its neoliberal ideologies. To this end, terms postcolonial empowerment and development approaches are being revisited with a view to redefining them from a more historical standpoint that incorporates the social norms and self-worth of women instead of their colonial focus on economic growth and individuality. This view is buttressed by emerging consensus among African scholars and decolonizing theorists who have started to advocate for local solutions to local problems which must include the role of Indigenous knowledge and practices in the empowerment and development approaches as well as in informing an alternative approach to school curricula in Sub Saharan Africa (Dei and Kempf 2002).

As well, the west has started to acknowledge what Indigenous African people have always known that Indigenous peoples are the best suited to identify solutions to their own self-identified issues and that those needs are culturally defined and intended to ensure the survival of Indigenous peoples (Mundibe 1988). Indigenous education should empower Indigenous African people to develop the capacity to define themselves, their perceptions of development based on their diverse cultures and contexts (Shiva 2002; UNESCO 2006). The shift toward Indigenous knowledge was acknowledged by the UN and scholars as early as the 1970s, a significant date considering most African countries had only recently gained independence from colonial rule (Dei 2012).

A shift toward Indigenous African education informed by the African worldview and customary laws calls for a critical interrogation of where power is located in Eurocentric discourses, knowledges, languages, and thought. It insists on the centrality of Indigenous African ways of knowing, knowledges, and languages in knowledge production and validation. By drawing from an African worldview, Indigenous education places knowledge within the context Indigenous African people's perspectives to ensure relevance and practicality in addressing local community needs (Wane and Chandler 2002; Dei and Kempf 2002). Locating Indigenous knowledges as the center of education engages learning from a point of what is known to what is unknown and makes education more accessible and relevant to the social, economic, and political needs of women and their communities (Ibanga 2016). The primary goal of engaging Indigenous knowledges in education has been argued by scholars has been to call for locally defined models of education that speak to peoples' realities and lived experiences. This, it is argued, would enable communities to build on their social and cultural capital as a process of asserting control over their own paradigm of development (Dei and Kempf 2002; Mwenda 2003). It also challenges the hegemony of Western knowledge in educational settings by giving authenticity and legitimacy to Indigenous knowledges.

Centering African Indigenous knowledges as counter and oppositional to Western knowledges in education is a decolonizing project that contests

Eurocentric colonial power, dominance, and privilege in how these dominating forces are reproduced (Dei 2012; Shahjahan 2009). Eurocentric discourse in its critique of Indigenous knowledges in schools has argued that such practices risk becoming hegemonic to the exclusion of other knowledge forms. It is, however, critical to note that the challenge of hegemony of Indigenous African knowledges is invoked only when they are centered or seek equal validation as Eurocentric knowledges. Why should centering Indigenous knowledges in discourses engaging Indigenous populations be contested? Scholars have argued for engaging multicentric and diverse ways of knowledge production and knowledges where the epistemological foundations of each knowledge form are validated and valued a legitimate knowledge for informing educational curricula (Owuor 2007). Multicentric knowledges ways of knowing and knowledge production include Indigenous knowledges and incorporate cultural heritages, Indigenous languages, and values that inform the transmission of knowledge (UNESCO 2006). Engaging multicentric ways of knowing and knowledge production allows for epistemic equity and the co-existence of knowledges in education. To this extent, Indigenous women as learners are empowered by their positioning as "knowing subjects" in knowledge construction as they engage knowledges from their lived cultural experiences. Epistemic equity allows for Indigenous women to move from their subordinated positions and redefine what empowerment and development mean in their own language and terms. They operate at the center of their environments as Eurocentric marginalities are dismissed or relegated to the periphery. Centering Indigenous knowledges in education require women to challenge institutional colonial power, authority, and prestige that is embodied in formal educational institutions. It requires re-visioning learning as including not just formal Eurocentric education but also Indigenous ways of knowing and knowledge transmission through African-centered epistemologies (Semali 1999).

Through the engagement of Indigenous African knowledges and customary laws, African women can reclaim agency and exercise the power of choice; the power to choose and make their rules of engagement with other women and particularly with women from the Global North. This is what true empowerment and development should be about.

Challenges to Integration

In this chapter, we sought to interrogate postcolonial theories on African women's empowerment and development and their colonizing influences on women's customary law positions in society. The chapter also engaged customary laws and Indigenous knowledges and how they inform education as a strategy for decolonizing empowerment and development discourses with a view to redefining these terms through an Indigenous knowledge and customary law framework. In this analysis, customary laws are conceptualized as

cultural knowledges informed by Indigenous African knowledges and to this extent, customary laws are part of the people's Indigenous knowledges. In the paper, the terms Indigenous women and African women are used interchangeably and are construed to have the same meaning. The paper acknowledges that African women's customary laws are unique to each community and no homogeneity of customary laws in Africa is intended. Furthermore, it is acknowledged that in contemporary Africa, there are communities that are Indigenous from the standpoint of other African people. The Masai of Kenya, the Dogon of Mali, and the Himba of Namibia are examples of tribes whose cultures have withstood the onslaught of colonial modernization practices. It is not intended in this paper to homogenize the cultures of Indigenous peoples of African who have withstood and continued to resist colonial incursions into their cultures with other cultures that have been heavily colonized through Western education and other colonizing practices and perhaps, there are lessons to be learned on how these cultures have managed to resist for so long even as others around them appear to have succumbed to colonial cultural degradation.

The decolonization of the education of Indigenous African women through the engagement of postcolonial economic development paradigms of empowerment and development is not without challenges. The legacy of colonialism and its impact on the minds of the colonized in Africa, not to mention continuing colonial education and prevailing neoliberal policies, continue to pose a huge risk for the decolonization approaches. Western education is elitist and domineering and the spoils and privileges that come with it are luring and attractive to colonized minds and stand in the way of engaging Indigenous knowledges in women's education in Africa (Mwenda 2003; wa Thiong'o 1986; Shihza 2005).

Engaging Indigenous African knowledges and customary laws is also challenged by the privileging of Western education in Africa and development is still understood through neoliberal modernization discourses. Critics of the role of Indigenous knowledges in education argue that Indigenous knowledges and cultures are static and frozen in time and are not capable of delivering development, empowerment, and modernization. This argument has been refuted by scholars like Wane et al. and Dei who have argued that Indigenous knowledges are dynamic and not fixed categories of experiences and social practices (Wane and Chandler 2002; Dei et al. 2002). As well, this critique calls for deconstructed and reconstituted meanings of development, empowerment, and modernization that are informed by an Indigenous African knowledge framework in a process that engages the multiplicity of knowledge construction and definition approaches. What would be the intended goals of an African centered development, empowerment, and modernization paradigm?

The onslaught of colonial education on the minds, bodies, and psyches of the colonized including Indigenous African women cannot be overstated.

Decolonization requires breaking away from colonial and postcolonial paradigms that disembody the bodies from the mental and spiritual realms of existence and subsequent loss of identity and cultural embeddedness (Dei 2012). Let's now turn our gaze to St. Kitts; a country whose inhabitants are people of African ancestry. African peoples who were brutally uprooted from the continent of African by Europeans, yet, a close examination of St. Kitts reveal the African ways of knowing was passed on from generation to generation despite the brutality of slavery, colonization, and racism.

AFRICA IN THE CARIBBEAN

St. Kitts like Kenya was colonized by the British and its education system remains colonial in orientation. The Negro Education Fund 1935 was a series of grants distributed to Eurocentric religious organizations with the mission to instill in Africans, "Christian morals" and the rudimentary skills of "the three R's Reading, Riting and Rithmetic" in an effort to guide their transitioning to legal emancipation. One hundred and forty years later, the St. Kitts and Nevis Education Act, 1975, and its revision in 2005 were based on the British education. African Indigenous knowledge which has had a longer presence on the island has remained a consistent source of learning throughout the centuries during which Africans were enslaved on the island and continues as an organic, parallel, learning stream. Paget Henry (2000) and Lewis Gordon (2008) assert that African Indigenous knowledge transfers a unique notion of time, distributes values and concerns with predestination which are embedded with lessons for the liberation of the self from dehumanization.

Africans knowledge informed the strategies utilized by enslaved women in nineteenth-century St. Kitts to suspend reproduction for one year following the Passage of Act to end the Slave Trade in return for improved conditions of work (Ford-Smith 1995). While twentieth-century feminists in the Global North presented abortion with the use of wire hangers became important in reproductive right discussions, Black women in St. Kitts had intergenerational knowledge on appropriate herbs with minimal side effects to control fertility. Family planning education had minimal effect on African women, even when it was coupled with free birth-control devices and medication, until more women gained access to public service employment. Practices in government service that militated against motherhood denied qualified African women access to positions as educators in schools up to the 1980s. These practices ironically maximized the role of women as heads of matrilocal households and culture bearers to preserve and transmit Indigenous knowledges to family members. Although the use of the herbs appears to have diminished, with the increasing access that women have to public service employment, my personal experience indicates that many young women rely on compliant and confidential elders to provide utilitarian knowledge on issues of reproduction.

The circumstances of forced migration of African populations to St. Kitts, who by colonial law were considered chattel, have had a lasting impact on the exclusion of African customary practices to inform colonial customary law. The success of colonization and the enslavement of Africans who were extracted from the continent lies in convincing the world that Africans are totally disconnected from their center, Africa, which in a Eurocentric worldview is a physical space. For the colonial enterprise constructed Africans population as suffering from a series of lacks and deficits, a vacuum that Eurocentric education would fill. Some colonized scholars have challenged the possibility of African Indigenous knowledge did not survive the brutality of enslavement or the ongoing and colonialism in the Caribbean. They have discounted the possibility any African Indigenous ways of knowing did survive. Precolonial history and continuity as conjecture and revisionist, and dismiss claims of continuity as romanticizing a lost past.

Historical demographic data and census statistics have indicated that African females persistently comprise more than 49% of the population and predominate as household heads in St. Kitts (Vassell 2014). Although Morton-Anthony (2018) argued that gender relations took precedence over gender roles, her work reinforced the findings of (Brown 2005; Mucina 2011; Onuora 2015; Wane and Chandler 2002) that women in particular are held as custodians of Indigenous knowledges, with the responsibility to transmit the information to a younger generation. This knowledge was passed on to the next generation orally through stories, riddles, proverbs, and folklore (Kenyatta 1965) and is increasingly being adopted in a variety of modes to ensure its preservation and transferability through technology and language translation. Indigenous knowledge exists as a cosmology of beliefs and practices that are adapted globally by generations of Africans who consider Africa an existential, physical, and therapeutic space. Despite centuries of separation from the physical homeland the subjectivity and agency of Africans filter through the adversities miseducation and mental enslavement deployed by the education system.

Claiming Indigeneity in the African Global Space

We enter the discourse on indigeneity from a Pan African perspective that centers the existence of African populations globally in the minds, hearts, and consciousness of those who recognize the African continent as their cradle of humanity (Clarke 2012). Claiming African indigeneity regardless of one's physical location asserts a decolonizing politics and ontology. It subscribes to Nkrumah's declaration at the All African People Conference 1958, held in Accra, "I am not African because I was born in Africa but because Africa was born in me," which suggests cosmological connections and cultural continuity between persons whose ancestry can be traced to continental Africa. These underpinnings should not be interpreted a priori within the Eurocentric essentialist logic, for there is no single uniform set of experiences that

individuals and collectivities encounter across the globe, rather it provides an axiological grounding for African populations that colonialism, extraction, enslavement, imperialism, racism, and forced migration have not achieved a complete cosmo-cultural genocide.

The colonized space identified as The Americas (New World) has the highest concentration of Africans outside the continent of Africa. Academic scholarship deliberating indigeneity in the Caribbean, a sub-region within the Americas, demonstrates that the issues have become increasingly contentious, in tandem with the proliferation of interest in Indigenous studies. The context and complexity of claiming indigeneity to a physical location as Tuck and Yang articulate it with regard to settler relations are instructive:

> This is perplexing to some that dispossessed people are brought onto seized Indigenous land through other colonial projects. Other colonial projects include enslavement … military recruitment, low-wage and high-wage labor recruitment (such as agricultural workers and overseas-trained engineers), and displacement/migration (such as the coerced immigration from nations torn by U.S. wars or devastated by U.S. economic policy). In this set of …colonial relations, colonial subjects who are displaced by external colonialism… occupy and settle stolen Indigenous land. Settlers are diverse, not just of white European descent…and include people… from other colonial contexts. This tightly wound set of conditions and racialized, globalized relations exponentially complicates what is meant by decolonization, and by solidarity, against settler colonial forces. (Tuck and Yang 2012)

Liamigua, renamed St. Kitts by Europeans, is located in the colonized Caribbean. The island was occupied by Kalingos until the early 1600s when in a murderous spree of overkill, a joint contingent of Western European forces slaughtered the Indigenous population which had survived the diseases spread through European contact (Hubbard 2002). What ensued was the justification of the extermination of a population through colonial knowledge which has been replicated in school curricula that describe the Indigenous population as "fierce and warlike Caribs." European capitalists then repopulated the island through forced migration, the dehumanization and the enslavement of Africans initially to exploit the land for agricultural products needed in Europe and for Britain's use as a pawn in land exchanges that were a common feature of European war treaties.

Most Africans in St. Kitts were alienated from the land because it was inaccessible as property, but there was also the unsettling issue of unappeased spirits of the Indigenous people occupying the land. The psychological and physical alienation that Africans experienced toward Kittitian soil (Inniss 1985) was addressed in the late twentieth century when a Black nationalist government seized all lands in large-scale sugar production from private ownership. In 2000, visiting Tainos and Kalingos conducted an appeasement ceremony, that is often referred to as land reconciliation ceremony and which

can be attributed to the increase in land ownership beginning in the early twenty-first century. The Indigenous knowledge about the Tainos is often marginalized within the discussion of Indigenous peoples in the Caribbean.

Scholars, for example, Braithwaite (1984), Glissant (1989), and Lewis (2004), three of the most influential writers whose discourses construct the Caribbean as Indigenous to Africans living in the region (Nair 2000; Paul 2009); and in doing so have incurred the risk of perpetuating colonial knowledge and of denying the counterclaims by Tainos who insist that they be recognized as the Indigenous caretakers of Caribbean lands (Benn Torres 2014; Forte 2006; Seale-Collazo 2017). The academic quarrel is in stark contrast to the solidarity between African and Taino anti-slavery revolutionaries who restored the Taino name Ayiti (Hati) to the section of an island that they reclaimed from European control in the early nineteenth century (Gordon 2008). The Caribbean as imagined is a colonial construct of a diverse, yet blended creole culture that marginalizes African indigeneity, obfuscates the indigeneity of the original populations to the land, and asserts European dominance.

Mehta's summary of the individual and collective considerations of creolization confirms the Eurocentric worldview that permeates the concept when applied to the Caribbean She misrepresents as variations, processes of creolization in Anglophone, Francophone, Dutch, and Lusophone Caribbean locations. Mehta (2004) further stated in which "white francophone creoleness focuses predominantly on questions of language and identity construction as a result of the normative influence of French, while Anglophone creolisations refer more specifically to cultural and behavioural practices" (121).

The most prolific producers of Caribbean feminist discourses, for example, Barriteau (2006), Benn Torres (2014), Blank (2013), Bolles (2015), and Reddock (2007) have been silent on or uncommitted (Mohammed 1998) to disrupting the normativity assigned to creolization and its Eurocentric colonial discursive with implicit patriarchal designations. This can either be attributed to the Eurocentric mission, developmental model that constrains, Indigenous thought, limits its dissemination widely in capital markets, or that the intellectuals have not progressed to the final stages of Fanon's intellectual development which Al-Abbood identifies as: a moment of total identification with the colonizers, an ambivalent stage of nativist resistance and a moment of total freedom (Al-Abbood 2012).

