Mary Immaculate College, University of Limerick

Thesis Title:

Education in West Africa as a Contested Space between Global Politics and Local Cultures: An Exploration through Critical Discourse Analysis.

Thesis Presented to Mary Immaculate College, University of Limerick for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By

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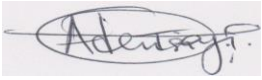November 2019

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Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. All quotations and excerpts from other sources have been fully acknowledged and referenced as required.

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Abstract

This research contributes to the discourse on resolving some of the challenges facing contemporary education-formal schooling across West Africa, particularly the challenge of resentment toward formal schooling in the region. Applying Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a methodological framework, this research explores the nature of the challenge of resentment toward formal schooling at a macro level in West Africa. It focuses specifically on two identified elements that may be contributing to this formidability of this challenge in the region, namely, the dominant perception of pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems in contemporary discourse on education, and global education policies and strategies being issued by agencies such as UNESCO, UNDP, and the World Bank.

This research argues that contemporary education-formal schooling across West Africa is a contested space between global politics and local cultures. It also highlights, among other things, the contentions which exist within and between decolonisation on the one hand, and globalisation on the other, by first, highlighting the dominant discourse within each of the two strands of knowledge systems, and the principles that underpin them. Second, it highlights the form of power and injustices these dominant discourse reproduce and legitimise within each of the epistemic communities.

This research concludes by arguing that a resolution to the formidable challenge of resentment facing formal schooling across West Africa can be found through a critical understanding that highlights the misconceptions and fabrications in the ideologies that underpin discourse within both strands of knowledge systems. Bringing such critical understanding to bear in a dialogic relation between global politics and local cultures can potentially play an important role in resolving the challenge of resentment toward formal schooling in the region.

Contextual Clarifications

Nostalgic

Idealised (romantic) reflection on the past as unique and better organised.

Noble Principles

Well intended ideas that are underpinned by good intentions

West Africa

Politically independent countries in the Western region of Africa. Operationalised in this thesis as a regional perception of indigeneity situated within the decolonisation discourse.

Resentment

Emotional response triggered by the feeling of injustice, which can be as a result of "inferiorization, stigmazation, or unjustified and meaningless suffering".

Contemporary Education

Contemporary education is used in this thesis interchangeably with, and synonymous to, formal schooling, also referred to as formal education across West Africa. Formal schooling in this thesis broadly refers to the form of education that was introduced to the region by missionary organisations in the 18th and 19th century, and later controlled by the various colonial administrations. This form of education was later adopted by the various independent states across West Africa, hence, the use of the term contemporary education.

Indigenous knowledge Systems

'Indigenous knowledge systems' is used interchangeably with, and to represent, the various pre-colonial indigenous ways of knowing across West Africa. It is also referred to as the pre-colonial education systems adopted by the various indigenous communities across West Africa prior to and during the establishment and spread of missionary and colonial education in the region.

Global Education Policies and Strategies

Global education policies and strategies is used in this research to represent specific policies and strategies on education issued by UNESCO, UNDP, and the World Bank, beginning with the first Education For All (EFA) global initiative issued by UNESCO in 1990.

Chapter 1
Thesis Introduction

1.1 Introduction

> The kidnapping of 110 girls from a school in the north-eastern Nigerian town of Dapchi bears striking similarities to the 2014 abduction of 276 schoolgirls from Chibok … Over the past week, the echoes of the Chibok kidnapping have never been far from people's minds - least of all the parents of Dapchi. Four years later, more than 100 of those girls are still missing. The biggest fear of the families here is that they will also wait years until they see their daughters again - that is if they see them at all (British Broadcasting Corporation-BBC News, 1st March 2018).

> Dark clouds dimmed the late afternoon sun before a blustery sandstorm swept through the empty schoolyard in Burkina Faso's northern Djibo town. Fewer than 20 students were present at the school, but there were no teachers or lessons… The border areas between Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger have been hit by a rising spate of armed attacks, creating a new conflict hotspot in West Africa's Sahel region. Attacks and insecurity have imperilled learning, uprooted families and public workers and crippled local administration (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs-UNOCHA 2018).

The challenges facing contemporary education-formal schooling across West Africa have historically been a topic of discussions and commentaries related to United Nations (UN) reports, academic texts, and promotional videos put out by donor agencies seeking monetary donations from Western audiences. The recent rise in violent attacks by radicalised entities directed at educational facilities, students and other education stakeholders in parts of West Africa has turned global attention toward the challenges of formal schooling in the region, and made it a topic of 'kitchen table' discussions and headline news reports globally. However, resentment towards formal schooling, as well as other challenges facing contemporary education across West Africa, is not a recent phenomenon, and its root causes run deeper than what statistical data can fully capture. Parallel to the introduction of formal schooling across the colonised territories of West Africa (see Chapter 4 for a discussion on the history of formal schooling in West Africa), indigenous tribes and cultural groups have been expressing their resentment towards formal schooling in subtle forms of cultural

defiance, such as preventing and or limiting the education of women and girls due to cultural views on gender roles, and preventing the education of the first male child of the family due to perceived spiritually ordained responsibilities, among other actions.

The above excerpt indicates a broader discourse on gender violence against women, and the expression of power through the subjugation and control of women, particularly in developing regions. While this is a broader discourse which warrants critical interrogation particularly in post-colonial and developing socio-political contexts such as the West African region, the objective in this research is, first, to highlight the legitimisation of such gender violence as a cultural response to perceived domination, and second, to highlight the irony of such cultural response, as it engenders its own subjugation and violence (see Chapter 7.2.1 for further discussion on gender violence as a cultural response to perceived domination and control).

"…in the beginning was education" (Obanya 2010 p.27). Obanya's reference to "the beginning" in the quoted phrase refers to the start of human organisation and the formation of indigenous cultures across Africa. The philosophical question that underpins this research exploration is based on the premise that, where cultures exist there is also the contemporaneous existence of ways of knowing, the indigenous knowledge systems. This can be defined as the unique ways of knowing that are embedded in local cultures, local histories and mythologies, and in the local environments of the indigenous people (Mawere 2014). However, the nature of contemporary societies demands extensive cooperation and interactions between people, cultures, economies, and other facets of society to create a globalised and interconnected world. The main driver of the phenomenon of globalisation in all its complex and multidimensional forms, both in West Africa and elsewhere, is contemporary education (Stromquist 2002). In order to enable regional and local communities, whose interactions formed their various indigenous cultures and ways of knowing, to participate in the globalisation of the world, they too need to have access to quality contemporary education. The question therefore is, should the education of regional and local communities take into consideration the characteristics and components of their indigenous cultures and ways of knowing or should it impose upon them a distinct way of knowing, which bears no similarity to what is indigenous to them?

The argument put forward in this research is that, answering the above question requires a multi-layered critical analysis of certain elements. First, it requires a critical analysis of the dominant perception of pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems in contemporary discourse on education in West Africa, with the aim of highlighting the ideology that underpins it, and any obscured form of domination and injustices it may legitimise as it is being reproduced in contemporary discourse on education. Second. It requires the critical analysis of the fundamental principles that underpin contemporary education-formal schooling across West Africa, with the aim of highlighting the origin of their conception, and the obscured form of domination and impositions that they may legitimise. Hence, the main research question, which is aimed at addressing the overall goal of this research, is:

Research Question

How, and in what ways can the resentment towards formal schooling in West Africa be informed through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)?

Educational researchers such as Adeyemi and Adeyinka (2003), Dei (2000) and Zulu (2006) have called for a merger, a form of ideological partnership between the various African indigenous knowledge systems and contemporary education-formal schooling. These calls have specifically focused on combining 'what is good' and relevant to everyday life in contemporary African societies from the various cultures and indigenous knowledge systems, with aspects of contemporary education which does not seek to supress and or devalue indigenous cultures and traditional norms. The main difficulty faced by attempts to create such an educational 'Utopia', a hybridised form of education, however, is the constant and systematic erosion of indigenous cultural values and traditional norms, which is due to the perceived dominant force of the globalisation phenomenon. Consequently, the argument for decolonisation is thereby reinforced in contemporary discourse on formal schooling and, in turn, legitimises actions of resentment, subtle and otherwise, towards it.

The goal in this research is to contribute to the discourse on resolving some of the challenges facing contemporary education across West Africa, particularly the challenge of resentment toward formal schooling. Applying CDA as a methodological framework, this research explores contemporary education-formal schooling at a macro level in West Africa. The

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exploration focuses specifically on two identified elements which may be contributing to the formidability of the challenge of resentment toward formal schooling in the region, namely, the dominant perception of pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems in contemporary discourse, and global education policies and strategies being issued by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the World Bank, and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), amongst other United Nations' agencies.

This research highlight, among other things, the contentions which exists within and between decolonisation on the one hand and the phenomenon of globalisation on the other, which has resulted in making formal schooling a contested space between global politics and local cultures across West Africa. Central to the goal of this research exploration is highlighting the obscured forms of power within, first, the decolonisation narratives, which underpin and constitute the arguments against formal schooling at a macro level in West Africa, and second, the fundamental principles which underpin global education policies and strategies and, in turn, determines the course of formal schooling in the region. In other words, one of the central arguments put forward in this thesis is that, the fundamental principles which underpin contemporary education-formal schooling across West Africa are fundamentally flawed, and so is the basis upon which the arguments against formal schooling in contemporary discourse on education is based. Therefore, this research argues for a critical understanding that highlights the misconceptions and fabrications in the conception of the ideologies that underpin discourse in both strands of knowledge systems. It further argues that bringing such critical understanding to bear in a dialogic relation between global politics and local cultures can play an important role in resolving the formidable challenge of resentment toward formal schooling across West Africa.

1.2 Thesis Structure

This thesis is structured differently compared to a conventional social science thesis with five or six chapters. While this research has a main research question, which highlights the macro research problem, it does not have a set of sub-questions, as is often the case in most social science research. Rather, as a research situated within the methodological framework of CDA, the main focus of this research is on the challenge or resentment facing contemporary

education in West Africa, with the aim of further understanding the challenge, highlight the forces that reinforce it, and identify forms of domination and injustices which are being legitimised in the process. This thesis is a combination of independent essays, put together in a way that, both collectively and independently, they highlight certain claims and arguments which addresses the central theme and conceptual framework of the research process. It comprises of eight chapters with some chapters and sections dedicated to addressing the academic research requirements necessary for a PhD level research, and the rest of the chapters addressing various themes in the research process.

Chapter one of this thesis, as well as introducing the reader to the entire thesis, includes a reflexive section, which highlights my positioning as a researcher and the role of my presuppositions in the research process, my theoretical assumption as a researcher within the framework of this research, and the conceptual framework that underpinned the research process. Chapter two addresses the rationale for the choice of methodology and research method. It highlights the ethical considerations made in applying fiction as a source of data, and the analytical approach deployed in the research process. Chapter three explores the histories of pre-colonial West Africa, albeit synoptic and targeted, the chapter briefly explore some of the pre-historic settlements in the region, and the rise and fall of certain pre-colonial Empires in the region, with specific focus on how dominant cultures were transformed over time due to contacts with other cultures. The chapter also addresses the dominant perception of pre-colonial indigenous West African cultures in contemporary discourse.

Chapter four addresses the historical development of contemporary education-formal schooling in both British and French colonies of West Africa. The chapter highlights the evolution of educational policies during the initial stages of its introduction in the British and French colonies of West Africa. It highlights how colonial authorities across the region gradually took over the education efforts from missionary organisations through the introduction of a range of educational policies. Chapter five of this thesis is the education policy analysis chapter. The chapter explores the changing landscape of, and discourse on, formal schooling at a macro level in West Africa beginning from the post-colonial era, and the significance of global education policies and strategies, issued by UNESCO, the World Bank, and UNDP since 1990, on the state of education in the region. The chapter also explores some of the common challenges facing education across West Africa, with specific

focus on the implementation of the principles outlined in the Education for All frameworks. The arguments presented in this chapter are based on the premise that global education policies and strategies, issued by global agencies such as UNESCO, the World Band and UNDP, are a form of imposition of best practices by powerful nations (Ellerman 2008; Mason 2008), covertly designed to establish strategic influence on developing regions.

Chapter six explores and critically analyses the dominant perception of the pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems, how the said perception is being reproduced in discourse on contemporary education at a macro level in West Africa, and the form of power and injustices that is at play as this dominant perception is being reproduced and legitimised in contemporary discourse. As a way of identifying the dominant perception of pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems in contemporary discourse, diverse genre of texts were analysed with the aim of identifying, first, the authors' description of indigenous cultures and knowledge systems, and second, the authors' presuppositions of the readers' collective prior knowledge, social position, on the nature of the pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems (see Chapter 2 for a discussion on social position/social cognition).

Chapter seven presents the combined analysis of the two strands of knowledge systems analysed separately in Chapters five and six, contemporary education-formal schooling at a macro level in West Africa, which is influenced by global education policies and strategies, and the dominant perception of pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems in contemporary discourse, which is situated within the decolonisation paradigm. The chapter highlights the complexities of the formidable challenge of resentment facing formal schooling across West Africa, by critically analysing the fundamental principles that underpin discourse in each strand of the knowledge systems in the region. The premise for the critical analysis of the two strands of knowledge systems is, before an ideological partnership between the two knowledge systems can occur, and lead to a resolution of the challenge of resentment facing formal schooling in the region, it is necessary to deconstruct the discourse in each strand with the aim of identifying the fundamental principles that underpin them, and the origin of their conceptions.

Finally, this thesis concludes by arguing that contemporary education-formal school- across West Africa is a contested space between global politics and local cultures. A resolution to the formidable challenge of resentment toward formal schooling across West Africa can be found; a form of resentment expressed both through subtle means of cultural defiance by certain tribes and cultural entities, and through violence and unlawful acts by radicalised entities in the region. However, the basis for such resolution cannot be the abandoning of global politics for local cultures, and vice versa, nor can it be a blind merger between the two to create a hybrid. Rather, a resolution can be found through a critical understanding that highlights the misconceptions and fabrications in the conception of the ideologies that underpin both strands of knowledge systems. Bringing such critical understanding to bear in a dialogic relation between global politics and local cultures can play an important role in resolving this formidable challenge of resentment toward formal schooling in West Africa.

1.3 Contextual Definition of Terminologies

The focus of this research is to explore how the application of CDA can inform the discourse on resolving the challenge of resentment towards formal schooling at a macro level in West Africa. This is a broad research goal, and the challenge of resentment towards education is approached in this research not at national levels in the region, rather as a regional issue, hence, the use of broad terminologies such as indigenous knowledge systems, West Africa, contemporary education, globalisation, and global education policies and strategies. These terminologies require brief contextual definitions aimed at enabling the readers' understanding of the multi layered arguments presented throughout this thesis.

1.3.1 Contextual Definitions

West Africa is a diverse region both culturally, linguistically, in indigenous religious traditions, and historically. The historical analysis of the region reveals a complex and uniquely diverse cultures, which were formed, over centuries, through acculturation as a direct result of international trade and colonisation, among other factors (see Chapter 3 for further discussion on the history of West Africa). Contemporary West Africa comprises of Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Cabo Verde, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Equatorial Guinea, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal,

Sierra Leone, and Togo. Each of these politically independent countries is a culturally diverse and complex entity.

Figure 1.0

Image source: Michigan State University, Department of Agriculture, Food, and Economics.
https://www.canr.msu.edu/fsg/countries/west-africa-sahel

This research explores contemporary education in West Africa at a macro level with the aim of contributing to the discourse on resolving the challenge of resentment towards formal schooling in the region. Considering that this research is situated within the broader post-colonial discourse, the conception of West Africa, as a region, operationalised in the various arguments presented throughout this thesis is influenced and underpinned by the region's collective sense of oppression and subjugation as a result of colonisation, and the subsequent drive for decolonisation. It is therefore necessary to note that the intention of this research is not to portray West Africa as a unified and generalised concept with a binary sense of collective identity. Rather, while acknowledging the diversity of cultures in the region, this research operationalised a regional perception of indigeneity situated within the decolonisation discourse.

The centrality of the term 'resentment' to the arguments presented in this thesis make it necessary to contextualise a conceptual definition of resentment as a behavioural response. Two conceptual definitions of resentment were considered. First, resentment can be defined as "the condemnation of what one secretly craves but cannot achieve" (Barbalet 1992, p. 150). Resentment in this case is perceived as a form of emotional response, which is as a result of one's inability to achieve a much desired goal or result. Such emotional response is often directed either towards the factors that prevented the achievement of the desired result or towards the unattainable goal itself. Second, TenHouten (2018) defined resentment as

> …a noxious emotion that can exist in sublimated form as a result of being subjected to inferiorization, stigmazation, or violence. In its active form, resentment can be a forceful response to acts that have created unjustified and meaningless suffering (p. 49).

The latter definition refers to resentment as an emotional response triggered by the feeling of injustice, which can be as a result of "inferiorization, stigmazation", or "unjustified and meaningless suffering". Considering that most of the arguments presented in this thesis can be associated with, and or, situated within colonial and post-colonial discourses, the latter conceptual definition of resentment is of more relevance to the context of this research. Therefore, resentment in this thesis is defined by two categories of reactions toward formal schooling in West Africa. The first category of resentment toward formal schooling in the region is referred to as subtle acts of cultural defiance. An example of cultural defiance with regards to formal schooling in many tribes and villages across West Africa is, limiting or preventing the education of women and girls due to perceived gender roles. The second category of resentment towards formal schooling in West Africa is the violent acts by radicalised entities directed towards formal schooling in parts of the region.

The term 'indigenous knowledge systems' is used interchangeably with, and to represent, the various pre-colonial indigenous ways of knowing. It is also referred to as the pre-colonial education systems adopted by the various indigenous communities across West Africa prior to the establishment and spread of missionary and colonial education in the region. Mawere (2014) defined this system of education as unique ways of knowing that are embedded in

local cultures, local histories and mythologies, and in the local environments of the indigenous people.

The term 'contemporary education' is used in this thesis interchangeably with, and synonymous to, formal schooling, also referred to as formal education across West Africa. Formal schooling in this thesis broadly refers to the form of education that was introduced to the region by missionary organisations in the 18th and 19th century, and later controlled by the various colonial administrations (Hilliard 1957; Bolibaugh 1972). This form of education was later adopted by the various independent states across West Africa, hence, the use of the term contemporary education (Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2003; Kingsley 2010).

Central to the arguments presented in this thesis is the term 'globalisation'. As a complex and multifaceted phenomenon, which can be defined in different ways, an operational definition of the phenomenon of globalisation that addresses the context of this research is therefore necessary. Globalisation is a multidimensional phenomenon, and there is no exclusive definition that can comprehensively capture the breadth of its complexities. Consequently, globalisation is often defined differently by different institutions and fields of study. From the economic standpoint, globalisation can be defined as increased connectivity between nations' economies, increased international trade and foreign investments between countries and continents (O'Rourke and Williamson 2002). According to Lee and Vivarelli (2006), central to a definition of globalisation is the new conception of distance, which is, in part, due to interconnectivity made possible through high speed transportation infrastructures, and continued advancements in information technology. From a social standpoint, the phenomenon of globalisation can simply be defined as "…the growth in sizes of social systems and the increase in the complexity of inter-social links" (Sheffield, Korotayev and Grinin 2013, p. xix). According to Held and McGrew (2002), they define globalisation as

> …a shift or transformation in the scale of human organization that links distant communities and expands the reach of power relations across the world's regions and continents (p. 1).

The perception of globalisation as a phenomenon which seeks to "link distant communities and expand the reach of power relations" can be considered a shared view amongst social theorists on the complex nature of globalisation. Stromquist (2002) characterised the

processes of globalisation as "…creating widespread flows of people and ideas and thus creating new and hybrid forms for culture that articulate the local with the global" (p.2). Held's and McGrew's (2002) and Stromquist's (2002) views are in line with the definition of globalisation adopted in this research. Finally, and in connection with the contextual view of the phenomenon of globalisation operationalised in this research, the term 'global educational policies and strategies' is used in this research to represent specific policies and strategies on education issued by UNESCO, UNDP, and the World Bank, beginning with the first Education For All (EFA) global initiative issued in 1990. The selected policies and strategies are analysed collectively as one of the sources of data for this research. The analysis of these global policies and strategies on education is based on the premise that they are a form of imposition of best practices by powerful nations (Ellerman 2008; Mason 2008), which are covertly designed to establish strategic influence on developing regions.

1.4 Reflexivity

> The research process constitutes a (re)construction [authors' emphasis] of the social reality in which researchers both interact with the agents researched and, actively interpreting, continually create images for themselves and for others: images which selectively highlight certain claims as to how conditions and processes – experiences, situations, relations – can be understood, thus suppressing alternative interpretations (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009 p. 10).

The processes involved in this research, the choice of conceptual framework and methodology, and the various arguments presented in this thesis, collectively they not only "selectively highlight certain claims", they also embody a story, my story. This research, in its entirety, embodies my personal assumptions both as a researcher and a social actor within the socio-political and socio-economic contexts wherein this research is situated. While these assumptions are tamed through conscious awareness of what they are, and when expressed, albeit rarely, they are underpinned by specific methodological frame, their role in the discursive and meaning making processes of this research cannot be ignored. According to Lynch (2000),

> Reflexivity …is an unavoidable feature of the way actions (including actions performed, and expressions written, by academic researchers) [author's emphasis]

are performed, made sense of and incorporated into social settings. In this sense of the word, it is impossible to be unreflexive (p. 25).

Considering the "unavoidable" nature of "reflexivity", the complex layers of my identities cannot be totally ignored in the meaning making processes of this research. As a West African, raised by traditionally minded parents in an indigenous cultural setting in Nigeria, a 'product' of contemporary education-formal schooling from the region, and an aspiring academic in a renown European academic institution, these layers of identities have undoubtedly contributed to the shaping of my perception of education at a macro level in West Africa, which includes policies, both global and national policies, practices, and the various national politics at play in the region. Therefore, conducting this research, which is aimed at critically analysing the prevailing discourses on education in West Africa, is in a way an exercise in deconstructing and "(re)construction of the social reality in which" I, as a researcher, am a part of (Alvesson and Skoldberg 2009, p. 10).

As a hybrid of sort, both culturally and academically, a hybrid in the sense that I am a dual national, Nigerian-Irish, I studied in Nigeria up to the level of initial teacher education, have a Master's degree in education from a university in Norway, and as a result of this research process, a PhD in education in Ireland, my experience of education, particularly my primary and secondary education, in a West African country can be classified as that of ambivalence. As the middle child of six siblings, my formal educational journey began in 1987 at the age of 5 years old in a public school in Nigeria. And as a poor performing student, both amongst my siblings and in class, my experience of school was, at best, difficult, at worst, brutal and painful. It was an era when, among other things, teachers patrolled the corridors of school buildings with long canes, and, in my memory, with eagerness to beat misbehaving and poor performing students. This practice is still rampant in rural schools in Nigeria to this day.

One of the several brutalities I experienced in school, still vivid in my memory, occurred toward the end of my 6th year in primary school in 1993. As was, and still is, the education policy in Nigeria, pupils, at the end of their primary school education are required to write a state administered secondary school entrance examination, commonly referred to as the Common Entrance Examination. In preparation for this state examination, pupils in their final year of primary school undertake a series of mock examinations, which are made up of

questions from the previous years. During one of these mock examinations in my 6th year of primary school, I got all the twelve mathematics questions wrong, and the consequence for this 'great crime' was two strokes of cane for every wrong answer given in the test. So, there I laid on a table in front of the class, faced down, as each of the twenty-four strokes of cane were carefully administered on my back and buttocks. In spite of the shame and pain as a result of this 'discipline' by my teacher, I was in school the next day. A common understanding of the importance of education, reiterated almost on a daily basis both at home and in school, was that attaining good grades and a good level of education is the only way out of poverty, a state of being that I was all too familiar with. Therefore, in spite of the brutal experiences at school, continued attendance, and enduring the brutality were the reasonable options.

My ambivalent relationship with formal schooling from a very young age has always made me question few things about education at a macro level in West Africa. First, how the perceived lack of alternative route out of the cycle of poverty became a legitimised narrative in the discourse on formal schooling, and the irrelevance of curriculum contents to my personal experiences and needs as a child. Second, I have also always questioned the sway the irrelevant curriculum contents had on my future as a global citizen. Over the years, as my views and interest in education evolved, my questions on the contents, processes, and purposes of education, particularly in a region such as West Africa, persists, albeit more nuanced and philosophical.

The colonial origin of formal schooling, and its significance to colonial policies both in West Africa and in other regions across Africa, has been the basis of many critiques of contemporary education in Africa. This link to colonial policies has also been the basis for diverse range of arguments against formal schooling, which range from extreme to moderate. Radicalised entities in parts of West Africa have advocated for abandoning all aspects of formal schooling in the name of decolonisation and religion, and a return to the pre-colonial ways of living and education. Few Academic writers and commentators on Africa issues such as Adeyemi and Adeyinka (2003), Dei (2000) and Zulu (2006), amongst others, have argued for a more moderate approach, a merger of aspects of indigenous cultures and knowledge systems in the region with the contents of contemporary education, as a way of safeguarding the erosion of perceived indigenous identities. As a 'product' of formal schooling myself, and

a social actor in the developing socio-economic context of contemporary West Africa, my interest in the discourse on education in the region differs from the above calls. My main interest, as explored in this research, is to understand the forms of power and injustices obscured within the arguments for and against contemporary education in West Africa. In other words, one of the central arguments put forward in this thesis is that the fundamental principles which underpin contemporary education-formal schooling in the region are fundamentally flawed, and so is the basis upon which this critique is based.

A theoretical foundation that is central to my position as a researcher, and the methodological approach to the data and arguments analysed in this research is that subjectivity is mediated by situated knowledge. And forms of situated knowledge are not independent phenomena, they are legitimised through dominant discourse within a given discourse structure.

1.4.1 Theoretical Foundation

> …the identity of the character is constructed in connection with that of the plot
> (Ricoeur 1992, p. 141).

Subjectivity is mediated by situated knowledge and beliefs. Different people make sense of the world differently (Harding 1995; Kearney 1984; Mills 2007). Where we come from, who we are, the time in history we are born and raised in, the dominant culture at the time and place we find ourselves, amongst other significant factors, shape and reshapes how and what we think about and, in turn, our perception of who we are. They constitute and or contribute to the shaping of our identities (Kearney 1984; Ricoeur 1992). Philosophers such as Paul Ricoeur, Michel Foucault, Charles W. Mills and Sandra Harding, amongst others, have argued extensively about the nature of subjectivity and its significance. According to Ricoeur, in his interview with Richard Kearney (1986), he argued that subjectivity is neither "autonomous nor self-transparent" (p. 15). Subjectivity is not something that emerges without the influence of external forces; forces so strong that the self involuntarily succumbs to its dominating power. To put it in Ricoeur's own words, he argued that,

> …the human will …is always confronted by the 'involuntary' limits of finitude
> which defy or exceed its subjective powers [author's emphasis]. The subject can
> never lay claim, therefore, to pure, immediate self-reflection; it is always traversed
> by meanings other than its own; it is a decentred, split, fallible cogito which finds

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itself in a world whose meaning largely precedes its own voluntary initiatives. (p. 15)

Ricoeur suggests that the self has no control over its own subjective notions, the "immediate self-reflection". This claim is significant for this research in that, it highlights the reflexive nature of the research process, the unavoidable link between the researcher, what is being researched, and the processes through which the research was carried out (Lynch 2000). Ricoeur further argued that, the framework within which the self becomes subjective precedes it. Implicitly, subjectivity is not merely personal notion which simply emerges when the self meets the object. It is strongly mediated by complex forces which constitute acceptable knowledge and ideas at a given time. According to Mills (2007), these hegemonic knowledge forces which mediate perception and cognition do not appear suddenly. They are present from birth. They are ingrained in the cultural setting within which the self is situated. Mills argued that,

> …since individuals do not in general make up these categories themselves but inherit them from their cultural milieu. The influence of social factors begins at birth… Because language acquisition is socially mediated, the concepts we acquire are themselves socially mediated from the very beginning. …it is not the matter of monadic predicates, reciprocally isolated from one another, but concepts linked by interlocking assumptions and background belief sets into certain complexes of ideation that by their very nature tend to put a certain interpretation on the world. So in most cases the concepts will not be neutral but oriented toward a certain understanding, embedded in subtheories and larger theories about how things work (p. 24).

Mills' argument of the "language" we acquired, and "concepts" been socially mediated suggests that during the process of perception and cognition, the self tends to impose acquired meanings on what is being perceived, meanings which are constructed based on knowledge and beliefs that are socially or culturally situated. Socially and culturally situated knowledge and beliefs are grounded in mythologies and histories of a particular society or culture. They influence and constitute the framework within which a society sees the world, thinks and interacts. Mills, in the above excerpts, refer to it as the "interlocking assumptions and background belief". These situated knowledge and beliefs, according to Mills (2007) and

Ricoeur (in Kearney 1984), are entrenched in language, and as the individual acquires language from birth, she or he acquires concepts and ideas of which individual ownership cannot be claimed. Ricoeur (in Kearney 1984) explored this further in his work which focused on the power of narrativity. He explained how language goes through a process of "creative mutation and transformation" over time. He argued that in spite of its mutation and transformation language still maintains a "linguistic imagination which generates and regenerates meaning through the living power of metaphoricity" (p. 17). Consequently, the self becomes mediated by situated knowledge and beliefs the moment language is acquired.