Education that can be defined as colonized teaching and learning systems is fraught with colonial representations of learning—the structures and systems, pedagogies, and curricula. Africans who succeed in the education system also have internalized Indigenous knowledge. Their learning combines the repression of, and the agency and subjectivity of the African self. Intellectuals' expression of the latter incurs great sacrifice and personal risk (Andaiye 2010; Scott 2004). The contestation between intellectuals involved in anti-colonial activities in the last half of the twentieth century demonstrates

the tensions of colonized and Indigenous learning. While the Black nationalists demanded flag independence from Britain, Black Power and Pan African activists who advocated for liberation from colonial powers in the region were murdered, deported to their islands of birth, banned from inter-island travel, and kept job insecure. Notable Pan Africanists who emigrated from the region, Aime Cesaire, Franz Fanon, C. L. R. James, George Padmore, and Walter Rodney produced classical writings that have become staples in African Studies. The anti-colonial intellectual advocacy was masked with incursions of patriarchal colonialism and its masculinist biases that fall short of the humanizing intent, in optics and substance.

African intellectuals have sought to explain the African condition is themselves products of the conflicting learning processes. Their expressions in text relayed through the oppressors' language are evidence that they have been seeped in the colonial education system. Every student, parent, and educator today has been marinated in Eurocentric colonial thought and ideologies that continue to create multiple forms of domination and oppression. The outcome is a psychopathological alienation of the colonized from her center of being which is best illustrated in Fanon's explanation of "cognitive dissonance" (Fanon 1952), DuBois' "double consciousness" (Du Bois 1903) and Henry's "Caliban's reason" (Henry 2000) accounts for the struggle that rages between hybridized identities and psychopathologies of colonized Africans. Mazama's theorizing of "cognitive hiatus" describes an acute case of self-denial by Africans "on the mental level such that our contractions are not even a source of disorientation and we, therefore do not seek to resolve them" (Mazama 2018).

Scholars are currently concerned with the application of Indigenous knowledges to decolonize academia. Intellectuals must avoid the risk of being entrapped by a reconstituted colonial ploy to delay and derail liberation. African scholars (Ilmi 2019) using experiential knowledge and through research have determined that all genders are critical in transmitting Indigenous knowledges. Wane outlined a number of principles that are foundational to African Indigenous knowledge wherever it is delivered, namely: preparationism, functionalism, communalism, perennialism, holisticism, social politics, and apprenticeship. The principles are developed throughout the lifecycle (Wane 2019).

Conclusion and Recommendations

In engaging an African Indigenous knowledge as an anti-colonial and decolonizing re-framing of development and empowerment discourses, Doyle-Wood reminds us that we must advance our own discourses that are oppositional to the linear evolutionary and racist definitional foundations of

Eurocentric languages and definitions and reject their colonial foundations (Doyle-Wood 2017). To formulate our own discourses, Asante (2009) invites us to engage an Afrocentric framework based on an ontological and epistemological understanding grounded in African Indigenous worldview that centers our African subjectivities.

As well, women of African ancestry must guard against internalized complicities and implications that engage them in colonizing development and empowerment discourses that masquerade as universal and global sisterhoods and feminisms but which on closer scrutiny, are alien to their Indigenous African ways of being. One approach is to engage what Fanon (1952) has called "revolutionary humanism" a humanism that works from the space of difference, refuses to engage in its own amputation, and rejects dominant deficit imbued conceptualizations of the self as "underdeveloped."

The current global knowledge commodification, commercialization, and internationalization promote competition, hegemony, and epistemic imperialism. With colonial forces still at work through binding and non-binding international legal instruments, Eurocentric knowledges will continue to dominate other knowledges in the age of knowledge imperialism and whatever Indigenous knowledges are left in the hands of Indigenous people will be available for sale in the global marketplace. Women of African ancestry must reject and resist by engaging Indigenous knowledges and customary laws as critical inquiry of Eurocentric alternative knowledges have proven to be fallacious mirages of empowerment and development.

What has become very clear is that Indigenous populations everywhere must remain vigilant of the invasive practices that create discord within and between our various groups as we defend and advance our ways of life that have been under attack for more than 500 years. Regardless of the proximity between colonizers and Indigenous peoples, and the particularities of how colonization impacts us, their methodologies to dehumanize us, eliminate us and divide us, are incidental to the theft of land.

We undertook to speak about indigeneity, a contentious subject among African diaspora scholars. It has direct bearing on how Indigenous knowledge is conceptualized and is therefore a point from which Africans can heal from the bodily and spirit injury as a consequence of being physically separated from homeland and our existential center. However, of what we have shown in this paper, the impact on women from the continent is almost similar to that of women from St. Kitts. Colonization strategy of divide and conquer has kept us apart. We have agreed to move beyond this particular colonizing tool and work to write our gendered histories which have been distorted for many hundreds of years.

The definition of education must be conceptualized to honor the agency and saliency of and speak to the lived experiences of Indigenous African women. Failed Eurocentric colonial racist approaches infantilize and

inferiorize Indigenous African women and should have no place in ordering the lives of African women. New educational futurities for Indigenous African women must grow organically from the knowledges that are inherent and intrinsic in women as informed by their African worldview. This is a decolonizing act that rejects Eurocentric definitions of Indigenous African women, enables them to reclaim their perceptions of themselves as proud women with their own histories, knowledges, cultures, and ways of being. It is a true validation of the self.

References

Abdi, A. A. 2006. "Eurocentric Discourses and African Philosophies and Epistemologies of Education: Counter Hegemonic Analyses and Responses." *International Education* 36 (1): 15–29.

Agrawal, A. 1995. "Neither Having one's Cake, Nor Eating It: Intellectual Property Rights and 'Indigenous' Knowledge." *Common Property Resource Digest*: 3–5.

Al-Abbood, Noor. 2012. "Native Culture and Literature Under Colonialism: Fanon's Theory of Native Resistance and Development." *English Language and Literature Studies* 2 (3): 121–132.

Allott, Anthony. 1970. "New Essays in African Law." *Zambia Law Journal* 1: 21–27.

Andaiye. 2010. "Meeting Grassroots Women Across Race Visible in the Guyanese Resistance of the 1970s and Early 1980s." *MaComère* 12: 119–142.

Asante, M. K. 2009. "Afrocentricity." Asante.net. http://www.asante.net/articles/1/afrocentricity/.

Barriteau, Eudine. 2006. "The Relevance of Black Feminist Scholarship: A Caribbean Perspective." *Feminist Africa: Diaspora Voices* 7: 9–31.

Batibo, H. M. 2001. "The Endangered Languages of Africa: A Case Study from Botswana." In *On Biocultural Diversity, Linking Language, Knowledge and the Environment*, edited by L. Maffi, 311–324. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute Press.

Benn Torres, Jada. 2014. "Prospecting the Past: Genetic Perspectives on the Extinction and Survival of Indigenous Peoples of the Caribbean." *New Genetics & Society* 33 (1): 21–41.

Blank, Sharla. 2013. "An Historic and Contemporary Review of Gendered Caribbean Relations." *Journal of Arts and Humanities* 2 (4). www.theartsjournal.org/index.php/site/article/download/90/89.

Boff, L. 1995. *Cry of the Earth, Cry of the Poor*. New York: Orbis Books.

Bolles, Lynn. 2015. "Academics and Praxis: Caribbean Feminisms." In *Transatlantic Feminisms: Women and Gender Studies in Africa and Diaspora*, edited by C. R. Rodriguez, T. Dadzie, and A. Adomako Ampofo, 63–78. Maryland: Lexington Books.

Braithwaite, Kamau. 1984. *History of the Voice: The Development of Nation Language in Anglophone Caribbean Poetry*. London: New Beacon Books.

Brown, Yvonne. 2005. Bodies, Memories and Empire: Life Stories About Growing Up in Jamaica 1943–1965. https://open.library.ubc.ca/media/stream/pdf/831/1.0064620.

Butegwa, Florence. 1991. "Women's Legal Right of Access to Agricultural Resources in Africa: A Preliminary Inquiry." *Third World Legal Studies Journal* 10: 45–49.

Capp, J. C. 1997. Traditional Knowledge: Don't Leave Home Without it. Paper presented at the 62nd North American Wildlife and Natural Resources Conference, Washington, DC.

Chu, Jessica. 2011. "Gender and Land Grabbing in Sub-Saharan Africa: Women's Land Rights and Customary Land Tenure." *Development* 54 (1): 35–39.

Clarke, Simon. 2012. "Understanding Pan-Africanism." *Caribbean Quarterly* 58 (1): 99–111.

Dei, George J. Sefa. 2012. "Suahunu: The Trialectic Space." *Journal of Black Studies* 43 (8): 823–846.

Dei, George J. Sefa, B. L. Hall, and D. G. Rosenberg. 2002. *Indigenous Knowledges in Global Contexts: Multiple Readings of Our World*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Dei, George J. Sefa, and Arlo Kempf. 2002. *Anticolonialism and Education: The Politics of Resistance*. Rotterdam and Taipei: Sense Publishers.

Doyle-Wood, Chisani. 2017. "Contesting Development." In *Knowledge and Decolonial Politics: A Critical Reader*, by George J. Sefa Dei and Mandeep Jajj Edition, 47–60. Leiden and Boston: Brill Sense Publishers.

Du Bois, W. E. B. 1903. *The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches*. Cambridge: University Press.

Engvall, Linn. 2017. *Women's: Empowerment: A Discourse Analysis of the Women's Empowerment Concept Within UN Women*. Lund, Sweden: Lund University.

Fanon, Frantz. 1952. *Black Skin, White Mask*. London: Pluto Press.

Fanon, Frantz. 1967. *Black Skin, White Masks* (A New Edition Translated from the French by Richard Philcox with a foreword by Kwame Anthony Appiah). New York: Grove Press.

Ford-Smith, Honor. 1995. "An Experiment in Popular Theatre and Women's History." In *Subversive Women: Historical Experiences of Gender and Resistance*, edited by Saskia Wieringa, 147–164. New Delhi: Kali for Women.

Forte, Maximillian. 2006. *Indigenous Resurgence in the Contemporary Caribbean: Amerindian Survival and Revival*. New York: Peter Lang.

Freire, Paul. 1970. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Bloomsbury, UK: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Glissant, Edouard. 1989. *Caribbean Discourses*. Translated by J. Michael Dash Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

Gordon, Lewis. 2008. *Introduction to Africana Philosophy*. London: University Press.

Harding, Sandra, 1998. *Is Science Multicultural? Postcolonialisms, Feminisms, and Epistemologies*. Indiana University Press.

Henry, Paget. 2000. *Caliban's Reason: Introducing African Caribbean Philosophy*. New York: Routledge.

Himonga, C. M. 1989. "The Law of Succession and Inheritance in Zambia and the Proposed Reform." *3rd International Journal of Law and Family* 3: 160–176.

Hubbard, Vincent. 2002. *A History of St. Kitts: The Sweet Trade*. London: Macmillan.

Ibanga, Francis Diana-Abasi. 2016. "Julius Nyerere's Philosophy of Education: Implication for Nigeria's Educational System Reforms." *Africology: The Journal of Pan African Studies* 9 (3): 109–125.

Ilmi, Ahmed. 2019. "African Traditional Philosophies." In *African Foundations in Education, Democracy and Institutional Development*, edited by Njoki Wane and Kimberly Todd. New York: Palgrave.

Inniss, Probyn. 1985. *Witherbound St. Kitts-Nevis?* Antigua: Antigua Printing and Publishing.

Kabeer, N. 2005. "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment: A Critical Analysis of the Millennium Development Goal." *Gender and Development* 13 (1): 13–24.

Karanja, P. W. 1991. "Women's Land Ownership Rights in Kenya." *Third World Legal Studies Journal* 10 (6): 108–135.

Kenyatta, Jomo. 1965. *Facing Mount Kenya: The Tribal Life of the Gikuyu.* New York: Vintage Publishers.

Knowles, Jane B. 1991. "Women's Access to Land in Africa." *Third World Legal Studies Journal* 10: 1–14.

Lewis, Gordon. 2004. *Growth of the Modern West Indies.* Kingston: Ian Randle.

Louie, Dustin William, Yvonne Poitras-Pratt, Aubrey Jean Hanson, and Jacqueline Ottmann. 2017. "Applying Indigenizing Principles of Decolonizing Methodologies in University Classrooms." *Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 47 (3): 16–33.

Maag, B. 1997. "Forests and Trees in the World of Two Tamang Villages in Central Nepal: Observations with Special Reference to the Role of Tamang Women in Forest Management." In *Nature Is Culture, Indigenous Knowledge and Socio-Cultural Aspects of Trees and Forests in Non-European Cultures*, edited by K. Seeland, 113–129. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.

Mazama, Ama. 2018. "Cognitive Hiatus and the White Validation Syndrome." In *Black/Africana Communication Theory*, edited by Kehbuma Langmia, 25–38. Cham: Springer International.

McEwan, C. 2001. "Postcolonialism, Feminism and Development: Intersections and Dilemmas." *Progress in Development Studies* 1: 93–111.

McGlynn, L. 1991. "The World Bank and the Realization of the Rights of Women in Agriculture and Rural Development Projects in Sub-Saharan Africa." *Third World Legal Studies Journal* 10: 13–43.

Mehta, Brinda. 2004. *Diasporic Dislocations: Indo-Caribbean Writers Negotiate the Kala Pani.* Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press.

Mohammed, Patricia. 1998. "Towards Indigenous Feminist Theorizing in the Caribbean." *Feminist Review* 59: 6–33.

Mohanty, C. T. 1984. "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses." In *The Discourse of Humanism*, edited and by Chandra Talpade Mohanty, 333–358. Durham: Duke University Press.

Morton-Anthony, Hermia E. 2018. "Decolonising Narratives: Kittitian Women, Knowledge Production and Protest." Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education University of Toronto, Canada. https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/82940/1/Morton_Hermia_E_201803_PhD_thesis.pdf.

Mucina, Devi. 2011. "Ubuntu: A Regenerative Philosophy for Rupturing Racist Colonial Stories of Dispossession." Unpublished Ph.D. thesis. Ontario Institute of Studies in Education University of Toronto, Canada. https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/bitstream/1807/29931/1/Mucina_Devi_D_201106_PhD_thesis.pdf.

Mundibe, V. Y. 1988. *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Mwenda, N. 2003. "The Challenges of Education and Development in Postcolonial Kenya." *African Development* 28 (2–4): 211–228.

Nair, Supriya. 2000. "Creolization, Orality and Nation Language in the Caribbean." In *Companion to Post-colonial Studies*, edited by Henry Schwarz and Sangeeta Ray, 236–251. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Ndulo, Muna. 2011. "African Customary Law, Customs, and Women's Rights." *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies* 18 (1): 87–120.

Njiro, E. I. 1999. "Women's Empowerment and the Anthropology of Participatory Development." In *The Feminization of Development Processes in Africa*, edited by V. U. James and J. S. Etim, 31–50. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Onuora, Adwoa. 2015. *Anansesem: Telling Stories and Storytelling: African Maternal Pedagogies*. Toronto: Demeter Press.

Owuor, Jenipher A. 2007. "Integrating African Indigenous Knowledge in Kenya's Formal Education System: The Potential for Sustainable Development." *Journal of Contemporary Issues in Education* 2 (2): 21–37.

Pankhurst, Donna, and Susie Jacobs. 1988. "Land Tenure, Gender Relations and Agricultural Production: The Case of Zimbabwe's Peasantry." In *Agriculture, Women and Land*, edited by J. Davidson, 202–227. London, UK: Westview Press.

Paul, Annie. 2009. *Caribbean Culture: Soundings on Kamau Brathwaite*. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press.

Reddock, Rhoda. 2007. "Diversity, Difference and Caribbean Feminism: The Challenge of Anti-racism." *Caribbean Review of Gender Studies* 1: 1–24. https://sts.uwi.edu/crgs/april2007/journals/Diversity-Feb_2007.pdf.

Rodney, Walter, 1974. *How Europe Underdeveloped African*. Londo: Verson Press.

Sadar, Z. 1999. "Development and the Location of Eurocentrism." In *Critical Development Theory: Contributions to the New Paradigm*, edited by R. Munk and D. O'Hearn, 44–61. London: Zed Books.

Scott, David. 2004. "Counting Women's Caring Work: An Interview with Andaiye." *Small Axe* 8 (1) (15): 123–217.

Seale-Collazo, James. 2017. "The Myth of Indigenous Caribbean Extinction." *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 22 (3): 605–606.

Semali, L. 1999. "Community as Classroom: Dilemmas of Valuing African Indigenous Literacy in Education." *International Review of Education* 45 (3): 305–319.

Shahjahan, R. 2009. "The Role of Spirituality in the Anti-oppressive Higher Education Classroom." *Teaching in Higher Education* 14 (2): 121–131.

Sharp, J., John Briggs, Hoda Yacoub, and Nabila Hamed. 2003. "Doing Gender and Development: Understanding Empowerment and Local Gender Relations." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 28 (3): 281–295.

Shihza, E. 2005. "Reclaiming Our Memories: The Education Dilemma in Postcolonial African School Curricula." In *Issues in African Education: Sociological Perspectives*, edited by A. A. Abdi and A. Cleghorn, 37–56. Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers.

Shiva, Vandana. 2002. *Water Wars: Privatization, Pollution and Profit*. London, UK: Pluto Press.

Sium, A. 2012. "From Starving Child to Rebel Pirate: The West's New Imagery of a 'Failed' Somalia." *Borderlands* 11 (3): 2–12. http://borderlands.net.au/vol11No3_2-12/somalia.pdf.

Subedi, Binaya. 2008. "The Possibilities of Postcolonial Praxis in Education." *Race, Ethnicity and Education* 11 (1): 1–10.

Tuck, Eve, and Wayne Yang. 2012. "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor." *Decolonization, Indigeneity, Education and Society* 1 (1): 1–40.

UN. 2017. "Guidelines of Women's Empowerment." Annual Report—UN Women. *UN.org* 05, no. 17. www.un.org.

UNESCO. 2006. *EFA Global Monitoring Report.* France: United Nations. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001416/141639e.pdf.

Vassell, Linnette. 2014. *Country Gender Assessment: St. Kitts and Nevis.* Kingston: University of West Indies. https://sta.uwi.edu/igds/documents/countrygenderassessmentstkittsandneviscombined.pdf.

wa Thiong'o, N. 1985. "The Language in African Literature." *New Left Review* 150 (March/April): 109–127.

wa Thiong'o, N. 1986. *Decolonizing the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature.* Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Wane, Njoki, and Deborah J. Chandler. 2002. "African Women, Cultural Knowledge and Environmental Education with a Focus on Kenya's Indigenous Women." *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education* 7 (1): 86–98.

Wane, Njoki. 2003. "Embu Women: Food Production and Traditional Knowledge." *Resources for Feminist Research* 30 (1–2): 137–148.

Wane, N. N. 2005. African Indigenous knowledge: Claiming, Writing, Storing, Sharing the Discourse. *Journal of Thought, 40*(2), 27–46.

Wane, N. N. 2006. "Is Decolonization Possible?" In *Anti-colonialism and Education: The Politics of Resistance*, edited by G. J. S. Dei and A. Kempf, 87–107. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Wane, N. N. 2014. *African Women's Voices on Indigenous Knowledge of Food Processing Practices among Kenyan Rural Women: A Kenyan Perspective.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Wane, Njoki. 2019. "African Indigenous Education." In *African Foundations in Education, Democracy and Institutional Development*, edited by Njoki Wane and Kimberly Todd. New York: Palgrave.

Diaspora Migrations: Brain Drain or Symbioses

Omiunota Nelly Ukpokodu

INTRODUCTION

I find this topic on diaspora migrations ironic because I am and perhaps some other contributors to this volume are Africa's skilled and professional migrants that contribute to the brain drain phenomenon. I came to the USA in 1982 to study, and at the time, to earn a bachelor's degree and then return home. Little did I know that decades later during which I earned a bachelor's degree, two masters' degrees, a doctorate degree, and began a successful academic career as a university professor in the USA, that I would be a part of Africa's brain drain phenomenon.

The migration of highly skilled workers has generated global concerns as well as gained a considerable attention among nations, scholars, governments, political leaders, organizations, and social activists who are committed to a developmentally sustainable, equitable, and socially just world. These concerns and issues have been, and continue to be, debated across academic and social media circles. The decades-long, pervasive argument is that the migration of skilled workers is a *zero-sum game* that creates an imbalance in power relations, and global economic competitiveness, and that it contributes to gross inequality between resource-poor countries and well-resourced countries (Beine et al. 2008; Castles 2017; Docquier et al. 2007; Docquier 2006; UNESCO, n.d.). In current discourses, migration of skilled and professional workers is argued to be mutually beneficial for individuals, families, and the sending and receiving countries (Docquier 2006).

O. N. Ukpokodu (✉)
University of Missouri-Kansas City, Kansas City, MO, USA

While migration of skilled and professional workers is a world-wide phenomenon, Diaspora African skilled and professional migration (henceforth DASPM) has received considerable focus in both the academic and media circles. For the past two decades or more, there has been no shortage of scholarship, debates, analysis, and blogs on Diaspora African migration and its consequential brain drain effects on Africa. The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa declares that "the emigration of African professionals to the West is one of the greatest obstacles to Africa's development" (https://www.uneca.org/). Arthur (2010) writes that the brain drain of Africa's skilled and professional class is the "epicenter of national and international discourse" (36). For the most part, the African migration brain drain discourse has focused on the one-way negative effect—the impoverishment of the continent due to the loss of vast human capital. However, recent trends have introduced new insights into the discourse such as the notions of *brain gain and brain circulation*. Across the literature, researchers and scholars have begun to reassess the effects of the brain drain, raising questions such as: Is Africa's brain drain a boom, bane or a burst? In this chapter, however, my focus is on examining the question: Is Diaspora African migration brain drain or a symbiosis? Drawing on extant literature from published books, book chapters, scholarly articles, professional and organizational and agency reports, and my own scholarship and personal experiences as a professional Diaspora African immigrant, I engage the chapter to illuminate new perspectives that contribute as well as advance the African migrations and brain drain discourse. I draw on critical theories that frame the brain drain discourse and use them to illuminate the perspectives examined here. I also discuss the cultural frames and concepts of *Sankofa* and *Ubuntu* that imbue DASPM to give back to their ancestral communities and continent as efforts to curb the grave effects of brain drain. Then I discuss how the various engagements by DASPM in diverse fields are transforming, remaking, and reverting the brain drain and fostering mutually beneficial relationships. Finally, I draw attention to the unexamined and often taken-for-granted existential realities of DASPM in transnational, racialized spaces in their host countries that need to be considered in the African migrations and brain drain discourse.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Migration, whether within or across nations, is a worldwide phenomenon that has been a part of human existence. It is commonly defined as the movement of individuals or groups of people from one place to another, either within a nation-state or across international borders, for various reasons (International Organization for Migration 2018; United Nations 2016). For at least the last two decades, international migrations, especially from less developed countries, have become unprecedented, pervasive, and significant as skilled workers move from resource-poor countries to resource-rich

countries. This is predicted to intensify in the coming decades (OECD 2014). The movement and transfer of skilled professionals to resource-rich countries is commonly known as "brain drain." Beine et al. (2008) define brain drain as "the international transfer of resources in the form of human capital and…migration of relatively highly educated individuals from developing to developed countries" (p. 631). The United Nations (UN 2016) laments that international migration has become the most dominant demographic force in today's world. The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA 2017) reports that, about 3% of the world's population lives in a country other than their country of birth, and that 33% move from developing to developed countries. It is predicted that this movement would intensify in the coming decades (UN 2017; International Monetary Fund 2016; OECD 2014). Although there is no accurate data on the number of people that emigrate to work in industrialized countries—Europe, North America, Australia, and Asia—the UN reported that in 2017, the number of international migrants reached 258 million. It is estimated that between 69 and 70% of skilled international migrants come from less developed or developing countries (United Nations Department of Economic Affairs 2015).

Researchers in the behavioral and social sciences contend that theories provide useful tools for understanding human and societal phenomena. Given the content of this chapter, it only makes sense to draw on migration theories that explicate and illuminate the African Diaspora migration and brain drain controversy. Over the years, various theorists have proposed different, and in some cases, overlapping theories for understanding levels of international migration (de Haas 2008; Lee 1966; Harris and Todaro 1970; Massey 1990; Wallerstein 1974). I briefly discuss the three most popular theories found in the literature—*neo-classical theory, new economics of labor migration*, and *world systems theory*. The first theory—*neo-classical theory*—postulates that international migration is driven by geographical differences and the imbalance between demand and supply of labor; that workers migrate to countries with better wages (Kurekova 2011; Massey et al. 1993). The premise of the theory is that international migration is a micro-level action that involves the decision by an individual who is motivated by wage differentials and perceived job opportunities and better life chances (de Haas 2008). Basically, the theory emphasizes "push-pull" factors and economic motives. The second theory—*new economics of labor migration*—while acknowledging the agency of the individual in the decision to migrate posits that other variables, such as family bond, network of friends, and other cultural group factors, play a significant role in the decision to migrate (Massey et al. 1993). The theory states that migration decisions are not necessarily acts of individual agency but by collective family, group, or socio-cultural networks. The third theory—*world systems theory*—transcending both the micro- and macro-level theories sees international migration as part of a broader global phenomenon

that is mutually beneficial and has the potential to provide cheap labor to receiving countries while influencing socioeconomic development of the sending country (Wallerstein 1974). De Haas (2008) explains *world systems theory* as when migration affects and is affected by the direct social environments of migrants which in effect restructures the societal context of both the sending and receiving places. While these theories may provide insights into international migration, some theorists caution against their limitations, suggesting that an interdisciplinary framework will be most useful for explicating and illuminating the phenomenon of international migration and its effects (Castles and Miller 2009). It is not the intent of this chapter to conduct an analysis of these theories. Rather, the theories are used as a guide to understand and illuminate Diaspora African migration that creates a brain drain or brain circulation.

Utilizing a mixed methodological approach, I drew on the extant literature (published books, book chapters, scholarly articles, professional and organizational and agency reports). I searched several databases, using Google Scholar, Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC), Clearinghouse for Immigrant Education (CHIME), and Journal Storage (JSTOR). Key terms searched were: "African migrations," "Diaspora migration," "African brain drain," "brain drain," "migration of African talents," "migration of African physicians," "African skilled migrations," "skilled migrations," "migration of African professionals," "brain drain and developing countries," "reversing African brain drain," "migration of sub-Saharan skilled workers," "remittances," "pull-push factors," "brain circulation," "African skilled migrants." These searches yielded a lot of data. I also drew on my own personal and professional experiences as a professional Diaspora African immigrant in the USA who has taught in US academy for decades, and my extensive research and interactions with many African immigrants in the USA and around the world. I have drawn on these resources to understand the phenomenon of Diaspora African migrations and to respond to the question: Is African migrations brain drain or symbiosis?

Diaspora African Migrants

In 2017, the total number of international migrations reached 258 million (UN 2017). Africans are a part of this phenomenon, with 36 million. Diaspora African migration dates to the 1960s, an era in which several African countries declared their independence from colonial imperialism. Arthur (2010) writes that during this era, the newly independent countries needed to boost the human capital of their citizens. The goal was to train them abroad, preferably in the former colonial countries—mostly Great Britain and France—, and the former Soviet Union. Both federal and state scholarships were appropriated to support their education and training, with the expectation that they would return home and contribute to the infrastructural

development and growth of their respective countries. This phenomenon continued into the 1980s, with the nations' universities also sponsoring their faculty and top-level administrators for further education. In Nigeria for example, several university lecturers, including my spouse and friends, received approvals to study abroad. Approved applicants entered into contracts or bonds that required them to return home upon completion of their degree programs. My spouse returned to Nigeria three months following his doctorate degree completion even as I urged and pleaded for him to remain in the US and find work as some of his colleagues had chosen to do. By the mid-80s, many African countries had begun to experience deteriorating conditions and work environments that adversely affected workers' professional success and job satisfaction. This was particularly the case, and still is with academicians, researchers, and healthcare and STEM professionals. With deteriorating conditions continuing, the exodus of skilled and professional workers to neighboring African countries and the western world—France, United States, Great Britain, and Canada—was set in motion.

African skilled and professional migrants are a diverse group. They come from diverse communities in Africa. In contemporary times, they live transnational lives. Arthur (2010) explains transnationalism as an idea that migrants transcend the nation-states by manifesting and creating social fields, incorporating social, cultural, and economic ties not only with the host societies, but also with the migrant-sending communities, straddling the cultures of their host society as well as the cultures of their home societies. He explains that transnational African migrants are not bound by specific cultural and social genres that are constrained by space and locality, but that they are forming broad and encompassing social systems and complex networks that anchor them to the values, beliefs, traditions, and cultures of their home countries even as they map out new trajectories of identities with their migrant societies. A core characteristic of Diaspora African migrants is that they come from their homelands with a strong educational foundation and work ethic that foster and sustain their success and resilience for negotiating and navigating the acculturation challenges they face in their host societies. In the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom, Diaspora African migrants have been documented as the most highly educated ethnic and immigrant group. Most have completed a high school and even the bachelor's degree prior to their immigration. The Migration Policy Institute reports that between 2011 and 2015, 48% of newly arrived African immigrants to the United States were college graduates compared to Asians with 42.5% (Zong and Batalova 2017). About 8.2% of African immigrants are reported to have the highest advanced degrees compared to 6.8% of Asians and 2.6% of all U.S. citizens (Anderson 2015).

There is a lack of comprehensive data on Diaspora African skilled and professional migrants living and working abroad. However, what is clear is that since the 1960s, Africa has lost thousands of its highly talented, skilled, and professional workers to the west and that the phenomenon will intensify

in the coming decades (UN 2016; IOM 2018). About 30% of Africa's university-trained professionals as well as about 50,000 Africans with PhDs live and work outside Africa (Sriskandarajaah 2005). Data also shows that in 2015, the number of African migrants to the industrialized world was about 34 million. Of these, half were women. Unknown to many, data shows that women are the most mobile population of the Diaspora African skilled and professional migrants (Arthur 2010; United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division 2013; World Health Organization 2009). Reports show that African women are increasingly pursuing formal and advanced education in high demand fields of health care and STEM that position them to be beneficiaries of Western immigration skilled worker visa awards. Other significant data shows that most Diaspora African migrants are young and under the age of 30 (World Migration in Figures, 2017). It is also noted that the rate of Diaspora African migration growth is higher than any in the world (Logan 2009), perhaps because of the sheer size of the continent.

Further, reports reveal that many of the recent migrants are skilled and professional workers in highly valued fields such as medicine, higher education, science, technology, engineering, and mathematics. Since the 1990s, about 20,000 African skilled and highly trained professional migrants leave to the industrialized Western world annually (International Organization for Migration 2018). Ethiopia, Nigeria, Egypt, Ghana, and South Africa are the top emigre countries of skilled and professional workers (International Organization for Migration 2017; United Nations 2017). The International Migration Report (2017) documents that African emigrant population reside in the fifteen countries in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

Besides the emigration of African skilled and professional migrants, reports also show that students are another group of migrants leaving the African continent in droves (Arthur 2010; Gribble 2008; *Open Doors* 2014). Although there is no accurate data on the number of African students emigrating to Western and industrialized world, the speculation is that it is considerably high. Available data indicates that sub-Saharan Africa has one of the highest outbound student mobility rates in the world (Institute of International Education 2015; UNESCO 2012). In 2013, UNESCO reported that African students comprised about 10% of internationally mobile students across the world. In the USA, they make up about 4% of the 886,052 international students, with Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana, South Africa, Cameroun, and Ethiopia being the top sending countries (Institute of International Education 2015). This number may be inaccurate due to some students being undocumented. Nigeria alone is recorded to record to have over 71,000 degree-seeking students. Although the USA is the preferred and priority destination for African students, similar occurrences are taking place in other Western countries such as Canada, France, and the UK. Odhiambo (2013) observes that the international student market is a

significant opportunity for African students to be lured into remaining in the host countries after program completion as they are presented with job opportunities and the chances of being absorbed into their host countries as skilled migrants where they apply for permanent residency and citizenship (Arthur 2010; Gribble 2008). This possibility, which had increased when some host countries relaxed their immigration laws, is beginning to shrink with restrictive and harsh US immigration laws and policies since Donald Trump's presidency in 2016, and in Europe since the Brexit turmoil in the wake of mass exodus of African and Middle Eastern migrants through the Mediterranean and Aegean seas to the occident. Because of economic crises, the entry-point countries of Greece and Italy have proved hostile to migrants, and the deaths at sea and the imprisonment and auction-sale enslavement of survivors by Libyans have had their pernicious effect on migrants.