On the issue of mythologies and stories which are considered to be the basis for situated knowledge and beliefs, Ricoeur (in Kearney 1984) was of the opinion that not only do mythologies and stories mediate perception and cognition. In line with Ricoeur (in Kearney 1984) and Ricoeur (2004), writers such as Mills (2007), and Connelly and Clandinin (1990) have all argued that it is through the telling and retelling of mythologies and stories that we create and internalise our identity as individuals and as a society. For Ricoeur (1992) and Ricoeur in Kearney (1984), it is through this act of narrativity that an individual or a society tries to order their own histories in a way that enables the formation of identity. To put it in Ricoeur's own words,

> …the structure of narrativity demonstrates that it is by trying to put order on our
> past, by retelling and recounting what has been, that we acquire an identity
> (Ricoeur in Kearney 1984, p. 21).

The concern for Ricoeur (in Kearney 1984) however, is neither "the structure of narrativity" nor the mediating power of mythologies and stories, and how strongly they influence subjectivity and the formation of identity. Rather, the philosopher's concern is what he referred to as the "perversion of myths" (p. 39). During the act of telling and retelling, there are ways through which mythologies and stories can become perverted. For example, political narratives with Nationalist interest are agenda driven narratives, particularly in regions and countries with history of colonisation and oppression. In colonised states across Africa, particularly in West Africa, such narratives were constructed and told in order to facilitate specific mind set, and generate support for specific political ideology, the Nationalists' movement for decolonisation. Another way through which mythologies and stories are

perverted is by determining which myths and stories are told and which ones are to be left out. According to Ricoeur (in Kearney 1984),

> …the meaning of human existence is not just the power to change or master the world, but also the ability to be remembered and recollected in narrative discourse, to be memorable. These existential and historical implications of narrativity are very far-reaching, for they determine what is to be 'preserved' and rendered 'permanent' in a culture's sense of its own past, of its own 'identity' [author's emphasis] (p. 17-18).

The practice of determining what is to be "preserved and rendered permanent" in the telling and retelling of a culture's histories is referred to by Mills (2007) as "the management of memory". According to Mills (2007), the selection of specific mythologies and stories to be told and the ones to be left out, results in "collective memory and collective amnesia" (p. 28). He argued that, contemporary societies tend to analyse histories, and categorise the ones considered crucial and significant. Histories which make the list of selection then form the basis for various discourses and narratives. These discourses and narratives soon create hegemonies which regulate what counts as acceptable knowledge, ideas and concepts. Elaborating on how selected narratives acquire their hegemonies, and over a given period becomes the social position or social cognition, Mills (2007) argued that,

> …out of the infinite sequence of events, some trivial, some momentous, we extract what we see as the crucial once and organise them into an overall narrative. Social memory is then inscribed in textbooks, generated and regenerated in ceremonies and official holidays, concretised in statues, parks, and monuments (p. 29).

After the extraction of "narratives" which are considered to be "crucial" and significant, the stories and mythologies which are considered insignificant then become eroded and are systematically written out of textbooks and discourse in general. Mills (2007) refers to this as the epistemology of ignorance. He argued that, this ignorance is left to flourish in contemporary societies, as it has ingrained itself in certain knowledges, and safeguarded itself against eroded narratives. Therefore, in light of Ricoeur (in Kearney 1984), Ricoeur (2004) and Mills (2007), the self is not just mediated by situated knowledge and beliefs, what is situated may also have been plagued by ingrained ignorance, misconceptions and fabrication

(Foucault 1977). Ignorance so ingrained that it will require the critical analysis of multiple layers of histories in order to challenge its hegemony.

The significance of this theoretical foundation of mediated subjectivity and mediated social position or social cognition has two main implications for this research. First, situate within the methodological frame of CDA, and underpinned by a presupposition of applied ethics, some of the arguments presented in this thesis may be classified as being normative and socio-political in nature. The arguments presented in this thesis are not only aimed at highlighting the misconceptions and fabrications that underpins the ideologies analysed, and the obscure forms of power and injustices that they legitimise, the arguments also reflect, and are influenced by, personal experience of both formal schooling in a West African country, and as an indigene born and raised within a West African indigenous culture. Therefore, in light of this theoretical foundation, these dual experiences were a significant asset called upon in the meaning making process of this research. Second, another implication of this theoretical foundation for this research has to do with the idea of mediated social position or social cognition. One of the main objectives of this research is to critically analyse the social position of West Africans on their pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems, and the hegemonic mythologies and stories which constitute this social position. The intention therefore, is to highlight the obscured form of power and injustices that are being legitimised, as the social position of West Africans on their pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems is deployed in contemporary discourse on education in the region.

1.5 Conceptual Framework

The focus in this research is to explore how the application of CDA can inform the discourse on resolving the challenge of resentment towards formal schooling at a macro level in West Africa. Based on the genealogical analysis of the history of contemporary education in British and French colonies of West Africa, as explored in Chapter 4 of this thesis, one of the premises upon which some of the arguments in this thesis are based is that, global education and development policies and strategies are the driving forces of contemporary education across West Africa, and in many other developing regions across the globe (Ball 1993, Foucault 1972). In other words, the policies and purposes of contemporary education in many West African countries are constantly being aligned to the overall purposes, best practices

and other recommendations outlined in global education policies and strategies. While education on the one hand promises, among other things, innovation, socio-economic advancements, the significant improvement of living standards, and development in general, there is consensus among writers on African issues and academics, among others, on the hegemony and political intentions of global policies and strategies (Brock-Utne 2000; Dei 2000; Oba and Eboh 2011; Kingsley 2010). Such consensus is, in part, due to the impact of these policies and strategies on indigenous cultures and traditional norms and values, which constitute the core of perceived indigenous identities.

One of the notable consequences of global hegemony on the perceived national and indigenous cultural identities in many West African countries has been, among other things, the fuelling of a degree of resentment towards formal schooling, commonly believed to be the avenue through which global ideals and culture are being propagated at the regional, national and local community levels. The resentment toward formal schooling since it was introduced to the region has resulted in two main categories of reactions by indigenous cultural groups and certain entities in parts of the region. The first category of resentment toward formal schooling that is commonplace across West Africa is expressed through subtle cultural defiance. A key example of this subtle cultural defiance toward formal schooling in many tribes and villages across the region is limiting or preventing the education of women and girls due to the cultures' perceived gender roles. The second category of resentment towards formal schooling in parts of West Africa is the violent acts by radicalised entities, such as Boko-Haram and Al-Qaeda linked groups in the region, directed towards students, educational facilities, and stakeholders in education. Some of the reasons for challenging the perceived global hegemony, hence, the resentment toward formal schooling in the region, has been the systematic erosion of aspects of indigenous cultures, traditional values and norms, and perceived indigenous identity (Dei 2000; Mazonde 2001; Zulu 2006).

In an effort to localising the phenomenon of globalisation in all its complex multidimensional forms, education being an important factor in this effort, and as a way of dealing with the challenge of resentment towards the perceived global hegemony, global agencies such as UNESCO, the World Bank, and UNDP, amongst others agencies, have consistently called for partnerships with regional, national and local agencies, whereby societies and local communities will have ownership of their own advancements and developments as part of the

globalisation project. An example of the numerus official calls for partnerships and the need for local recognition and involvement in the globalisation project, is one of the main articles in the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development,

> We pledge to foster intercultural understanding, tolerance, mutual respect and an ethic of global citizenship and shared responsibility. We acknowledge the natural and cultural diversity of the world and recognize that all cultures and civilizations can contribute to, and are crucial enablers of sustainable development (p. 13).

The recognition of local cultures as "crucial enablers of sustainable developments" begs the case for partnerships with local agencies as part of, and for the globalisation project. However, as highlighted in Chapter 5 of this thesis, such partnerships have often been criticised as rather the imposition of best practices on developing societies (Ellerman 2008; Mason 2008).

Where cultures exists, there are also, inevitably, the contemporaneous existences of indigenous epistemologies – the indigenous knowledge systems. The main driver of the phenomenon of globalisation in all its complex forms, both in West Africa and elsewhere, is contemporary education. In order to enable regional and local communities, whose interactions formed their various indigenous cultures, to participate in the globalisation project, they too need to have access to quality contemporary education. The question therefore is, should the education of regional and local communities take into consideration the characteristics and components of their indigenous cultures and knowledge systems or should it impose upon them a distinct way of knowing, which bears no similarity to what is indigenous to them? The answer to this question, as argued throughout the course of this thesis, is complex and multi-layered. First, the same contemporary education which promises, and has to a considerable degree delivered, amongst other things, innovation, socio-economic advancements and the improvement of living standards for some, is also perceived to have brought into being the global hegemony which systematically erodes indigenous cultures, traditional norms, values, and knowledge systems, thereby re-energising the decolonisation narratives in contemporary discourse in West Africa. Second, the dominant perception of indigenous cultures and knowledge systems, as often deployed in contemporary discourse on education, and other socio-political issues, is situated within the broader discourse structure on decolonisation. Consequently, the stories and mythologies which constitute the basis of

the dominant perception of indigenous cultures and knowledge systems may have been perverted to suit the Nationalists' socio-political movements and ideology.

1.5.1 Conceptual Map

The conceptual framework of this research, illustrated in the diagram below, captures the complexities and tension which feeds the dichotomy between contemporary education-formal schooling and the dominant perception of indigenous cultures and knowledge systems in contemporary discourse on education at a macro level in West Africa. The conceptual map illustrates the contention between the phenomenon of globalisation and indigenous cultures in West Africa. It portrays contemporary education-formal schooling as a contested space between global politics and local cultures and highlights the ideologies on both sides that make this contention exceptionally challenging to resolve, resulting in a constantly expanding wedge between the two sides. Portrayed in Wheels on opposing sides, Wheel 1 illustrates education in West Africa at a macro level. It highlights the contention between formal schooling and indigenous cultures and knowledge systems at a macro level in the region. Wheel 2 illustrates the global education policies and strategies issued by global agencies such as UNESCO, the World Bank, and UNDP since 1990. Another significant diagram on the conceptual map illustrates a wedge in between Wheels 1 and 2. This wedge pushes the two Wheels apart and prevents an overlap between them. The wedge illustrates the ideologies that underpin the dominant discourse in Wheel 1 and 2. Also, the arrows above and below the wedge in between Wheel 1 and 2 illustrates the dominant influence of global education policies and strategies on contemporary education in West Africa. Finally, Wheel 3 on the conceptual map illustrates this research's argument for a third space, a shift from seeking an overlap, a merger between Wheel 1 and 2.

The continuous call for partnerships by global agencies with regional and local entities, and the calls for a merger between contemporary education and indigenous cultures and knowledge systems by researchers such as Adeyemi and Adeyinka (2003) and Zulu (2006), have mainly focused on finding a middle ground between the two sides, a point where both overlap with one another, an hybridised form of education. Educational researchers such as Adeyemi and Adeyinka (2003) have argued for a merger between the African indigenous knowledge systems and contemporary education system. This argument has specifically focused on combining 'what is good' and relevant to everyday life in contemporary African

societies from its indigenous knowledge systems, with aspects of contemporary education which does not seek to supress and or devalue indigenous cultures and traditional norms. The main difficulty faced by various attempts to create such an educational 'Utopia', a hybridised form of education, however, is the constant and systematic erosion of indigenous cultural values and traditional norms, which is due to the perceived dominant force of the globalisation phenomenon. Consequently, the argument for decolonisation is thereby reinforced in contemporary discourse on formal schooling in countries across West Africa. The differing nature of the phenomenon of globalisation on the one hand, and decolonisation on the other, drives a wedge between the two 'Wheels' –Education in West Africa and Global education policies and strategies, thereby sabotaging attempts to create the desired meeting point between the two, a merger between the two strands of knowledge systems.

Figure 2.0
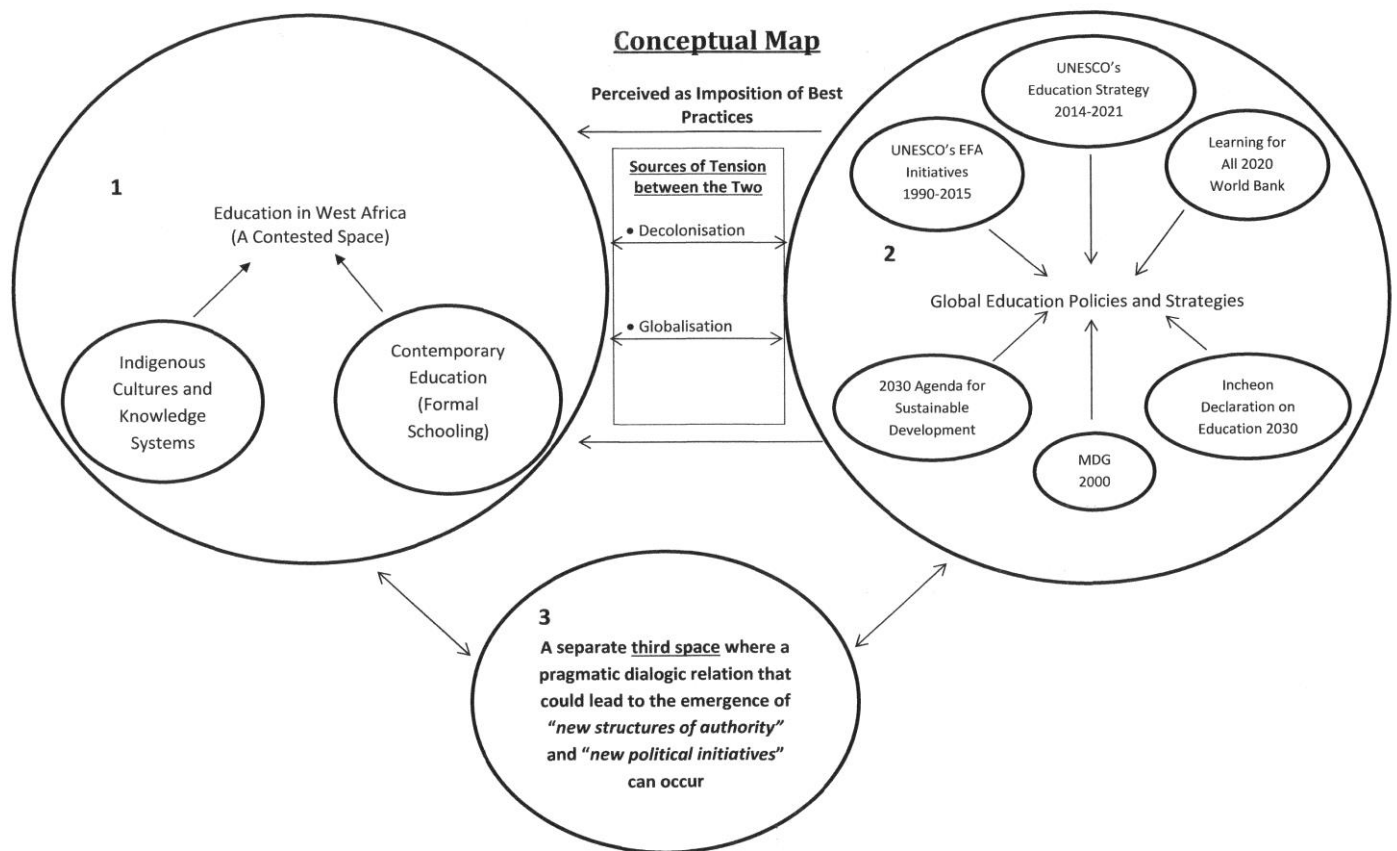
A key objective of this research is not to romanticise and or advocate for West African indigenous knowledge systems at the expense of formal schooling driven by global education policies and strategies, or vice-versa. Rather, the aim is to argue for the creation of a third space where pragmatic dialogue can occur between the two strands of knowledge systems. As illustrated in the conceptual map, the conceptual framework of this research project is aimed at, first, critically exploring the complexities which exist within Wheel 1 and 2 by genealogically analysing the histories of the conception of ideologies that underpin the dominant discourse in each of the Wheels. This is done by applying Michel Foucault's (1977) genealogical analytical approach as the framework for highlighting these complexities. Second, the conceptual framework is also aimed at arguing for the need to create a third

Wheel-a third space, instead of focusing on a meeting point in between the two main Wheels. A third space where an ongoing pragmatic dialogic relation between the phenomenon of globalisation and local cultures can occur.

The idea of creating a space, or a Wheel in this case, outside the existing spaces, as illustrated in the conceptual map, is informed by, and based on, the post-colonial theory of 'Cultural Hybridity and the Third Space' (Bhabha 1984, 1994). However, considering the prominent critiques of the concept of cultural hybridity and the third space on issues of cultural identity, the non-binary nature of the constituting spaces-cultures, and so on, the conceptual framework of this research takes the theory a step further by not focusing on the space in between the constituting spaces, the point where both spaces overlap. Rather, this research makes the case for a space outside the constituting spaces. The position of this research is that, the continuous attempts to achieve an overlap between the constituting spaces within the context of education at a macro level in West Africa have so far reinforced the decolonisation argument in contemporary discourse on education, and in turn, the resentment towards formal schooling. Therefore, the focus of this research is not the space in between, rather, a space outside the existing complex spaces.

1.5.2 Cultural Hybridity and the Third Space

Cultural hybridity, a post-colonial theory, contemporary in that sense, is not a new concept by any means. According to Pieterse (2001), "Hybridization… is as old as history" (p. 222). Easthope (1998) argued that everything is a hybrid of what precedes it. While its origin can be linked to the field of biology, hybridity has made its way into socio-cultural discourse since the 18th century. The emergence of hybridity in socio-cultural discourse is one of the direct consequences of inter-racial contacts as a result of slavery and the slave trade, colonisation and countless expeditions by Western empires in Africa, Asia, Latin America and elsewhere (Kraidy 2002). However, the discourse on hybridity during these eras of slavery, colonisation, and Western expeditions focused specifically on race and inter-racial breeding. Based purely on the biological notion of hybridity, "there were differences of opinion on the vitality of hybrids, oscillating between 'hybrid vigour' and 'hybrid sterility'" [author's emphasis throughout] (p. 319). The discourse on hybridity during these times was situated within the White Supremacists' belief of the pureness of the white race, and how

inter-racial breeding can result in the contamination of the pureness of a particular race, and the likely destruction of the race equilibrium (Kraidy 2002; Pieterse 2001).

Colonisation and the struggles for independence on the one hand, and the significant movement of people between countries and continents during and after the two World Wars in the 20th century on the other hand, brought about a shift in the discourse on hybridity from a radically driven arguments to arguments situated within the domains of cultural identity and nationhood. To explain these two dimensions of the discourse on hybridity beginning with colonisation and the struggles for independence, first, according to Keller (1995), after securing their independence from their colonisers, the newly independent countries across Africa were tasked with the responsibility of unifying their individual countries and formulating their identities as nation states. Having spent the most part of a century under colonial rules, most colonised nations have internalised the cultures of their colonisers, which thereby resulted in the creation of a middle culture of mixed identities, a hybrid between the various indigenous cultures and the colonisers' cultures.

Cultural hybridity within the context of colonialism and the struggles for independence has been classified into two categories, first, it has been classified as an act of defiance against colonial policies of assimilation and domination, and second, as a natural process of cultural evolution, acculturation, which occurs when cultures meet and interact (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 2007; Bhabha 1984, 1994). Bhabha (1984) refers to this duality of the relationship between the colonised and the coloniser as ambivalent, a contemporaneous feeling of repulsion and attraction by the colonised towards their coloniser's hegemony and culture. In other words, while the colonised objected to the coloniser's dominance and control, they did not fully reject the colonisers' cultures, partly as an act of defiance to the colonisers' hegemony on the one hand, and complicity on the other. Resulting in what Bhabha (1984, 1994) refers to as mimicry as a form of mockery. Easthope (1998) on the other hand, in the critique of Bhabha's (1984, 1994) view of ambivalence, and mimicry as mockery, argued that such perception of culture particularly in the context of the colonised and the coloniser oversimplify the complex nature of culture, the colonial experience, and the decolonisation efforts. Elaborating on the notion of the ambivalent relationship between the coloniser and the colonised, Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (2007) argued that,

> …rather than assuming that some colonized subjects are 'complicit' and some 'resistant' [authors' emphasis], ambivalence suggests that complicity and resistance exist in a fluctuating relation within the colonial subject (p. 10).

Either as an act of "resistance or complicity", cultural hybridity within the contexts of colonialism, the struggles for independence, and post-colonial discourse is situated within the broader discourse structures of cultural identity and nationhood. The second dimension of the discourse on cultural hybridity is situated within the context of cultures in diaspora. This is a situation whereby migrants, voluntary migrants, displaced or enslaved attempts to incorporate aspects of their indigenous cultures into their daily lives in their new places of residence. According to Bhabha (1994), these two dimensions of cultural hybridity operate in a 'third space', a space that exists in between the preceding cultures (see Rutherford 1990 for a discussion on Bhabha's theory of the third space).

In contrast to Bhabha's (1984, 1994) position on culture and identity, other renowned post-colonial theorists such Edward Said (1979, 1994), whose contribution to the field of post-colonial theory addresses, among other things, the power of narrativity in shaping how the coloniser perceived the colonised. Referencing the literary works of story tellers such as Charles Dickens and Shakespeare, Said (1994) highlighted how their representation of the 'Other' reinforced the stereotypical view of the colonised. As part of his arguments, Said (1994) also explored the complex nature of culture in two main dimensions. First, he viewed culture as sets of behaviours and acts associated with a given group and expressed through different practices and ways of living. Second, he viewed culture as a set of ideas, a combination of principles which differentiates one from the 'Other'. Bhabha's (1984, 1994) work on the other hand is based on a more liberal view of culture. He viewed culture and identity, in the context of hybridity, as complex but capable of fluidity.

In the past two decades, the theory of cultural hybridity and the third space has evolved into a fashionable and commonly deployed post-colonial theory when exploring the state of contemporary cultures, particularly in previously colonised and oppressed societies, and amongst minority cultures in the Euro-American socio-political contexts. Maintaining a degree of ambivalence on the one hand and the notion of dialogue between cultures on the other, cultural hybridity and the third space has constituted a framework within the wider

discourse on globalisation (Kraidy 2002). On the notion of cultural hybridity as a form of dialogue between cultures, Bhabha (1984) and Bhabha in Rutherford (1990), deploying the analogy of translation and mimicry, refers to the hybrid state as a state of liminality, where the prevailing cultural identity, although it embodies some characteristics of its origins, it has no allegiance to either of the preceding cultures. According to Bhabha in his interview with Jonathan Rutherford (1990),

> …translation is also a way of imitating, but in a mischevious, displacing sense – imitating an original in such a way that the priority of the original is not reinforced but by the very fact that it can be simulated, copied, transferred, transformed, made into a simulacrum and so on: the original is never finished or complete in itself. The 'originary' [author's emphasis] is always open to translation so that it can never be said to have a totalised prior moment of being or meaning – an essence (p. 210).

Bhabha's analogy of "translation" presents the space wherein the hybrid operates, a third space in between the preceding spaces, as a neither here nor there space, a state of liminality. The significance of the translation analogy, however, is that it expresses the character of a dialogic process. A process whereby the translator translates the original, neither into its original meaning in its original form nor into the translator's own direct meaning making, rather, into a meaning that incorporates both the original and the translator's own meaning making process, to present a version of the original, which neither the original nor the translator can claim ownership. In other words, the original is translated into a meaning that fits within a given dialogic context. Therefore, the hybrid, as in the case of translation, Bhabha (in Rutherford 1990) further argued that, while it carries within it some characteristics of the original and that of the translator, "it does not give them the authority of being prior in the sense of being original" (Rutherford 1990, p. 211). A key element of the translation analogy, as highlighted above, is what Bhabha refers to as the "negotiation of meaning and representation" (p. 211). These therefore can be considered as the characteristics of the liminal state, the 'third space' where hybridisation occurs, a space for continuous dialogue and negotiations between the constituting spaces, between the original and the translator.

Considering Bhabha's analogy (in Rutherford 1990), a hybrid culture, while it possesses certain characteristics of the cultures which constitute it, it is not governed by the constituting cultures. The authority of either of the constituting cultures is therefore displaced within the hybrid culture (Bhabha 1984). Such culture operates in the 'third space', a space devoid of ethnocentrism, thereby giving way for ongoing creative dialogue between the constituting cultures. Defining the concept of cultural hybridity and the third space, Bhabha, in his interview with Jonathan Rutherford, opined that,

> …for me the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather, hybridity to me is the 'third space' [author's emphasis] which enables other positions to emerge. This third space displaces the histories that constitute it, and sets up new structures of authority, new political initiatives, which are inadequately understood through received wisdom (Rutherford 1990 p. 211).

Bhabha's reference to the "displacement of histories that constitute" the third space and the challenging of "received wisdom" defines the nature of the dialogue which occurs between cultures in the liminal state of the third space. It indicates the deconstruction of received notions of cultural identities, and the perception of other cultures. Bhabha (1994) refer to the third space as a place of displacement of both the received notions of indigenous cultural identities and the colonial hegemony. Defining the liminal nature of the third space, the neither here nor there, Bhabha argued that, the third space "…is not the colonialists' Self or the colonized Other, but the disturbing distance in-between…" (p. 45). As a result, it is such displacement of entrenched boundaries, or as Bhabha puts it, "the disturbing distance in-between", that enables pragmatic and creative dialogue between cultures, and in turn enables new and constructive political positions to emerge.

It is the complex state which exists in the 'third space', in light of Bhabha (1984; 1994) and Bhabha in Rutherford (1990) that informs the conceptual framework of this research. It is important to note that while Bhabha's analysis of cultural hybridity and the third space elaborates on the complex nature of the hybrid culture, the most important aspect of Bhabha's analysis for this research however, is not the resulting hybrid culture itself, rather, it is the complex dialogic process that produces the hybrid culture in the 'third space'. One of the important steps in the dialogic process, as referenced above, is the deconstruction of the

histories which constitute the preceding cultures, the displacement of received notions of the constituting cultural identities. Therefore, it is the discomfort created as a result of this deconstruction of histories and received notions of cultural identities that displace the hegemony of either cultures, and in turn enables new and constructive political positions to emerge in the third space (Pieterse 2001).

This research argues the case for a pragmatic dialogic relation between the indigenous cultures and knowledge systems and contemporary education-formal schooling at a macro level in West Africa. One of the arguments presented in this research is that, while global agencies with responsibilities for innovations and advancements in global education have repeatedly called for partnerships with local agencies and local cultures, with the aim of ensuring the delivery and accessibility of quality contemporary education, often, the resulting partnerships can be classified as imposition of established best practice, and the establishment of strategic influence on developing regions by developed economies and powerful nations (Mason 2008). According to the World Health Organisation, partnership is defined as

> …a collaborative relationship between two or more parties based on trust, equality, and mutual understanding for the achievement of a specified goal (2009, para. 5).

The notion of partnership as a form of relationship that is based on "equality, mutual understanding", and parity of esteem, when considered within the context of partnerships between global agencies, such as UNESCO, the World Bank and UNDP, and local cultures in many West African countries, is arguably none existent. Ellerman (2008) refer to such partnerships as the reproduction and systematic imposition of Western ideologies on partner countries. Consequently, in the face of significant expansion of contemporary education many indigenous communities feel disenfranchised, their perceived indigenous identities and traditional norms being eroded at a significant pace.

The rationale for subscribing to the post-colonial theory of cultural hybridity and the third space (Bhabha 1984, 1994) as part of the conceptual framework of this research is that, it is through an ongoing pragmatic dialogic process, which characterise the third space, that the differing sides in the contemporary discourse on education in West Africa can achieve an outcome that acknowledges the complex nature of the challenges of education in the region. The dialogic process can also result in a form of partnerships which may be classified as

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genuine, as it will be conceived as a form of partnerships that will re-energise and empower disenfranchised indigenous tribes and cultural entities to take true ownership of their own education, whilst also enabling them to participate effectively in globalisation.

1.5.3 Critique of Hybridity and the Third Space and the Need for Genealogical Analysis of the Constituting Spaces

Hybridity is one of the commonly used concepts in post-colonial theorising particularly in studies relating to culture, identity, and the perceived implications of globalisation (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 2007; Kraidy 2002; Pieterse 2001). As a widely used post-colonial theory, cultural hybridity has attracted significant degree of criticism partly due to its complex nature, and at the same time its tendency to oversimplify the complexities of intercultural discourses (Pieterse 2001). A notable critique of Bhabha's (1984, 1994) work is the 1998 article by Antony Easthope. The author argued that Bhabha's (1984, 1994) view of culture ignored the complex nature of culture because it presented it in binary terminologies. Easthope (1998) further argued that the theory of cultural hybridity and the third space did not give sufficient attention to the constituting identities. Arguably, more work has been done in the area of criticising the conception of cultural hybridity than in its application as a conceptual and methodological framework in academic circles. Defining the complex nature and the often poor conception of cultural hybridity, Kraidy (2005) argued that,

> Hybridity is a risky notion. It comes without guarantees. Rather than a single idea or a unitary concept, hybridity is an association of ideas, concepts, and themes that at once reinforce and contradict each other. The varied and sometimes contradictory nature of its use points to the emptiness of employing hybridity as a universal description of culture. Indeed, we learn very little when we repeat glibly that every culture is hybrid or, as happens too often, when fragments of discourse or data are cobbled together and called hybridity in several registers— historical, rhetorical, existential, economic, and so on. It is therefore imperative to situate every analysis of hybridity in a specific context where the conditions that shape hybridities are addressed (p.vi).

The objective in this section is to "situate the analysis" of cultural hybridity and the third space within the context of this research as a conceptual framework while also presenting

some of the prominent critiques of its conception in post-colonial discourse. In other words, the intention here is to, while highlighting some of the prominent critiques of the conception of cultural hybridity, present its significance for this research, and in post-colonial discourse.