African Migrations and Brain Drain Effects

The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa declares that "the emigration of African professionals and skilled workers to the West is one of the greatest obstacles to Africa's development" ("Brain Drain in Africa: Facts and Figures", n.d.). Reports overwhelmingly document that many African countries are unable to retain their top talents and the so-called cream of the crop after investing on their education and training. The World Economic Forum (Schwab 2014), in its 2014–2015 Global Competitiveness Index (GCI), reports that more than half of the 20 lowest ranked countries in the GCI are in Sub Sahara Africa. Under these conditions, many African countries underperform in meeting the basic welfare needs and standards of living for their people. GCI reports that basic infrastructure, health care, and education are profoundly low. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) projects that the migration of the young and educated workers compound the brain drain crisis. IMF projects that African migrants in OECD countries could increase to about 43 million by 2050. Arthur (2010) notes that African migrants are rapidly a visible presence in many Western and industrialized world. This complicates the African brain drain effect.

African leaders, including former South Africa's President Thabo Mbeki, have been vocal in their concerns about the exodus of African skilled and professional workers that contributes to the depletion of Africa's human resources and the low public service delivery. He was reportedly noted to have vehemently urged educated Diaspora Africans to relocate to South Africa and other neighboring African countries instead of migrating to the West. The concern of African leaders and others is quite understandable given that African governments invest in the education and training of their citizens but only to have them leave their countries to benefit already well-resourced industrialized countries. For example, it is documented that it takes about $40,000 to train a doctor and $10,000–$15,000 to educate a university

college student in Kenya. Reports also indicate that many African countries lose about 20–30 doctors each month. According to the World Health Organization data, the brain drain effect is particularly pervasive and devastating to the health care sector where African medical physicians have emigrated to developed and well-resourced countries. In 2017, the United Nations reported that 36 million African migrants originated from Africa and has had the largest increase (about 68%) since 2000. It is estimated that about 70,000 professional skilled workers emigrate from Africa each year. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM, n.d.), Africa has already lost one third of its human capital and is continuing to lose its skilled personnel at an increasing rate, with an estimated 20,000 doctors, university lecturers, engineers, and other professionals leaving the continent annually since 1990. It is estimated that there are currently over 300,000 highly qualified Africans in the Diaspora, 30,000 of which have PhDs. According to the World Health Organization, in 2015, 86% of all African-educated physicians working in the USA were trained in Egypt, Ghana, Nigeria, and South Africa. On average, it costs each African country between $21,000 and $59,000 to train a medical doctor. Further, it is reported that nine countries—Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe—have lost more than $2.0 billion since 2010 from training doctors who then migrated. Annually, it is estimated that Africa loses around $2.0 billion through brain drain in the health sector alone. Most troubling, it is reported that, on average, the physician-population care ratio is 0.45 physicians per 1000 people in 26 African countries. Only three African countries are reported to have at least one physician per 1000 people—Libya, Mauritius, and Tunisia, with a physician-to-population of 2.09, 2.00 and 1.29, respectively (Duvivier et al. 2017). In Nigeria, it is 0.3 per 1000 persons, 51 doctors for Liberia's population of 4.5 million (0.1 per 1000 people), and 136 doctors for Sierra Leone's 6 million people (0.2 per 1000). Ethiopia has 0.2 doctors per 1000 and Uganda has 0.12 doctors per 1000 inhabitants (World Health Organization 2009) (Table 37.1).

Table 37.1 Physician to patient ratio

Country	Population in million	Physician	Patient
Nigeria	191	0.3	1000
Liberia	4.5	0.1	1000
Sierra Leone	6	0.2	1000
Ethiopia	105	0.2	1000
Uganda	43	0.12	1000

Source Table adapted by Omiunota Ukpokodu. *Data source* World Health Organization (WHO), 2009, *World Health Statistics 2009*. Retreived from https://www.who.int/whosis/whostat/2009/en/

Motivation for African Skilled and Professional Migrations

Across the literature, reasons and motivations for Diaspora African migrations have been identified. However, it is important to recognize that Diaspora African skilled and professional migrants are geo-culturally, politically, religiously, and linguistically diverse, and so their motivations for migration vary. Some come from Anglophone, and Francophone and Arabic-speaking countries where resources, existential realities, living and environmental conditions vary, but commonalities exist. Broadly, the "push and pull" factors are major contributing and complicating forces. This occurrence follows the global market economic trends mostly. Several push factors that motivate African skilled migrations include the lack of socioeconomic opportunities, lawlessness and political instability, impoverished leadership and governance, high-level corruption, political repression, crime and violence, terrorism, religious intolerance and conflict, lack of research resources and facilities, poor educational system and social infrastructural services, inadequate communication and technological services, unemployment and job insecurity, low wages and delayed and unpaid salaries (Adebayo 2011; Akinrinade and Ogen 2011; Arthur 2010; Kaba 2009).

Most Diaspora African migrants view political instability and repression as the major push factor. Historically, many African countries have been, and continue to be, plagued by political crisis since attaining independence. Many newly independent nations were plunged into devastating civil wars and military coup d'etat and repressive regimes that indiscriminately targeted individuals and forced many African skilled and professional workers into exile in neighboring and Western countries. For example, eminent intellectuals, such as the Nigerian Nobel Laureate, Wole Soyinka, and Kenya's Ali Mazrui and Ngugi wa Thiong'o, among others, were forced to leave their countries. Religious violence, terrorism, and kidnaping have also created major insecurity and threats that push Africans to emigrate with their families. The insurgencies and violence created by Boko Haram in some African countries, such as Nigeria, Cameroun, Chad, and Niger, have posed great threats, causing families to flee and migrate. Pull factors include high standard of living, job opportunities, higher wages and incomes, resources for research, better working conditions, political stability, security, quality educational system and social infrastructure, and intellectual autonomy. Most studies suggest that these push-pull factors are the underlying motivational reasons for the migration of most African skilled and professional workers (Adebayo 2011; Arthur 2010; Emeagwali 2011; UNESCO 2014). Table 37.2 displays the push-pull factors. According to the African Union (2016), about 70,000 skilled professionals emigrate from Africa annually. It is estimated that 10–12 million young Africans enter the labor market each year. Yet, the continent is only able to provide 3 million jobs each year. It is understandable then why many young Africans desire to emigrate to where job opportunities are available.

Table 37.2 Push-pull factors motiving African migrations

Push factors	Pull factors
• Low wages, salaries, and benefits • Unemployment and underemployment • Unsatisfactory standard of living conditions (inflation, inadequate transportation and communication systems, limited internet accessibility, lack of good housing, etc.) • Inefficient and under-utilization of qualified personnel; lack of satisfactory working conditions; lack of opportunities for professional development • Lack of research and other facilities, including support staff; inadequacy of research funds, lack of professional equipment and tools • Political instability, civil and social unrest, conflicts and wars, lawlessness • Culture of corruption • Rampart terrorism and kidnapping • Lack of religious and ethnic tolerance—Boko Haram • Declining and low quality of educational systems • Discrimination and inequity in appointments and promotions • Lack of freedom and functional democratic governance, and human rights violation • Pessimism, uncertainty about the future	• Real or perceived opportunities for a better life • Higher wages, salaries, and benefits • Higher standard of living • Better working conditions; job and career opportunities and professional development; and job security • Access to funds for research, advanced technology, modern facilities; qualified personnel for research support • Political stability • Improved security and law and order • Improved communication services—social media • Sophisticated and open educational system • Better healthcare services • Meritocracy, transparency • Intellectual freedom • Relaxed immigration and naturalization laws for visa attainment—family reunification, work visas, and diversity lottery program

Source Table developed by Omiunota Ukpokodu. *Data sources* See Adebayo (2011), Arthur (2010), "Brain Drain …", n.d., Emeagwali (2011), and UNESCO (2014)

The above push-pull factors also intersect with trends in the receiving or host countries—new and relaxed immigration laws and policies in Western countries like the USA and Canada (Mckay 2003; Pew Research Center 2015). In the USA, the Skilled Workers Immigration Authorization grants H-B and J-I visas to skilled applicants in specified fields, especially in health care, higher education, and STEM. In addition, the Family Reunification Law, a law that allows naturalized and permanent residents to sponsor relatives to migrate to the USA, and the Diversity Visa Lottery (DVL) commonly known as the Green Card Lottery, which aims to diversify the immigrant population, have been favorable to African migration. Many beneficiaries of these programs come as adults with skills and talents and as students. Data shows that 48% of African immigrants have come through family reunification, 24% through the DVL, 28% as refugees and asylees, and 5% through employment (Capps et al. 2012; McCabe 2011).

Similar push-pull factors also motivate African student emigration. The high level of poverty in many African countries, and the need to provide for

family members, has exacerbated African students to emigrate. The lack of quality education and access to higher education have been cited as critical factors. Similar factors contribute to keeping those who completed their education to remain abroad and make their host countries their permanent homes (Crush and Frayne 2010). Data shows that more than half of the students who study abroad do not return home (Scientific and Industrial Research and Development Center, n.d.).

DASPM Give Back—A "Sankofa" Response

Policymakers and researchers opine that the migration of, and demand for, skilled and professional workers, including African skilled workers in the fields of healthcare and STEM, will not dissipate as long as there is a high demand for them in industrialized world, especially the UK, USA, Canada, and Australia. For example, the US Council on Physician and Nurse Supply, projects a need of 200,000 doctors between 2013 through 2030 (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 2017). Increasingly, in order to curb the decades-long net effect of the African brain drain, there has been a great push to encourage DASPM in the Western world, especially those in higher education and the healthcare sector, to return home to support their nations' educational, socioeconomic, healthcare, political, and technological infrastructural development. DASPM are documented to be responsive and stepping up to help solve the brain drain crisis. This is not surprising. Mostly, African skilled and professional migrants are a cadre of individuals who have been socialized to the African cosmological world of communitarianism and collectivism premised on the concept of *Ubuntu*, a South African Xhosa and Zulu worldview that conveys the values of the common good, sharing, reciprocal obligations, interdependence, social harmony, and human interconnectedness (Ukpokodu 2016). This philosophical worldview is particularly conveyed in John Mbiti's (1990) cardinal principle of African cosmology, expressed as, "I am, because we are; and, since we are, therefore I am" (106). From an early age, an African child is socialized to these values and are cultivated through adulthood. One must keep in his/her heart this cardinal principle of reciprocity and obligations. The individual must feel and exercise a high level of responsibility toward the welfare of the group. Most importantly, individuals must never forget where they came from and how they have been raised by the entire community and so must reciprocate by giving back what they received from family and community. This is what is also reflected in the *Sankofa* concept, spirit and value.

   Sankofa is a West African philosophical concept, associated mostly with the Akan Adinkra Ghanaian cosmology. It speaks to and reminds a person to not drift too far, to remember where one has come from, and to not forget that the person has stood on the shoulders of others. One must return and be available so that others can stand on his/her shoulders. *Sankofa* imbues a

person to reposition and reconnect to the community where one has come from and to give back reciprocally. Caesar Chavez once expressed a similar thought when he said that individuals should not seek achievement for themselves only and forget about the need for progress and prosperity for their community. His remark reminds people that in their ambition, they must include the aspirations and needs of others. As sojourners, Diaspora African migrants carry the spirit of *Sankofa* with them. It is not surprising then that they have risen to the call to return home, whether temporarily, physically, or virtually, to help revert the brain drain, especially in promoting economic and social transformation in rural communities that are neglected by local, state, and national governments. For the past two decades, whether individually or collectively, DASPM have engaged in various endeavors to help negate the brain drain. These include monetary remittances, individual and collective initiatives, collaborative networks, showcasing and advancing African culture, and indigenous knowledges.

Remittances

For the purpose of this chapter, remittances refer to money or funds that migrants residing and working abroad send home to families, friends, and communities in Africa. Data and reports show that international remittances are a major source of reverting the African brain drain (Arthur 2010; International Monetary Fund 2016; *Migration and Remittances Factbook* 2016; PEW Research Center 2017; UNESCO 2014; The African Institute for Remittances [World Bank 2016]). In 2014, the World Bank reported that remittances to the African continent reached $32 billion. In 2017, this rose to $41 billion. In 2017, Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal, and Kenya were the top countries receiving the most remittances among sub-Saharan nations. These four countries, of course, are among the top sending countries abroad. In 2017, Nigerians reportedly remitted about $22 billion, the highest in the continent. Remittances to sub-Saharan Africa are projected to increase dramatically in the coming years (World Bank Group 2017). Researchers and reports document that remittances from Diaspora African migrants—unskilled skilled, and professionals—help support family members and their communities in the homeland (Arthur 2010; PEW Research Center 2017). Family members in the homeland use remittances to improve their quality of life and standard of living, to educate relatives, set up family businesses, and enhance their social statuses. Arthur (2010) notes that some remittances have been used to improve homeland communities through building roads, bridges, providing clean water, buying generators for electricity, and building and supporting religious and worship centers. In addition, studies report that remittances contribute immensely to the receiving countries' economic growth. It is estimated that between 5 and 20% of African Gross Domestic Product (GDP) comes from international remittances (Pew Research Center 2018; World Bank, *Migration and Remittances Factbook*, 2016). In some countries, remittances

Table 37.3 Remittances to sub-Saharan Africa by country in 2017

Region	Remittances 2017	Remittance as percent of GDP (%)	Remittances 2018	Remittance as percent of GDP (%)
Nigeria	22 billion	5	24	6
Ghana	2.2 billion	5	3	7.3
Senegal	2.2 billion	12.8	2	9
Kenya	1.8	2.4	2.7	3

Source Table adapted by Omiunota Ukpokodu. *Data source* World Bank, 2016, *Migration and Remittances Factbook*, Washington, DC: World Bank

constitute the second major source of foreign exchange (Adepoju et al. 2018). Liberia's remittance percentage of its GDP is 27% and Gambia is 21%.

Data shows that most DASPM regularly send funds through well-monitored electronic money transfer systems such as Western Union (WesternUnion.com), SimbaPay, Moneygram, and bank wire transfer, among others. International remittances to Africa (see Table 37.3) have become so important to the extent that in 2015, the African Union (AU) established the African Institute for Remittances, which serves as a Specialized Technical Office for improving regulations and policies for remittance transfer (see World Bank 2016).

Individual Initiatives

DASPM also have been documented to engage in individual initiatives that support developments in their respective countries and communities. These take the forms of scholarship funds that are used to sponsor homeland students for study abroad, and for building schools, clinics, and hospitals in their communities, and sponsoring sporting events. For example, some academicians have established scholarship funds from speaking engagements to sponsor homeland students to study abroad. In 2015, I contacted some Diaspora African scholars in the USA to request keynoting at the inaugural conference of the non-profit International Association of African Educators (IAAE), a new and young organization that aimed to advocate for and eliminate the invisibility, inequity, and injustice of Africans in the Diaspora and in the continent. All the individuals I contacted requested a non-negotiable fee of between $3000 and $5000, rationalizing that they use the money for scholarship foundations that pay for up to five university students per year in their countries or abroad. In one documented case, Teresa Wasonga, a professor at the University of Illinois, Chicago, founded a girls' school, the Jane Adeny Memorial Girls School in Kisumu County in her home community in Kenya (Ukpokodu and Ojiambo 2017). The school has been successful in educating girls (see https://jamskenya.org/).