The conception of hybridity in post-colonial discourse as a site for resistance against colonialism and other forms of suppression can prevent and, or narrow, a deeper understanding of it and other significance it has as a stand-alone concept (Acheraiou 2011). While hybridity has made its way into other areas of study, its main critiques are often focused on its conception within post-colonial discourse. Consequently, cultural hybridity as a theory is often narrowly perceived as problematic. One of the post-colonial conceptions of cultural hybridity according to Pieterse (2001) is that it "problematizes boundaries" (p. 220). According to Kraidy (2002) however, a prominent critique of such notion of cultural hybridity is that it is marginal and at the same time it claims to be mainstream. In other words, hybridity claims to dismantle existing boundaries but it tends to create a new one in the third space wherein the old boundaries are arguably displaced.

Another prominent critique of cultural hybridity is that, while it often presents cultures as binary entities (Easthope 1998; Kraidy 2002), and claims to displace binary discourses in the third space, hybridity's emancipatory narrative simply presents a platform for binary discourses, and highlights the binary structures created through colonial hegemony (Acheraiou 2011). Consequently, cultural hybridity presented as emancipatory from the hegemony of binaries tends to present constituting cultures as singular or monocultures (Easthope 1998). It does not express the complex composition that constitutes what can be referred to as culture (Acheraiou 2011; Kraidy 2002). Responding to such critique, Pieterse (2001) argued that, claims of cultural purity and cultural supremacy have long been prominent within the sphere of cultural discourses. Therefore, considering that one of the primary objectives of the conception of cultural hybridity is to problematise such existing notions of culture, it is logical that it would consider opposing culture, as in the case of the colonised and the colonisers, as binary entities. According to Kraidy (2005) and Peterson (2012) on the other hand, such critique of cultural hybridity will persist unless the conception of hybridity is contextualised.

Hybridity as a stand-alone concept is elastic by nature and it can be adapted, contextualised and deployed in most fields of study (Kraidy 2002; 2005; Peterson 2012). The elastic nature of cultural hybridity and its use as a site for emancipation and resistance against colonial hegemonies may restrict resistance to new forms of hegemony that may arise in the "third space" (Acheraiou 2011). In other words, the focus of cultural hybridity on the displacement of previous hegemonies, as argued in Bhabha (1984, 1994), has the tendency of blindsiding it from noticing new forms of hegemony that may emerge in the third space. While the elastic nature of cultural hybridity makes it a useful tool in pro-globalisation discourses, Kraidy (2002) highlights that, one of the arguments against it is that it tends to celebrate the Western hegemonies it claims to displace, whilst deconstructing Nationalists' resistance against colonial hegemony and the discourse of decolonisation. In other words, the use of cultural hybridity in post-colonial theorising often argues the case for 'forgetting' colonial suffering, and as a result, it tends to trivialise ethnic politics and in turn Nationalists struggles for independence in previously colonised or supressed societies (Acheraiou 2011).

According to Kraidy (2005), Peterson (2012) and Pieterse (2001), the significance of cultural hybridity in post-colonial discourses cannot be underestimated. However, in order for cultural hybridity to be effective and to navigate some of the prominent criticism against it, its uses in post-colonial discourse needs to be contextualised, or as Kraidy (2005) puts it, "it is… imperative to situate every analysis of hybridity in a specific context where the conditions that shape hybridities are addressed" (p.vi). Addressing the "conditions that shape" the conception of cultural hybridity and the third space, as it is being used in this research requires the critical analysis of the constituting spaces as illustrated in the above conceptual map. Therefore, the objective in this research is to, first; explore the complexities of each of the constituting spaces by genealogically analysing their historical developments and the events that shaped how these spaces are perceived in recent times. The rationale for such genealogical analysis of the constituting spaces is to highlight, and critically explore some of the biases that underpin Nationalists narratives of a 'glorious' pre-colonial past on the one hand, and on the other hand, the colonial hegemony that underpins global education and policies and strategies, which in turn underpins contemporary education across West Africa. Second, this research also highlights and critically analyse the ideologies that underpin discourse in each of the constituting spaces. While highlighting the obscure forms of power

they reproduce and legitimise in each of the constituting spaces, the critical analysis will also create the opportunity to reconceptualise the mediated dominant perception of pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems, which is underpinned by decolonisation, it will also critique the hegemony of global education policies strategies, and their role in the devaluation of local cultures and perceived indigenous identities.

1.5.4 Foucault's Genealogy: An Analytic Tool for Analysing Constituting the Spaces

In the opening paragraph of one of Foucault's numerous essays titled: Nietzsche, Genealogy, History, published in 1977, he offers a critique of Paul Ree's writings, specifically his 1877 text "The Origin of the Moral Sensations". Foucault argued that Paul Ree's notable error was that "he assumed that words had kept their meaning, that desires still pointed in a single direction, and that ideas retain their logic…" (p. 139). Paul Ree's error, Foucault argued, was that "he ignored the fact that the world of speech and desires has long known invasions, struggles, plundering, disguises, ploys…" (p. 139). As a genealogist, Foucault's premise for this specific critique of Paul Ree is that perceptions and understanding of history, as well as speech, desires and other phenomena are mediated; they are the product of ongoing contention between forces of knowledge whereby the prevailing force, at a given time, determines the limits of knowledge.

Foucault argued that the study of history, as in the case of Paul Ree's study of the history of morality, is often focused on the search for origin, where things began. It is often "…an attempt to capture the exact essence of things, their purest possibilities, and their carefully protected identities…" (Foucault 1977, p. 142). This search for origin, Foucault further argued, is based on the assumption that things, ideas, and phenomena are at their purest forms at their beginnings, and that it is the meticulous study of history that unmasks their true essence as they were. In other words, the study of history is often the search for "…that which was already there, the image of a primordial truth fully adequate to its nature…" (Foucault 1977, p. 142). However, according to Foucault, the genealogical analysis of history differs in that it is not the search for origin, a distant past where the true essence of things lies; it is the analysis of descents in the course of history by exploring the resurgence of knowledge forces and their significance in the construction of historical narratives.

Genealogical analysis operates on the notion that all histories are mediated realities, constructed with the aim of highlighting specific, often fabricated, ideas, beliefs or perceptions. Expounding on this notion of genealogy, Foucault (1977) further argued that,

> …if the genealogist refuses to extend his faith in metaphysics, if he listens to history, he finds that there is "something altogether different" [author's emphasis] behind things: not a timeless and essential secret, but the secret that they have no essence or that their essence was fabricated in a piecemeal fashion from alien forms (p. 142).

It is this lack of "faith in metaphysics" that enables the genealogist to deconstruct and re-evaluate received notions of history through the meticulous analysis of descent, or the lack thereof, in hegemonic historical narratives. It is through such deconstruction and re-evaluation of received notions of history that the genealogist can identify some of the factors that mediated hegemonic historical narratives, and how these mediated narratives have come to dominates historical discourses, and in turn, influence how history is perceived and interpreted (Crowley 2009; Visker 2008).   Elaborating on the nature and aims of genealogical analysis of history, Foucault (1977) argued that,

> Genealogy does not pretend to go back in time to restore an unbroken continuity that operates beyond the dispersion of forgotten things; its duty is not to demonstrate that the past actively exists in the present, that it continues secretly to animate the present, having imposed a predetermined form to all its vicissitudes. Genealogy does not resemble the evolution of a species and does not map the destiny of a people. On the contrary, to follow the complex course of descent is to maintain passing events in their proper dispersion; it is to identify the accidents, the minute deviations- or conversely, the complete reversals- the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations that gave birth to those things that continue to exist and have value for us; it is to discover that truth or being do not lie at the root of what we know and what we are, but the exteriority of accidents (p. 146).

An important point to note in the above excerpt is the part where Foucault implied that hegemonic perceptions of history are mediated, they are often the results of "…accidents, the minute deviations, false appraisals, and…faulty calculations", and it is through detailed genealogical analysis that such mediations can be identified in carefully constructed

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hegemonic historical narratives. An application of the genealogical analytical approach to historical analysis is evident in one of Foucault's influential texts, "*Madness and Civilisation: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*". As part of his critique of the dominant historical narratives on madness and mental illness underpinned by classifications and language of psychiatry, Foucault (1989) argued that,

> We have yet to write the history of… madness, by which men, in an act of sovereign reason, confine their neighbors, and communicate and recognize each other through the merciless language of non-madness; to define the moment of this conspiracy before it was permanently established in the realm of truth, before it was revived by the lyricism of protest. We must try to return, in history, to that zero point in the course of madness at which madness is an undifferentiated experience, a not yet divided experience of division itself. …Hence we must speak of that initial dispute without assuming a victory, or the right to a victory; we must speak of those actions re-examined in history, leaving in abeyance all that may figure as a conclusion, as a refuge in truth; we shall have to speak of this act of scission, of this distance set, of this void instituted between reason and what is not reason, without ever relying upon the fulfilment of what it claims to be. Then, and then only, can we determine the realm in which the man of madness and the man of reason, moving apart, are not yet disjunct… (pp. xi-xii).

In the above excerpt, Foucault argued that to fully understand the history of madness, as deployed in contemporary discourse, the genealogist must carefully analyse "that initial dispute" between the forces of knowledge, which resulted in the classification of reason from non-reason-madness. It is the careful analysis of this "zero point in the course of [the history] of madness" that reveals the mediating force that underpin what we now take to be madness, to be non-reason. Therefore, the significance of genealogical analysis as part of the conceptual framework of this research is that it offers a tool for analysing the constituting spaces of the third space. In other words, the contention which exists between the global politics and indigenous cultures, as expressed in contemporary discourse on education in West Africa, is being reinforced by the hegemonic historical and political narratives that exist in each of the opposing sides. And it is through genealogical analysis that these hegemonic narratives can be deconstructed and re-evaluated, and the factors that mediate them critically explored. Genealogical analysis as part of the conceptual framework of this research is an

effective tool for exploring the complexities which exists within each of the two main strands of this research as illustrated in the conceptual map.

1.6 Chapter Summary

The aim in this chapter is to introduce the reader to the background of this research, the problem that underpin the research process, the thesis structure, and my positioning and presuppositions as a researcher in the research meaning-making processes. Also, this chapter addresses the theoretical foundation that underpins my positioning within the research process, and the conceptual framework that underpin the entire research process. The next chapter highlights and elaborates on the chosen research methodology and method.

1.7 Conclusion and Significance of the Chapter

Conceptually, this chapter sets out both the philosophical and structural foundations of this thesis. First, the main research problem, which is the challenge of resentment towards formal schooling in West Africa, is categorised and discussed as one of the formidable challenges facing formal schooling in the region. The two categories of the challenge of resentment towards formal schooling at a macro level in West Africa are, the subtle expression of subtle cultural defiance by indigenous cultural groups, and violent attacks against schools, education stakeholders and infrastructures by radicalised entities such as Boko-Haram and Al-Qaeda linked groups in parts of the region.

There are several challenges facing formal schooling across Africa, some of which are briefly discussed in Chapter five. However, as pressing and complex as each of the identified challenge is, this research only focusses specifically on the challenge of resentment towards formal schooling at a macro level in West Africa. One of the reasons for the specific focus on the challenge of resentment, and how it is been expressed towards formal schooling in the region, is because the critical analysis of some of the factors that contributes to the formidability of this particular challenge results in a position which underscores the key argument put forward in this thesis. The argument been that, the challenges facing formal schooling across West Africa are complex, and there is no single strategy, formula or approach to resolving any of these difficult challenges. Also, finding any form of resolution to these complex and difficult challenges will require, among other things, the deconstruction

of received histories and mediated perceptions of both the factors that contribute to the challenges and the social position on pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems.

Second, aside from contextualising some of the broad terminologies operationalised in this thesis, this Chapter also set my reflexive positioning as a researcher within the research process, and the theoretical foundation upon which the key arguments presented in this thesis are situated. Central to the arguments presented in this thesis is the idea that subjectivity is mediated by situated knowledge and beliefs (Harding 1995; Kearney 1984; Mills 2007), and that the hegemonic discourse and discourse structure within one's epistemic community contributes to, and or determines, how one views the world (Foucault 1977; Van Dijk 1993, 1995). This idea underscores the search in this research for the cognitive interface that underpins the discourse within each of the epistemic communities analysed in this research namely, indigenous cultures and knowledge systems and contemporary education-formal schooling at a macro level in West Africa.

The dominant perception of pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems in contemporary discourse on education in West Africa, referred to in this thesis as 'social position', is often the bases for both the critique of formal schooling at a macro level in the region, and the arguments for the resolution of some of the challenges facing education across the region. The hegemony of the social position on indigenous cultures and knowledge systems in contemporary discourse on education at a macro level in West Africa has resulted in compelling arguments for an ideological partnership, a merger between the various indigenous knowledge systems and formal schooling, by academic writers such as Adeyemi and Adeyinka (2003), Dei (2000) and Zulu (2006). Considering that this research seeks to contribute to the arguments for an ideological partnership between these two strands of knowledge systems in West Africa, the conceptual framework that underpin this research, cultural hybridity and the third space (Bhabha 1984, 1994), and Foucault's (1977) genealogical analytical approach, underscore this research's perception of the two strands of knowledge systems as complex constituting spaces, hence the need for a genealogical analytical approach to each of the spaces. The next chapter sets out the methodological

framework within which this research is situated, and the research method applied in the research process.

Chapter 2
Methodology and Method

2.1 Introduction

This research is situated within the qualitative research paradigm, and its underpinning methodology is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). In this chapter, an overview of, and the rationale for, the chosen research methodology and method are presented. The conception of CDA explored in this chapter, and adopted as the methodological framework of this research, is informed by Teun Van Dijk (1993, 1995). This chapter also addresses the ethical considerations made in the collection and analysis of data for this research project, and the multi-layered stages of data collection and analysis. Informed by the principles of CDA, as outlined in Van Dijk (1993), the sources of data for this research are unconventional in nature, as it includes, in part, a fiction text and an autobiographical text. The processes of extracting data from a diverse genre of texts for this research are also explained in detail in this chapter.

This research explores how the application of CDA can inform the discourse on resolving the challenge of resentment towards formal schooling at a macro level in West Africa. The process of this research project consists of diverse range of aims and objectives which are directed towards achieving the overall research goal. Also, due to the broad scope of this research, and the multi-layered processes it applied, some of the terminologies deployed require contextual definitions (see section 1.3 for discussions on contextual definitions of terminologies). First, the phrase 'indigenous ways of knowing' is used in this chapter interchangeably with, and to represent, the various pre-colonial indigenous knowledge systems, also referred to as the pre-colonial education systems adopted by the various indigenous tribes and cultural entities across West Africa prior to the establishment of formal system of education in the region. Second, the use of the term 'contemporary education' in this chapter is used interchangeably with, and synonymous to, formal schooling, also referred to as formal education across West Africa. Third, the term 'globalisation' is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon and can be defined in many ways. Held and McGrew (2002) defined it as

…a shift or transformation in the scale of human organization that links distant
communities and expands the reach of power relations across the world's regions
and continents (p. 1).

The perception of globalisation as a phenomenon which seeks to "link distant communities
and expand the reach of power relations" can be considered a common view amongst writers
and social theorists. Stromquist (2002) characterised the processes of globalisation as
"…creating widespread flows of people and ideas and thus creating new and hybrid forms for
culture that articulate the local with the global" (p.2). Held's and McGrew's (2002) and
Stromquist's (2002) views are in line with the view on globalisation adopted in this research.
Finally, and in connection with this research's view on globalisation, the term 'global
education policies and strategies' are used in this research to represent specific policies and
strategies on education issued by global agencies such as UNESCO, UNDP, and the World
Bank. The selected policies and strategies are analysed collectively as one of the sources of
data for this research. The analysis of these global policies and strategies on education is
based on the premise that they are a form of imposition of best practices (Ellerman 2008;
Mason 2008) by powerful nations, which are covertly designed to establish strategic
influence on developing regions.

2.2 Methodology

This research is aimed at exploring how the application of CDA can inform the discourse on
resolving the challenge of resentment towards formal schooling at a macro level across West
Africa. Education systems across the globe faces different kinds of challenges at any given
time, and it is the continuous attempts at resolving these challenges that often leads to or
results in reforms, and on occasion the complete transformation of school systems in
countries and regions across the globe. In the case of many countries across West Africa,
certain challenges facing the education systems have made formal schooling a contested and
increasingly dangerous site.

The challenge of resentment toward formal schooling in West Africa has proved formidable
and resilient to significant attempts by local and international agencies at resolving it. The
factors that indicate resentment toward formal schooling across the region are classified in
this thesis into two main categories. The first category is the subtle display of cultural

defiance against formal schooling by certain tribes and cultural groups across the region. The notable actions which constitute this subtle display of cultural defiance includes, but not limited to, the prevention and or limiting of the education of women and girls due to perceived gender roles, and the prevention of the education of first male child of the family due to his spiritually ordained responsibilities. The second category of resentment towards formal schooling in parts of West Africa is the actions of radicalised entities in the region, which has resulted in violent attacks against students, teachers and other education stakeholders, the destruction of school buildings and other educational infrastructures. This particular challenge of violent attacks has resulted in the collapse of the school system in certain parts of West Africa.

The philosophical question that underpins this exploration is based on the premise that, where cultures exist there is also the contemporaneous existence of ways of knowing, the indigenous knowledge systems. This can be defined as the unique ways of knowing that are embedded in local cultures, local histories and mythologies, and in the local environments of the indigenous people (Mawere 2014). However, the nature of contemporary societies demands extensive cooperation and interactions between people, cultures, economies, and other facets of society to create a globalised world. The main driver of this global connection between people and cultures-globalisation, both in West Africa and elsewhere, is contemporary education-formal schooling (Stromquist 2002). In order to enable regional and local communities, whose interactions formed their various indigenous cultures and knowledge systems, to participate in the globalisation of the world, they too need to have access to quality contemporary education. The question therefore is, should the education of regional and local communities take into consideration the characteristics and components of their indigenous cultures and knowledge systems or should it impose upon them a distinct knowledge system which bears no similarity to what is indigenous to them?

The answer to the above question, as argued in other parts of this thesis, is complex, and requires a critical analysis of the discourse in each strand of the knowledge systems, and the deconstruction of the ideologies that underpin them. First, the indigenous knowledge systems and contemporary education-formal schooling are each underpinned by different ideologies, with the discourse in each of the differing ways of knowing governed by these unique underpinning ideologies. Second, while an ideological partnership between the indigenous

and the contemporary may seem to be the best socio-political compromise with regards to formal schooling across West Africa (Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2003; Dei 2000; Zulu 2006), the current relation between the two has been argued to be that of imposition and dominance by the contemporary, which is influenced by global education policies and strategies (Kingsley 2010; Mazonde 2001; Zulu, 2006). According to Oba and Eboh (2011), the influence of the colonising powers over their former colonies extend beyond the colonial era into the post-colonial era, and former schooling, facilitated through foreign aids and partnership initiatives, is the main avenue through which this influence is reinforced in previously colonised territories.

One of the resulting consequences of the current 'partnership' between the indigenous and the contemporary, characterised by dominance and imposition, has been the feeling of resentment toward formal schooling, which is believed to be linked to the gradual erosion of aspects of indigenous cultures and traditional norms, and in turn, perceived indigenous identities across the region (Kingsley 2010; Oba and Eboh 2011). Such feeling of resentment has become the most efficient recruitment tool for radicalised entities in many West African countries, such as Boko-Haram and other radical Islamist groups, which attacks educational facilities, and abducts students and other stakeholders in education (BBC News 1st March 2018; UNOCHA 2018).

A notable argument on resolving the challenge of resentment toward formal schooling is the case been made for a form of ideological partnership, a merger between the various indigenous knowledge systems and formal schooling across West Africa (Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2003; Dei 2000; Zulu 2006). The main objective of this research is to contribute to the discourse on resolving the said challenge of resentment toward formal schooling across West Africa. In doing so, the argument put forward in this research is that, in order to achieve genuine ideological partnership between the two strands of knowledge systems, it is necessary to first deconstruct the ideologies upon which each strand of the knowledge systems is based, by critically analysing the processes and conditions which resulted in their conception. It is also necessary to critically analyse the hegemony of the said ideologies on discourse within each strand of the knowledge systems.

The focus of these analyses is aimed at critically analysing the relation between power, discourse and society within the sociological context of each strand of the differing knowledge systems. The analysis explores how power is being expressed and legitimised in the form of dominance on the one hand, and resistance to dominance on the other, and how these forms of power are being reproduced and legitimised through the discourse within each strand of the knowledge systems. In other words, achieving genuine ideological partnership in West African education requires, amongst other things, critical analyses of the ideologies which underpin each strand of the knowledge systems, and the hegemony of these ideologies on discourse within, what Teun Van Dijk (1993) refer to as the "epistemic communities", knowledge communities that constitute each strand of the knowledge systems. Van Dijk's (1993, 1995) notion of CDA highlights, amongst other things, the different forms of power, both in the form of dominance and resistance to dominance, and how discourse, founded upon specific social cognition (social position), reinforces and sustains it in its diverse forms in a given epistemic community.

Therefore, applying Teun Van Dijk's (1985, 1993, 1995, 2006A) conception of CDA as the methodological framework of this research, provides a framework for the critical analysis of, first, the ideologies which underpins the dominant perception of the pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems, and formal schooling across West Africa, by analysing how these ideologies govern and regulate discourse in the form of discourse structure within each of the epistemic communities. Second, it also provides a framework for analysing the relation between discourse, social position (social cognition), and society. This framework enables a critical analysis of the mutually reinforcing relation between discourse structure and social position, and how such relation empowers discourse in its reproduction and legitimisation of dominance and resistance within each of the epistemic communities.

Teun Van Dijk is a Dutch scholar. He was born in Naaldwijk, the Netherlands in 1943. As one of the pioneering scholars of CDA such as Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, James Paul Gee, and Michael Halliday, Van Dijk has done extensive work in the areas of text linguistics and discourse studies. A central theme most evident in Van Dijk's writings is the role of discourse in society, particularly, and most significant for this research, is his analysis of the relation between cognition, discourse and society. What underpins Van Dijk's (1993, 1995) position on the relation between discourse and society is the argument that social cognition is

what enables discourse in the reproduction and legitimisation of power within a given epistemic community. This view of social cognition and its relation to discourse in society provides a framework for the analysis carried out in this research.

2.2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Defining CDA, Van Dijk (1995) refer to it as "an exclusively critical 'approach', 'position' or 'stance' [author's emphasis] of studying texts and talk" (p. 17), with the aim of highlighting the production and reproduction of power through dominance and resistance to dominance from a critical stand point. Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000) defined CDA as a branch of discourse analysis that is aimed at making the obscure relationship between discourse and power transparent. In order words, CDA can be classified as a sociopolitical theorising that focuses specifically on highlighting oppressive practices, inequality, domination and injustices, which are somewhat hidden and or transparent in the day to day use of language, which could be in the form of text or talk, images, and other means (Fairclough 2012; Wodak and Meyer 2001). Most research that adopts the CDA approach often operates in direct connection with its linguistic root by focusing on the interconnectedness between language, power and society. The linguistic connection of CDA is highlighted in Wodak's and Meyer's (2001) definition of CDA's approach to analysing discourse. They defined CDA as a critical analytical approach that is

> …fundamentally concerned with analysing opaque as well as transparent structural
> relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in
> language. In other words, …[it] aims to investigate critically social inequality as it
> is expressed, signalled, constituted, legitimized and so on by language use... (p. 2).

CDA's objective for investigating the factors which "constituted" and "legitimized… social inequality", from the sociopolitical position of the marginalised and of those oppressed in one form or another, is to bring about social change. However, Fairclough (2012) argued that, achieving social change through CDA requires much more than "a purely moral or normative critique" (p. 10) of the world. That is, for CDA to achieve its goal of bringing about social change, an understanding of the factors that enables discourse in all its forms is necessary. To put it in Fairclough's own words,

> Changing the world for better depends upon being able to explain how it has come
> to be the way it is. ...a purely normative or moral critique is not enough if the aim
> is to change social realities for the better (p. 10).

The idea of having an understanding of the world, of "how it has come to be the way it is", as a prerequisite for theorising for a meaningful social change makes Van Dijk's (1993, 1995) conceptual approach to CDA of significance for this research. Van Dijk (1995) argued that CDA, as a sociopolitical theorising, focuses specifically on the "relation between discourse and society (including social cognition, politics and culture)" [author's emphasis] (p. 17). Focusing on the relation between discourse and social cognition, Van Dijk (1995) identified how power is produced, reproduced and legitimised through the various forms of discourse, and the role of discourse in shaping social cognition within a given social context. In other words, he argued that,

> CDA specifically focuses on the strategies of *manipulation*, *legitimation*, the
> *manufacture of consent* [author's emphasis] and other discursive ways to influence
> the minds (and indirectly the actions) [author's emphasis] of people in the interest
> of the powerful (p.18).

The significance of implying that discourse in it various forms is, in part, a process of "manufacturing consent" underscores the mutually reinforcing relation between discourse and social cognition. The conception of discourse as a tool for the reproduction and legitimisation of power, which can either be in form of a top to bottom dominance or grass root resistance to such dominance, requires a degree of 'buy-in' from the social actors in a given social context, in an epistemic community, between whom the discursive practices occurs. In other words, according to Van Dijk (1985, 1993, 2006A), the link between discourse and society is social cognition, that is, common prior knowledge or collectively accepted truth with regards to specific subject, issue or concept within a given epistemic community. Consequently, while the objective of CDA is to highlight the reproduction and legitimisation of power, inequality, dominance, and other social injustices through discourse (Fairclough 2012; Wodak and Meyer 2001), such critical analysis often shows that the main factor that enables discourse in all its forms is social cognition (Van Dijk 1993, 1995, 2006A, 2006B). This relational capacity of discourse, which enables it to relate with and navigate the complex social context of an epistemic community, is what Fairclough (2010) refer to as

"dialectical relations" of discourse. However, discourse and discursive practices within epistemic communities, in its various forms, are not isolated; they are governed and regulated by discursive regimes, underpinning ideologies or guiding forces at any given time (Crowley 2009; Fairclough 2003; Foucault 1972; Visker 2008). According to Foucault (1972), these discursive regimes or underpinning ideologies, often referred to as discourse structure,

> …defines types of rules for discursive practices that run through individual '*oeuvre*' [author's emphasis -direct translation meaning artwork], sometimes govern them entirely, and dominate them to such an extent that nothing eludes them (p. 139).

The implication of Foucault's point on the "rules for discursive practices", or as Fairclough (2003) referred to it, the "order of discourse" (p. 3), is that, it is discourse structure that defines the limits of discourse within a given epistemic community; it defines what constitute acceptable knowledge at any given time. Foucault's (1972) analysis of discourse indicates that texts, talk and other forms of discourse are not isolated in their representation of knowledge and truth; they are governed by regimes of discourse which evolve from time to time. Foucault's focus on this particular form of discourse analysis is, according to Visker (2008),

> …more than a history of discursive regimes. What it aims to show is rather that our speech too, in its endeavour to formulate the truth, is governed by a system of rules and constrains that binds it to a discursive synthesis whose source lies outside our subjectivity (p. 11).

The theory of "discursive regimes" governing discourse at any given time underscores Van Dijk's (1985, 1993, 1995, 2006в) position on the relation between discourse and social cognition. In that, the relation between discourse structure (Foucault 1972; Visker 2008) and social cognition (Van Dijk 1993, 1995) are mutually reinforcing. In other words, for discourse to be a tool for the reproduction and legitimisation of power within a given social context there need to be a degree of alignment, a "dialectical relation" (Fairclough 2010), between the discourse structure and social cognition. It is this alignment of discourse structure and social cognition that enables discourse in the reproduction of power and the legitimisation of dominance and resistance to dominance within a given social context. To put it in Van Dijk's (1993) own words, he argued that,

> …in order to relate discourse and society, and hence discourse and the reproduction of dominance and inequality, we need to examine in detail the role of social representations in the minds of social actors. …social cognition is the necessary theoretical (and empirical) [author's emphasis] 'interface' [author's emphasis], if not the 'missing link' [author's emphasis], between discourse and dominance (p. 215).

The dialectical relations between discourse structure and social cognition, and the role of social cognition as the "missing link" between discourse and the reproduction of power are of significance for the methodological framework of this research. This is because, this research analyses dominant discourse within each strand of the knowledge systems in West Africa, with the aim of highlighting the underpinning ideologies which regulates the said discourses, the processes which resulted in the conception of these ideologies, and their relation to the social positions-social cognition within the epistemic communities of each strand of the knowledge systems in the region.

While most critiques of CDA are often directed towards its analysis of and approach to language and linguistic structures, and their use as social functions, characterised by inequality, domination and control (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2009; Billig 2003; Breeze 2011), this research looks beyond language and linguistic structures. This research explores the ideologies and fundamental principles that underpins the stories we tell, our narratives, discourse itself within specific epistemic communities. This does not mean that langue and linguistic structures are of lesser significance, nonetheless, the primary focus in this particular research project is what underpins both.

In this research, each strand of the knowledge systems across West Africa, the various indigenous knowledge systems and contemporary education-formal schooling, are classified as separate epistemic communities with different underpinning ideologies. These ideologies regulate the discourse within each epistemic community. In turn, they shape the social positions in these epistemic communities through the capability of discourse to reproduce and legitimise certain narratives, which can either be for the purpose of legitimising dominance or facilitating resistance to such dominance. Therefore, applying Teun Van Dijk's (1985, 1993, 1995, 2006A, 2006B, 2015) conception of CDA, which emphasises the significance or social

cognition, as the methodological framework for this research provides the tools for dis-entangling this complex web of power relation in each of the epistemic communities.

2.2.2 Principles of CDA as a Research Methodological Framework

Critical Discourse Analysis is not a research method; rather, it is a critical approach to analysing discourse (Van Dijk 1995, 2015, 2006в). With its roots in Critical Theory, associated with the Frankfurt School of renowned social theorists such as Theodor Adorno, Walter Benjamin, and Herbert Marcuse, among others, the goal of CDA is to challenge, call to question or expose not only the abuse of power but also the structure that enables and or legitimises such abuse in a given sociopolitical context. In Van Dijk's own words, "CDA is discourse study *with an attitude* [author's emphasis]" (1995, p. 17). Since its emergence as a branch of critical theory, one of the most significant efforts in the field of CDA has been attempts at outlining the characteristic of research endeavours that adopts the CDA approach. However, due to the multidisciplinary nature of CDA no simple lists of characteristics can comprehensively capture its complex nature and its ever-evolving landscape. For the purpose of this research, and within the context of its aims and objectives, the principles of CDA as outlined by Van Dijk (1993) are adopted as guide.

Van Dijk (1993) identified four key principles of CDA, which he argued should be the basis for research endeavours that applies CDA as its methodological framework. First, such research should seek to understand real pressing social issues. Second, it should seek to understand and critically analyse the conditions and ideology which contribute to and sustain power in its various forms. Third, it should approach issues from a multidisciplinary position, and finally, it should seek to contribute to social change. As is the case in this research, Van Dijk (1993) argued that, a CDA research should seek to understand pressing social issues through a critical analysis of discourse. Often political and multidisciplinary in nature, its aim is not to contribute to or resolve specific subject matter or theory,

> …it is primarily interested and motivated by pressing social issues, which it hopes
> to better understand through discourse analysis. Theories, descriptions, methods
> and empirical work are chosen or elaborated as a function of their relevance for the
> realization of such sociopolitical goal. Since serious social problems are naturally
> complex, this usually also means a multidisciplinary approach… (p. 252).

The selection of theories and research methods based on the "function of their relevance" to the objectives and goals of a CDA research informed the choice of an unconventional approach to data gathering as a source of data for this research. The approach is unconventional in the sense that, first, in the bid to understand the social position that enables discourse in the indigenous epistemic communities in contemporary West Africa, a fiction and autobiographical texts were analysed as sources of data. The aim of the analysis is to identify the authors' presuppositions on indigenous cultures and knowledge systems. The similarities in the authors' presuppositions, despite writing in different literary genres, show a close connection between CDA and the rationale of this research. In other words, it provided an understanding of the social position that underpins discourse on indigenous cultures and knowledge systems in the region. Second, as a way of identifying and understand the factors that underpins and drives regional and national educational policies in many contemporary West African states, this research analysed specific global educational policies and strategies as sources of data. This analysis was aimed at identifying the fundamental principles that underpin the selected global educational policies and strategies, and to understand the histories of their conception.

The combined analysis of these two categories of data provides a deeper understanding of the complex nature of some of the formidable challenges facing contemporary education in a developing region such as West Africa. Another principle of a CDA research, according to Dijk (1993), is that, it should be aimed at critically analysing the forces, conditions and ideologies which reproduces and legitimises power, both in the form of dominance on the one hand and resistance to dominance on the other. Implicitly, it should, in part, seek to highlight the irony of resistance to dominance by critically analysing how a particular form of power is being reproduced through the decolonisation/oppressed discourse. Van Dijk (1993) further argued that, because CDA is "normative" by its nature, and "presupposes an applied ethics" (p. 253), research that adopts the CDA approach should be explicit about its sociopolitical positioning (see the reflexive section in Chapter 1 of this thesis).

Finally, Van Dijk (1993) argued that, as a research endeavour which seeks to contribute to social change, CDA should be aimed at critically exploring the complexities of ideas and the intended and unintended consequences that result from their operationalisation. In line with Van Dijk (1993), Fairclough (2012) also argued that, the primary concern of a CDA research

should be to acknowledge and seek to understand the complexities of social relationships, to be *"able to explain how [things] has come to be the way [they are]"* (p.10). To put in Van Dijk's (1993) own words, CDA research should

> …go beyond the immediate, serious or pressing issue of the day. Their structural understanding presupposes more general insights, and sometimes indirect and long-term analyses of fundamental causes, conditions and consequences of such issues (p. 253).

As a way of critically analysing the "fundamental causes", and the complex nature of the challenge of resentment towards formal schooling at a macro level in West African, this research critically analysed the ideologies that underpins discourse in both the indigenous epistemic community and contemporary education.

2.3 Research Method

The focus of this research and the conceptual framework that underpins it requires a critical analysis of underpinning ideologies which regulates discourse within the socio-political contexts of two strands of knowledge systems (Van Dijk 1985, 1993, 2006A). While there may be other approaches to undertaking such critical and in-depth analysis, textual analysis has been chosen as the preferred approach in this research. As sources of data, two categories of texts were analysed. The first category consists of two published literatures, namely: *Of Water and Spirit: Ritual, Magic and Initiation in the Life of an African Shaman* by Malidoma Patrice Somé (Autobiography), and *Thing Fall Apart* by Chinua Achebe (Fiction). The second category of texts consists of specific global education policies and strategy documents, namely: UNESCO's Education for All 1990 (including monitoring reports of 2000 and 2015), UNESCO Education Strategy 2014-2015, and Millennium Development Goals 2015.

2.3.1 Ethical Considerations

> Ethics is a matter of principled sensitivity to the rights of others. …while truth is good, respect for human dignity is better, even if, in the extreme case, the respect of human dignity leaves one ignorant of human nature. Such ethical considerations impinge upon all …research… (Bulmer 2008 p. 146).

Bulmer's (2008) reference to ethics as "principled sensitivity to the rights of others" emphasise the obligatory nature of ethical considerations in all types of research paradigms. Bulmer (*ibid*) further argued that researchers must always consider the likely impact of their research not only on their research subjects but also on society at large. Most ethical issues, particularly in research situated within the qualitative paradigm, often focuses on the research subjects, and the management and application of data generated from the research subjects. While such a simplified notion of ethical considerations in research may seem to imply less rigorous ethical requirements for research which applies secondary methods to data gathering, Silverman (2013) argued that it does not. According to Silverman (*ibid*), ethical considerations in qualitative research is a complex issue, and researchers "should think through the appropriateness of each ethical principle to the precise context of [their] research" (p. 184). In other words, research projects, such as this research, which collects data from textual sources and through other secondary means, must look beyond stipulated guidelines for ethical considerations in their fields of study. Researchers must always consider the broader impact of their work and possible ethical issues which may arise as a result.

The choice of secondary sources of data exempts this research from certain requirements for addressing ethical issues in qualitative research, as stipulated by the Mary Immaculate College Research Ethics Committee (MIREC). Issues relating to research participants such as consent, protecting participants' anonymity, and the use and storage of confidential data are not of significance for this research. Therefore, ethical approval from MIREC was not required for the gathering and processing of data for this research. However, the issues analysed in this research may be regarded as politically sensitive in certain parts of contemporary West Africa. Critically analysing issues such as colonialism, decolonisation, globalisation, and the notions of dominance and imposition by foreign powers in the region, if recklessly presented, may unwittingly provide legitimating arguments for radicalised entities in their ongoing insurgency against Western influence in the region. Therefore, the analytical arguments presented in this research were presented with an understanding of the politically sensitive nature of the issues addressed in this research.

Another issue which requires ethical consideration, when using texts as sources of data, is the researcher's analytical power over the analysed texts. This raises ethical concern, particularly

due to the politically sensitive nature of the issues analysed, if contents of the selected texts are analysed out of the overall context of the texts. The texts selected as sources of data for this research, both the published literatures and policy documents, were purposefully selected because of the topics they addressed and the contexts within which they were written. Also, in the following section of this chapter, the rationale for selecting the textual sources have been disclosed. In addition to highlighting the contexts of the selected texts, and the rationale for selecting them as sources of data, excerpts from the selected texts are presented in the analytical sections of this thesis. The intention, therefore, is to enable the reader to infer his or her own interpretations from the authors' own voices.

2.3.2 Rationale for Choosing Textual Analysis as Research Method

The rationales for choosing textual analysis as the preferred research method are classified into two categories, one of which may have significance beyond the scope of this research project (Badley 2003; Clough 2002; Macdonald 2008; Peräkylä 2005; Silverman 2013). First, this is a qualitative research that is aimed at critically analysing two key elements. The first focus of this research's analysis is on peoples' perceptions of their historical past, and the ideology that may have shaped their perceptions of the past. The second analysis focuses on the fundamental principles that underpin global education policies and strategies, and the histories of their conception. It is the position of this research that, analysing texts as sources of data offers a broad scope for quality and unrefined data (Macdonald 2008), in the sense that the texts analysed for this research are of different genres (published literatures and global policy and strategy documents), and were written and published for different purposes. Silverman (2013) defined texts as source of data consisting of "words and images which have become recorded without the intervention of a researcher" (p. 51). Unlike research interviews, observations and other methods orchestrated with the knowledge of the research participant(s), textual analysis has the potential to produce data that are untainted by the data collection process, which is particularly important in the case of this research, which is aimed at critically analysing what underpins and influences peoples' perceptions on the one hand, and global educational policy initiatives on the other.

It is important to clarify two key points in relation to the use of textual analysis within the context of this research. First, while most qualitative research data are usually converted into text, either through transcribing or other means, before been analysed, the term textual

analysis in this research represents the analysis of published literary texts and policy documents which were written for other purposes (Silverman 2013). Second, the reference to textual analysis as a way of accessing untainted data is not to undermine or downgrade the validity of research data derived through methods such as interviews, observation and other qualitative research methods, nor to present data derived through secondary sources, such as text, as differing to the aforementioned methods, rather to present both categories of methods as continuum of each other (Peräkylä 2005).

Another important reason for choosing text analysis, in connection with the above, is specifically related to the first category of texts analysed–the published literatures. The authors' perceptions derived from the selected published literatures are referred to in this research as the perception of West African indigenous cultures and knowledge systems in contemporary discourse on education in West African. While the published texts were selected from two countries in the region, thereby limiting the generality of the findings of this research, it is impracticable, within the timeframe and material resources available for this research, to acquire the perception of every citizen of the two countries from which the texts were selected, let alone the citizens of all West African countries. However, according to Connelly and Clandinin (1990), the act of telling a story, either fiction or autobiography, is an act that is based on a unique relationship between the storyteller and the audience for whom the story is meant. What underpins this unique relationship between the storyteller and her or his audience is what Van Dijk (1993) referred to as the "social cognition", a set of prior knowledge which enables the audience's understanding of the story being told. This is referred to in the context of this research as social position. Therefore, one of the arguments for choosing textual analysis is that, based on the topics addressed in the selected published literatures, and the audiences for whom they were written, the texts provides insight into the *social position*-social cognition on indigenous cultures and epistemologies in contemporary West African social contexts. In other words, the selected published literatures provide insight into, and "constitute specimens of" (Peräkylä 2005), the presuppositions which underpin the perception of indigenous cultures and epistemologies in contemporary West Africa. According to Roberts (2002),

> …story teller or autobiographer seeks an audience just as the listener/reader seeks comprehension and human connection. Within the forms of communication

between the giver and the receiver are sets of expectations and conventions which
make understanding and rapport possible… (p. 54).

Based on the idea that there are sets of "expectations and conventions" between the storyteller and the readers, access to the social positions on indigenous cultures and knowledge systems in certain contemporary West African social contexts provides somewhat limited opportunity for the generalisation of the findings of this research in other contemporary social contexts in the region, as well as the two sociopolitical contexts from which the published literatures were selected.

The second main rationale for choosing text analysis as research method, which may have significance beyond the scope of this research project, also relates to the choice of published literatures (autobiography and fiction texts) as sources of data. Fiction can be classified as an objective representation of the author's reality (Badley 2003; Clough 2002; Wyatt, 2007). This perception of fiction and the idea of telling one's life story for the purpose of publication, coupled with the notion of the presupposition and assumptions of *social positions* in the ways certain literatures are often written (Connelly and Clandinin 1990; Roberts 2002), presents a relatively untapped source of data for studying *social positions* on specific sociological issues, and how such positions evolves as societies changes and evolve over a given time. Considering that this research seeks to understand, and critically analyse, the social positions in contemporary West African societies on indigenous cultures and epistemologies, this research has chosen two stories, an autobiography and a fiction story, as part of its sources of data. These stories were told by West Africans for audiences in the region and elsewhere, and they present vivid illustrations of the authors' perceptions of indigenous cultures and traditions in certain West African societies, and the sudden interruption of the said cultures and ways of life caused by the region's encounter with its European colonisers.

2.3.2.1 The Fiction Text

Things Fall Apart, written by Chinua Achebe, and first published in 1958 by William Heinemann, is a well-known West African fiction. Set in real cultural scenarios in the pre-colonial Eastern Nigerian tribes, the Igbo tribes. Achebe tells the story of a local hero, a warrior who was a respected tribe's man, and how his life unravelled as the tribes

encountered 'the white man'. The author presented the colonial experiences of the tribes as a harsh and painful experience, which resulted in the erosion of centuries old traditions, beliefs and indigenous ways of living. As part of his illustration of the rich and harmonious pre-colonial life in the region, Achebe made significant references to the indigenous knowledge system practiced by the pre-colonial Igbo tribes, and how the system enabled the social continuity of life between the tribes for centuries.

The text was purposefully selected as a source of data for this research not only because of its rich references to indigenous traditions and knowledge system (Peräkylä 2005), but also due to its role in the decolonisation movements in West Africa and across Africa as a whole. First published in 1958 at a time when the nationalists' movements for decolonisation in the region was at its peak, Achebe's novel played a significant role in galvanising support for the nationalists' cause by highlighting, amongst other things, the gradual loss of centuries old traditions, beliefs, indigenous cultures, and the imposition of foreign ideas and cultures brought about through colonialism. The novel was effective in its contribution to the nationalists' discourse across Africa because, it tapped into the social positions on indigenous traditions and cultures at the time, thereby reinforcing the feeling of subjugation and oppression in the natives, and the need for decolonisation and freedom. Although first published in 1958, Achebe's perception of pre-colonial culture in his novel is being referred to in this research as contemporary, this is because Achebe's romantic perception of indigenous pre-colonial culture, as expressed during nationalists' era, still underpins how the pre-colonial era is perceived in contemporary West African social context.

2.3.2.2 The Autobiography

Of Water and Spirit: Ritual, Magic and Initiation in the Life of an African Shaman, written by Malidoma Patrice Somé, and published in 1994 by Penguin Books, tells the personal life story of a West African shaman. In the book, the author recounted the story of his abduction from his village as a boy, taken to a Catholic mission and educated for almost two decades in the Christian tradition. Upon his return to his tribe, he underwent the required rite of passage initiation of the Dagara tribe, an experience which gave him access to the spiritual realm of the tribe's ancestors. As a result of his initiation, the author gained a unique ability to travel between the world of the living and that of the tribe's ancestors. The first three chapters of the

book presents vivid illustrations of Dagara traditions ranging from indigenous beliefs, child rearing, funeral rites and so on, which dates back centuries.

This text was purposefully selected as a source of data for this research for a number of reasons. First, the author presents a vivid illustration of an indigenous education process which is rooted in centuries old traditions and rituals, and therefore relevant to the goal of this research (Peräkylä 2005). Second, following the author's initiation, as recounted in the book, he was assigned a crucial role by the ancestral spirits of the Dagara tribe, a calling to educate the Western world about the spiritual knowledge and powers of the tribe, an assignment which the author accepted, resulting in the publication of the text being analysed in this research. Therefore, in order to fully adhere to his calling by the Dagara ancestral spirits, the author's illustration of the tribe's centuries old traditions, cultures and initiation process would not only have been acceptable to the said ancestral spirits but also in line with the social position on how the tribe perceived its own past (Roberts 2002). Also, the author presents a romantic view of a peaceful and harmonious past similar to the way Chinua Achebe, in his fiction text, presented his perception of indigenous culture and traditions almost four decades before the publication of this text. This therefore offers the opportunity to analyse the data from both texts as complementary data, as a continuum (Peräkylä 2005)

2.3.2.3 Global Educational Policies and Strategies as Data

Contemporary educational policies and strategies in most, if not all, West African countries, and in many countries across the globe are not introduced and or implemented in isolation (Ball 1993; Foucault 1972). Most countries' policies and strategies on education, particularly in the areas of access, required basic level of education for all citizens, gender parity in education, educational outcomes, and so on, are based on, and or largely influenced by, global policies and strategies on education, as often stated in policy and strategy documents put together by global organisations such as UNESCO, the World Bank, UNDP, amongst others (these policies are discussed and analysed in Chapter 5). The argument put forward in this thesis is that, the implication of such dominant influence on regional and national educational policies and strategies in developing regions, such as West Africa and elsewhere, is that, the fundamental principles which underpin the said global policies and strategies on education set the course for regional and national education systems.

Considering some of the formidable challenges facing contemporary education in most West African countries to date, as highlighted in previous chapters of this thesis, one of the objectives of this research is to critically analyse the history of the conception of the fundamental principles which underpin global educational policies an strategies, which in turn regulates contemporary education in many West African countries. To achieve this objective therefore, it is necessary to critically analyse the said global policies and strategies on education, with specific focus on the conception of the fundamental principles which underpin them.

2.3.3 Collecting Data from Textual Sources

The gathering of data from published literatures and policy documents is often classified as the used of secondary data. The texts analysed are not 'ready to use' data, they required significant processing in order to access the data for this research. According to Peräkylä (2005),

> In many cases, qualitative researchers who use written texts as their materials do not try to follow any predefined protocol in executing their analysis. By reading and rereading their empirical materials, they try to pin down their key themes and, thereby, to draw a picture of the presuppositions and meanings that constitute the cultural world of which the textual material is a specimen (p. 870).

Similarly, the extraction of data from the textual sources for this research, particularly the published literatures, did not follow "any predefined protocol". The process is classified into two categories, namely, the extraction of data from published literatures and the extraction of data from global educational policy and strategy documents.

2.3.3.1 The Extraction of Data from Published Literatures

The selection of two texts which are not only published at different times but also belongs to different genres, an autobiography and a fiction text, as sources of data is in itself an unconventional approach to data gathering for academic research. The rationale for choosing such an unconventional approach to data gathering is, partly, to highlight the presuppositions and assumptions which underpins the perception of the past within specific social contexts. The objective, therefore, is to identify and extract specimens of indigenous cultures and epistemologies of specific West African societies from both texts (Peräkylä 2005). The

extracted data from both texts are then presented and analysed as complementary data. In other words, the position of this research on the selected fiction text is that, it is a form of objective representation of the author's perception of indigenous cultures and epistemologies. Therefore, one of the ways of scrutinising the author's representation of indigenous cultures and epistemologies is to compare such representation to that of a non-fiction story which occurred in one of the indigenous cultural settings in the region. The objective, therefore, is to present the data derived from both texts *'as a continuum rather than as a dichotomy'* (Peräkylä 2005, p. 870). Due to the unconventional nature of this particular approach to data gathering, published academic literature supporting this approach, and or outlining the process of extracting such data could not be identified. Below are the step by step process through which data for this research were extracted from both the fiction and autobiographical texts.

2.3.3.1.1 Step One: First/Objective reading

The two chosen texts: *Thing Fall Apart* by Chinua Achebe and *Of Water and Spirit: Ritual, Magic and Initiation in the Life of an African Shaman* by Malidoma Patrice Somé are well written pieces of literature by writers who are excellent story tellers in their own rights. The stories are set in two separate indigenous cultures in West Africa. The fiction story is set in the indigenous Eastern Nigerian tribes, the Igbo tribes, while the autobiography is set in the Dagara tribe which cut across three countries in the region, namely, North-West Ghana, South-East Burkina Faso and North-East Ivory Coast. The focus of the first reading of these texts, also referred to as the objective reading, was to become familiar with the authors' narratives, the stories that were told in the texts, to get to know the characters in the stories, and most importantly to identify the social contexts wherein the stories were situated.

2.3.3.1.2 Step Two: Second/Purposeful Reading

The second reading of the selected texts was focused specifically on identifying parts of the narratives in both texts which make references to the indigenous knowledge systems of the tribes wherein the stories are set. This stage of reading requires a shift in the way the published texts are read or approached. The texts were, at this stage, perceived as data sources for this research, a shift from been perceived as well written pieces of literatures. In other words, the second reading became a form of dialogue between the researcher and the

authors of the published texts, whereby the researcher poses specific question and highlights the authors' responses to the questions. The questions posed in this case were specifically aimed at identifying the authors' perception of West African indigenous cultures and epistemologies.

2.3.3.1.3 Step Three: Categorisation of Data from the Texts

Following the second reading of the texts, and the identification of the authors' perceptions of indigenous cultures and knowledge systems, the identified perspectives were extracted from the texts and categorised into themes. The extracted data addresses two main themes, the perceived nature and components of indigenous knowledge systems.

2.3.3.2 Extracting Data from Global Policy and Strategy Documents on Education

One of the main objectives of this research project is to explore, from a critical stance, the fundamental principles which underpin global educational policies and strategies highlighted in the global education strategy Education 2030, namely, (1) education as a fundamental human right and (2) education as a public good. This exploration is done in light of the hegemony of the said principles on regional and national education in most West African countries and elsewhere. The premise upon which this exploration is based, which aligns with a section of the conceptual framework of this research (Foucault 1977), is that, a critical analysis of the aforementioned fundamental principles requires, amongst other things, the historical analysis of their conception, the processes which resulted in their acceptance and dominance in educational discourse globally. As a result, the process of extracting data from specific global educational policies and strategies included, not only the identification of relevant declarations and instructions from the selected policies and strategies, but also the historical contexts which underpins them.

The process of extracting data from the selected policy and strategy documents for this research required contextual understanding of the data been sought. Therefore, as part of its critical exploration of the fundamental principles which underpin global educational policies and strategies, which in turn underpins education systems in most West Africa countries and elsewhere, this research explored the emergence of the concept of mass education, the declaration of education as a fundamental human right, and the translation of this declaration

into global policies and strategies on education by UNESCO at the World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990.

2.3.4 Discussion and Data Analysis

This research is situated within the qualitative research paradigm, with CDA as its methodological position (Van Dijk 1993, 1995). As a result, the data derived from the textual sources, both the published literatures and policy and strategy documents, were discussed and analysed from a critical stand point, with the aim of highlighting the reproduction and legitimisation of power, both from the position of dominance on the one hand and resistance to dominance on the other. The discussion and analysis of data are multi-layered and divided into two main categories. In line with the conceptual framework adopted for this research, cultural hybridity and the third space (Bhabha 1984, 1994) and Foucault's (1977) genealogical analytical approach, the data derived from the two categories of textual sources were critically discussed and analysed separately, and the outcome of each of the critical analysis were the analysed with the aim of seeking a third space where constructive dialogue for genuine ideological partnership could occur.

The analytical tool applied in the critical discussion and analysis of each of the data category is genealogical analytical approach to analysing discourse. For the first category of data the aim is to deconstruct the contemporary perceptions of indigenous cultures and epistemologies by West Africans, and to identify the ideologies that underpin and reinforce the said perceptions. The discussion and analysis of the second category of data is aimed at identifying the fundamental principles which underpin global educational policies and strategies, and to critically analyse the history of their conception. The rationale for applying genealogical approach to discourse analysis in the discussion and analysis of both categories of data is to, first, highlight and critically explore the origin of key predispositions that underpin contemporary perceptions of indigenous cultures and epistemologies by West Africans on the one hand, and on the other hand, the colonial hegemony that underpin global educational policies and strategies, which in turn underpins contemporary education in many West Africa countries. Second, highlighting the reproduction and legitimisation of certain forms of power that exists in the discourse within each of the categories of data, and the origins of the ideologies which reinforces them, can create an opportunity to reconceptualise contemporary perceptions of indigenous cultures and epistemologies, and also challenge the

motives of global educational policies and strategies and their role in the devaluation of local cultures and indigenous identities.

The critical analysis of the two categories of data is aimed at arguing, not for an overlap between the two epistemic communities that are been studied in this research, rather, for the creation of a third space outside the two differing spaces, where creative dialogue for genuine ideological partnership for West African education-formal schooling can occur. Based on the outcomes of the critical discussion and analysis of each category of data, the combined analysis of the two categories of data addresses certain critical questions in line with the overall goal of this research. First, what is the place of decolonisation in the discourse on education-formal schooling in contemporary West Africa? In light of some of the significant challenges facing formal schooling in certain parts of the region, particularly the violent attacks against schools and education stakeholders, considered to be the symbol of Western influence and dominance in the region, the combined data analysis explores a notion of decolonisation, and question if decolonisation, at the core of its conception, was meant to reject all outside influences at all cost. Second, the combined data analysis also explores the place of globalisation and global educational policies and strategies in regional, national and local education in a developing region such as West Africa. Defining the phenomenon of globalisation, Stromquist (2002) argued that,

> …globalization has multiple dimensions-economic, technological, and political- all of which spill into culture and affect in all-encompassing ways the kinds of knowledge that are created, assigned merit, and distributed (p. 3).

The idea that globalisation, in all its dimensions, determines "the kinds of knowledge that are created, assigned merit, and distributed", begs the question if globalisation, by its nature, is designed to, wittingly or unwittingly, dominate and or undermine regional, national and local cultures and identity in the quest to achieving global citizenship and development.

2.3.4.1 Discussion and Analysis of Data from the Published Literatures

The data derived from the published literatures were discussed and analysed on the bases of the data being the social position of West Africans on their historical past (Connelly and Clandinin 1990; Roberts 2002). The objective of the analysis is not to carry out a literary critique of the texts; rather, it is aimed at identifying the authors' presuppositions of the

readers' prior knowledge, the social position. The extracted data from both texts were discussed and analysed as complementary data. The reason being the position of this research on the selected fiction text is that, it is a form of objective representation of the author's perception of indigenous cultures and knowledge systems in the region (Badley 2003; Clough 2002). Based on this premise, one of the ways of scrutinising the author's representation of indigenous cultures and knowledge systems is to compare such representation to that of a non-fiction story that occurred in one of the indigenous cultural settings in the region, with specific focus on the author's representation of indigenous cultures and knowledge systems. The aim therefore, is to present the data derived from both texts "as a continuum rather than as a dichotomy" (Peräkylä 2005, p. 870).

There are considerations that need to be made when analysing texts as sources of data. Highlighting these considerations, Macdonald (2008) argued that, a text,

> …like an untrustworthy witness, must be cross-examined and its motives assessed. How was it written, what was it really, why did it take place in that way, what was the point? Who had a motive? Who benefited? Who was in a position to write and disseminate it? Who was it intended to deceive and why? (pp. 286-287).

Bearing in mind these considerations highlighted by Macdonald (2008), it is therefore worth noting that, while both texts were written in different social situations, the fiction written in the era of colonialism and the struggle for decolonisation, and the autobiography written in the post-colonial era, the discussion and analysis of the data derived from the texts was focused on identifying the authors' presuppositions of the readers' perceptions of, or the social position on, indigenous cultures and knowledge systems.

Another important consideration in the critical discussion and analysis of the data derived from the two published literatures is the social contexts wherein the texts were written and published. First published in 1958 at a time when the nationalists' movements for decolonisation in West Africa, and in other regions of Africa, was at its peak, the fiction text played a significant role in galvanising support for the nationalists' course by highlighting, amongst other things, the gradual loss of centuries old traditions, beliefs, indigenous cultures, and the imposition of foreign ideas and cultures brought about through colonialism. The autobiographical text on the other hand was written and published in the post-colonial era,

first published in 1994. Published in an era when previously colonised nations had achieved independence and self-governance, the autobiographical text was written as a form of reflection on the past. Nostalgic in its form, the text is aimed at arguing for the place of indigenous cultures and traditions in contemporary discourse.

As part of the critical discussion and analysis of the data, the objectives of the selected texts, and the authors' perceived roles in the wider social discourse in West Africa and elsewhere at the time the texts were published, were also considered. First, the fiction text was effective in its contribution to the nationalists' discourse in West Africa and across Africa as a whole at the time it was published. The author tapped into the social position on indigenous traditions and cultures. As a form of contribution to the decolonisation discourse, the author highlighted the gradual erosion of traditions and culture as a result of colonialism, thereby reinforcing the feeling of subjugation and oppression in the natives, and the need for decolonisation. Second, the autobiographical text on the other hand, published in 1994, is more of a nostalgic reflection on the past. Written in a way that it highlights the uniqueness of indigenous culture and traditions of the Dagara people, the author perceived himself as a messenger, and his role as a calling to educate the Western world about the spiritual knowledge and powers of the tribe. For these reasons, the selected texts were discussed and analysed not only as well written pieces of literary texts, but also as purposefully written texts with specific political and social agendas. Therefore, the data derived from both texts are referred to in this research as contemporary perceptions of West Africans, this is because Achebe's romantic perception of indigenous cultures, as expressed during the nationalists' era, and Malidoma's nostalgic reflection on the past, still underpins how the pre-colonial era is perceived in contemporary discourse across West Africa.