At the university level, African-born scholars and educators have engaged in collaborative and partnership activities with African universities and colleagues. In this way, they are supporting the intellectual, scholarly, and pedagogical development of university faculty, educators, and researchers in Africa. This is a form of knowledge transfer or knowledge circulation between their native countries and host nations. My personal experience illuminates this. Within the past five years, I have had the privilege to not only collaborate with young teacher education colleagues in Nigeria, but also have been able to mentor them for scholarly development. I have collaborated with junior faculty on research and presentations at national and international conferences. Collaborating with them has increased their knowledge about their discipline and research skills. These emails illuminate this ongoing interaction:

> Dear Prof,
>   May I express my gratitude to you for your interest and help in ensuring my professional development through your mentorship. Through this relationship we have collaborated in the study of teachers' perspectives of Social Studies in Nigeria, attended conferences and presented papers together. You've also introduced me to the International Assembly of the National Council for the Social Studies. I have developed deeper understanding of the social studies field and increased my confidence for teaching good social studies to my students. (email communication, December 2017)

> Dear Prof,
>   I am happy to inform you that I have been promoted to the rank of Associate Professor. I thank you deeply and I remain grateful to you for your spirit of mentorship and collaboration. May I use this opportunity to seek your continued cooperation in our collaboration. It is very important for both my personal and professional growth. (email communication, December 2015)

I must note that my collaboration with homeland colleagues is mutually beneficial. I have gained knowledge about trends and practices in education about Nigeria, especially in the areas of social studies, citizenship education, and social studies teacher education. I am not alone in this endeavor. I am aware of several colleagues in my academic circles who have engaged in similar collaborative initiatives with homeland university professionals. The case of Dr. Jacob U'Mofe Gordon, Professor Emeritus, University of Kansas, is noteworthy. Because of his passion and concern for transformative leadership and governance in Africa, Gordon received a Fulbright Senior Specialist Award in 2012 to evaluate and conduct a SWOT analysis of the Institute for African Studies (IAS) at the University of Ghana. Shortly after completing this service, he was awarded the prestigious position as Kwame Nkrumah Endowed Chair (KNEC) at the University of Ghana (2012–2015). During his tenure at UG, he obtained a major grant from the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA) to develop and launch a multinational research project that focused on leadership in Africa. The goals of this research were to document materials written by and about African presidents, to disseminate this

information to academia and the general public, and to analyze the actions and policies of previous African leaders with respect to current and future governance. Gordon's vision is the establishment and building of Presidential Libraries in every African country. The case studies for this project included these African leaders: Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), Nnamdi Azikiwe (Nigeria), Jomo Kenyatta (Kenya), Julius Nyerere (Tanzania), Haile Selassie (Ethiopia), Nelson Mandela (South Africa), Dominique Mbonyumutwa (Rwanda), Seretse Khama (Botswana), King Mohammed V (Morocco), and Leopold Sedar Senghor (Senegal) (Gordon 2019, 105). During his appointment as KNEC, Gordon played a critical role in the establishment of the African Studies Association of Africa (ASAA). As a founding Life Member of ASAA, he helped launch its first biennial conference held at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria in 2015.

Professional Networks

While the brain drain has been documented to affect all forms of infrastructure, the health care and STEM delivery services have been the hardest hit. In response, Diaspora African physicians and other health care professionals—nurses, pharmacists and dentists—have created networks to support medical and educational infrastructure in their respective homelands. In the USA, there is the Association of Nigerian Physicians and Dentists (ANPAD), with state chapters across the country. Similar organizations exist in Canada—the Canadian Association of Nigerian Physicians and Dentists (CANPAD)—and Association of Nigerian Physicians in the UK. Other diaspora medical associations include Ghana Physicians and Surgeons Foundations of North America, Egyptian American Medical Association (EMMA), Association of Moroccan Computer Scientists in France (AIMAF), and the Moroccan-German Skills Network (DMK) in Germany (UNESCO, n.d.), among others. These Diaspora African Physicians associations work to support, provide, and address health care issues and delivery services for their respective countries. According to their websites, the missions of these organizations are to provide free and sustainable health care to the underprivileged in their countries, collaborate with their homeland medical institutions and health care providers, and work with governments in addressing health issues. The IMF, among others, has recognized the contributions of these professional networks, describing them to be vital professional development and leadership training programs for improving and strengthening infrastructural development in Africa.

Similarly, in higher education, Diaspora African academicians are founding professional organizations that aim to collaborate with institutions in the African continent. As a teacher educator in US academy, I founded the International Association of African Educators (IAAE). In 2015, the association held its historic inaugural conference that brought African-born academicians together to share knowledge, network and address issues related to

Africans in the diaspora and homeland (see IAAE 2016). Participants had the privilege to experience a true *La Familia* as reflected in the commentaries and feedback to the organization.

– I have never had so much laughter and fun at a professional conference as I did during the two-day IAAE conference. The presentations were uplifting, entertaining, and enlightening, and revealed our connectedness as Africans. It was an experience I will forever cherish and remember.
– I personally felt so proud to be part of this awesome international conference of African educators!
– I loved the feeling of 'family' coming through strongly. I am in awe of the wonderful presenters! (IAAE 2016)

Through their institutional affiliations, DASPM can use their positions and connections to initiate and pilot programs of cooperation that are supported by their institutions. For example, Luc Ngwe (n.d.), a Cameroonian researcher, documents the cases of Mahmood Mamdani, a Ugandan, and director of the Institute for African Studies at Columbia University, New York (from 1999 to 2004), who created linkages with the Makerere Institute of Social Research at the University in Uganda and Ousmane Kane, the Chair of Contemporary Islamic Religion and Society at the Harvard Divinity School in the USA who started an academic exchange program for students from Senegal (www.ipsnews.net/2018/02/african-brain-drain-alternative/). Peter Ukpokodu, a Nigerian American, and former chairperson of the Department of African and African American Studies (1995–2016) instituted the Africana Leadership Institute at the University of Kansas. This program brought Nigerian politicians and leaders to the university for leadership training. He also helped to establish the Marwa Africana Lecture Series (MALS) made possible by the generous donations of Dr. Mohammed Buba Marwa, a former governor of Lagos State, and currently a businessman, politician, and philanthropist (see https://afs.ku.edu/lecture-series). Like many others across the USA, MALS brings an expert annually to the University of Kansas to address matters related to Africa and/or the African Diaspora. Many more Diaspora African academicians are engaged in partnership initiatives and programs to regenerate higher education and research in their countries of origin as well as promote African epistemologies and issues in the diaspora.

Another promising way DASPM are giving back is through participation in fellowship programs. Data shows that over 70,000 academicians leave the African continent to the Western world to teach. Many of them find positions in higher education in their host countries. This brain drain contributes to the low quality of education in some African countries. Diaspora African professionals are taking advantage of fellowship programs to give back to their countries. One example is the Carnegie African Diaspora Fellowship Program

(CADFP) in partnership with the Institute of International Education (IIE). CADFP provides fellowship opportunities for African-born scholars who work in higher institutions education in the USA and Canada to undertake collaborative teaching, research, and mentorship activities in accredited African institutions. The program was designed to avert the negative effect of the "brain drain." According to CADFP, 385 African-born scholars in the USA and Canada have been funded to collaborate with over 100 university institutions in Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, and South Africa, among others. This is a mutually beneficial relationship that reflects the essence of *Sankofa*—returning home and giving back. CADFP allows fellows to collaborate on research and curriculum development, teach classes, and provide mentorship to students and young professors in the host colleges and universities in Africa. The program is designed to "build capacity at the host institutions in Africa, and to develop long-term, mutually-beneficial relationships between the scholars and host universities" (IIE 2016). CADFP participants have documented narratives of their inspirational experiences of building and sustaining collaborations and networks with universities in African countries. In this exchange, Diaspora African scholars engage in research that relate directly to Africa. African scholars who participate in the program, organize book drives that they donate to the host institutions in Africa to benefit students and faculty. At a time when most African institutions of higher learning are experiencing depleting resources, Diaspora African scholars are stepping into correct the deficit. The program increases the visibility of both the fellow and the receiving and sending institutions.

Promoting African Studies Programs, Culture, and Education in the Diaspora

Arthur's studies (2000, 2010) reveal that many of his diaspora study participants were African migrant academicians who work in higher education in their host countries. Although there is no accurate data of Diaspora African professionals in higher education, they are found in every academic institution in the USA. In the USA and Canada, many of them teach in various departments of their colleges and universities. In most instances, they teach courses related to African studies—African history, African geography, African politics, African literature, African women's studies, African religion, African languages, African theater, African music and dance, and African art, among others. In schools and colleges of education, they are teacher educators who teach diversity/multicultural education courses. They have been described as the diversity franchise in teacher education (Ukpokodu 2016). In the USA, many colleges are found in small towns or communities that are predominantly white. Diaspora African academicians take up teaching and research jobs in these places. In addition to contributing to the richness of the college and university community, Diaspora African migrant faculty provides

opportunity for cross-cultural interactions and relationships and the development of multicultural and global worldview. They contribute to the diversity on campuses. Through their teaching and research, they promote African indigenous education, culture, epistemologies, and heritage. In their research and teaching, they create and promote authentic and counter-stories to the Eurocentric narratives of the earlier centuries of the African experience in the era of exploration, colonialism, and neocolonialism. They are reimagining scholarship on and about Africa differently to reflect truth and authenticity. In some cases, they have established departments and programs of African Studies and served as chairpersons, which gave them opportunities to promote African epistemologies, history, cultures, religions, and languages. Over the years, some Diaspora African academicians have been recognized for their intellectual, artistic, social, and cultural and global education contributions. The late John Ogbu was a renowned professor and anthropologist at the University of California at Berkeley whose legacy remains celebrated in US academy. His seminal work on voluntary and involuntary minorities has been widely referenced and continues to be so even after his death. Ngugi Wa Thiong'o is currently a distinguished professor at the University of California, Irvine. His works are widely used and valued. Chimamanda Adichie, a Nigerian novelist, has become a prominent figure in the Western world. Her work, *Americanah*, and her Ted Talk, "The Danger of a Single Story" have won her awards but also elevates the continent.

REVISITING THE DIASPORA AFRICAN MIGRATION AND THE BRAIN DRAIN

Now, to return to the question, Is Diaspora African migration a brain drain or symbiosis? The discussion above has established that emigration of DASPM is an acute crisis (IMF 2016) and a great obstacle to the development and sustainability of Africa, now, and in the coming years. Table 37.4 shows the emigration population and rate of DASPM in OECD countries. This is a great concern that needs drastic remedy.

There is no doubt that DASPM are responding and have been responsive to the needs of Africa. Their contributions to revert the brain drain suggest success stories to be celebrated. In other words, symbiosis. The presumption then is that Diaspora African migration may no longer be a zero-sum phenomenon but a win-win-sum. As documented above, to some extent, it is possible to suggest that African migration is increasingly attaining a symbiotic synergy that is mutually beneficial to the native and host countries. Like others who now view the African migrations brain drain as brain gain, I agree that there is hope. After all, the brain drain effect on communities and families in Africa could be worse. However, it is important to not overlook the net effects on DASPM as they live their lives and work to support Africa's economies, infrastructural development, and the improvement of the quality of life

Table 37.4   Emigrant population 15+ in the OECD in 2010/11 by country and region of birth

	Total population				Female population			
Country and region of origin	Emigrant population (1000s)	Highly educated	Emigration rate	Emigration rate of the highly educated	Emigrant population (1000s)	Highly educated	Emigration rate	Emigration rate of the highly educated
Algeria	1504	306	5.5	9.2	734	140	5.4	8.0
South Africa	540	281	1.6	11.6	277	141	1.6	10.6
Tunisia	507	94	5.8	8.9	215	3 8	5.0	7.1
Egypt	395	193	0.7	3.2	149	71	0.5	2.7
Ghana	337	103	2.2	14.3	165	43	2.1	15.6
Kenya	255	108	1.1	12.8	136	52	1.2	17.3
Senegal	248	48	3.1	14.0	89	19	2.2	17.3
Zimbabwe	193	89	2.3	43.6	103	46	2.4	50.8
Congo, Demo Rep	190	60	0.5	6.5	100	27	0.6	10.9
Cameroon	159	66	1.5	14.7	8.5	29	1.5	15.0
Côte d'Ivoir	140	39	1.2	5.2	71	17	1.2	7.2
Mauritius	132	42	11.7	41.0	69	18	12.0	38.5
Sudan	97	31	10.4	3.0	41	12	0.3	2.1
Uganda	95	45	0.6	7.6	49	21	0.6	8.1

of their families and communities. It will be disingenuous to not illuminate the net loss that is often overlooked in the brain gain discourse. So, I argue against the complacency toward the brain gain or brain circulation. Although it is documented that many DASPM leave in drove to Western and industrialized world for greener pastures and better life opportunities (pull factors), it is important to recognize that not every DASPM who emigrates is successful in realizing their dreams. While it is true that African immigrants are regarded as the most highly educated and most accomplished immigrant group in most Western democracies, data shows that many African migrants experience difficulties finding jobs commensurate with their qualifications. In this case, many find themselves working in low-paying and transient jobs as janitors, cleaners, taxi-drivers, and restaurant and airport workers. Across the major cities in the USA, many African migrants are taxi-drivers. A majority have advanced degrees, including PhDs. Some, especially women with high-level credentials, work in nursing homes as aids even when they have nursing degrees that should qualify them to work as nurses. Others work in factory jobs where they perform assembly line jobs. The reality is that many DASPM are not employed in their fields of specialization (Emeagwali 2011). The situation is different in the UK where African migrants reportedly have high rates of employment and success (BBC News, 2005, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4222812.stm). In the USA, many diaspora African migrants with advanced educational degrees take on jobs in unskilled sectors. This is a great loss to the individual and the continent.

Another issue relates to the documented value placed on remittances as a great asset to Africa and in lessening the brain drain effect. This is at best an exaggeration. In fact, it may be a factual misrepresentation. Data shows that more than half of the remittances sent to African countries are spent on consumer goods, and that they are not invested on meaningful and sustainable large-scale infrastructure for education, health care, and businesses. Bekele (2017) submits that remittances to African countries at best promote a culture of consumerism and dependence. Further, he argues that the participation of DASPM in reverting the brain drain is at best sporadic and unreliable. Kwarteng (2017) agrees. In his study of Ghanaian Americans and remittances, he found that some of his participants did not regularly send remittances home. Bekele concludes that while Diaspora African migrants' efforts to revert the brain drain effect are noble and applaudable, they may be insufficient to negate the drain. The argument is that diaspora migrants' returns do not compensate for the hundreds of millions and billions that Africa loses annually for the thousands of skilled migrants and professionals that emigrate to other lands.