In conclusion, the critical analysis of the derived data focuses specifically on exploring certain key points. First, from a critical stand point, this research explores the similarities between the portrayal of indigenous cultures and epistemologies in the two published literatures, which are non-academic in nature, and certain academic literatures such as Adeyemi and Adeyinka (2003), Oba and Eboh (2011), Kingsley (2010), Mazonde (2001) Zulu (2006) amongst others. Second, the stack similarities in how indigenous cultures and epistemologies are portrayed in these diverse genres of texts is then compared to the histories

of the region, and the evolution of some of the region's cultures, as identified in the historical chapter of this thesis. Finally, the discrepancies that emerged between what can be inferred from the historical analysis of the region's cultures and the portrayal of indigenous cultures and epistemologies in the above diverse genre of texts is then used as the basis for critically analysing the possible rationale for the nostalgic and somewhat romantic perception of indigenous cultures and epistemologies in contemporary West Africa.

2.3.4.2 Analysis of Global Educational Policies and Strategies

One of the objectives of this research project is to analyse, from a critical stand point (Van Dijk 1993, 1995), and using the genealogical analytical approach to analysing discourse (Foucault 1977, the history of the conception of two main fundamental principles which underpin global educational policies and strategies, namely, education as a fundamental human right and education as a public good. To achieve this key objective, this research, first, identified the ideas which led to the first global conference on education in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990, and resulted in the first global education strategy: Education for All. Second, this research also explored the origin of these ideas and the purposes they served when they were first conceived and introduced.

The premise for this critical analysis is that, global policies and strategies, particularly global educational policies and strategies, are a form of imposition of best practices (Ellerman 2008; Mason 2008) by powerful nations, covertly designed to establishing strategic influence on developing regions. The aim therefore, is to highlights the colonial root of the said fundamental principles, their hegemony on regional and national educational policies in developing regions such as West Africa, and their indirect role in the formidability of some of the challenges facing contemporary education in the region.

2.4 Chapter Summary

The rationale for the choices of methodology and research method adopted by this research have been made and justified in this chapter. The ethical considerations made in the collection, discussion and analysis of data have also been outlined in this chapter. Finally, the collection, discussion and analysis of data for this research are, in part, unconventional and multifaceted. This chapter has highlighted the processes of extracting data from diverse genre

of texts, which include fiction text, an autobiography, and policy documents, and the multi-layered discussions and analysis of the collected data.

2.5 Conclusion and Significance of the Chapter

This chapter addressed the methodological framework wherein this research is situated, Teun Van Dijk's (1993, 1995) conceptual approach to CDA. This approach identifies social cognition as the cognitive interface that links discourse and society. In other words, according to Van Dijk (1985, 1993), the link between discourse and society is social cognition, that is, common prior knowledge on specific subject, issue or concept within a given epistemic community. Consequently, while the objective of CDA is to highlight the reproduction and legitimisation of power, inequality, dominance, and other social injustices through a critical analysis of discourse (Fairclough 2012; Wodak and Meyer 2001), such critical analysis often indicate that the main factor that enable discourse in all its forms within a given epistemic community is social cognition (Van Dijk 1993, 1995, 2006A). This conceptual approach to CDA is of significance for this research because, central the goal of this research is the identification and deconstruction of the principles that underpin discourse as it reproduces and legitimises certain forms of power and injustices within each strand of the knowledge systems analysed in this research.

The research method applied in this research process, textual analysis, and how it relates to Van Dijk's (1993, 1995) conceptual approach to CDA are also addressed in this chapter. Van Dijk's (1993, 1995) conceptual approach to CDA sets the framework for identifying the principles that underpin discourse, the cognitive interface, in each of the epistemic communities analysed, namely, indigenous cultures and knowledge systems on the one hand, and contemporary education-formal schooling on the other. Also, the application of this conceptual approach to CDA in the analysis of the selected published literatures and policy documents reveal that, not only do the identified principles that underpin discourse in each of the epistemic communities determine the course of discourse, they also determine which narratives are accorded significance, and the key objectives such narratives should emphasise. As a result, discourse in both strands of the knowledge systems analysed in this research, the indigenous cultures and knowledge systems on the one hand, and contemporary education-formal schooling at a macro level in West Africa on the other, reinforces and

legitimise the forms of power and injustices at play within each of the epistemic communities.

Chapter 3
History of Pre-colonial West Africa: From the Pre-historic Era to the Nineteenth Century.

3.1 Introduction

A significant number of literatures have been written about pre-colonial West Africa, by both African historians and writers from around the world (Boyd 2014; Conrad 2010; Petersen and Skaaning 2010; Posnansky 1981; Wai-Andah 1981). In spite of the amount of texts produced on West African histories, very little has been said about the lives of the people who lived in the region during this vast period in African histories. The narratives about pre-colonial West Africa are often focused on the well-structured politically governed Empires, and how the Empires preceded and succeeded one another. These narratives often include stories of excessive wealth and absolute power of kings and the elite of the times, and stories of long-distance trade in goods such as gold, salt, iron, slaves, kola-nut, palm oil, and so on, and the region's influence on North Africa, the Arab regions and Europe.

These romantic narratives of the past have not only contributed to the shaping of how the pre-colonial era is perceived in contemporary discourse, they serve as the basis for how many West Africans construct the meaning of their pre-colonial past. These narratives have become dominant to the point that they have now become myths and legends, which serve as grounds for many customary practices, local cultures and traditional beliefs in contemporary West African societies. Although references have been made to lifestyles, cultural and religious practices, political systems, cities, towns and village structures, and so on, stories of common men, women and children are rarely mentioned in most of the narratives of pre-colonial West Africa.

This chapter will briefly explore some of the pre-historic settlements in West Africa, and the rise and fall of certain empires in the region, with specific focus on how certain dominant cultures transformed over time due to contacts with other cultures. Certain cultural practices which may be classified as exclusively indigenous and those that are somewhat foreign will also be explored.

3.2 Pre-historic West Africa

Since the emergence of African histories into the field of historical studies, a number of arguments have been made to support the claim that humans had lived south of the Sahara from the beginning of human existence (Conrad 2010; Petersen and Skaaning 2010; Posnansky 1981; Wai-Andah 1981). According to Posnansky (1981),

> One of the main achievements of recent research in sub-Saharan African archaeology is the realization that peoples at different stages of technological development were living contemporaneously in different parts of Africa (p. 533).

Archaeological researches, according to Posnansky (1981), have produced diverse range of archaeological evidence which through radio-carbon testing, dates as far back as the pre-historic times. In spite the invention of radio-carbon testing technologies, which has significantly enabled archeologists in their study of pre-historic artifacts excavated from regions south of the Sahara and elsewhere, Posnansky (1981) argued that most of what is known about the pre-historic era, beginning from the Paleolithic, Neolithic and up to the early Iron Age, who the people were, the lives they led, and so on, are highly speculative, and claims about these eras are often made in generalised terms.

Another challenge which besets pre-historic studies is not only about identifying exact dates of significant historical events such as the Neolithic revolution, or the exact dates of technological transformations in the pre-historic era, that is, from hunting and gathering to the use of sophisticated stone tools, and the evolution into the iron and bronze age, because the era in question is vast in time and pre-historic artifacts were excavated from different parts of West Africa at different times. It has been impossible, so far, to assign exact dates to the start and end of significant historical events during the eras in question. Posnansky further argued that,

> It is impossible to assign an exact closing date for the period under discussion in an area for which we have no fixed historical dates. Dates we have, but they are largely obtained from radiocarbon determinations (Carbon14) [author's emphasis]. Th e dates obtained are relatively accurate but the variability for the period under review may range over several centuries (p. 533).

Elaborating on Posnansky's (1981) position on the challenge of assigning the exact dates to pre-historic events, Boyd (2014) and Petersen and Skaaning (2010), amongst others, have argued that the Neolithic age, which was the transition of culture from a nomadic state of being to that of settlements and agriculture (Petersen and Skaaning 2010), in the different regions of Africa did not happen simultaneously. And the events and or technologies which marked the start of the Neolithic age differ in different areas. Boyd (2014) argued that the Neolithic age in most regions of Africa occurred later, compared to most parts of Europe. Aligning the expansion in agricultural practices to the start of the Neolithic age, Petersen and Skaaning (2010) are of the argument that Mesopotamia was where the revolution began. Boyd's (2014) argument on the disparity in the timing of the Neolithic age between Africa and Europe counters Posnansky's (1981) stance as earlier referenced. Posnansky argued that at different stages of technological advancement, people have lived across Africa "contemporaneously" (p. 533). Although Posnansky's argument was not about identifying which region experienced the Neolithic age first, it implies that, in spite of the fact that excavation and research into pre-historic Africa began later compare to that of Europe, it did not mean that most parts of Africa experienced their Neolithic revolution after Europe's. The consensus among historians and archaeologist, however, is that the Neolithic and early Iron Age was a significant turning point and a milestone in African histories (Boyd 2014; Conrad 2010; Petersen and Skaaning 2010; Posnansky 1981; Wai-Andah 1981).

According to Conrad (2010), Petersen and Skaaning (2010), and Posnansky (1981), the Neolithic and early Iron Age laid the foundation for contemporary African societies, the indigenous cultures, values and beliefs, as they are generally known today. Posnansky argued that, as Africa evolved through history, the settlements expanded rapidly. The technologies transformed from stone tools to iron, bronze and other metals. The societies became complex political entities as tribes, kingdoms and empires emerged, "but by and large many of the fundamental demographic and economic aspects of sub-Saharan Africa had been established…" (p. 718) during the Neolithic and early Iron Age.

Archeological and historical research into pre-historic West Africa, such as the works of Posnansky (1981) and Wai-Andah (1981) amongst others, have revealed that, as the inhabitants of the region evolved so did the technologies and their ways of living. Excavated artifacts revealed that the people were initially hunters and gatherers. The survival of the

people was entirely dependent on what they could identify as food in their physical milieu. Posnansky (1981) referred to it as a "parasitic relationship with the land-scape" (p. 718). While there were archaeological evidences of stone tools being used during the early and latter Paleolithic era in the region, the stone tools appeared more sophisticated during the Neolithic era, also referred to as the Neolithic revolution. Driven by stone technology, the era witnessed the use of stone equipment such as stone axe and other polished stone tools used for felling trees and cultivation of land spaces, and so on (Boyd 2014; Wai-Andah 1981). According to Wai-Andah (1981), the Neolithic era also witnessed seed preservation and the beginning of the domestication of animals for the purpose of food and food production in West Africa. Wai-Andah (1981) defines domestication of animals in this context as

> …the process of withdrawing animals from natural selection processes; directing their reproduction; making them serve man (by their work and/or their products) [author's emphasis]; and modifying their characteristics by selective breeding, while losing some old character traits (pp. 595-596).

While selective breeding of animals and seed preservation are significant events in the Neolithic era, as Wai-Andah has argued, the events which marked the beginning of the Neolithic revolution differ from place to place. According to Boyd (2014), in some places, the invention of pottery preceded seed preservation and domestication of animals. While in some areas, the emergence of agricultural practices such as land cultivation, seed preservation and domestication of animals preceded the invention of pottery (see also Petersen and Skaaning 2010; Posnansky 1981).

The successive phase of evolution in West African history after the Paleolithic and Neolithic phase, the iron technology phase- also known as the Iron Age, marked the beginning of a significant shift in the ways of life of the pre-historic people of the region (Boyd 2014; Petersen and Skaaning 2010; Wai-Andah 1981). The use of iron technologies is believed to have enabled large-scale farming which included land cultivation, seed preservation, and livestock herding. The rise in agricultural practices resulted in the development of large settlements of people across the region of West Africa, and a significant shift in the ways of life of the people, a shift from total dependence on hunting and gathering to the production and preservation of food materials in large quantities (Petersen and Skaaning 2010).

According to Petersen and Skaaning (2010), the expansion of agricultural practices was the basis for state formation. They argued that, pre-historic people were nomadic by nature due to their subsistence way of living through hunting and gathering. Expansion in agricultural practices enabled groups of people to settle in large settlements, thereby possessing and controlling territories. Petersen and Skaaning (2010) further argued that agriculture did not only enable people to settle in large groups, it also enabled rapid and consistent population growth, to the extent where certain elements of conduct regulation was required for the sake of cohesion and social development, resulting in the development of group culture and collective identity. While the extent to which Petersen and Skaaning's (2010) arguments are true of all the settlements across all regions is arguable, the general consensus among archeologists and historians is that, the use of iron technologies marked the dawn of a new era of civilisation in West African histories (Boyd 2014; Falola and Fleming 2009; Posnansky 1981 and Wai-Andah 1981).

One of the purposes of this section is to explore the foundation of some of the dominant cultures in pre-colonial West Africa in order to identify certain practices and customs which are exclusively indigenous to the region. Pre-historic West Africa is a vast field of study, and it will take several theses to explore it fully. For the purpose of this study however, in the following sub-chapters, attention will be directed towards specific settlements and groups of people who later evolved into strong and vibrant Empires and kingdoms in West Africa; in a brief and synoptic analysis of who they were and the Empires and kingdoms they evolved into. The Soninke people of Ghana Empire, the Mandinka people of the Empire of Mali, the Songhay people of the Songhay Empire, the Yoruba people of the Yoruba Empire, and the Akan people of the Ashanti kingdom, will be briefly explored. The analysis of the histories and the nature of these Empires and kingdom will be brief, and claims will be made in broad and generalised terms, to the extent that archeologists, historians and researchers who specialise in pre-historic African studies might take issues with the level of generalisation deployed. The purpose of the sections however, is not to carry out an in-depth historical study of pre-historic West Africa, rather, the aim is to identify changes in specific aspects of indigenous cultures at specific times in some of the pre-colonial West African societies.

3.3 The Soninke People and the Rise and Fall of the Ghana Empire

Much of what is known about the Soninke people of Western Sudan, North of the Niger River, and one of the greatest West African empires they established, are based on limited sources. According to Davidson, Buah and Ajayi (1965), "archaeology, oral history, and the books written by Africans, Spanish Arab historians" (p.36), and chroniclers are the sources which offer a glimpse, often romantic, into the ways of life of the Soninke people and the complex political and economic society they were able to establish and managed effectively for about seven or eight centuries.

One of the most referenced sources in the study of the Soninke people is an 11th century Spanish chronicler Abu Ubaydallah Al-Bakri who wrote his description of the great kingdom of Western Sudan in 1067 and 1068. Al-Bakri lived in Cordoba, Spain, and he never visited the region he wrote so profoundly about. He was said to have gathered his information about the vibrant Wagadu kingdom - also known as Ghana, built by the Soninke, from Arab traders who were frequent to the area, also from an earlier chronicle of the region written by an Arab geographer named Muhammad ibn Yusuf Al-Warraq (904–973) (Conrad 2010; Davidson, Buah and Ajayi 1965).

Historians believe that the Soninke had become organised and a politically structured society long before the 4th century which is believed to be the beginning of the reign of Ghana Empire (Conrad 2010; Davidson, Buah and Ajayi 1965). The Soninke people called their kingdom Wagadu, and they spoke one of the Mande languages of Western Sudan, which are still in use in parts of today's West Africa. They are well known for their Trans-Sahara trade with the Berber and Arab traders. Much is not known about the culture of the Soninke people before they evolved into a strong and vibrant Empire, neither is anything known about their earlier kings and rulers. This has resulted in different speculations amongst historians. However, according to Davidson, Buah and Ajayi (1965),

> A tradition recorded in the Tarikh as-Sudan, an important history book that was written in Timbuktu about AD 1650, says that there were twenty-two kings of Ghana [Wagadu Kingdom] before the beginning of the Muslim Era (AD 622) [author's emphasis] and twenty-two kings after that… (pp. 34-35)

While the above excerpt does not specify if the counting of the "kings of Ghana" began before or after the Soninke evolved into an Empire, it is an indication of the state-like political structure of the Soninke people, centuries before the Muslim Era in 622AD, before they emerged as a vibrant Empire in Wes Africa. Based on the legends of Western Sudan as told by Al-Bakri (referenced in Davidson, Buah and Ajayi, 1965, p. 36), the Soninke believed in a great God who is supreme in his power and is divine. They also believed in lesser gods and spirits that lived in objects and nature around them. Hunting was an important practice for the Soninke and there were legends of javelin hunting in Al-Bakri's writings (Conrad 2010).

Another unique cultural practice of the Soninke people was how they chose their kings. In order to ensure there was someone with true royal blood on the Wagadu throne, the heir to the throne was the son of the ruling king's sister or as Conrad (2010) put it,

> It is significant that the king before Tunka Manin [a Ghana empire king] was his uncle rather than his father. This is evidence of a matrilineal line of descent, in which the king's successor is the son of his sister. This was done because the ruling family and government could always be sure who a boy's mother was. But a boy's father could never be established for certain (p. 78).

The exact dates of the consolidation of the surrounding tribes and settlements under the control of the Soninke people to form the great Empire of Ghana, which the people themselves referred to as Wagadu is unknown. However, historians have put the date of the beginning of the empire to sometime in the 4th century (Davidson, Buah and Ajayi, 1965). Nonetheless, by the start of the 7th century, Ghana had already become a vibrant trading hub for the Berber and Arab trader. It is commonly believed that the Empire emerged out of the need for control of not only the Trans-Sahara trade routes, but also the trade routes which linked the forest tribes further South of Ghana to the Berber and Arab traders. Due to Ghana's wealth in gold, its kings were able to fund and maintained a large army through which the Empire, from its seat of power in Kumbi-Saleh, asserted its power and control over surrounding tribes and kingdoms (Conrad 2010; Davidson, Buah and Ajayi 1965).

In Al-Bakri's 11th century prose-like description of the Empire, he described Ghana as a kingdom with two main towns which were six miles apart, one was a Muslim town and the

other was the king's town (Conrad 2010; Crandall-Bear, 2001). The people of Ghana practiced Polytheism. They worshipped different kinds of gods and the spirits of their ancestors. However, the kings of Ghana were believed to be liberal in their political approach. They allowed the Arab traders who settled in the area to practice their religion and gave them land to build their mosques and houses (Davidson, Buah and Ajayi 1965). Excerpts from Al-Bakri's writings on Ghana, as translated in Crandall-Bear (2001), reveal certain customary practices that are significant for the purpose of this research. In his description, Al-Bakri wrote,

> Around the king's town are domed buildings and groves and thickets where the sorcerers of these people, men in charge of the religious cult, live. In them too are the idols and tombs of their kings. These woods are guarded and none may enter them and know what is there…
>
> …when the people who profess the same religion as the king approach him they fall on their knees and sprinkle dusts on their heads, for this is the way of greeting him. As for the Muslims, they greet him only by clapping their hands.
>
> …when their king dies they construct over the place where his tomb will be an enormous dome of Saj wood. Then they bring him on a bed covered with a few carpets and cushions and place him beside the dome. At his side they place his ornaments, his weapons, and the vessels from which he used to eat and drink, filled with various kinds of food and beverages. They place there too the men who used to serve his meals. They make sacrifices to their dead and make offerings of intoxicating drinks. (pp. 150-153)

The "groves and thickets" where spirits lived and kings were buried with ornaments and precious goods, all these indicate a political and culturally structured Empire with significant wealth. As Ghana's wealth increased over the centuries, so did its territory and strength. The Empire began declining sometime in the middle of the 11th century when the Muslim Almoravid army from Morocco led by Abu Bakr began invading some of Ghana's Northern towns in a series of holy wars. Before the end of the 11th century, after several wars over a prolonged period, the Ghana Empire armies was weakened and the Almoravids took Kumbi-Saleh, but the occupation of Kumbi-Saleh only lasted for few years due to ongoing wars and conflicts between surrounding tribes and kingdoms. As Ghana's hegemony on surrounding tribes and kingdoms weakened towards the end of the 12th century, the war for dominance

ensued in the region. Consequently, the peaceful trade routes which Ghana had enforced for centuries were disrupted, and there was an imminent need for a new power to emerge. The attempts to fill the power vacuum created as a result of Ghana's decline resulted in the creation of three smaller Empires, Takrur, Diara and Kaniaga, the most powerful of which was Takrur led by their fearless and rootless leader named Sumanguru, who seized Kumbi-Saleh in the beginning of the 13th century. The reign of these smaller Empires did not last long. Takrur was soon defeated by the Mandinka people of the small Western Sudan kingdom of Kangaba, resulting in the formation of a new and more powerful Empire, the Empire of Mali (Davidson, Buah and Ajayi 1965).

3.4 The Mandinka People and the Rise and Fall of the Empire of Mali

Most of what is known of the ancient Mandinka people who formed the great Empire of Mali is based on oral tradition passed down from generations. While not much is written about the ancient Mandinka people and their small state of Kangaba, historians believed, based on oral tradition, that the state of Kangaba was established in the early years of the 11th century, and it played significant role in the Ghana Empire's gold and salt trade (Conrad 2010). The ancient Mandinka people were said to have practised farming and hunting, but they were most famously known for their middleman role in the region's gold and salt trade with the Berber and Arab traders. As explained in Davidson, Buah and Ajayi (1965), Ghana's gold came from Wangara, South of Ghana, and it was through the traders of Kangaba, the Mandinka people, that Ghana's gold was delivered to its markets. It is commonly assumed that Kangaba was one of the subject states to Ghana during its reign, and the rulers of Kangaba sent friendly gifts and specific taxes to Ghana for protection against its enemies and to maintain the trade agreement between them. If that was true of the Kangaba state, Davidson, Buah and Ajayi (1965) argued that, the relationship between Ghana Empire and the Mandinka people of Kangaba was symbiotic in nature. They argued that,

> …there was a two-sided interest here. The government of Ghana needed gold, and it was largely from Wangara that Ghana's gold must come. But the traders who dealt in the gold of Wangara also needed a market, and it was only in Ghana that they could find this market (p. 46).

Therefore, the relationship between the Mandinka people and Ghana Empire during its reign was one based on mutual trade agreements. The decline of Ghana, and the political and trade instability which ensued thereafter was therefore detrimental for the Mandinka people. The king of Takrur, Sumanguru, who seized power in Kumbi-Saleh after the decline of Ghana, was said to have imposed heavy taxes on Kangaba; took their women in forced marriages and ruled his subjects with an iron fist (Davidson, Buah and Ajayi 1965). The Mandinka people practised Polytheism. They believed quite strongly in the relationship and connections between the human world and the spirit world, and the influence of spirits on what happened in the human world. They worshiped different spirits and the spirits of their ancestors through their sorcerers and other specialists in spiritual matters (Conrad 2010).

The Mandinka people were not only merchants and farmers by profession. There were other specialist craftsmen amongst them, like blacksmiths, professionals in leather work, hunters, musicians who played special instruments; and story tellers who were the 'human libraries' of the traditional culture. These professions were usually practised by specific groups of people, and in most cases, by specific families. The skills were passed down from generations to generations. The elders of each Mandinka family were believed to have the responsibility, as ordained by their ancestors before them, to pass on their unique skills of trade and craftsmanship to the younger generations. Such social structure enabled the Mandinka people of Kangaba to play active roles in the running of their own state. The blacksmiths had double roles in Kangaba. Due to their unique ability to get iron ore from natural material and forge it into various tools and weapons, the blacksmiths of Kangaba were believed to have special powers, not only to forge iron but also the ability to consult the spirit world on behalf of the living (Conrad 2010; Davidson, Buah and Ajayi 1965).

Much is not known about the rulers of Kangaba before it evolved into the Empire of Mali. However, by the 13th century when the Empire of Mali was formed, its kings were said to have converted to Islam and they made pilgrimages to Mecca. Although the kings of Mali became Muslims, they did not enforce the religion on their subjects, and most of the people practised their traditional beliefs. By the 14th century, Islam had become the religion of the upper class and the elites of the empire. The king of Mali at that time, Mansa Kankan Musa, established Islamic law courts in the Empire to operate alongside the traditional courts, and on his way back from one of his pilgrimages to Mecca, he brought with him some Islamic

scholars from Egypt, one of whom was responsible for the design and building of the ancient mosques and Islamic study centres in Gao and Timbuktu (Davidson, Buah and Ajayi 1965; Oliver and Fage 1962).

The success of Mali in trade, wealth, governance, and in territory is believed to have superseded that of Ghana before it. With its seat of power in Niani, south of Kumbi-Saleh of Ghana, Mali expanded its territory by conquering more lands and neighbouring kingdoms, and its kings enforced safety on all the trading routes under its control. Mali became well known beyond its borders, not only for its abundant wealth in gold, but also for its elites and Muslim intellectuals, and its structure of administration which is believed to be greatly influenced by Islam. The Muslim traders of Mali enjoyed civilised lifestyles. Their religion gave them privileges in countries beyond Mali and opened up new trading opportunities to them (Conrad 2010).

One of the major consequences of the modern and complex society created by Mali was the development of social classes. Mali became divided between the elites and the common people: the Muslim intellectuals and the polytheists, the slaves of war and the free people, people with special privileges and people without rights. The empire of Mali began declining due to internal revolt by some of the kingdoms under its control. Some kingdoms attempted and succeeded in breaking free of Mali's overlord, and declared their own independence. The success of Mali is believed to be the root cause of its downfall (Conrad 2010; Davidson, Buah and Ajayi 1965; Oliver and Fage 1962).

3.5 The Songhay People of the Songhay Empire

The Songhay people were believed to have comprised of three main settlers across the Niger valley, East of Timbuktu, the Sorko people, the Gow people and the people of Dow. The Sorkos were believed to be fishermen who were also known as the masters of the Niger River. The Gow people were professional hunters of both land and river creatures. While the Dow people were farmers who farmed the fertile land of the Niger basin. Sometime in the early centuries, these three settlements were amalgamated by a horse-ridding tribe to form the Songhay kingdom (Conrad 2010). Not much is known about the early history of the Songhay people and their rulers. However, the Songhay people were believed to have been ruled by kings who formed dynasties, and ruled from Kukya, Songhay's capital at the time (Conrad

2010). One of the earlier dynasties of Songhay, which many historians believed to be the first dynasty to have ruled the Songhay people, was the Dia dynasty which was believed to have ruled from sometime towards the end of the 7th century until the 14th century. Sometime between the 7th and 14th century, Gao, a prominent Western Sudan city, became part of Songhay, and later became the capital of the Songhay kingdom (Conrad 2010).

The Songhay kingdom have been subjected to the rule of both Ghana and Mali, and it played significant role in the gold and salt trade across the Sahara, through which the earlier empires prospered greatly (Conrad 2010; Davidson, Buah and Ajayi 1965). Gao was believed to have been transformed into a major trading hub in the 9th century, similar to Kumbi-Saleh under the reign of Ghana, due to its location. Historians believed that, the Berber and Arab traders going to and from Ghana and Mali went through Gao, which made the city a vibrant trading post in the salt and gold trade (Conrad 2010). As a result, Gao became a mixed culture society, a pre-colonial metropolitan society. Similar to 11th century Kumbi-Saleh under Ghana, Gao was believed to have two main towns. One of the towns was a Muslim town for the Arab traders, and for local people who converted to Islam. The other town was for Gao's indigenes who practiced their traditional beliefs. The people of Songhay were believed to be fishermen, farmers, hunters and craftsmen with strong traditional belief system similar to that of the Soninke and Mandinka people of Ghana and Mali (Conrad 2010; Oliver and Fage 1962).

The Songhay kingdom was subject to paying high taxes to both Ghana and Mali on all its trading activities, which was the reason, historians believed, Gao revolted against Mali at the end of the 14th century and succeeded in gaining its independence. The decline of Mali's control over the trans-Sahara trade routes and the weakening of its army created an opportunity for the Songhay kingdom to exercise its dominance over neighboring tribes and kingdoms where the Malian army had retreated. Under the leadership of Sunni Ali, the great warrior king whom historians believed became the ruler of the Songhay kingdom sometime in the middle of the 15th century, Songhay waged series of war against neighboring tribes and kingdoms and established its status as a strong and vibrant Empire. The conquering of Timbuktu and Djenne was believed to have given Songhay control over the extensive trading routes which linked Western Sudan to its trading partners across the Sahara and to the far North. During his reign, Sunni Ali kept the Songhay traditional beliefs in spite of the growing

influence of Islam in the region. Some Arab historians even believed that Sunni Ali had supernatural powers (Conrad 2010; Oliver and Fage 1962).

The dynasty which succeeded Sunni Ali's reign, the Askiya dynasty, was believed to have been oriented towards Islam (Conrad 2010). The new king, Muhammed Ture, who seized power towards the end of the 15th century, was a Muslim convert. It is commonly believed that Islam had become a prestigious religion at the time, and rulers and kings who identified as Muslims enjoyed trade privileges and special status amongst the Arab kingdoms of the far North (Conrad 2010). Under the leadership of King Muhammed Ture, Songhay Empire expanded beyond the territories occupied by its predecessors, Ghana and Mali. The king led Jihad –holy war- against neighboring kingdoms and territories, taking slaves in great numbers and subjecting territories under his rule. In some cases, entire non-Muslim tribes and settlements were considered slaves, and their indigenes were said to have been bought and sold by the upper class of the Empire as the wished (Conrad 2010; Oliver and Fage 1962). The administrative structure of Songhay Empire under the Askiya dynasty was believed to have been the most complex and civilised systems of its time. The empire was governed in provinces with each province been semi-autonomous with their own provincial heads and armies (Conrad, 2010).

The Songhay Empire gradually began to crumble towards the end of the 16th century. Historians believed that one of the main reasons for Songhay's decline was because it outgrew itself (Oliver and Fage 1962). The Empire became vast and complex, and its societies divided between the upper, middle and the lower classes, with the slaves at the bottom of the social chain. Internal revolts erupted as some settlements and tribes rebelled against the authority in Gao. The event which dealt the last blow to Songhay's reign however, was the invasion by the modern army of the king of Morocco. Historians believed that the king of Morocco had long wished to take control of the endless sources of gold in Western Sudan, he sent his army South at the end of the 16th century. They took Gao and looted its gold and valuables. In the following years after the invasion, the Moroccan army raided neighboring cities and kingdoms to the extent where trading routes in the region became unsafe and unattractive to the Berber and Arab traders who had established trading with the region for centuries (Conrad 2010; Oliver and Fage 1962). The situation only became worse as the battle to succeed Songhay as the regional power ensued amongst the different

kingdoms in the region. Also, as the land route became unattractive, the Portuguese merchants had created other trading routes, accessing the forest kingdoms in the far south of the region via sea. Never again in the history of Western Sudan did any kingdom reach the prominence of Ghana, Mali and Songhay.

3.6 The Yoruba People of the Yoruba Empire

The Yoruba people are the people who settled in the Southern edge of the Savanna forest, west of the Niger River. Historians believed that the earlier people who settled there were not indigenous to that area of West Africa. They were immigrants who migrated from the far East, from a place where they came under the influence of the ancient Egyptian cultures in the course of their migration (Biobaku 1958; Oliver and Fage 1962). The first group of people whom historians believed settled in the area, the Meroitic people, was believed to have been affected by the expansion of the Arabs into their initial settlements in the 7th century, and under the leadership of their king, Kisra, they migrated South-West towards the Savanna.

The second group of people, whom together with the Meroitic people formed the Yoruba tribes, was believed to have migrated from Western Sudan due to the Arab incursion into the Sudan in the 10th century. Under the leadership of their king, Oduduwa, the people were said to have migrated Southward in search for a place where they could practice their traditional beliefs in peace. The Oduduwa migrants settled in Ile-Ife, and were believed to have absorbed the Kisra migrants, and formed the Yoruba kingdom (Biobaku 1958).

The Yoruba people were Polytheists who worshipped many gods and believed in a divine God who controls the affairs of the other gods. According to Bioabaku (1958), the Yoruba people

> …established their traditional religion with its 401 gods at Ile-Ife, which became a Holy City and was gradually idealized by them into the centre of creation. The gods they worshipped were either deified rulers such as Oduduwa or Obalufon; or gods of fertility (Orisa Oko) [author's emphasis]; of divination (Ifa) [author's emphasis]; of the sea and rivers (Olokun, Oshun) [author's emphasis]; or of prosperity and well-being (Aje Shaluga) [author's emphasis]. All these gods were

but intermediaries to the supreme god, the Olorun (owner of the sky) [author's emphasis] (p. 65).

With such complex culture and religious practices with "401 gods", the Yoruba people were versatile and intelligent, prospered and expanded significantly in the area. By the 11th century, the Yoruba people were believed to have established their kingdom in the area, covering some parts of the forest region. The Yoruba people were farmers, hunters and craftsmen and women who lived in towns. They were professional craftsmen and women in terracotta, stone, copper, bronze and bras works. Each town had its own leader generally known as Oba and a ruling council who provided checks and balances to how the Oba deployed his powers. According to Bioabaku,

> …each small town had an *Oba* or sacred chief at its head who was assisted by several secret societies, such as the *Ogboni,* in the exercise of rudimentary political and civic powers (p. 64).

The Obas were subjected to the leadership of the sacred king of Ile-Ife. According to legend, the great king Oduduwa assigned his children to be heads of each town as the kingdom expanded in the 11th century. As the centuries went by, historians believed that the Yoruba towns expanded, both in sizes and in political administrations. The town of Oyo, to the West of Ile-Ife and Benin, in the Edo people's territory, to its East, the Yoruba people were also believed to be politically minded and intelligent administrators. By the end of the 16th century, the city of Oyo had become a strong political entity in the region, and it took over from Ile-Ife as the political Centre of the Empire (Biobaku 1958). The Oyo Empire was believed to have reached its height in the 17th and 18th century and asserted its reign over a vast area. Historians believed that even the kings of Dahomey paid taxes to the kings of Oyo during the reign of the empire. The empire was believed to have been governed in provinces with its seat of power in the city of Oyo (Biobaku 1958; Drewal, Pemberton and Abiodun 1989).

Oyo traded with the Berber and Arab traders in Kola-nut, palm oil and other agricultural produce, and in ivory, coper, bras and bronze sculptures in exchange for Northern products. And Benin, in the Edo people's territory to the East of Ile-Ife, was believed to have established trade links with the Portuguese merchants since the 15th century. The great

Empire of Oyo began declining towards the end of the 18th century due to infighting between the tribes, which was facilitated by the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. The empire was believed to have remained divided until the establishment of European colonies in the region (Biobaku 1958; Drewal, Pemberton and Abiodun 1989).

3.7 The Akan People of the Ashanti Empire

The Akan people were part of the groups which migrated south toward the forest area of Western Sudan after the decline of the empire of Ghana in the 13th century. They settled in clans covering an area which include parts of present-day Togo, Ghana and Ivory Coast (Conrad 2010; Gilbert and Reynolds 2012; Oliver and Fage 1962). When the Akan people settled in the area, there were two main clans which dominated the area. The Oyoko clan controlled Kumasi, and the Denkyira clan controlled most of the remaining Ashanti clans (Miller, Vandome and McBrewster 2009). At the end of the 17th century, the leader of the Oyoko clan rallied some of the other surrounding clans in a bid to secure their independence from Denkyira clan, and to unify the Ashanti clans under one authority. According to legend, as referenced in Miller, Vandome and McBrewster (2009),

> …a meeting of all the clan heads of each of the Ashanti settlements was called just prior to independence from Denkyira. In this meeting, the Golden Stool was commanded down from the heavens by Okomfo Anokye, the Priest or sage advisor, to Asantehene Osei Tutu I. The Golden stool floated down, from the heavens straight into the lap of Osei Tutu I. Okomfo Anokye declared the stool to be the symbol of the new Asante Union ('Asanteman') [author's emphasis], and allegiance was sworn to the Golden Stool and to Osei Tutu as the Asantehene. The newly founded Ashanti union went to war with Denkyira and defeated it. The Golden Stool remains sacred to the Ashanti as it is believed to contain the 'Sunsum' (pronounced 'soon-soom') - spirit or soul of the Ashanti people [author's emphasis] (p. 32).

The war put an end to the hegemony of Denkyira over the rest of the Asanti clans. By the 18th century the Ashanti clans had become united under the control of the Oyoko clan to form the Confederate Ashanti Empire with its capital in Kumasi. The Akan people were great military tacticians who adopted the use of European rifles earlier than some of their surrounding kingdoms. The rifles are believed to have been acquired through trade with the Portuguese

merchants. Trade in gold, slaves, kola-nut, palm-wine, palm oil and other agricultural produce were the sources of Ashanti's economy.

The Confederate Ashanti Empire became wealthy during the reign of the empire of Mali and Songhay in Western Sudan as a result of the gold trade. According to legend, some of the Berber and Arab traders believed that the mines of Kumasi were sources of endless gold. The fertile land across the Ashanti Empire enabled agricultural practices, and Ashanti was well known for its professional farmers who grew corn, plantain, yam, palm trees, sweet potato, and other crops which are indigenous to the area. The people were also known for their textile making skills, and Kente is the name given to the traditional textile produced in the Ashanti land (McLeod 1984; Miller, Vandome and McBrewster 2009).

The Ashanti Empire was said to have rich cultural heritage and a range of customary practices, some of which were similar to that of the Soninke people of the old Ghana Empire (Conrad 2010; McLeod 1984). Similar to the Soninke people, the Ashanti were believed to be matrilineal people who considered the children of a man's sister as his heir. According to McLeod (1984),

> The Asante [Ashanti] are a matrilineal people, that is, most offices and property are inherited through the female line, a boy succeeding, not his father, but his mother's brother (p. 66).

Aside from been "matrilineal people", another cultural heritage of the Ashanti people are a series of annual traditional celebrations, one of which was the yam festival. The yam festival was the festival which marked the beginning of harvest. It was only after the yam festival that farmers were allowed to eat or sell their yams in the markets. Puberty rite was also of a great significance for the Ashanti. As explained in Miller, Vandome and McBrewster (2009), the girls experienced an elaborate customary celebration when they reached puberty,

> …as menstruation approaches, a girl goes to her mother's house. When the girl's menstruation is disclosed, the mother announces the good news in the village beating an iron hoe with a stone. Old women came out and sang *Bara* (menstrual) songs [author's emphasis]. The mother spills a libation of palm wine on the earth and recites the [the menstrual] prayer…
> Menstruating women suffered numerous restrictions. The Ashanti viewed them as ritually unclean. They did not cook for men, nor did they eat any food cooked for a

man. If a menstruating woman entered the ancestral stool house, she was arrested, and the punishment was typically death. If this punishment is not exacted, the Ashanti believe, the ghost of the ancestors would strangle the chief. Menstruating women lived in special houses during their periods as they were forbidden to cross the threshold to men's houses. They swore no oaths and no oaths were sworn for or against them. They did not participate in any of the ceremonial observances and did not visit any sacred places (p. 35).

The Ashanti Empire fought several wars. Some of Ashanti's wars were believed to have been wars of expansion, and some were fought to keep raiders and rebel groups out of their territory. The most famous of the Ashanti wars were the ones fought against European invaders. Ashanti warriors were said to have repelled British invasions in four consecutive wars from the first quarter of the 19th century. The British succeeded in taking Kumasi towards the end of the century, and it was the British invasion the ended the reign of the Ashanti Empire in the beginning of the 20th century (McLeod 1984; Miller, Vandome and McBrewster 2009).

Table 1.0

Some Great Empires and Kingdoms of Pre-colonial West Africa

Empires and Kingdoms	Dates (AD)	Peoples	Capital	Religion	Main sources of Economy
Ghana Empire	4th – 13th Century (probably earlier than the 4th century)	Soninke People	Kumbi Saleh	Soninke traditional beliefs - a divine God, smaller gods and spirits	Trade in gold, coper, salt, and other goods
Empire of Mali	13th – 15th Century	Mandinka People	Niani	Mandinka traditional beliefs and Islam (influence from North of the Sahara)	Trade in gold, coper and other goods
Songhay Empire	15th – 16th Century	Songhay People	Gao	Islam and traditional beliefs	Gold trade and control of trade routes
Kanem-Bornu Kingdom	10th – to about 19th Century	Kanembu ethnic group	Njimi 13th - 14th Century; Bornu 14th – 19th Century	Islam	Trading in agricultural produce and other goods
Hausa Kingdom	10th – to about 13th or 14th Century	Hausa People of the Sahel: Amalgamation of the seven Hausa city states	Biram	Polytheism (until the 11th Century); Islam introduced from the 11th and 12th century	Trade in leather and textile

Yoruba Empire	11th – 19th Century	Yoruba People	Ife 11th – 16th Century; Oyo 17th – 19th Century	Yoruba traditional beliefs - a divine God, smaller gods and spirits (Ogun, Ifa, Osun, and others)	Farming and arts and crafts
Edo Empire	11th – about 17th Century	Edo People	Benin City	Traditional beliefs: rituals and worship of crafted figures with supernatural beings	Trade in bras, ivory, carving and metal works
Igbo Tribes	Never amalgamated		No central government. Governed by tribal elders	Strong traditional belief in ancestral spirits, and the influence of the spirit world on the human world	Trade in general goods and farming
Dahomey Kingdom	17th – to about 19th Century	The people of the Bight of Benin	The Bight of Benin	Strong traditional beliefs in the spirits and spiritual world. Known for the scale of human sacrifices	Slave trade, export of palm wine and palm kernel
Ashanti Empire	18th – 19th Century	Akan People	Kumasi	Traditional belief in a divine God and lesser gods, and ancestral worship	Trade in gold, slaves, and agricultural produce

Sources: Barness and Ben-Amos (1983); Biobaku (1958); Conrad (2010); Crandall-Bear (2001); Davidson, Buah and Ajayi (1965); Drewal, Pemberton and Abiodun (1989); Hiribarren (2016); McLeod (1984); Manning (1982); Miller, Vandome and McBrewster (2009); Nevadomsky (1993); Nwoye (2011); Oliver and Fage (1962).

3.8 Chapter Summary

A brief history of West Africa beginning from the era of pre-historic settlements to the era of the establishment of Empires and kingdoms in the region has been explored in this chapter. While there were several pre-colonial kingdoms and Empires across West Africa prior to the formal establishment of European colonies in the region, this chapter only addressed the rise and collapse of five of the pre-colonial kingdoms and Empires in the region. The collective histories of pre-colonial West Africa presented in this chapter addressed the complex transformation of cultures in the region from the pre-historic settlement state to politically organised social structures. This chapter also addressed the role of early international trade in the transformation of the region's cultures.

3.9 Conclusion and Significance of the Chapter

One of the rationales for exploring the histories of pre-colonial West African societies in this chapter is to examine the movement and transformation of cultures in other to identify practices, knowledges and belief systems, and other aspects of culture that can be classified as indigenous to the region. Following a brief exploration of the historical development of some of the region's pre-colonial societies, and the myths and legends of how great Empires and kingdoms were established and succeeded, it is safe to assume that each of the Empires and kingdoms which exerted its control and authority over others in the region emerged with its own ideologies, structure, knowledges, beliefs and political systems. Consequently, as Empires were succeeded and cultures transformed, so did the philosophies, ideologies, and other aspects of cultures. It can be said that, each empire and kingdom established its own systems of ensuring the continuity of ideas, philosophies and beliefs.

If the claims by historians and archeologists about the beginning of the reign of the Empire of Ghana in Western Sudan are to be taken as facts, the implication of such claims would be that the Soninke people had been successful in establishing and maintaining a social, political and economic structure three centuries before the beginning of Islam in the 7th century. An excerpt from Davidson, Buah and Ajayi (1965) indicate the level of the socio-political structure which existed among the Soninke people during the early centuries,

> A tradition recorded in the Tarikh as-Sudan, an important history book that was written in Timbuktu about AD 1650, says that there were twenty-two kings of Ghana [Wagadu Kingdom] before the beginning of the Muslim Era (AD 622) and twenty-two kings after that... (, pp. 34-35)

The reign of "twenty-two kings" before the 7th century is not only an indication of a strong socio-political order, but also that of a vibrant culture. Based on Al-Bakri's 11th century description of Kumbi-Saleh, the capital of the Ghana Empire, it is safe to assume that the kings of Ghana would have developed liberal political views to the extent of enabling Muslim traders to practice their religion freely within the Empire. The histories of the region reveals that, the establishment of Islam in Western Sudan resulted in the migration of certain groups of people, the Oduduwa migrants of the Yoruba Empire and the Akan people of the Confederate Ashanti Empire, South towards the forest belt in search of settlements where

they could practice, not only their traditional beliefs, but also a place where they could effectively uphold their values and cultures.

To better understand the gradual transformation of cultures and ways of life in pre-colonial West Africa over centuries, one could approach its histories in epochs. For the purpose of this study and based on the brief exploration of the region's histories as highlighted in this chapter, pre-colonial West Africa can be categorised into two broad epochs, namely, the epoch of settlements and the dawn of civilisation, and the epoch of Empires, trades and struggles for dominance. It can be said that the first epoch, beginning from the era of the Neolithic revolution and early Iron Age to the end of the 3rd century AD, was the era of the formation of cultures, economic and political structures in the region. These structures can be said to have laid the foundations of West African societies as we know it today.

The second epoch, beginning from the 4th century AD to the era of the establishment of the European colonies in West Africa, have witnessed the transformation and expansion of cultures, territories, trade, religion and political systems. Several settlements were amalgamated and controlled by powerful kingdoms and Empires in the region, some through diplomacy, and in most cases through brutal warfare. Local and international trade arrangements, both in slaves and other commodities were a fundamental aspect of the pre-colonial West African societies. These trade arrangements resulted in partnerships, which in turn led to the transformation of cultures, religion and the complexification of social structures in the pre-colonial West African societies. The histories of the region reveal that, trade relationships with the Berber and Arab traders resulted in the introduction of Islam and Islamic education to the region, and trading with the Portuguese and other Western merchants is also considered to be the beginning of European interests and incursion into the region.

Some of the issues that arose from the exploration of the histories of the pre-colonial West African societies which require further exploration are, namely, the significance of trade partnerships on the evolution of education in the region, the conception of the term 'colonisation', the adverse experiences of colonialism, and the systems, specifically the education system, which enabled colonial policies in the region. According to Horvath (1972), he defined colonialism as

…a form of domination–the control by individuals or groups over the territory and/or behaviour of other individuals or groups. (Colonialism has also been seen as a form of exploitation, with emphasis on economic variables… …and as a culture-change process…) [author's emphasis] (p. 46).

Arguably, the terms Horvath deployed in his definition of colonialism such as "domination, control over the territory and/or behaviour of others", "exploitation and culture-change", are synonymous with some of the actions and experiences of the pre-colonial West African societies long before the European incursion into the region. Empires exerted their powers and control on neighboring kingdoms, tribes and settlements through the imposition of taxes, tributes and slavery. Also, the military invasions of the region on several occasions by the Moroccan armies, as highlighted in this section, were incursions which resulted in the collapse of Empires. Considering the domination, control and exploitation prevalent amongst the pre-colonial societies before the European incursions in West Africa, the holy wars–Jihad-, and other wars fought for the control of trade routes in the region, the term 'colonisation', or any terminology synonymous to it, was never used in describing the experiences and actions of the pre-colonial societies. Does the term 'colonisation' only refer to the actions associated with the European incursion, or did it emerge as a strategy for manipulating social behaviour, in order to further specific political ideology?

The question raised above is rhetorical. It is not aimed at undermining the heroic efforts of the Nationalists movement for decolonisation, who fought tirelessly for the independence of West African states from colonial rules, neither is it meant to disregard the difficulties and socio-cultural challenges colonialism brought on Africans and the various African societies. Rather, the aim is to incite a certain degree of suspicion of the various legends, myths and narratives upon which the decolonisation narratives are based, could they have been agenda driven in other to suite specific political ideology.

Education has always been at forefront of the colonial and decolonisation discourses across Africa. The role of Western education-formal schooling in fostering colonial policies across Africa, particularly in West Africa, and the need for effective decolonisation through education have placed education at the forefront of both the colonial and decolonisation discourses. Also, in spite of the socio-political changes achieved through decolonisation, the perception of education as a tool for propagating dominant ideals and cultural values still

persist in contemporary post-colonial West Africa. Therefore, it is necessary to explore not only the historical development of contemporary education in West Africa, but also to explore the evolution of its purposes, processes and policies from its introduction in West Africa. The next chapter explores the historical development of contemporary education in the region, and its evolution from Missionary education, which was aimed at converting the natives to Christianity, to colonial education.

Chapter 4
History of Formal Schooling in West Africa: Its Evolution from Missionary to Colonial Education.

4.1 Introduction

The history of education in West Africa is parallel to the development of settlements, the formation of culture, and the beginning of human organisations in the region (Obanya 1995; 2010). The history of formal schooling in West Africa, on the other hand, has generated an array of discourse amongst writers and research on African issues. Some writers and researchers whose work are situated within the discursive framework of decolonisation, and possess certain emancipatory qualities, have argued extensively for the existence of some form of formal education systems across pre-colonial Africa (Mazonde 2001; Zulu 2006). Such arguments have so far highlighted certain aspects of the pre-colonial societies, such as indigenous medicines, traditional politics, and long distance trade, among other things, which could not have survived for centuries without some form of formal systems of training sustaining their continuity from generations to generations.

As highlighted in Chapter 3, pre-colonial West African societies were civilised societies in their own rights, economically, politically, and culturally. An 11th century description of the court of Tunka Manin, a Ghana Empire king, by Abu Ubaydallah al-Bakri, described well-structured political and customary practices which may have been in practice for centuries before the description was written. In other words, it is safe to assume that pre-colonial West African societies could not have managed to systematically develop their civilisations for centuries without some form of formal structure of education. Nevertheless, whatever the forms of education or training that existed in pre-colonial West Africa, they must have been socially, politically and economically driven, with the aim of transferring skills, ideologies and beliefs from generations to generations in other to ensure continuity.

On the other hand, the dominant arguments on the beginning of formal schooling in West Africa consider the timing to be the early years of the 19th century, when Western education, both French and British, was introduced in the region. Colonial administrations in West Africa regarded all forms of education which existed in the region before the establishment of the colonies, both indigenous education and Islamic education, as unstructured and informal

in the ways they were structured and delivered. As a result, it is often the case that the history of contemporary education in West Africa is traced to the introduction of Western education in the early years of the 19th century, as it is the case in this chapter. The objective in this chapter is to present a brief history of contemporary education-formal schooling, in both British and French colonies across West Africa, with a focus on the establishment of the early schools, and how educational policies evolved from its introduction in the 19th century to the present epoch of globalisation.

In this chapter, the term Western education is used generically to represent all forms of education of which the purposes, contents and processes were designed based on cultures, ideologies, philosophies and belief systems of European countries. The study of the historical development of Western education in Africa is a vast field, and a high proportion of texts have so far been written expressing an array of perspectives and arguments on the issue. However, few relevant texts, selected from different contexts and paradigms, have been consulted in the development of this chapter. The contexts wherein the selected authors, Bolibaugh 1972; Chafer 2001, 2007; Gravelle 2014; Hilliard 1957; Hoque (1971); Clatworthy 1969; Takyi-Amoako (2015) and White 1996, situated their narratives of the histories of the early schools in West Africa range from colonial, decolonisation and the post-colonial contexts.

4.2 The Early Schools and their Purposes

This section focuses on the initial education efforts by the colonial powers, specifically the British and French colonial authorities in West Africa, which resulted in the delivery of elementary and secondary education in the various colonies across the region. The objective here is to examine what the policies of the colonial powers were in the early years of the introduction of Western education in the region, and to identify the principles upon which those policies were based. Although historical records reveal that other Western powers such as the Portuguese, Dutch and Germans, established trading posts and controlled territories for a period of time on the coasts of West Africa, the exploration of the early Western education efforts in West Africa in this chapter is purposefully limited to that of the two prominent colonial powers in the region, the British and the French.

4.2.1 Early Schools in British West Africa

Initial western education effort in British West Africa can be traced as far back as the middle of the 18th century. A North American missionary by the name Thomas Thompson was transferred by his Mission to the coast of West Africa in 1752, with the single purpose of converting the natives to Christianity. After five years of continuous struggle in the Gold coast without much success, due to the natives' rejection and resentment of his strange religion, he was able to take the son of a local influential chief, Philip Quaquo, with him on his return back to England. Philip converted to Christianity, and he was ordained in England in 1765. On his return in the same year to the Cape coast, he started a school for twelve children. This is believed to be one of the earliest references to Western education in West Africa (Hilliard 1957).

The introduction of western education in West Africa, particularly in the British colonies, is believed to have been born out of two main rationales. First, the need for providing education to the natives arose out of the desire and willingness of the colonial empires to help Africans develop more enlightened societies and to improve their standard of living. Second, the establishment of western trading forts along the Western coast of Africa, and the gradual consolidation of colonial forces within and around the territories of the various forts towards the end of the 18th century coincided with a shift in global attitude toward slavery and the slave trade. The creation of Freetown in Sierra Leone in 1787 for the freed slaves from the plantations of Europe was a development which came with its own responsibilities. By the nature of its responsibility to the freed slaves, the British government was obliged to provide education for the children of the freed slaves. As a result, in an era when the idea of public education for the masses was gradually making its way into political discourse in Britain, the colonial administration in Sierra Leone found itself saddled with the responsibility of providing education to the children of its formal slaves. In 1809, the British parliament in England, through a house vote, approved a funding of £300 for the establishment of a school in Freetown, Sierra Leone for the children of freed slaves. Part of the money was to pay for the salary of six teachers who would run the school. The move was a success. By the year 1841, government run schools for children of freed slaves had grown to six schools.

According to Hilliard (1957), a full-scale missionary involvement in the western education effort in West Africa may have begun simultaneously with that of the different colonial

administrations, both in the British and French colonised territories. The Christian Missionary Society (CMS) began their missionary work in Sierra Leone in 1806. The Wesleyan Methodist Mission also joined the missionary work in the region in 1811. While the primary goal of these mission organisations was to convert the natives to Christianity, they were obliged to join the education effort by the British colonial administration in order to show their support for the benevolent idea of enlightening the natives and enabling them to improve their standard of living. The focus of the CMS and the Methodist Mission, within the education effort in the British West African colonies, was to provide education for those to whom the colonial administration did not provide education. In other words, the Missions focused on providing education for the children' of the natives who were never slaves, who were also referred to as the colony children. The missionary organisations were able to provide privately run schools both in Sierra Leone and in other parts of West Africa during this period.

A shift in strategy of the colonial administration education efforts occurred in 1816. In the British colonised territories, specifically in the Sierra Leone colony, the year 1816 marked the introduction of a new approach in the education efforts. The colonial administration in Sierra Leone under the governorship of Sir Charles McCarthy partnered with the missionary organisations to provide more schools and increase enrolment. The colonial administration agreed to provide housing and other infrastructures for schools and churches, while the missionary organisations would provide pastors and teachers. Hence, a public-private partnership was formed for the development and expansion of western education in British West Africa.

The success of the missionary effort in spreading education across West Africa was unprecedented. By 1841, the then governor of Sierra Leonne, Colonel Doherty, following an inspection of the schools in the colony of Sierra Leone by a representative from the Liberated African Department, Mr. J. Miller, under the supervision of the governor, Colonel Doherty concluded that, with the support of the colonial administration in providing infrastructure, educational materials and paying the salaries of the teachers, the natives have been equipped with the required knowledge and skills to participate in the expansion of education in the region. The education effort in the Sierra Leone colony was divided into two categories. According to Hilliard (1957),

In his report of 1/2/1841, Mr. J. Miller recognizes different schools for (1) children shipped into the colony, and (2) children born in the colony. Government supported both, but the Missions admitted into their schools only those children in category (2). Schools for children in category (1) remained in existence only as long as demand for them existed (p. 3).

The inspection report by Mr. J. Miller presented the state of Western education in the British colonised territory of West Africa in 1841. Another inspection of schools in the Sierra Leone colony in the same year, commissioned by a parliament select committee in London, found that there were 4,362 students enrolled in 35 schools run by both the CMS and the Wesleyan mission. The CMS ran 22 of the schools with 2,821 native children, boys and girls, on their enrolment lists, while the Wesleyan mission ran 13 schools with 1,541 native children Hilliard (1957).

Often in the histories of the spread of Western education in British West Africa, the story of the education efforts in the Sierra Leone colony tend to overshadow that of the other British colonies in the region, in spite of the understanding that missionary efforts may have happened contemporaneously in the rest of the colonies. However, by 1841, the Missions had established schools in Gambia, Gold Coast, and Nigeria. It is believed that the work of an earlier Missionary, Thomas Thompson, in and around the Gold Coast between 1752 and 1757 had resulted in the establishment of a school in the area in 1765, run by a local convert, Philip Quaquo (Hilliard 1957). However, by 1841, a number of schools had already been established in the Gold Coast, most of which were for children, but one in particular was meant for adult learners in the area. By the year 1850, schools have been established across the British colonised Western coast of West Africa. The establishment of schools, however, was confined to the trading forts along the Western coast, the seats of the colonial administrations, and the territories around them. The Missionary education efforts have been praised for being responsible for the spread of schools inland during the early years of the introduction of Western education in West Africa.

Based on the brief history of the establishment of the early schools across the British colonised coasts of West Africa from 1765 to 1850 as laid out above, it is safe to conclude that, the strategies and purpose of Western education in the early years of its establishment was driven by three key principles. First, the colonial administration was obliged to provide

education to the children of the freed slaves. Perhaps the intention was to equip the community of the freed slaves with skills and mindset that will enable them to re-create and maintain "civilised" societies, similar to the ones they may have served in as slaves. Second, the various Christian missions that contributed to the establishment and spread of schools in the region may have considered their education effort as preliminary to their overall goal of converting the natives to Christianity. The third principle can be said to be the moral element which underpins the first and second principles. The desire and willingness to enlightening the natives, and enable them to improve their standard of living from what the colonial administration and the Missions believed to be primitive, savagery and uncivilized, to a level which was acceptable to, and or parallel with, the Euro-American standard of the time.

4.2.2 Early Schools in the French Colonies of West Africa

One of the parallels that can be drawn between the British and French early education efforts in West Africa was that missionary organisations, both from Europe and North America, played significant roles in the spread of schools across the region. However, in spite the missionary efforts, the development of Western education in the French West African territories followed a different path, compared to that of the British West African territories. Arguably, the difference in the early education efforts and strategies by the two colonial powers may be due to the understanding that, it took longer for France to consolidate its rule in West Africa than it took the British.

The initial colonial government education effort in French West Africa was limited to Senegal, the first French colonised territory in the region. While missionary organisations have been credited for starting the education effort in the French colonised territories of West Africa, the first French colonial government funded school was established in Saint Louis, Senegal in 1816. Education in the French colonised territories was almost entirely run by Christian missions at the time, with the exception of the said government funded secular school in Senegal.

The colonial administration's involvement in the education efforts was born out of the first development plan of 1815 and 1816, introduced by the colonial administration for the development of the colony of Senegal. The main goal of the development plan was to change the custom and mentality of the natives through economic development and religion

(Bolibaugh 1972). The goal of the development plan was in line with the French colonial policy of assimilation. The colonial policy of assimilation has been vastly written about, both in historical and contemporary literatures. The policy of assimilation was born out of the populist ideology of liberty and equality, which became prominent in France during the era of the French revolution. According to Gravelle 2014, assimilation is

> …the principle whereby conquered lands were administered as an integral part of the French Republic, and the indigenous inhabitants were encouraged and given the opportunity to completely transform themselves into Frenchmen and live as equal citizens of the Republic (p. 2).