There is no doubt that DASPM's individual or collective activities to create linkages, participate in back to Africa educational, partnership and professional networks, and programing are notable and helpful, is it enough compared to what is lost? From all counts, the response is no. DASMP

migrations may be an irreparable damage. Education is the backbone of a nation's security, development, and competitive edge in a global stage. The loss of university academic professionals impacts the educational system in ways that cannot be compensated for. The impact on university teaching, preparation of elementary and secondary teachers, research—all have tremendous impact on national development and security. Bekele's (2017) summation of the irreparable damage explicates:

> Universities are producers of teachers, managers, engineers, and other levels of human resources. The migration of highly trained and experienced [professionals] results not only in the deterioration of educational quality, but also the loss of potential leaders necessary to formulate and implement appropriate political reforms. (p. 176)

Another important issue that is mostly overlooked and taken for granted in the discourse on the effect of the brain drain is the impact on the transnational lives of DASPM and their families in the diaspora. Although there is a growing body of scholarship on the transnational lives of DASPM, it is often omitted in the brain drain discourse. I reiterate that DASPM aim and want to survive, be successful, and be in a position to fulfill their obligations to their families both in the continent and in the diaspora. To this end, they subject themselves to living and working conditions that are similar, to some extent, to the same push factors that had forced them to emigrate in the first place. Many African scholars have documented the harrowing experiences of DASPM. Arthur (2010) notes that DASPM often face vulnerabilities and risks but choose to overlook them in order to experience the real or perceived benefits of emigration. While they feel fortunate to be in the diaspora, they often experience cultural, social, and economic marginalization. Due to their race, ethnicity, culture, religion, and language, DASPM endure various forms of vulnerabilities that include dehumanization, discrimination, microaggressions, violence, cultural identity crisis, and family disintegration (Ukpokodu 2016). The clash between African sense of cultural collectivism and American individualism exerts great stress that in some cases results in family disintegration, dysfunctionality, and mental issues for adults and children. Apraku (1991), in the preface to *African Émigrés in the United States*, poignantly captures the dilemma of DASPM, when he writes:

> The African emigrant in America, like a child of two worlds, is torn between America and Africa. On the one hand, he loves the political freedoms, the civil liberties, and the economic prosperity he enjoys in the United States, although he does feel a sense of alienation and discrimination. He also feels ignored, underutilized, unrecognized, and unfulfilled. On the other hand, he loves his country, his family, his friends, and the culture that he left behind him. However, he resents political dictatorship and abuse, corruption, economic mismanagement, tribalism, and civil wars that are pervasive in Africa today. (xvi)

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have addressed the question, Is African migration brain drain or symbiosis? I engaged the inquiry by examining the pervasive arguments for DASPM emigration, the effects of their migration on Africa in terms of resource depletion and loss of millions and billions of dollars to Africa. I also examined the efforts of DASPM to help curb the brain drain through remittances, individual initiatives, professional networks, and linkages with institutions in Africa, and participating in fellowship programs that allow them to give back to their motherland. Yet, I highlighted the insufficiency of these efforts. More importantly, I unpacked the net effects that are often overlooked in the brain drain/brain gain discourse. In my view, many DASPM often find themselves missing out on the American dream they so desperately sought to achieve when they emigrated but only to find themselves experiencing the same push factors that forced them to leave in the first place. In conclusion, it is worth pointing out that the movement from African brain drain to symbiotic relationship with the continent is one of transition. Because the umbilical cord that ties the migrant to the continent is never severed, the brain drain phase is only the starting point of a painful period of transition during which the migrant loses what the person was in Africa as he/she struggles to realize oneself and be successful in their host countries. It is a terrible period of "unbecoming" in order to "become" without losing the African essence. There is no doubt that many DASPM would like to return to Africa and contribute to the development of their respective countries and to help curb the brain drain. However, the push/pull factors discussed in this chapter remain pervasive and unrelenting. The African governments would need to work harder to address the conditions that push citizens to migrate and keep DASPM in perpetual exile.

References

Adebayo, Akanmu. 2011. "The New African Diaspora: Engaging the Question of Brain Drain-Brain Gain." *Journal of Global Initiatives: Policy, Pedagogy, Perspective* 6 (1): 61–89.

Adepoju, Samson Adesola, and Olusesan Adewunmi Osunkoya. 2018. "The Brain Drain, Skilled Labour Migration and Its Impact on Africa's Development, 1990s–2000s." *Africology: The Journal of Pan African Studies* 12 (1): 395–420.

Adichie, Chimamanda. 2009. "The Danger of a Single Story." *TEDGlobal.* https://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story?language=en.

Adichie, Chimamanda. 2013. *Americanah.* New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf.

African Union. 2016. *The African Institute for Remittances (AIR) to Provide Technical Assistances to African Central Banks on Remittances.* Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: AU Directorate of Information and Communication. https://au.int/en/pressreleases/20160821.

Akinrinade, Sola, and Olukoya Ogen. 2011. "Historicizing the Nigerian Diaspora: Nigerian Migrants and Homeland Relations." *Turkish Journal of Politics* 2 (2): 71–85.

Anderson, Monica. 2015. *African Immigrant Population in the U.S. Steadily Climbs.* Washington, DC: Pew Research Center. http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/11/02/african-immigrant-population-in-u-s-steadily-climbs/.

Apraku, Kofi. 1991. *African Emigres in the United States: The Missing Link in Africa's Social and Economic Development.* New York: Praeger.

Arthur, John. 2000. *Invisible Sojourners: African Immigrant Diaspora in the United States.* Westport, CT: Praeger.

Arthur, John. 2010. *African Diaspora Identities: Negotiating Culture in Transnational Migration.* New York, NY: Lexington Books.

Batalova, Jeane, and Michael Fix. June, 2017. *Immigrants and the New Brain Drain: Ways to Leverage Rising Educational Attainment.* Migration Policy Institute. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/news/immigrants-and-new-brain-gain-ways-leverage-rising-educational-attainment.

Beine, Michael, Frederic Docquier, and Hillel Rapoport. 2008. "Brain Drain and Human Capital Formation in Developing Countries: Winners and Losers." *Economic Journal* 118 (528): 631–652.

Bekele, Gashawbeza. 2017. "Revisiting Africa's Brain Drain and the Diaspora Option." In *The New African Diaspora in the United States*, edited by Toyin Falola and Adebayo Oyebade, 165–180. London and New York: Routledge.

"Brain Drain in Africa: Facts and Figures." n.d. Orlando, FL: African Renaissance Ambassador Corp. http://www.aracorporation.org/files/factsandfigures.pdf.

Capps, Randy, Kristen McCabe, and Michael Fix. 2012. *Diverse Streams: Black African Migration to the United States.* Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.

Castles, Stephen. 2017. "The Challenges of International Migration in the 21st Century." In *Citizenship Education and Global Migration: Implications for Theory, Research, and Teaching*, edited by James Banks, 3–21. Washington: American Educational Research Association.

Castles, Stephen, and Mark Miller. 2009. *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in Modern World.* London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Crush, Jonathan, and Bruce Frayne. 2010. *Surviving on the Move: Migration, Poverty and Development in Southern Africa.* Cape Town, South Africa: African Book Collective.

de Haas, Hein. 2008. *Migration and Development: A Theoretical Perspective*, Working Papers No. 9. Oxford, UK: University of Oxford, International Migration Institute.

Docquier, Frederic. 2006. "Brain Drain and Inequality across Nations." IZA Discussion paper No. 2440. SSRN, Rochester, NY.

Docquier, Frederic, Olivier Lohest, and Marfouk Abdeslam. 2007. "Brain Drain in Developing Countries." *The World Bank Economic Review* 21 (2): 193–218.

Duvivier, Robert J., Vanessa C. Burch, and John R. Boulet. 2017. "A Comparison of Physician Emigration from Africa to the United States of America Between 2005 and 2015." https://human-resources-health.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s12960-017-0251-y.

Emeagwali, Phillip. 2011. "How to Reverse the Brain Drain." Emeagwali.com. http://emeagwali.com/speeches/brain-drain/to-brain-gain/reverse-brain-drain-from-africa.html.

Gordon, Jacob Ukunoritsemofe. 2019. *Double Heritage: A Memoir*. Porter Ranch: New World African Press.

Gribble, Cate. 2008. Policy Options for Managing International Student Migration: The Sending Country's Perspective. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management* 20 (1): 25–39.

Harris, John, and Michael Todaro. 1970. "Migration and Unemployment and Development: A Two-Way Sector Analysis." *The American Economic Review* 60 (1): 126–142.

IIE Center for Academic Mobility Research and Impact. 2015. *What International Students Think About U.S. Higher Education: Attitudes and Perceptions of Prospective Students from Around the World*. New York, NY: Institute of International Education (IIE). https://www.iie.org/Research-and-Insights/Publications/What-International-Students-Think-About-US-Higher-Education.

Institute for International Education (IIE). 2016. *Carnegie African Diaspora Program Connects African Universities with Diaspora Scholars*. New York, NY: IIE. https://us4.campaign-archive.com/?u=1c2990d53535fcb3c05526d43&id=94486d0fe4&e=813a818b70.

International Association of African Educators (IAAE). 2016. "Message from President." Kansas City, MO: IAAE. https://iaaeorg.org/uploads/3/4/5/4/34545720/iaaae_newsletter_spring_2016.pdf.

International Monetary Fund. 2016. *World Economic Outlook*. Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund.

International Organization for Migration. 2017. *Mixed Migration Flows in the Mediterranean: Compilation of Available Data and Information*. International Organization for Migration. https://reliefweb.int/report/world/mixed-migration-flows-mediterranean-compilation-available-data-and-information-december.

International Organization for Migration. 2018. *World Migration Report*. Grand-Saconnex, Switzerland: IOM. https://www.iom.int/wmr/world-migration-report-2018.

Kaba, Amadu J. 2009. "Africa's Migration Brain Drain: Factors Contributing to the Mass Migration of Africa's Elite to the West." In *The New African Diaspora*, edited by Isidore Okpewho and Nkiru Nzegwu, 115–119. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Kurekova, Lucia. 2011. "Theories of Migration: Conceptual Review and Empirical Testing in the Context of the EU East-West." Paper presented at Interdisciplinary Conference on Migration: Economic Change, Social Challenge. University College of London, London, UK.

Kwarteng, Kirstie. 2017. "The Remittance Objectives of Second-Generation Ghanaian Americans." In *The New African Diaspora in the United States*, edited by Toyin Falola and Adebayo Oyebade, 107–128. London and New York: Routledge.

Lee, Everett S. 1966. "A Theory of Migration." *Demography* 3 (1): 47–57.

Logan, Ikubolajeh B. 2009. "The Reverse and the Return Transfer of Technology: Towards a Comprehensive Model of the Migration of African Experts." *International Migration* 47 (4): 92–127.

Massey, Douglas. 1990. "Social Structure, Household Strategies, and the Cumulative Causation of Migration." *Population Index* 56 (1): 3–26.

Massey, Douglas S., Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor. 1993. "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal." *Population and Development Review* 19 (3): 431–466.

Mbiti, John. 1990. *African Religions and Philosophy*. New York, NY: Doubleday Anchor.

McCabe, Kristen. 2011. *African Immigrants in the United States*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute. http://www.migrationinformation.org.

McKay, Rama. 2003. *Family Reunification*. http://www.migrationinformation.org.

Migration Policy Institute. 2015. *The Nigerian Diaspora in the United States*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute.

Odhiambo, George. 2013. "Academic Brain Drain: Impact and Implications for Public Higher Education in Kenya." *Research in Comparative and International Education* 8 (4): 510–523.

Open Doors. 2014. *Open Doors 2014 Report*. https://www.iie.org/Why-IIE/Announcements/2014/11/2014-11-17-Open-Doors-Data.

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. 2014. *Database on Immigrants in OECD and Non-OECD Countries: DIOC 2010/11*. Paris: OECD. http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/dioc.htm.

PEW Research Center. 2015. *Growing African Immigrant Population Is Highly Educated, Underemployed*. https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/blogs/stateline/2015/5/14/growing-african-immigrant-population-is-highly-educated-underemployed.

PEW Research Center. 2017. *Remittance Flows Worldwide in 2017*. https://www.pewresearch.org/global/interactives/remittance-flows-by-country/.

Pew Research Center. 2018. *International Migration from Sub-Saharan Africa Has Grown Dramatically Since 2010*. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center. https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/02/28/international-migration-from-sub-saharanafrica-has-grown-dramatically-since-2010/.

Schwab, Klaus, ed. 2014. *The Global Competitive Index Report 2014–2015*. Geneva, Switzerland: World Economic Forum. http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GlobalCompetitivenessReport_2014-15.pdf.

Sriskandarajaah, Dhananjayan. 2005. *Reassessing the Impact of Brain Drain on Developing Countries*. Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute. http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/reassessing-impacts-brain-drain-developing-countries.

Ukpokodu, Omiunota N. 2016. *You Can't Teach Us If You Don't Know Us: Becoming an Ubuntu, Responsive and Responsible Urban Teacher*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.

Ukpokodu, Omiunota N., and Peter O. Ojiambo. 2017. *Erasing Invisibility, Inequities, and Social Injustice of African Immigrants in the Diaspora and the Continent*. Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

UNESCO. 2012. "Harnessing the Skills of Migrants and Diaspora to Foster Development: Policy Options." https://www.oecd.org/migration/Policy_Brief_Migrants_En_BD%20DEFINITIF.pdf.

UNESCO. 2014. *Tertiary Education: International Flows of Mobile Students by Country of Origin, 2012*. Montreal, Canada: UNESCO Institute of Statistics. http://uis.unesco.org/en/uis-student-flow.

United Nations. 2016. *International Migration: Data*. New York, NY: UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA). http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/data/estimates2/estimates17.shtml.

United Nations. 2017. "Trends in International Migrant Stock: The 2017 Revision." UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA), Population Division. https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/data/index.asp.

United Nations Department of Economic Affairs. 2015. *Trends in International Migration, 2015.* https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/populationfacts/docs/MigrationPopFacts20154.pdf.

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. 2013. *Trends in International Migrant Stock: The 2013 Revision—Migrant by Age and Sex.* https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/publications/pdf/migration/migrant-stock-age-2013.pdf.

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. 2009. *Economic Report on Africa.* https://www.uneca.org/publications/economic-report-africa-2009.

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Health Resources and Services Administration, National Center for Health Workforce Analysis. 2017. *National and Regional Supply and Demand Projections of the Nursing Workforce: 2014–2030.* Rockville, MD: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. https://bhw.hrsa.gov/sites/default/files/bhw/nchwa/projections/NCHWA_HRSA_Nursing_Report.pdf.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1974. *The Modern World System I, Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century.* New York: Academic Press.

World Bank. 2016. *Migration and Remittances Factbook.* Washington, DC: World Bank.

World Bank Group. 2017. *Migration and Remittances: Recent Developments and Outlook.* Migration and Development Brief; No. 28. World Bank, Washington, DC. © World Bank. https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/28444. License: CC BY 3.0 IGO.

World Health Organization (WHO). 2009. *World Health Statistics 2009.* Geneva, Switzerland: WHO. https://www.who.int/whosis/whostat/2009/en/.

Zong, Jie, and Jeane Batalova. 2017. *Sub-Sahara African Immigrants in the United States.* Migration Information Institute. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/sub-saharan-african-immigrants-united-states.

Afrocentric Education in North America: An Introduction

Arlo Kempf and George J. Sefa Dei

Introduction

This chapter investigates Afrocentric teaching and learning in Canada and the USA, situating current efforts and offerings within a wider historical trajectory of struggle for equity for African-descended peoples. Recognizing the broader context of the contemporary rise and prominence of white supremacist movements and discourses, this chapter comes in response to the persistence of dominant and colonial resistance and responses to African-centered education among educators, popular media, and policymakers. In North American and European contexts, the push by African peoples to maintain and develop learning and knowledge which recognize and sustain the history, capacity, and interests of African peoples begins with the forced immigration of Africans to these areas under various systems of capture, enslavement, and indenture and builds upon centuries of formal and informal education traditions on the continent. The collapse of the European trade in enslaved

A. Kempf (✉) · G. J. Sefa Dei
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education,
University of Toronto, Toronto, ON, Canada
e-mail: arlo.kempf@utoronto.ca

G. J. Sefa Dei
e-mail: george.dei@utoronto.ca

peoples, as many African-American and Caribbean scholars, activists, and popular intellectuals have argued, did very little to quell the persistent and extreme discrimination faced by African-descended people throughout the African Diaspora. Indeed, many activists, scholars, and groups have long understood the importance of building awareness among African peoples of the ways in which racism, Eurocentricity, race, and power work in order to resist the white supremacy facing Africans in the Diaspora. This chapter offers an introductory historical overview of the practices, literature, and movements surrounding Afrocentric teaching and learning in the USA and Canada, by offering a scholarly context for the debate about African-centered education. It also provides an introduction to Afrocentric philosophy as well as the challenges of its implementation in schooling contexts. Ideas regarding the implementation and operationalization of African-centered schooling and education have been informed by the scholarly writing of a number of scholars, whose works have articulated diverse positions and conceptualizations of what African-centered schooling and pedagogy should do in order to combat the pervasive miseducation and under-education of African youths in Euro-American contexts. Before diving into the history of education-based struggle for and by African-descended peoples, we offer our social locations below.