Simply put, the government in France considered its culture and world-views superior to that of other nations. It therefore considered the imposition of its culture and worldviews on the indigenes of its overseas territories, and transforming them to become French citizens as a moral obligation. In enforcing the policy of assimilation, it was believed that the colonised race would partake in the ideology of liberty and equality for all by enjoying similar rights and responsibilities of French citizens. Hence, the colonial administration concluded that, it was after the transformation of the natives that education can become effective.

By the year 1816 when the Senegal development plan was introduced, the Christian Missions were in charge of the education efforts in all the French West African trading posts, except in Senegal where the colonial administration was responsible for establishing a secular elementary school in 1818. The school was set up as a secular institution due to the colonial administration's concern that aggressive evangelism and Christian teachings by the Missions could antagonize the Muslim natives in the colony. The focus of the secular school was on economic development of the Muslim natives, a shift from the religious aspect of the development plan.

The government run school in Senegal was faced with significant challenges in its early years, such as language barrier and shortage of teachers, among other issues. The colonial administration rejected proposals made in 1822 and 1826 to introduce vernacular language as the medium of instruction, and to train natives as teachers for the school. Instead, the administration introduced the monitor system in the Senegal school, a different strategy compared to that of the British colonies where natives were trained to be teachers in their

local schools. The monitor system is a system whereby the best student in the class is promoted to a position where he or she can act as an assistant to the teacher. Unfortunately, the monitor system could not resolve the challenge of lack of trained teachers. In spite of the school's challenges, a new education reform was introduced in 1835, which made French language the official medium of education in the colony. The principle behind the new education reform was to produce, through education, assimilated natives who would be the epitome of French men in the colony and help to propagate the French culture amongst the natives. However, in spite the administration's efforts, the challenges of the school persisted, and the administration was compelled to seek the assistance of the Roman Catholic Mission for teachers. The school was eventually handed to the Mission in 1842.

A significant historical event occurred in 1842. Three Senegalese who were sent to France for further education, as part of the assimilation project, were ordained as priests and returned to Senegal to set up a secondary school. The secondary school initiative was initially supported by the local colonial administration in Senegal. However, it was later abandoned, and the school was forced to close in 1849 due to two main reasons. First, the secondary school initiative was said to have challenged the monitor system implemented in schools across the colony, whereby the best students were appointed as assistant teachers in their local schools. The monitor system was considered effective and economical. However, the secondary school admitted the best students from the local schools, which thereby challenged the status-quo in the elementary schools of the time. Second, the secondary school initiative was believed to have been strongly criticised in France, due to the common belief in France at the time that the natives should only be given elementary education, and that secondary education would be irrelevant to their needs.

Another significant event that occurred during the early education efforts in French West Africa was the decree of May 1848, which was believed to been part of the colonial administration's attempt to enforce its colonial policy of assimilation in the Senegal colony. The decree called for compulsory elementary education for the children of the natives in the Senegal colony. It is important to note that by the year 1850, colonial government run schools were none existent in the rest of the French colonies of West Africa. Historians believed that this was due to the fact that France was yet to consolidate its rule over the rest of its colonies in the region at the time. However, the policies and decrees implemented in the Senegal

colony during the administration's early education efforts served as the groundwork for its education project in the rest of the colonies (Bolibaugh 1972; Gravelle 2014).

A close look at the early education efforts in the Senegal colony, which laid the foundation for the general education efforts in French West Africa, as highlighted above, reveals certain trajectories. Most of the education efforts in French West African territories in the early years of the establishment of Western education were done by the missionary organisations operating in the region at the time. Arguably, while the colonial administrations' education efforts in the British West African territories were born out of the "moral obligation" of the imperial government to the natives, specifically the children of the freed slaves, the French colonial administration's involvement in the early education efforts in West Africa was based on, and driven by, the colonial ideology of assimilation. Also, as highlighted above, another key reason for the French colonial administration's involvement in the early education efforts in West Africa was to avoid any form of dissent from the Muslim natives due to aggressive evangelism and religious teachings in the mission schools.

From the early years of the education efforts in the French colonised Senegal through to the end of the 19th century, the colonial policy of assimilation of the natives drove the limited government education effort in the colony. Since the very beginning, the purpose of education in French West Africa was to transform the natives from their state of affairs at the time they were being colonised, to a standard that was fitting for French citizens. In other words, the moral base for the colonial policy of assimilation is rooted in the populist ideology of liberty and equality for all, which was born out of the French revolution.

Table 2.0

Signposts of Some of the Early Education Efforts in British and French Colonised Territories of West Africa

British West Africa	French West Africa
1765: initial education effort by a local Christian convert, Philip Quaquo, in the Cape coast.	**Early 19th century**: missionary organisations established schools in the Senegal area, and in some parts of the Sudan.
1787: the creation of Freetown in Sierra Leone led to the establishment of a school for the children of freed slaves.	**1816**: development plan for the colony of Senegal was introduced.

1809: the British parliament approved £300 funding for the Freetown school.	**Between 1816 and 1818**: the colonial administration established a secular elementary school in the colony of Senegal. The school primarily targeted children of Muslim natives, and its purpose was to education the children of the natives for economic development, a shift from the focus on religion.
1806 and **1811**: the Christian Missionary Society (CMS) and Wesleyan Methodist Mission began their mission activities in Sierra Leone and joined in the education effort by providing schools for children of natives who were never slaves.	**1818**: the monitor system was introduced in schools, as an economical way of dealing with the challenge of inadequate teachers.
1816: colonial administration agreed to provide fund for building schools and churches and for other infrastructures, while the Missions were tasked with providing teachers and priests.	**1822** and **1826**: the colonial administration rejected proposals to adopt local language as the medium of education, and to train the natives to become teachers in the village schools.
1841: plans made to train natives to become teachers in order to meet the demand for teachers due to the rapid expansion of schools across the British West African colonies.	**1835**: a new education reform introduced in the Senegal colony. French language became the official medium of education in the colony.
	1842: the administration of the secular school was handed to the Roman Catholic Mission due to the challenge of inadequate staff to run the school. **1842**: the first secondary school in French West Africa was established in Senegal by three local Christian converts on their return home from France.
	1848: a decree was introduced which called for compulsory elementary education for children of the natives in the colony.
	1849: the secondary school was forced to close partly due to mounting pressure from France, based on the notion that the natives did not need a secondary education.

4.3 Colonial Education Policies in West Africa

The consolidation of both the British and French rules in West Africa was achieved through a number of means, of which education was a significant part. Consequently, as the colonial powers firmly established their hold on the region, there was rapid expansion in the education efforts, and measures were introduced to regulate and monitor the contents and processes of the natives' education. This section explores the key elements of the British and French colonial education policies. The purpose here is not to compare the colonial education policies of the two colonial powers. Rather, the aim is to highlight the underlying purposes of colonial education and the differences in educational approach by the two colonial powers.

4.3.1 Colonial Education Policies in British Colonised West African Territories

Before an attempt is made to explore the key elements of the British colonial education policies, it is important to note that up until the 1840s, schools in Sierra Leone, Gambia, Gold coast and Nigeria were mostly run by the Christian missions with targeted, but limited support from the colonial administrations in each of the colonies. As a result, the early education efforts, that is the period before the colonial government made full political and financial commitments to the education of the natives, is largely considered as missionary education. Although the missionary education efforts in West Africa was not without its challenges, such as inadequate teachers, the need to increase the level of education from elementary to secondary education, amongst other issues, successful attempts were made to resolve these challenges as the education efforts expanded to all parts of the colonies. To address the issue of inadequate teachers, certain natives were recruited from the existing schools to be trained as teachers. Some of the recruited natives were trained by missionaries, while others were sent to England for further training.

The expansion of elementary schools across the colonies resulted in the need for secondary education becoming a pressing issue. The first secondary school was established in Sierra Leone by the CMS mission in 1845. The Wesleyan Mission and other missionary organisations operating in British West Africa have already joined in the secondary education efforts by 1874. As a result, between 1845 and 1919 there was significant expansion of secondary education both for boys and girls across the British West African territories. According to Hilliard (1957), the secondary education curriculum consisted of "composition,

recitation, writing, English history, geography, astronomy, mathematics, Greek, Bible history, the Thirty-nine Article and music" (p. 21).

The establishment of secondary education by the Christian missions was met with positive reactions from some of the colonial administrations in the colonies, specifically the Sierra Leone administration. In his letter to the British parliament in 1844, the outspoken governor of the Sierra Leone colony of the time, expressing his support for the establishment of secondary education, and what he believed was going to be its benefit to the children of the natives, he wrote:

> …they will be the means of establishing a new, most important and influential grade in the society of Sierra Leonne, among which the husbands, the wives and the domestic intercourse of the middle class of England will, for the first time, find representatives in Africa (Hilliard 1957, p. 21).

The governor's letter, as quoted in Hilliard (1957), indicates the pride he took in his achievement of finally creating the opportunity for African natives to someday achieve the living standard of the middle class in England. The establishment of secondary education in British West Africa was also met with strong criticisms from a significant group of British politicians, who were of the opinion that the provision of secondary education to the natives would amount to a waste of resources. They argued instead that, the natives should only be given elementary education, and afterwards they should be taught how to work with their hands. These critics of secondary education believed that advancing education beyond the elementary level would only create half educated arrogant natives, who could pose significant challenges to the colonial administrations in the colonies. In spite of the criticism however, the Missions continued to expand their secondary education efforts in the region.

Although the imperial government did not fully turn its attention towards the improvement of education in the colonies until after the First World War in 1919, foundation for the imperial government's control of education was laid following an inspection of schools in the colony of Sierra Leone in 1868, commissioned by the then Secretary of State for the colonies. According to Hilliard (1957), the inspector, Mr J.S. Laurie, produced a damning report of the Missions' education efforts in the colony. The criticism of the report focused mainly on what

was being taught in the schools, the shortage of educational resources and the unnecessary replication of schools.

According to Mr. Laurie, the schools were mainly an avenue for the missionaries to train and indoctrinate their members in their particular brand of faith. He also reported that the supply of books available to the schools were Bibles and catechisms. The inspector later presented a set of recommendations to the Secretary of States, calling for the regulation of what was to be taught in schools, the restructuring of the schools into standards, and the funding of schools which comply with the set regulations through grants-in-aid, amongst. Mr. Laurie's inspection report led to the introduction of the first colonial government Education Code in 1870, the creation of the department of education for the British colonies, and the appointment of the inspector of schools in the British colonies of West Africa in 1882 (Hilliard 1957).

By the end of the First World War in 1919, the criticism of the nature of the natives' education in British colonised territories, both from within the colonies and in Britain, had reached its peak. As a result, the establishment of some form of regulatory principles for the education of the natives in British Overseas Territories had become necessary. The Phelps-Stokes Commission was then commissioned in 1919 after the First World War. One of the commission's responsibilities was to examine the state of education in the British Overseas Territories, and to report its findings back to the British parliament in England, through the Secretary of State for the colonies.

The Phelps-Stokes Commission toured the British colonised West Africa territories in 1919 and 1924. In its report, the commission commended the significant efforts of the Christian missions in the education of the natives. It also criticized the lack of cohesion in the various aspects of the education efforts across the colonies. As part of its recommendations, the commission emphasised the need for a continued relationship with the various Christian missions operating in the region in expanding the education efforts. The commission also called for the establishment of an Advisory Committee on Education, whose purpose would be to outline the guiding principles for the policies and delivery of natives' education in British Overseas Territories.

Following the recommendations of the 1919 Phelps-Stokes Commission Report, the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies was appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1923. The Term of Reference for the Advisory Committee, as stated in the Memorandum on Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa, published in 1925, reads as follows:

> To advise the Secretary of State on any matters of Native Education in the British Colonies and Protectorates in Tropical Africa which he may from time to time refer to them; and to assist him in advancing the progress of education in those Colonies and Protectorates (p. 2).

The ten men Advisory Committee on matters of native education in British Overseas Territories, under the chairmanship of the Under-Secretary of State for the colonies, W.G.A. Ormsby-Gore, produced a fourteen point memorandum on educational policy in British Tropical Africa. In the opening paragraph of the published memorandum, the committee alluded to what it believed was the rationale for natives' education in the British Overseas Territories. The committee stated that:

> As a result on the one hand of the economic development of the British African Dependencies, which has placed larger revenues at the disposal of the Administrations, and on the other hand of the fuller recognition of the principle that the Controlling Power is responsible as trustee for the moral advancement of the native population, the Government of these territories are taking an increasing interest and participation in native education, which up to recent years has been largely left to the Mission Societies (Memorandum on Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa 1925, p. 3).

As indicated in the above extract, the colonial government was not only interested in the education of the natives of the colonies because of the amount of resources that the colonies were generating at the time, but also because the colonial government felt responsible for ensuring the moral advancement of the natives, and it believed that education is the way through which such advancement can be achieved.

4.3.1.1 The Principles of Colonial Education Policy in British Tropical Africa

This section explores the guiding principles of colonial education, as identified in the Memorandum on Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa, which was compiled by the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies and published in 1925. The first point of the Memorandum, which recommended the encouragement and control of voluntary educational efforts, embodies two significant elements. The first element is the acknowledgement of the Missions' role in the education efforts in tropical Africa. It was also an attempt to ensure that the colonial administrations retain the immense contributions of the Missions toward education following the imperial government's move to control the contents and processes of the education efforts. The second element clearly highlights the need for government control of the education efforts. This was a clear reiteration of the need for a public-private partnership in advancing education in the British Overseas Territories.

The second point of the Memorandum emphasised the need for co-operation between the colonial administrations, native educational and other local agencies. The imperial government's move to control the education systems in the British Overseas Territories was partly born out of the realisation, in Britain and elsewhere after the First World War, that education is the most effective tool for colonisation (Bolibaugh 1972). The second educational principle, which is titled co-operation, called for the establishment of Education Boards at the colony level, which will comprise of representatives from the various aspects and ministries of the colonial administrations, the Christian missions, and representatives from the local communities. The role of the representatives was to highlight the needs of their respective institutions and how education can be designed to best address those needs. The Memorandum states that,

> …the first task of education is to raise the standard alike of character and efficiency of the bulk of the people, but provision must also be made for the training of those who are required to fill posts in the administrative and technical services, as well as those who as chiefs will occupy positions of exceptional trust and responsibility (Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa 1925, p. 4).

Consequently, it is safe to assume that the principle of co-operation made education effectively connected to the various aspects of life in the colonies, and education was designed to provide for the workforce need of the colonial administrations, and to directly influence the natives' ways of life. Using education as the means to raise the standard of the character of the natives, as referred to in the above excerpt, was considered to be a complex and sensitive undertaking which required a carefully planned political approach. As a result, the third principle presented by the Advisory Committee called for the contents and processes of education to be adapted to the ways of life of the natives. The Memorandum states that:

> Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution.

> …with such safeguard, contact with civilisation need not be injurious, or the introductions of new religious ideas have a disruptive influence… (p. 4).

In keeping with the British colonial policy of indirect rule, the committee called for education to be adapted to fit the natives' "mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions". It can also be seen as an expression of the understanding that presenting education as a change agent has the potential to antagonise the natives and turn them against the education efforts. Therefore, education was to be adapted to the existing "mentality and aptitudes" of the natives, with a focus on transforming the natives without them realising it. Also, this section called for the contents and processes of education to be designed in ways that will rid the natives of aspects of their cultures, which the imperial government considered to be unhealthy and unacceptable, and to preserve elements which are considered "sound and healthy in the fabric" of the natives' "social lives". However, the Advisory Committee acknowledged that this is not an easy task. In other to achieve such transformation of the African natives, it was therefore recommended that one of the purposes of colonial education must be to promote religion and character training. The Committee argued that,

> The central difficulty in the problem lies in finding ways to improve what is sound in indigenous tradition. Education should …make the conscience sensitive both to moral and intellectual truth; and should impart some power of discrimination between good and evil, between reality and superstition.

> …in view of the all-prevailing belief in the supernatural which affects the whole
> life of the African… The greatest importance must therefore be attached to
> religious teaching and moral instruction (p. 4).

The Committee's call for education to be used as a tool that will enable the natives to differentiate "between reality and superstition", through "religious teachings", indicates that the imperial government understood the significance of the traditional belief systems to the African people, and how the said belief systems permeate every aspect of the peoples' lives. Therefore, before Africans can be civilised, and their ways of living improved, it is crucial to wean them from their superstitious beliefs, and systematically introduce them to the 'Western' world of reality, governed by facts and Western moral ideals, through education. Designing the contents and processes of education in line with achieving such goals, have the potential to make the push for the transformation of the natives less confrontational.

In keeping with the need for the inclusion of sound religious teachings in the natives' education, the fifth principle of the educational policy recommended by the committee was aimed at ensuring that the natives' education inculcates what the imperial government considered as moral capacity and progressive ideology. As stated in the Memorandum,

> Material prosperity without a corresponding growth in the moral capacity to
> turn it to good use constitutes a danger. The well-being of a country must
> depend in the last resort on the character of its people, on their increasing
> intellectual and technical ability, and on their social progress (p. 5).

The above excerpt also emphasise the need for the natives' education to be designed in a way that would address the issue of capacity building. The beginning of the 20th century marked the discovery of significant material resources in the colonised territories of tropical Africa for the industrial production of goods and services in Europe. In keeping with the colonial policy of indirect rule therefore, it was necessary to train and or equip certain natives with the skills and attitudes that will qualify them as trusted leaders and custodians of the continent's rich resources, and as sympathizers of the colonial administration.

The sixth recommendation in the Memorandum on the education of the African natives is the grant-in-aid policy. The grants-in-aid system was designed as a major incentive to the

Christian missions operating schools in tropical Africa (Hilliard 1957). The imperial government realised that the Missions' support is crucial to achieving its education strategy across Africa, and regulating the Missions' involvement was necessary if the colonial policies on education was to be realised. Therefore, the grants-in-aid scheme was the imperial government's strategy to provide the seriously needed fund for the continuation of the education efforts, as long as those efforts comply with the new government principles on natives' education. The next recommendation of the Memorandum addressed the issue of accessibility. For education to bring about the anticipated transformation of the natives it must first be made accessible. The seventh point in the Memorandum emphasised the need for, and a way to make education accessible to the natives. It called for the use of vernacular languages as the means through which education should be delivered, and the adaptation of all educational materials, textbooks and other materials, to reflect local representations. It is important to point out the fact that, the idea here was not to indigenise education; rather, the idea was to teach Western values using local representations.

As part of making colonial education accessible and easier for the African natives to accept, the Memorandum also recommended the use of native teaching staffs in schools. The committee recommended that administrators and local authorities in the British colonies of Africa ensured that local people are encouraged and recruited as teachers for the schools in their localities; a principle that aligned with the colonial policy of indirect rule. As stated in the Memorandum, the committee recommended that,

> Teachers for village schools should, when possible, be selected from pupils belonging to the tribe and district who are familiar with its language, traditions and customs (p. 6).

It is safe to assume that this recommendation was made with the understanding that, appointing natives as teachers will influence Africans' perception of the education system. As a result, instead of perceiving education as a system which breeds alien values, the natives may consider it as something different but attainable. The appointed natives were to teach in their local schools and look after the day to day running of the schools. However, in order to ensure that the school curriculum was being effectively delivered, and the local schools were in line with the overall policies of colonial education, the committee recommended the

visiting teacher scheme as one of the principles of educational policies in Tropical Africa. The Memorandum stated that,

> As a means of improving village schools and of continuing the training of the teachers, the system of specially trained visiting (or itinerant) [authors' emphasis] teachers is strongly to be commended (p. 6)

The point on "visiting teachers" was included for two main reasons. First, the visiting teachers were meant to keep the local teachers in-check, to ensure that the local teachers' work aligned with the overall colonial policies, and to provide a form of continued professional development training to the local teachers. Second, the visiting teachers programme was also designed to highlight the promotion system built into the native teaching staff scheme. The reason for such assumption regarding the principle of visiting teacher is the committee's specification of who should be appointed to the role of a visiting teacher:

> As far as possible the visiting teacher should be of the same tribe as the pupils in the group of schools he visits, knowing their language and customs (p. 7).

Such approach is bound to have motivational effect on the local teaching staff. It enabled them to see what was attainable if they remained committed to the colonial education effort. Also expressing the need for oversight, the Memorandum called for thorough and effective supervision and inspection of all schools, both government and mission controlled schools. It emphasised that the quality of the natives' education must not primarily be judged based on examination results. It was incumbent on the government appointed inspectors to make the overall educational aim understood in all schools.

In keeping with the idea that colonial education should provide the workforce and labourers that were needed for the running of the colonies, the Memorandum called for the establishment of apprentice style technical and vocational training of the natives, which would be aimed specifically at the use and maintenance of high-powered tools and machinery. The technical skills were to be taught only in government run workshops or in an environment which was purposefully set up for the production of goods. The goal was to train native industrial workers for the manufacturing industries in the colonies. With regards to vocational training, this refers to the training of skilled workers in selected manual skills. As

stated in the Memorandum, apprentices in vocational training are to be attached to government departments, such as medical, agricultural, forestry, veterinary, survey, post office, and so on, for their training, and they should be offered the opportunity to stay on in those institutions as labourers after their training.

The Memorandums also acknowledged one of the biggest challenges that beset colonial education in Tropical Africa, the education of girls and women. Navigating the diverse cultural perceptions on girls and women in Tropical Africa in the delivery of colonial education proved particularly difficult for the various colonial administrations. As a result of the difficulties experienced in the area of girls' and women's education during the initial education efforts, the Memorandum recommended that,

> In regard to the education of its girls and women, Tropical Africa presents not one problem, but many. Difference in breed and in tribal tradition should guide the judgment of those who must decide what it is prudent to attempt (p. 8).

Based on the understanding of the sensitive nature of girls' and women's education, the Memorandum recommended that each colonial administration must follow the lead of the culture of the natives in deciding the type of education that was suitable for girls and women in each of the colonies. In the light of the significant difficulties the issue posed, the Memorandum highlighted three important reasons why girls and women's education must be provided:

> (a) Clever boys, for whom higher education is expedient, must be able to look forward to educated mates.
> (b) The high rate of infant mortality in Africa, and the unhygienic conditions which are wildly prevalent…
> (c) Side by side with the extension of elementary education for children, there should go enlargement of educational opportunities for adult women…
> To leave the women of the community untouched by most of the manifold influences which pour through education, may have the effect either of breaking the natural ties between the generations or of hardening the prejudices of the older women (p. 8).

As progressive as girls and women's education might seem in the early years of the 20th century, the rationales for providing education to girls and women in British tropical Africa, as stated in the Memorandum, was limiting at best. Simply put, the three main reasons girls and women's education was considered important was to, firstly, produce educated mates for the educated males; Second, to ensure that women become good home makers, and finally, to enable older women to understand and connect with the wave of change and development in their localities.

The last recommendation of the Memorandum specifically identified what the stages of education in the colonies should be:

> (a) Elementary education both for boys and girls, beginning with the education of young children
> (b) Secondary or intermediate education, including more than one type of school and several type of curricula
> (c) Technical and vocational schools
> (d) Institutions, some of which may hereafter reach University rank and many of which might include in their curriculum some branches of professional or vocational training, e.g. training of teachers, training in medicine, training in agriculture.
> (e) Adult Education (p. 8).

In conclusion, a consistent trajectory in these principles of educational policy in the British colonised territories was the conscious attempt not to antagonise the natives in the delivery of colonial education. While the overall goal of the natives' education was to transform the natives from what the imperial government believed was savagery and primitive ways of living to a standard of living which the imperial government considered to be fitting and acceptable, the Advisory Committee on education consistently highlighted the need to avoid any form of confrontation with the natives due to the progressive nature of colonial education. A conscious attempt was made to ensure that the natives were persuaded and convinced to release their children to participate in the education process. The Advisory Committee concluded by arguing that,

> …the real difficulty lies in imparting any kind of education which has not a disintegrating and unsettling effect upon the people of the country.

The education of the whole community should advance *pari passu* [authors'
emphasis], in order to avoid, as far as possible, a breach in good tribal traditions by
interesting the older people in the education of their children for the welfare of the
community (p. 8).

The Advisory Committee's work in addressing the crucial aspects of colonial education was
considered thorough and well-articulated in the Memorandum as discussed above. The
committee's work served as the basis for the delivery of colonial education in British West
Africa, and in all the British Overseas Territories. Expounding on their contribution to
colonial education, the committee produced more policy documents on the education of the
natives, based on the principles spelled out in the 1925 Memorandum, in the following
decades of their initial publication. The most prominent of the policy documents were:
Memorandum on the Education of African Communities, published in 1935; Mass Education
in African Society, published in 1944; and Education for Citizenship in Africa, published in
1948.

4.3.2 Colonial Education Policy in French West Africa

Before exploring the French colonial education policy in West Africa, it is important to note
that, most of the initial colonial administration education efforts occurred in the Senegal
colony, being the first French colonised territory of West Africa (Bolibaugh 1972; Rideout
and Bagayoko 1994). The colonial education policies which were implemented in the
Senegal colony served as the foundation for the French government education efforts across
the French West African territories.

Education in French Senegal witnessed an unprecedented development under the
governorship of Governor Faidherbe between 1856 and 1865. It is believed that the
Governor, following his appointment in 1852, understood that education was the most
effective tool for colonising the natives (Bolibaugh 1972). As a result, he pursued an
aggressive education policy which led to the establishment of the first government run
boarding school for the children of local chiefs in 1856, and the imposition of the French
native education policy on local Muslim schools in Senegal, often referred to as the Franco-
Muslim schools. The policy compelled the schools to include French language and French
history in their curriculum, a curriculum which was purely based on the Quran before the

policy was imposed (Maderia 2018). By the end of Faidherbe's governorship in 1865, the colonial administration had established its influence on education in the Senegal colony, and colonial government run schools had outnumbered church run schools in the colony.

Throughout the colonial era, the political situation in France at any given time had significant effects on colonial education policy across the French West African territories (Clignet and Foster 1964; Clignet 1968). The political achievement of the Nationalist Party in France toward the end of the 19th century resulted in the expansion of the colonial education efforts in West Africa. Schools were opened and run by the colonial administrations in Senegal and territories across the Sudan, which comprised of Mali, Upper Volta and Ivory Coast, and along the Niger River. In the years between 1870 and 1900, the number of government run schools in the French colonies of West Africa grew significantly, and the number of students, mostly children of local chiefs, sent to France for further education is also believed to have increased significantly during that period (Bolibaugh 1972; Ridecut and Bagayoko 1994).

As France expanded the territories under its control and stepped up its education efforts in those territories, the costs of running the colonies grew significantly and it became a serious political issue in France. As a result, the French government resorted to introducing a financial self-sufficient policy in all the colonies. In other words, the cost of running each colony must come from the revenue generated from the colony, and each colony must contribute to the running costs of the colonial affairs office in France. As expected, the financial self-sufficient policy had adverse effects on the administrations' education efforts in the colonies. The rate of expansion of the government education effort in the colonies was reduced and fewer students were sent to France for further education (Bolibaugh 1972).

Another political transformation in France that significantly affected colonial education policy in French colonised West Africa, in the early years of the 20th century, was the political decision in France to separate the church from the state. As this idea became successful in France, it resulted in significant level of pressure put on the various colonial administrations to secularise all schools in the colonies. This resulted in the ordinances of 1903 which placed all education efforts in the French colonies under the control of the colonial administrations. The ordinances on public education in French colonised West Africa prescribed three broad policies of education in the colonies: (a) education in the

colonies must be delivered following a two-track system. Track one was for the children of the natives, while track two was for the children of French and assimilated natives (b) under the two-track system education must be divided into four levels: elementary education, vocational schools, lower secondary education, and teacher training schools. (c) education of boys and girls of the colonies must be considered equally important. However, the provision of girls' education in each of the colonies should be guided by the natives' view on girls' education. Consequently, education was largely restricted to boys across the colonies (Bolibaugh 1972).

4.3.2.1 The Four Levels of Education Under the Two Track System in French West Africa

This section explores some of the French colonial education policies recommended in the 1903 ordinances on public education in the French colonies of West Africa. One of the major recommendations of ordinances was that education in the colonies must be delivered following a two-track system. Track one was for the children of the natives, while track two was for the children of French nationals and assimilated natives.

4.3.2.1.1 Elementary Education: Track one

Children of the natives attended the track one schools. These were schools established in rural villages and in regional urban cities. The village schools had Africans as teachers; their curriculum included French language, reading, writing, arithmetic and agriculture. In the regional urban schools, the teaching staff comprised of both natives and French men. The curriculum of the urban schools included French history, physical and natural sciences, agriculture and industry. The medium of instruction in both the village and urban schools was the French language.

4.3.2.1.1.1 Elementary Education: Track Two

The schools in this track were meant for the children of French and assimilated natives. The teachers in those schools were French citizens, and the curriculum that was taught to the students was the same as the curriculum for elementary education in France at the time.

4.3.2.1.2 Vocational education

Vocational schools were attached to and slightly above the regional elementary schools in terms of qualification. The curriculum taught at the vocational schools was crafts based. The aim was to train students in crafts such as metal work, stonework, woodwork and carving, and so on. The purpose of the vocational schools was to prepare natives to undertake manual labour in the colonies.

4.3.2.1.3 Lower secondary education

Following a successful completion of the elementary education, the best students from the track one and track two elementary schools were offered placements in the lower secondary schools. During the first year of a three year course the students took general education courses together. Beginning from their second year, the students were then divided into two tracks. Track one comprised of the children of the natives, and their education was focused on preparing them for clerical work and commercial activities in the colonies. Track two comprised of children of French and assimilated natives. The education of the children in this category was academic in nature. It was mainly geared towards preparing them for the upper secondary education in France.