On Author Locations

Where we come from informs the places from which we write, and what we have to say. Arlo is a White settler Canadian. On his father's side, his ancestors came to North America from what is now Germany. On his mother's side, his people come from Oklahoma—after searching through a series of adoptions records, stories, memories, and lies, his best guess is his maternal ancestors were Scottish and Cherokee—no one has made any claims or been claimed by one group or another. He was born on Kanien'kehá:ka land in Tiohtià:ke (also known as Montreal). His parents were recent immigrants from the USA. His family moved to Treaty 13 territory, and he grew up there, on the land of the Mississaugas of the New Credit in what is commonly known as Toronto, where he works and lives today. George is a founding scholar of Afrocentric Education in Canada. In June 2007, Dei was enstooled as a traditional chief in his birthplace in Ghana, currently serving as the Gyaasehene of the town of Asokore-Koforidua in the New Juaben Traditional Area of Ghana. His stool name is Nana Adusei Sefa Tweneboah. Born and educated in his early years in Ghana, Dei emigrated to Canada in 1979. He has been a member of various community organizations, particularly the Black Educators Working Group (BEWG), Ghanaian-Canadian Association of Ontario (GCAO), Canadian Alliance of Black Educators (CABE), and the Organization of Parents of Black children in Toronto that have fought tireless over the years for the enhancement of Black education in

Canada. By way of his African ancestry which informs his call for reclaiming African Indigeneity, Dei belongs to the traditional Asakyiri clan of Asokore, Koforidua, in Eastern Ghana. His African and Ghanaian Indigeneity is rooted in the family clan and lineage history that traces their descent way back to/from a putative female ancestress even prior to colonialism. The Asakyiri clan is one of the eleven major clans in the Asante Kingdom of Ghana and their totem is the vulture.

<div align="center">

A Brief Note on the Context of the Call for Afrocentric Schooling

</div>

The importance of curriculum and pedagogy to the political life of any society cannot be overstated. As Grande (2015), Hooks (2003), Freire (1997), Dei (1996), Apple (1978), Bowles and Gintis (1976), and many others have argued, education tends to produce and/or reproduce the politics and social arrangements of the state. The current achievement deficit facing African-descended and Indigenous students is well documented in the USA and Canada. Woven centrally into the fabric of mainstream compulsory K-12 schooling are pervasive threads of inequality and inequity in terms of race, gender, sexuality, language, country, and culture of origin, ethnicity, ability, and other socio-identity markers of privilege and punishment. Beyond the classroom (although related to schooling), we see a powerful global trend toward white supremacy as express policy and priority, of note particularly in Western democratic countries including the USA, Canada, England, and much of continental Europe. Although our current race and racism formations, first developed as part and parcel of the Enlightenment (see, e.g., Painter 2010; Wynter 2003) has been ceaseless at the individual, institutional, and systemic levels in European and North American contexts, it may be fair to say that racism is an increasingly pressing issue. Afrocentric education has, for nearly a century, acted as a space of resistance, agency, and empowerment for many African-American and African Canadian communities. We situate this chapter within the current context of race crisis.

<div align="center">

Early Activism, Organization, and Theorization: Recent and Living Ancestors

</div>

W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1963), an African-American scholar, poet, and activist, was the first African-American to earn and receive a doctorate from Harvard University. He was also one of the first Americans to formally theorize the race problem in the USA. To this day, he remains one of the central inspirations for Afrocentricity. Du Bois co-founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and was the editor-in-chief of the NAACP's groundbreaking journal, *The Crisis: A Record of the Darker Races.* Du Bois argued Africans needed to understand race

differently in order to resist and overcome racism. Du Bois' understandings of race stimulated countless forms of resistance, and he is widely remembered as the founder of the modern Civil Rights Movement in the USA.

With no less important but profoundly disparate understandings of, and approaches to, challenging and struggling against the racism and oppression facing Africans in Africa and the Diaspora, Marcus Mosiah Garvey (1887–1940) was another key inspiration for Afrocentricity. Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League (UNIL-ACL), a global organization. Garvey and the UNIL-ACL campaigned for the Back-to-Africa movement, arguing that Africans in the Diaspora needed to return to Africa in order to escape the daily race-based struggle of Africans in the Diaspora—indeed to remove themselves from the race dialogue in the Americas and Europe and return to both a more accurate homeland as well as one which was not governed by colonial white supremacy. By 1920, the UNIL-UC had over four million members. Garvey taught a love of Africa, and a love of the African self. This was a substantial departure from the educational offerings available to African-Americans through mainstream schooling and curriculum. Although Garvey and Du Bois were unrivaled intellectual innovators, Africans have always and everywhere resisted oppression, both in action and in theory. Indeed, the contemporary discussion and practice of Afrocentricity stand on the shoulders of those who have come before. Afrocentricity builds on the work and struggles of the radicals, the activists, the poets, the scholars, and the regular people in Africa and the Diaspora who have fought in their own ways against oppression: from Frederick Douglas, to Harriet Tubman, to Booker T. Washington, to Aimé Césaire, to Amílcar Cabral, to Rosa Parks, to Viola Desmond, to Martin Luther King Junior, to James Baldwin, to Malcolm X, to Nelson Mandela and countless others. It also builds on African intellectual traditions which predate Euro-colonial suppressions thereof.

It is significant to stress that while thoughts of African-centered education have a long history, the pedagogy of Afrocentricity does not automatically translate into African-centered schooling. The most widely cited and recognized ideas regarding the implementation and operationalization of African-centered schooling and education have been colored by the scholarly works of Molefi K. Asante, Maulana Karenga, Kofi Lomotey, Akwasi Akoto, Marianna Ani, Carol D. Lee, Peter C. Murrell, and Mwalimu J. Shujaa to name of few. These works have articulated similar positions and conceptualizations of what African-centered schooling and pedagogy should do in order to combat the pervasive miseducation and under-education of African youth in Euro-American contexts. Euro-America refers here to both Europe and the Americas, of which Canada is of course a part. These scholars rightly contend throughout much of their writing that in racialized spaces where African youth have been subject to Eurocentric ontological and epistemological abasement for centuries, African-centered schooling seems for many, the only

recourse to stem this critical lack in African youth education. Summing up the goal and purpose of African-centered schools, Lee (1992) noted:

> The independent African-centered school movement has taken a proactive stance, defining within a community context the possibilities and gift that Black children offer the world, and creating institutions to manifest its ideals. [These] institutions validate knowledge, help to shape visions, inculcate values, and provide the foundation for community stability…[they] strive to educate and socialize African children to assume their future roles as political, intellectual, spiritual and economic leaders in their communities. Its vision is one in which Black people are firmly rooted in family and community. (161)

Most proponents of African-centered educational options like Lee (1992) view African-centered schooling and education as an avenue for ensuring the holistic re-education of African children in a way that nurtures their successful social, spiritual, and academic development.

In order to understand such paradigmatic thinking, it is important for us to provide an overview of some of the works at the heart of this philosophy, homing in on some central ideas and arguments as they relate to African-centered education, schooling, and pedagogy. First though, we begin with a very brief survey of the literature dealing with the historical development of African-centered schooling in the USA and the UK. Next, we continue by discussing works that specifically deal with the theory and praxis of African-centered schooling and education. Here, the goal is to elucidate more clearly the visions and goals of Afrocentricity and African-centered education as envisioned by the founder of the school of thought, Molefi Kete Asante. Finally, we examine some of the debates that resonate in the literature with regard to the key challenges and issues of bringing African-centered schooling, education, pedagogy, and theory to praxis. This we believe is of importance to educationalists, policymakers, and curriculum planners who aspire to charter their own African-centered school in terms of both broadening their understanding of some of the challenges they may face, as well as providing a sense of existing conversations on African-centered education.

The Development of and Struggle for Afrocentric Schooling

As noted above, the movement toward African-centered education has a long history. The literature on development of Independent Black Institutions, Charter Schools, and Black Supplementary schools (so-called in Britain) provides valuable insight into the early educational activism of Africans in the Diaspora. Anderson (1988), Butchart (1980), Ratteray (1992), and Watkins (2001), in particular, attend to the details of these movements while Ratteray and Shujaa (1987) trace this history to the 1790s during the European

system of trade in enslaved people. During this time, African-Americans in particular were engaged (albeit primarily on the individual and small group levels) in silent resistances in order secure their basic rights to education. These authors' works remind us of the many narrative and historical accounts of enslaved Africans hiding books and struggling to read in the dark, despite the harsh legal sanctions, as well as possible punishment by death that accompanied the discovery of such defiance of colonial law. Equally worthy of note are Lee's (1992) as well as Mirza and Reay's (1997, 2000) works which detail the collective struggles for self-education not only during the period of slavery but also during the post Reconstruction/post-slavery period. Mirza and Reay trace the growth of Sabbath schools and reading clubs in the Southern USA and Britain. In this category of literature, we also find Lawson Bush's (2004) writings which examine the evolution of Independent Black Institutions (IBIs) in the American context dating as far back as the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. These writings flesh out African communities' zeal for self-determination vis-à-vis education amidst seemingly insurmountable financial, legal, and social constraints. Referencing Anderson (1988), Bush writes: White northern missionaries were… surprised by the will of the formerly enslaved Africans to educate themselves. Books or fragments of books were seen in the hands of African-American men, women, and children everywhere they traveled in the South (Bush 2004, 387). Importantly, Bush's work locates historical discourses such as the Back-to-Africa movement, Pan African movement, and Black Consciousness Movement (and their leaders) as having tremendously impacted the erection of many of the early African-centered institutions. In addition, Rashid and Muhammad (1992) in tracing the history of the Sister Clara Mohammed school (one of the earliest Islamic schools focused on teaching history that placed black people at the center of civilization) discuss the impact of Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association and its motto of black self-determination and racial pride as having been the foundational principle upon which the institution's pedagogy (of liberation encapsulated in the message of knowing the self, loving the self, and doing for self) emerged (Rashid and Mohammed 1992). The literature reveals also that development of these institutions was not without its challenges. Indeed, throughout history, African-centered institutions have been marred by periodic declines (most notably that which was seen during the period of 1890–1935 in the USA).

Notwithstanding these setbacks in the creation of these institutions, unfair and restrictive state laws, and practices, coupled with lack of government funding and support have been a catalytic driving force propelling the African community to form quasi-IBIs funded, built, staffed, and maintained by their own communities. This is noteworthy as it demonstrates that people of African descent in the Americas and to a lesser extent in Europe have always held in high regard education that empowers them to move toward self-determination and which enables them to charter their

independent ontological path outside of dominant Eurocentric structures and prisms of teaching, learning, and schooling (Bush 1997, 2004; Reay and Mirza 1997). The same holds true throughout the African Diaspora where Africans have either taken advantage of adequate opportunities or fought to create schooling opportunities for their communities. Indeed, this human thirst for learning (and it would be incorrect to understand such an impulse as being culturally or geographically specific or unique) explains the epistemological focus of the colonial project from literacy laws in the USA, to forced segregation in schooling in Canada, to the forcible exclusion of African peoples from formal education in the Caribbean during the early European colonial era.

In 2016, there were over 100 African-centered schools in the USA, some private, some public, and some charter at the elementary and secondary levels. On the whole, African-centered schooling in the USA has been a site for academic enrichment for African and African-American children, with above-average grades and test results on a number of national and regional standardized tests. Putting aside for a moment the politics of charter schools and the privatization of education, the African-centered curricular focus has proven consistently central to the academic success of children across the USA. The Canadian context has, as described in the introduction, a shorter and less developed history of African-centered learning than the USA but the latest student test scores from the Toronto District School Board's Africentric Alternative School indicate that students in the Canadian context, like their peers in the USA, stand to benefit from African-centered approaches as well. This school is the result of a thirty-plus year community struggle which we detail in the next chapter and has been supported by the academic work of George Sefa Dei (1993, 1995, 1996, 1997, 2000, 2008), Dei et al. (1995), Dei and Kempf (2007), Braithwaite and James (1996), and more recently Allen (2011). George Sefa Dei, Carl James, and Erica Lawson have each contributed countless hours as academic advisors to groups and committees at the community, government, and academic levels. These three have also been active, as has Arlo Kempf, in media circles appearing most often to defend African-centered schooling, on television, radio, and in various print media across the country. Thus, in addition to pulling from a broader and primarily US-based literature, the push and fight for African-centered schooling in Canada draw on a small but relevant and growing body of work which has been largely embedded itself, in the initial community-based push for African-centered schooling.

Despite continued controversy, for example, the media outcry following the establishment of an African-centered school by US President Barack Obama's church, and the Canadian media circus surrounding a proposed second Afrocentric school in Toronto, the movement for African-centered teaching and learning continues, with steady growth in the USA and discussions of African-centered schools in Montreal and Halifax, Canada.

Philosophies of Afrocentric Schooling

The existing literature points to three types of African-centered models of schooling: Independent Black Institutions (IBIs), charter schools, and black supplementary schools. Lawson Bush (2004), borrowing from Foster (1992), defines an independent black institution as a private, self-governing institution that is not dependent upon a larger public or sectarian organization. The author extends this definition to include schools supported and governed by black religious organizations. IBIs ostensibly serve the African-American community and most often have a governing board comprised for the most part by African-Americans. In contrast, charter schools are schools that enter into a contract with a state school board or local county board of education that delineates the goals, purpose, and management structure of the charter school. In this model, the state or county school guides the process so as to ensure that the school executes its plans of meeting the needs of its targeted population. They differ from traditional public schools in the sense that they are given more autonomy in exchange for a promise to achieve improved educational outcomes (Bush 2004, 393). Black supplementary schools (as they are called in Britain) are similar to IBIs to the extent that they are operated privately outside of the scope of traditional schools. Similar to IBIs, they are operated, organized, and controlled by and for African-Diasporic communities. Unlike IBIs however, they are supplementary schools in as much as they have been officially regarded as an addition or supplement to traditional mainstream schooling (Reay and Mirza 1997, 477). Despite these divergences and convergences in structure and organization all were developed out of the desire of African peoples to seek redress to the exclusion and educational shortcomings of mainstream schools.

The principles and guiding philosophies of African-centered education and pedagogy have been laid out by scholars such as Molefi Asante, Kofi Lomotey, Maulana Karenga, and Mwalimu Shujaa in the US context. Carol D. Lee's (1992) article entitled "Profile of an Independent Black Institution: African-centered Education at Work" provides an excellent and detailed synopsis of the goals and objectives of African-centered education. In delineating the contours of African-centered education, Lee (1992, 165–166) points out that African-centered education aims to accomplish the following:

1. Legitimize African stores of knowledge.
2. Positively exploit and scaffold productive community and cultural practices.
3. Extend and build upon indigenous African languages.
4. Reinforce community ties and idealize [the concept of] service to one's family, community, nation, race, and world.
5. Promote positive social relationships.

6. Impart a worldview that idealizes a positive, self-sufficient future for one's people without denying the self-worth and right to self-determination of others.
7. Support cultural continuity while promoting critical consciousness.
8. Promote the vision of individuals and communities as producers rather than as simply consumers.

Of pedagogical significance in an African-centered educational setting is the fusion of morality, ethics, and knowledge acquisition. This is in keeping with the Kemetic proposition that moral social practice is necessary for the development of humanity (see Asante 2000; Karenga 2004).[1] According to the proponents of Afrocentricity, an African-centered pedagogy/curriculum aims to unite academic excellence and positive character and to foster an environment where interdependence, community, and reciprocity are part and parcel of the learning process (Lee 1992 citing Karenga 1990). African-centered education is guided by Nguzo Saba, Karenga's (1989) principles of Kwanzaa: unity, self-determination, collective work and responsibility, cooperative economics, creativity, purpose, and faith. While the application of these foundational principles is key to the successful realization of an African educational institution, African-centered pedagogy requires willing teachers who are not only knowledgeable about black history but whose realities and personal/ subject locations are also grounded in "the social ethics of African culture." As Shujaa (1994) states:

> When discussing African-centered education…more emphasis should be placed on pedagogy than on curriculum. My reasoning for this is that pedagogy conveys the importance of the teacher to the education process while curriculum is too often reduced to documentation…It is the African centeredness of the teacher's thinking that determines the African-centeredness of the teaching. (256–265)

Put differently, it is clear that for an African-centered model of education to work effectively teachers and educators must live, breathe, and be constantly engaged in the social philosophy and praxis of Maat (Lee citing Karenga 1990). Reflecting on Karenga, Kempf (2011) provides the following overview of Maatian ethics:

> Etymologically Maat is traced to notions of straightness and evenness. Drawing from a substantial literature on Maat, Karenga reveals its meaning as one signifying a guiding force, a cosmic order, truth, ideal wisdom, a metaphysical ideal and an epistemological ideal. As a wide-ranging concept, it expresses itself in four domains: 1) the universal–the totality of ordered existence; 2) the political domain–regulating justice and injustice; 3) the social domain–relationships and duty in the context of community; and, 4) the personal domain in which — following the rules and principles of Maat is to realize concretely the universal order in oneself. (102)

Other scholarly writings have added to the conception of African-centered pedagogy. Among these are Akoto (1994), Dove (1993), Hilliard (1997), Lee (1994), Murrell (1999), and Shujaa (1994). Other works provide useful examples of direct pedagogical methods that can be employed in instructing African youth in an African-centered educational setting. Hoover's (1992) piece entitled "The Nairobi Day School: An African-American Independent School, 1966-1984" outlines some of the strategies used by educators at the Nairobi Day School to achieve an African-centered model of education. For instance, Hoover (1992) enthuses that the school's method of pedagogy and philosophy were based on the concept of community-based dialogical learning developed by Brazilian popular educator Paulo Freire (1921–1997). In keeping with Freire's pedagogical approach, teaching emphasized the development of students' motor and cognitive skills while at the same time emphasizing the teachings of their own cultures from a material and problem-posing perspective. To this end, the study of black history, culture, and languages was an integral part of the schools' pedagogy. Teachers at the school would center and celebrate black culture and history in the form of politically oriented music, rhymes, and short stories. Students in this school were taught to recognize syllable patterns through rhymes, raps, and stories which simultaneously increased their spelling, literacy skills, and political pride.

Another useful example is found in the New Concept Development Centre (NCDC) of Chicago where students were taught the numeracy skills using the Egyptian (Kemetic), Yoruba, and Arabic system of numeracy in conjunction with the Western approaches. In the aforementioned examples, games from West Africa were employed as part of the curriculum and pedagogy. This approach emphasized a pedagogy that linked cultural knowledge to traditional school subject matters. For instance, the playing of games such as Oware[2] tied the educational and learning process to the abstract and the concrete, as it supports the development and acquisition of logical inference and decision-making skills which would become useful and necessary for real-world experiences (Lee 1992; Hoover 1992). In addition, works such as Harris (1992) illustrate the direct pedagogical, instructional, and communicative effectiveness and usefulness of Yoruba traditional education such as proverbs and folktales in achieving educational reform in keeping with the education envisioned by pioneering Afrocentrists such as Molefi Asante.

Although some general principles are instructive, as outlined above, it can scarcely be overstated that African-centered schooling requires recognition of specific social, historical, geographical, and cultural contexts insofar as every school will exist to support a specific community in a specific time and place. To go one step further, in as much as each African-centered school is different, each exists for a different reason. In addition to promoting holistic development of school as community and community as education, the importance of context also draws upon the diversity of offerings implicit and explicit in African-centered teaching and learning. The African continent itself

cannot be understood through cultural reductionist paradigms. Similarly, the African Diaspora refers to a plurality of people, cultures, knowledges, histories, relations, and experiences. With this in mind, African-centered learning draws from a dynamic and fluid understanding of *Africa* and *African*, an understanding which evolves from the past, present, and future, and which is constituted by African peoples of today as well as those who have come before.

It is evident from the literature that in making this vision a reality, African-centered educators have to anticipate and prepare for the particular challenges, issues, and setbacks which can emerge in the process African-centered teaching, learning, and schooling. The following section examines some of the scholarship that is instructive in this regard.

Conclusion: The Challenges of Moving from Theory to Practice

An examination of the literature on African-centered schooling and education reveals the realities, issues, and continuing challenges teachers, administrators, parents, and members of the African community have encountered in actualizing an African-centered model of education. African independent schools have grappled with problems such as structural maintenance (e.g., obtaining and sustaining safe, healthy physical facilities), as well as with ensuring the ideological goals of African-centered curriculum and pedagogy are implemented. As Shujaa (1994) points out, African-centered schools are constantly caught in a peculiar conundrum when they struggle with fulfilling their African-centered mission, philosophy, and pedagogy. Schools often encounter challenges in coalescing the African-centered ideology while staying true to parental and student expectations. Shujaa notes that most parents who decide to enroll their children in these types of institutions act in accordance with their pre-existing inward manifestation of an African-centered orientation. In other words, parents who advocate for this type of schooling for their children make this conscious decision as part of their efforts to ensure that their child(ren) be educated in an environment that is in keeping with the values, attitudes, and beliefs espoused in the home. When African-centered schools fall short of these mandates as far as actualizing the ideological and philosophical ideas of the parent(s), expectations can and do go unsatisfied. This is particularly relevant when one considers that the number of parents choosing African-centered independent schools, due to their ideological orientation, is growing (see, e.g., Toronto District School Board 2018; Shujaa 1994, 157).

Another challenge often present at these institutions is noted by Murrell's 1999 and 2002 work, from his five-year case study of the George Washington Carver Charter School. He charts the clash of ideology between different state-funded African-centered schools that are often subject to state institutional controls. In assessing the political, ideological, and structural

challenges that such a school encounters in trying to incorporate the consciousness, principles, and ethos of African culture. Murrell (2002) notes that one of the challenges the school faced was trying to unite the state's public school board regulations regarding students' grade-level achievement with the unique approaches of an African-centered curriculum. According to Murrell (1999, 2002), many schools still struggled with residual ties to traditional schools because state boards and surprisingly some parents called for methods of assessment traditionally associated and practiced in Eurocentric schooling contexts, such as standardized tests. Such tests were often viewed as a necessary but nonetheless problematic pedagogical tool as such methods of measuring student aptitude contradict the alternative methods of assessment preferred by some proponents of African-centered schooling. These external demands by state school boards to show results constituted major impediments that retarded innovation as far as the local development of an African-centered pedagogy (Murrell 1999, 579–580). To be clear, we recognize the potential of good testing to support racially, socially, and economically marginalized youth compete with more advantages students on objective terrain, but such measurement has been elusive to date.

A final issue of note is the persistent underfunding, as well as regular defunding of African-centered schools. In the most extreme cases, this can lead to school closure. In the case of poor or inadequate funding, the impact on professional learning and development, on curricular resources for teachers and students, and on infrastructural plant maintenance can dramatically impact the chances of school-wide success. This raises the issue of whether or not publicly funded African-centered schools are sometimes set up to fail. As far as the curricular content, Lee points out that inadequate in-service training of staff, as well as "narrow ideological foci with little grounding and support from the communities being served" are persistent issues (1992, 174). The realization of an African-centered pedagogy against the backdrop of state expectations and external controls presents unique challenges that need to be understood and overcome in order to make African-centered schooling a reality.

As Hoover (1992) reminds, those who may question the educational offerings of the philosophy of Afrocentricity would do well to look at the successes and challenges of the Nairobi Day school project. A number of other African-centered models (such as the NCDC) have been produced and supported tremendous student success and have managed to find a balance for the dual need for academic excellence and corrective black/African history (Hoover 1992). We might add that any reading of these as mutually exclusive is shortsighted and small-minded at best. Indeed, the African-centered curricular focus on skills, caring, and community-orientated philosophy is as relevant today as it ever has been. However, while recognizing the possibilities, one also has to be cognizant of the many challenges of implementing and maintaining such schools in racialized settings such as Ontario where institutionalized racism at various forms and at various levels makes this task all the more difficult.

Notes

1. For more on Kemetic philosophy Asante's *The Egyptian Philosophers: Ancient African Voices From Imhotep to Akhenaten* (2000) and Maulana Karenga's *Maat: The Moral Ideal in Ancient Egypt–A Study in Classical African Ethics* (2004) are particularly instructive.
2. Oware, a centuries-old game hugely popular in West Africa today, involves a wooden board usually containing eight to 12 depressions in and out of which marble-sized objects are strategically moved around. Two people play, alternating turns with the object of obtaining all of the marbles.

References

Akoto, Kwame Agyei. 1994. "Notes on an African-centered Pedagogy." In *Too Much Schooling, Too Little Education: A Paradox of Black Life in White Societies*, edited by Mwalimu Shujaa, 319–337. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Allen, Andrew. 2011. "Improving the Education and Life Chances of African-Canadians: A Vision for Preparing Students for the World of the 21st century." In *Re/visioning: Canadian Perspectives of the Education of Africans in the 21st Century*, edited by V. D'Oylley, 77–88. Toronto: Captus Press Inc.

Anderson, James D. 1988. *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Apple, Michael W. 1978. "Ideology, Reproduction, and Educational Reform." *Comparative Education Review* 22 (3): 367–387.

Asante, Molefi. 2000. *The Egyptian Philosophers: Ancient African Voices from Imhotep to Akhenaten.* Chicago: African-American Images.

Bowles, Samuel, and Herbert Gintis. 1976. *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life.* New York: Basic Books.

Brathwaite, Karen, and Carl James (eds.). 1996. *Educating African-Canadians.* Toronto: Lorimer.

Bush, Lawson. 1997. "Independent Black Institutions in America: A Rejection of Schooling, an Opportunity for Education." *Urban Education* 22 (1): 96–116.

Bush, Lawson. 2004. "Access, School Choice and Independent Black Institutions: A Historical Perspective." *Journal of Black Studies* 34 (3): 386–401.

Butchart, Ronald E. 1980. "Education and Culture in the Trans-Mississippi West: An Interpretation." *Journal of American Culture* 3: 351–373.

Dei, George J. Sefa. 1993. "Narrative Discourses of Black Parents and the Canadian Public School System." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 25 (3): 45–65.

Dei, George J. Sefa. 1995. "Examining the Case for African-centered Schools in Ontario." *McGill Journal of Education* 30 (2): 179–198.

Dei, George J. Sefa. 1996. *Anti-racism Education in Theory and Practice.* Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

Dei, George J. Sefa. 1997. "Beware of False Dichotomies: Revisiting the Idea of 'Black-Focused' Schools in Canadian Contexts." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 31 (4): 58–79.

Dei, George J. Sefa. 2000. "Rethinking the Role of Indigenous Knowledges in the Academy." *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 4 (2): 111–132.

Dei, George J. Sefa. 2008. "Schooling as Community: Race, Schooling, and the Education of African Youth." *Journal of Black Studies* 38 (3): 346–366.

Dei, George J. Sefa, and Arlo Kempf. 2007. "Debunking Myths About African-centered Schools." *Toronto Star*, AA8.

Dei, George J. Sefa, L. Holmes, J. Mazzuca, E. McIsaac, and R. Campbell. 1995. *Drop Out or Push Out?* Toronto: Report Submitted to Ontario Ministry of Education.

Dove, Nah. 1993. Racism and Resistance in the Schooling of Africans. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, State University of New York, Buffalo.

Foster, Gail. 1992. "New York City's Wealth of Independent Black Institutions." *Journal of Negro Education* 61: 187–200.

Freire, Paulo. 1997. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum.

Grande, Sandy. 2015. *Red Pedagogy: Native American Social and Political Thought Tenth Anniversary Edition*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Harris, Michael D. 1992. "Africentrism and Curriculum: Concepts, Issues, and Prospects." *The Journal of Negro Education* 61 (3): 301–316.

Hilliard III, Asa Grant. 1997. "Teacher Education from an African-American Perspective." In *Critical Knowledge for Diverse Teachers and Learners*, edited by J. J. Irvine, 125–148. Washington, DC: American Association for Colleges of Teacher Education.

Hooks, Bell. 2003. *Teaching Community: A Pedagogy of Hope*. New York: Routledge.

Hoover, Mary Eleanor Rhodes. 1992. "The Nairobi Day School: An African-American Independent School, 1966–1984." *Journal of Negro Education* 61 (2): 201–210.

Karenga, Maulana. 2004. *Maat: The Moral Ideal in Ancient Egypt: A Study in Classical African Ethics*. New York: Routledge.

Kempf, Arlo. 2011. "North African Knowledges and the Western Classroom: Situating Selected Literature." In *The Politics of Cultural Knowledge*, edited by Njoki Wane, A. Kempf, and Marlon Simmons, 93–110. New York, NY: Sense Publishers.

Lee, Carol D. 1992. "Profile of an Independent Black Institution: African-centered Education at Work." *Journal of Negro Education* 61: 161–177.

Lee, Carol D. 1994. "African-centered Pedagogy: Complexities and Possibilities." In *Too Much Schooling, Too Little Education: A Paradox in Black Life in White Societies*, edited by M. Shujaa, 295–318. Trenton: African World Press.

Mirza, Heidi Safia, and Diane Reay. 2000. "Spaces and Places of Black Educational Desire: Rethinking Black Supplementary Schools as a New Social Movement." *Sociology: The Journal of the British Sociological* Association 34 (3): 521–544.

Murrell, Peter C. 1999. "Chartering the Village: The Making of an African-Centered Charter School." *Urban Education* 33 (5): 565–583.

Murrell, Peter C. 2002. *African-centered Pedagogy: Developing Schools of Achievement for African-American Children*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Painter, Nell Irving. 2010. *The History of White People*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton.

Rashid, Hakim, and Zakiyyah Mohammad. 1992. "The Sister Clara Muhammad Schools: Pioneers in the Development of Islamic Education in America." *Journal of Negro Education* 61 (4): 178–185.

Ratteray, Joan Davis. 1992. "Independent Neighbourhood Schools: A Framework for the Education of African-Americans." *Journal of Negro Education* 61 (4): 139–147.

Ratteray, Joan Davis, and Mwalimu J. Shujaa. 1987. *Dare to Choose: Parental Choice at Independent Neighbourhood Schools.* Washington, DC: Institute for Independent Education.

Reay, Diane, and Heidi Safia Mirza. 1997. "Uncovering Genealogies of the Margins: Black Supplementary Schooling." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 18 (4): 477–499.

Shujaa, Mwalimu J. 1994. "Afrocentric Transformation and Parental Choice in African-American Independent Schools." In *Too Much Schooling, Too Little Education: A Paradox of Black life in White Societies*, edited by Mwalimu J. Shujaa, 361–376. Trenton: Africa World Press.

Toronto District School Board (TDSB). 2018. "Africentric Alternative School." Toronto, Canada: TDSB. http://www.tdsb.on.ca/Find-your/Details/schno/3949?displayModule=Details%20of%20a%20School.

Watkins, William H. 2001. *The White Architects of Black Education: Ideology and Power in America, 1865–1954.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Wynter, Sylvia. 2003. "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, It's Overrepresentation—An Argument." *The New Centennial Review* 3 (3): 257–337.

Index