4.3.2.1.4 Teacher training

This was an upper secondary education designed to train teachers for the village and regional elementary schools. The curriculum was designed based on the teacher training curriculum in France, to include some local elements. After their training, the newly qualified teachers worked as assistant teachers in the village and regional schools for a year before they were fully qualified to teach.

The circumstances of the First World War (1914–1918) significantly influenced French colonial policies in all its overseas territories (Bolibaugh 1972; Clignet and Foster 1964; Clignet 1968; Ridecut and Bagayoko 1994). According to Bolibaugh (1972), public opinion in France regarding natives' education in French West Africa witnessed a positive upsurge after the war, which resulted in the issuance of the education decree of 1918 and the education act of 1924. The overall goals of the education decree of 1918, summarised in Bolibaugh (1972), was to:

1. Expand vocational and teacher training courses.
2. Develop a complete secondary education programme with courses basically
    the same as in the Metropole.
3. Increase elementary enrollments.
4. Reserve academic secondary education for the elite (p. 10).

The Education Act of 1924, prepared by the then Governor General of French West Africa, was a comprehensive revision of the ordinances of 1903. The education act was focused on

1. expanding the use of spoken French by the populace
2. incorporating more practical knowledge into the curriculum, and
3. preparing African civil servants (p. 10).

In conclusion, in spite placing the control of the education efforts under the colonial administrations in the French colonies of West Africa at the beginning of the 20th century, the expansion of schools and student enrollments was slower when compared to the education efforts in British West Africa. According to Bolibaugh (1972), the slow progress in the colonial education efforts in the French colonies of West Africa was a result of the financial self-sufficiency policy implemented by the French government. Pursuing such policy in the colonies limited the amount of fund available to the colonial administrations to expand their education efforts. Furthermore, although the ordinance of 1903 demanded that the education of girls must be accorded the same importance as that of boys, by 1937, the education of girls beyond elementary school was still considered to be significantly limited across the colonies. This was primarily due to cultural perception of women and girls in the colonies.

As the political situation in the French colonies of West Africa evolved, so did the colonial administrations' approach to education. However, the policies set out in the 1903 ordinance became the basis for all other decrees, acts and ordinances on education, which was adopted by the various colonial administrations in the region until the end of the Second World War, when the African educated elite successfully advocated for equality in education for the children of the natives across the colonies. Some of the colonial policies on education that were situated within the framework of the 1903 ordinance are: education decree of 1918, the revitalisation of colonial education system of 1920, the education act of the Governor General

of West Africa published in 1924, the Brazzaville and Dakar conferences of 1944, and the French West African Federation ordinance of 1945 (Bolibaugh 1972).

Table 2.1

Signpost of Colonial Education Policies in West Africa

British West Africa	French West Africa
1. Directorate of Public Instruction created in **1868** 2. Department of Education for the British colonies established in **1868**	1. The establishment of government run boarding school in Senegal in **1856** 2. The imposition of the Franco-Muslim schools policy in Senegal in **1856**
Government Education Code of **1870**	Significant increase in colonial administrations' involvement in the education effort between **1870** and **1900**
The inspector of schools in the colonies of West Africa appointed in **1882**	Ordinances on public education of **1903**
The Phelps-Stokes Commission Report of **1919**	Education decree of **1918**
Memorandum on Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa **1925**	Education act of **1924**
Memorandum on the Education of African Communities **1935**	The Brazzaville and Dakar conferences of **1944**
Mass Education in African Society **1944**	The French West African Federation ordinance of **1945**
Education for Citizenship in Africa **1948**	

4.4 Chapter Summary

The histories of formal schooling in British and French colonies of West Africa are addressed in this chapter. The chapter addressed some of the events that led to the establishment of the early schools in the region, and the role of missionaries and mission organisations in the establishment of the early schools in both British and French colonies across the region. Other significant aspects of the histories of formal schooling in West Africa addressed in this chapter are, first, the purpose of formal schooling at the initial stages of its introduction to the region, and how the purpose changed as the ownership of education was transferred from the

missionaries to the British and French colonial administrations. Second, this chapter also addressed the introduction and transformation of colonial education policies throughout the colonial era in both British and French colonies of West Africa.

4.5 Conclusion and Significance of the Chapter

The objective in this chapter was to briefly explore the history of contemporary education in West Africa, with specific focus on the formal British and French colonies in the region. Each developmental phase of Western education across West Africa can be classified as an epoch within the combined historical development of formal schooling, both in the British and French colonies of West Africa. Although the development of Western education across West Africa followed different trajectories under different colonial administrations, it can be argued that there were common factors which underpinned its expansion in both the British and French colonies of the region. The first phase of the education efforts in West Africa commonly referred to as the missionary education, was characterised by a sense of moral obligation of the colonisers towards the natives. It can be argued that, the moral obligation which underpinned the early education efforts in British and French West Africa was modeled on the religious premise of salvation and the transformation of the primitive tribes of West Africa.

The evolution of the early education efforts from missionary education into what can be referred to as colonial education, was characterised by the imperialist ideology of conquer and control. The trajectories of the early education efforts in the colonies of West Africa reveals that the colonial governments, both the British and the French, expressed the need to control education at the time when both colonisers realised its significance as a tool for effective colonisation of the natives. It is safe to argue therefore, that the colonisers ideology of conquer and control through education was built on the premise of economic exploitation of both human and material resources. Colonial education was designed on the basis of mass production of specific sets of knowledge required to meet the human resource needs for the production of goods and services in the colonies, and to maintain the new social order, which is based on Western ideals, created through colonisation.

In spite of the significant decolonisation efforts embarked on across Africa after the wave of independence swept through the continent, there are parallels that can be drawn between colonial education and contemporary education across West Africa. The most prominent of such parallels are the structure and purposes of education. Mass education with a focus on the production of specific sets of knowledge and skills, prevalent in the colonial systems, is one of the hallmarks of contemporary education across West Africa. Contemporary education, similar to colonial education, is designed to produce large number of professionals and experts in diverse fields and works of life at once after each education cycle. The principle behind such production model is the economic principle. One of the purposes of formal schooling, therefore, be it colonial or contemporary, is for the mass production of human capital.

Other elements of contemporary education across West Africa that can be traced back to missionary and colonial education are language of instruction, the structural arrangement of students into different levels such as standards and grades, and most importantly, the purpose of education. In fact, as highlighted above, colonial education was designed to serve the economic needs of the colonial systems. Colonial education was modeled on the industrial production of goods. Simply put, the children of the natives were meant to go through the education system beginning at the elementary level. After completing the elementary level, the child could either attend the vocational schools where he was trained to undertake blue-collar jobs, or the child could go the route of lower secondary education, where he would either acquire clerical or administrative skills, or proceed to upper secondary school to be trained as a teacher or for other white-collar jobs.

Chapter 5
Global Education Policies and Post-colonial Education in West Africa

5.1 Introduction

Every education system, pre-historic, colonial or contemporary, is based on and driven by certain fundamental principles. Such principles, written or passed down through oral tradition, imposed or negotiated, determine the course of the education system over a given epoch. They outline the rationale for, and the purposes of, education. Both at the macro and micro levels of education, such fundamental principles embody the philosophies which guide the education system (Ball 1993). In turn, they determine the course of a society, and generations over a given time. Arguably, the guiding principles of any society's education system sets the parameters within which the system should operate and serves as the basis for social ethics over a given time. These guiding principles are evident in how the education system operates. They are set out in educational strategies and policy documents. From a normative standpoint, it can be argued that every society's education system is, or should ideally be, an embodiment of the society's culture, values, ideals and belief systems, amongst other characteristics. In other words, these fundamental aspects of a society are expressed in the principles which underpin the society's education system.

Education systems across Africa, particularly the various West African education systems, have always been guided and or regulated by a diverse range of principles from the pre-historic times to the present epoch. Such principles have been formed and reformed over time by different kinds of values, ideals and belief systems. Some of which are indigenous and some foreign. As societies change and cultures evolve a consistent trajectory in the formation and transformation of educational principles is that, the discourses which contribute to the formation and transformation of such principles are often situated within the hegemonic culture(s), ideals and values of the time (Ball 1993, Foucault 1972). These discourses are regulated and controlled by what Foucault (1972), in his work "The Archaeology of Knowledge and The Discourse on Language", refer to as "discourse structure". To define it in simple terms, discourse structure, according to Foucault, is a set of rules which sets the parameters for what can be considered as truth, false, what is ethical, and the characteristics

that define what can be considered unethical. The formation of discourse structure is gradual, and it establishes its hegemony over time. As societies change and cultures evolve, so does the structure that sets the parameter for discourse.

As highlighted in Chapter 3, as societies formed, and kingdoms and Empires succeeded one another across West Africa during the pre-colonial epochs, the dominant groups at every given time enforced their cultures, belief systems, and philosophies, among other things, on others through warfare, trade partnerships, and traditional diplomacy. In turn, the transition of power between empires contributed to the continuous transformation of educational principles and systems in the region. An example of such transformation is evident in the transition from traditional education systems, which was prevalent during the reign of Ghana Empire between the 4th and 13th century, to the establishment of prominent Islamic institutions in Timbuktu and Gao between the 13th and 15th century during the reign of the empire of Mali (see Chapter 3 for a discussion on the history of pre-colonial West Africa).

More recent examples of how cultural and political changes contributed to the transformation of the education systems across West Africa are, first, the experiences of colonisation in the 19th and 20th century. An era whereby Western empires imposed their cultures, ideals, belief system and philosophies, among other things, on West African societies through education and other means. This political and cultural change resulted in the introduction and widespread development of what was later known as the missionary and colonial education in the region. Second, a change in global politics which has significantly transformed education systems in the post-colonial era across the globe, particularly in developing regions such as West Africa, is the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). The UDHR declared education as a fundamental human right. It was that declaration that led to the World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990. The principles outlined in the 1990 Education for All conference have significantly influenced the direction of contemporary education in West Africa, and across the globe in the past decades, in areas such as access, gender parity, funding, and international partnerships. Most recently, the World Education Forum 2015, which took place in Incheon, Republic of Korea, reaffirmed the fundamental principles which underpin contemporary education globally: education as a fundamental human right and education as a public good. These principles "technically"

compel all nations and civil societies to ensure access to specified levels of formal education for all citizens.

The objectives in this chapter are classified into categories. First, the arguments presented in this chapter are based on the premise that global education policies and strategies, issued by global agencies such as UNESCO, the World Bank and UNDP, are a form of imposition of best practices by powerful nations (Ellerman 2008; Mason 2008), covertly designed to establish strategic influence on developing regions. This assumption is derived from the historical analysis of the conception of the two fundamental principles that underpin the identified global policies and strategies, education as a fundamental human right, and education as a public good. Second, based on the identified premise on global policies and strategies, this chapter explores the changing landscape of, and discourse on, education-formal schooling at a macro level in West Africa beginning from the post-colonial era, and the significance of global education policies and strategies on the state of education in the region. Furthermore, some of the common challenges facing education across West Africa are also explored, with specific focus on the implementation of the principles outlined in the Education for All frameworks.

Figure 3.0

Timeline of Educational Policies and Strategies Driving Formal Schooling in West Africa
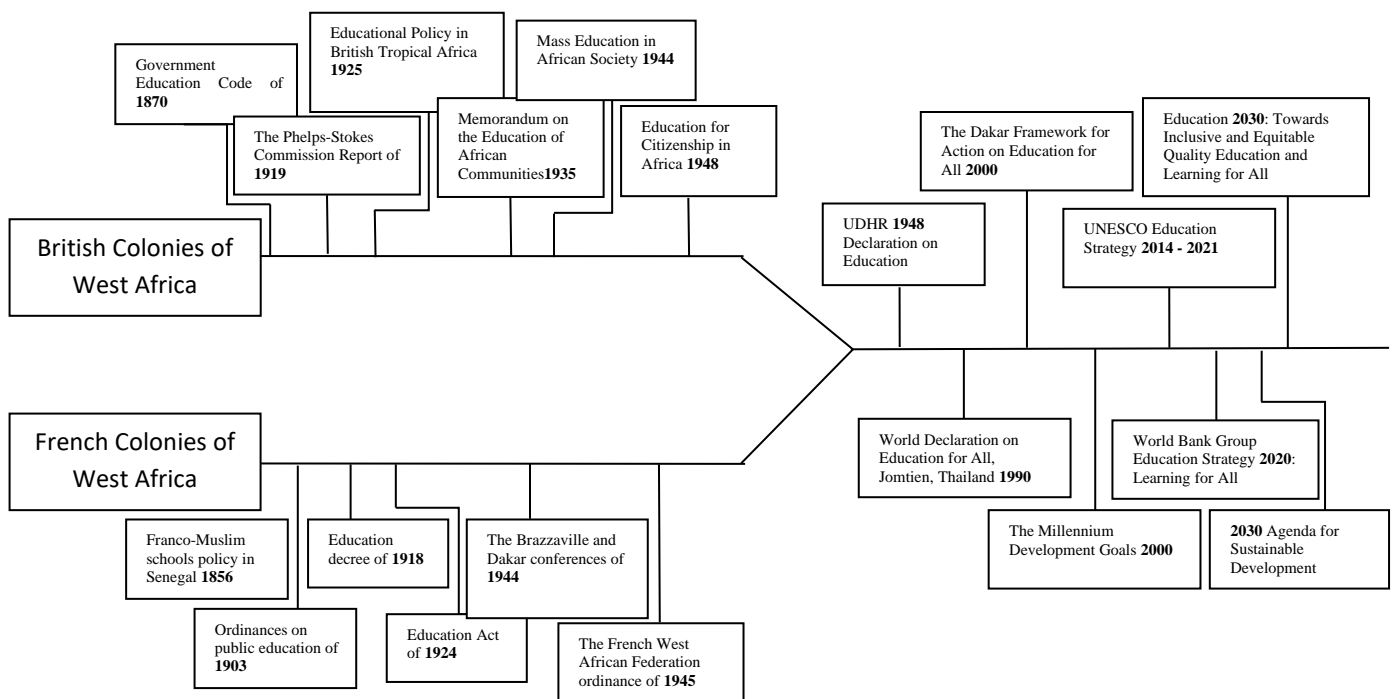
5.2 Education in West Africa from the Post-colonial to the Era of Globalisation: A Changing Discourse

Education-formal schooling across Africa, particularly across West Africa, is an evolving phenomenon that is constantly being transformed, both theoretically and in practice. It has witnessed a significant share of discourses in the past decades, discourses which have resulted in transformation of policies and practices of education in countries across West Africa and other regions (Brock-Utne 2012; Ndawi 1997; Olajumoke 2013). According to Hilliard (1957) in his historical work, *A Short History of Education in West Africa,* which explored the development of formal schooling across the region, he opined that education during the early stages of its establishment was not only aimed at transforming the natives - from their primitive, savagery, and uncivilised ways of living. Hilliard (1957) argued that the very nature of education in its early period, warranted continuous revitalisation of its purposes and nature.

Tracking the unfolding of events in education in many African countries, particularly across West Africa, both during the colonial and post-colonial era, it is almost impossible not to notice the constant shifts in paradigm, and how the language and themes of discourse on education have evolved over the years. The dominant discourses on West African education at any given time are often situated within specific and often differing paradigms (Agbo 2005; Kinyanjui 1980). However, the tension that exists between the different paradigms underpinning discourses on West African education has, in its own right, played a significant role in shaping and re-shaping the education landscape in countries across the region (Agbo 2005).

Drawing on Foucault's (1972) archaeological analytical methodology, he argued that discourse at any given time is governed and or regulated by discourse structure. Defining discourse structure, Foucault (1972) argued that it

> …defines types of rules for discursive practices that run through individual '*oeuvre*' [author's emphasis], sometimes govern them entirely, and dominate them to such an extent that nothing eludes them (p. 139).

Foucault's (1972) archaeological methodological approach to discourse analysis suggests that discursive arguments are not isolated statements. Discursive arguments are born out of, and form part of, existing structure. Crowley (2009) refers to it as "ordered procedures that made discourses possible" (p.4). Visker (2008) refers to Foucault's (1972) archaeology as a methodological approach that is

> …more than a history of discursive regimes. What it aims to show is rather that our speech too, in its endeavour to formulate the truth, is governed by a system of rules and constrains that binds it to a discursive synthesis whose source lies outside our subjectivity (p. 11)

In his analysis of the process through which the so called "truth" is formulated, Foucault (1972) likened the process to battles between regimes of ideas, thoughts, theories and concepts, whereby the prevailing force determines what is true, facts, and acceptable knowledge. The prevailing force sets the limits of knowledge, what counts as true knowledge and the characteristics of false knowledge. It establishes hegemony, and as a result, the structure of discourse. However, these battles of forces are never a final battle. It is a continuous battle whereby knowledge forces are continuously been challenged by the resurgence of eroded and disqualified knowledges. Therefore, as the discourse structure is transformed over time, and the perspective on what is considered true knowledge changes, so does the themes and language of discursive arguments.

Applying Foucault's (1972) view on discourse structure, and the nature of discursive arguments as an analytical lens on the evolution of the discourse on West African education, beginning from colonial education through to the current epoch of globalisation, reveals a significant shift is paradigms, as the region experiences different socio-political situations. The dominant portrayal of the pre-colonial era, often underpinned by identity politics, and situated within the decolonisation framework, and the perception of colonial ideology as an ideology underpinned by domination and control, were the basis for the critique of the education systems introduced during the colonial era. This critique of colonial education gained prominence in the era which preceded the political independence of the colonised African states.

The intrinsic nature of identity politics as a tool for social justice has been largely criticised, as Dalgliesh (2013) argued that,

> …identity politics' efforts to represent difference as best it can within politics …is located within the same politicomoral horizon as the corpus of thought with which it takes issue. (p. 70)

As inviting as it may seem to critique the nature and foundation of identity politics as the basis for decolonisation, critiquing the philosophical standpoint of identity politics is purposefully avoided in this research. However, reductively, if considered as "…movements aiming to revalue unjustly devalued cultural identity" (Fraser 1996 p.6), the significance of identity politics within the nationalists' emancipatory struggles for decolonisation cannot be overemphasised. It has served and still serves as a form of theoretical framework for political discourse which focuses on emancipation and liberation of minority and oppressed groups (Dalgliesh 2013; Heyes 2012). An operational definition of identity politics therefore, is the act and or process of challenging hegemonic policies and practices which purposefully and systematically devalue and ignore the uniqueness of a people characterised by the specific characteristics they share, with the aim of asserting recognition, and demanding their freedom from the forces that devalues and colonise them (Fraser 1996; Heyes 2012). Consequently, the struggle for recognition and identity in colonised African states, particularly across West Africa, put education in the fore front.

The dominant argument on education in colonised West Africa, in the era which preceded the wave of political independence across the region, was focused on making the case for equality in education for the natives and challenging the repressive nature of colonial education (Bolibaugh 1972). Colonial education has been referred to as a tool for exploitation, and a way to ensure continuous underdevelopment across Africa, particularly across West Africa (Oba and Eboh 2011; Kingsley 2010; Mazonde 2001; Zulu 2006). The argument against colonial education focused on the connection between education and colonial policies and practices. Oba and Eboh (2011) argued that colonial education was not only driven by aims and structure that were alien to the pre-colonial African cultures and knowledge systems, it was also aimed at *"subjugating and exploiting Africans"* (p. 624). Within the framework of decolonisation therefore, authors such as Arowolo (2010);

Frankema (2012); Fanon (1963); Iroegbu (1994); Kanu (2010); Kingsley 2010; and Onwubiko (1991), have highlighted the disconnectedness of colonial education from indigenous cultures and knowledge systems. They have also argued that colonial education facilitated social divide, the segregation of the educated from the illiterate, the white-collar professionals from the blue-collar professional, with the uneducated at the bottom of the chain, a perfect recipe for resentment towards formal schooling, and conflict between the different social classes. According to Kingsley (2010),

> …modern African experiences of war and violent conflicts is predicated on the total neglect and rejection of the traditional education and the wholesome acceptance of the colonial education and culture, which does not emphasise character but intellect and excessive individualism rather than community and solidarity living (p. 154)

A shift in discourse challenged "the wholesome acceptance of colonial education and culture" in many West African countries after independence. Although it formed part of the arguments towards the end of the colonial era, educational ownership became the dominant idea in discourse on West African education in the post-colonial era. However, the newly appointed leaders of the various independent states in the region attempted following in the structures laid down by their predecessors. This resulted in political instability and social dysfunction in some West African countries (Kingsley 2010; Zulu 2006). During the 1970s and 1980s, most of the independent West African countries experienced significant challenges. The challenge of developing their independent societies, improve standards of living, resolve existing socio-political conflicts, and maintaining territorial integrity, were some of the challenges which beset the newly independent states. In the bid to resolve these challenges faced by the newly independent states, "ideologies emerged". Keller (1995) referred to these ideologies as philosophies which focused on creating social "strategies for manipulating political behaviour and social organisations" (p. 166).

The social situations in the newly independent societies transformed the discourse on post-colonial education across West Africa. Educational ownership became the dominant idea in the discourse on post-colonial education. According to Mazonde (2001) and Windel (2009), many African countries attempted indigenising education through new education policies and the introduction of new curriculums. However, Kingsley (2010) argued that although attempts were made to indigenise education in the post-colonial era in many African

countries, as a way of expressing autonomy and freedom from colonial rule, the core principles and structure of education remained unchanged.

In the wake of the 1990 World Conference on Education for All, held in Jomtien, Thailand, organised by UNESCO in partnership with UNDP, UNICEF and the World Bank, Africa's role in the development of the global economy, and other key aspects of the phenomenon of globalisation had become significant (Olutayo 2010). As a result, in order to grow each country's domestic economies whilst contributing to the development of the global economy, the need for partnership with the rest of the world became essential. On the education front, as part of the framework for action on implementing the 1990 Education for All strategies, the global community called for stronger collaborations and partnerships between countries, aid agencies and international organisations, as a way to achieve the goals of the declarations on education in all countries, particularly in developing regions such as West Africa. The framework for action document states that,

> International agencies and institutions… should actively seek to plan together and sustain their long-term support for the kinds of national and regional actions outlined in the preceding sections.
> Development funding agencies should explore innovative and more flexible modalities of co-operation in consultation with the governments and institutions with which they work and co-operate in regional initiatives, …forums need to be developed in which funding agencies and developing countries can collaborate in the design of inter-country projects and discuss general issues relating to financial assistance (p. 32-34).

As a result of the call for collaborations, and the need for partnerships, the discourse of educational partnership emerged. Educational partnership in this context refers to a system burn out of international collaborations and partnerships on education, which is significantly driven by global education and development policies and strategies.

5.3 The Discourse of Partnership in West African Education

Partnership is a far-reaching concept, and it applies to various facets of human interactions. The World Health Organisation (WHO) define partnership as

>...a collaborative relationship between two or more parties based on trust, equality,
>
>and mutual understanding for the achievement of a specified goal (WHO, 2009).

A reflection on WHO's definition of partnership reveals key elements which characterise a genuine partnership, elements such as "trust, equality and mutual understanding". In light of the above definition, it is safe to conclude that genuine partnership in its multi-facet nature - social, economic, political, and educational- requires trust, equality and mutuality from the participating parties.

Reflecting on the genealogy of the use of the term 'partnership' in the global context, Mason (2008) argued that the emergence of the term 'partnership' in international policy documents in the late 1980s was as a result of what he refer to as an "intellectual shift" (p.16) from the imposition of absolute truth, to the acceptance of a pluralistic nature of truth. This intellectual shift was a result of the recognition of global diversity. However, decades on, the concept of partnership in global policies and strategy documents is yet to achieve its good intentions. Mason (2008) further argued that partnership between developed economies and developing countries, often referred to as donor recipient countries, is the "imposition of established best practice" (p. 15) on the recipient countries by the developed economies and global aid agencies. Ellerman (2008) also refer to it as the reproduction and systematic imposition of Western ideologies on partner countries. Therefore, the use of partnership in global policies has been criticised as a form of tokenism practiced by developed countries and global aid agencies. According to King (2008), although the term partnership is been used significantly in global development policy documents, elements of marginalisation of recipient countries are vivid in development partnership policies and in their implementation processes.

On the issue of tokenism, and the marginalisation of indigenous knowledges and ideologies in global development partnership programmes, Gore (2008) argued that the voices and values of donor recipient countries are often systematically marginalised. According to Gore, while global partnership for national development often demands that the process of development is owned by the recipient countries, and the processes of knowledge development should reflect indigenous interests and values, the conditions for receiving development aids are set based on the willingness of recipient countries to commit to development framework set by donor countries and aid agencies. Ironically, relationships

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between donor countries, aid agencies, and recipient countries are commonly referred to as development partnership whereby recipient countries are required to own the process of their own development. This is typical of global educational policies and strategies, and other development strategies which are being implemented in many African countries, particularly in West Africa. An example of such irony is evident in the Framework for Action on the 1990 World Declaration on Education for All, whereby calls are made to donor countries and international agencies to provide funds that will enable developing countries to implement their own autonomous plans of action. It states,

> Increased international funding is needed to help the less developed countries
> implement their own autonomous plans of action in line with the expanded vision
> of basic Education for All (p. 32).

With regards to education across West Africa, the call for increased international funding has resulted in donor countries and foreign aid agencies providing fund and other resources to improve education across the region, resulting in a form of partnership with countries to which such funds and resources are allocated. Critiquing this form of partnership, Brock-Utne (2000), in her work, which presents a critical analysis of global education strategies, argues that although foreign aid agencies and other international bodies have played and still play significant roles in African education through different kinds of partnerships, and such partnerships have resulted in significant fund for education being channelled into those recipient countries. These partnerships are often characterised by specific agendas, education initiatives and pilot programmes, which tend to emphasise the goals and organisational interests of the donor countries and aid agencies. Consequently, indigenous needs, interests, values and beliefs are constantly being eroded by foreign interests and agendas. Thus, formal schooling becomes irrelevant to indigenous needs, interests and cultural value.

To ensure that education becomes relevant to the needs of indigenous tribes and cultural entities across West Africa, Aikman (2011) suggests that the power structure in the various educational partnerships, as referred to above, has to be well defined. The policies and practices of any education initiatives that may derive from such partnerships should seek to strike a balance between indigenous cultures, beliefs and knowledge systems, and global goals, and empower the natives to create the kind of society they want to live in. Frankema

(2012) argued that the concept of educational collaboration or partnerships is not a recent phenomenon in Africa. Frankema (2012) emphasised that during the early education efforts, particularly in British West Africa, the natives were involved in the spread of education through local evangelism and church-run schools. However, although Africans were actively involved in the spread of education in most West African countries, it was a partnership with unequal partners. The natives were not involved in determining the structure, policies and practices of their own education systems. As a result, formal schooling was considered irrelevant to the needs of the local communities, and it cultivated socio-cultural and economic values which are dissimilar to that of the natives. It also facilitates continuous dependence on the more technologically and economically advanced countries (Olutayo 2010). Mazonde (2001) argued that,

> …decades of self-rule and independence have not succeeded in empowering Africans through enabling them determine their educational framework. In part, this difficulty is a result of the continued social and economic ties between African countries and their former colonising powers. Although Africa is politically independent, it remains technologically and economically dependent on countries that colonised it. Current educational structures are meant mainly to foster this bond, rather than reduce it (p. 1).

As the changing discourses in the "educational framework" of formal schooling across West Africa are being explored, it is important to note that the emergence of a new trend of argument in West African education did not outweigh the existing trend, rather it incorporates it. The arguments on educational ownership is situated within the nationalists' decolonisation paradigm, which focuses on ridding African states of all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism. Also, educational partnership arguments bring to bear, certain elements which resonate characteristics of the arguments for educational ownership. Elements such as pre-colonial indigenous identities, values and beliefs in its education systems (Aikman 2011; Brock-Utne 2000), the relevance of education to the indigenous communities across Africa (Brock-Utne 2012; Olutayo 2010), and the issue of knowledge system equality in educational partnership (Dei 2000; Frankema 2012; Zulu 2006), among others.

According to Dei (2000), one of the ways of addressing the disconnectedness of formal schooling, and dealing with some of the major challenges which beset education systems

across Africa, particularly across West Africa, is by restructuring systems of education across the continent to incorporate aspects of the various indigenous cultures and knowledge systems with the Western system of education. Such a merger should be structured in a way that both knowledge systems, indigenous and Western, have equal footing in all forms and aspects of the resulting educational partnerships. In Dei's (2000) argument, an indigenous knowledge system which embodies perceived indigenous cultural identities, values and beliefs is crucial in moving education systems across Africa forward from their present states. He further argued that the introduction of Western education across Africa resulted in a shift from indigenous ways of life and being. The introduction of formal schooling resulted in indigenous knowledges been relegated and given informal status, and in some cases it was eroded by the hegemonic force of Western civilisation. This has resulted in formidable challenges for education, particularly in certain parts of West Africa. The most formidable of the challenges facing education systems across the region is resentment towards formal schooling. While resentment towards formal schooling is expressed through different means by cultural groupings and other entities in countries across West Africa,   the focus on education as a site of contention is due to the eroding force of Western culture, which is perceived as being propagated through formal schooling (Dei, 2002). As a result, Dei (2000; 2002) suggests that any form of genuine educational partnership across Africa should be based on knowledge system equality, whereby perceived indigenous identities are of significance at both policies and implementation levels (see also Frankema 2012; Mazonde 2001 and Zulu 2006 for a discussion on knowledge system equality).

As part of the contribution to the arguments for knowledge system equality in contemporary education, Mawere (2014) called for the decolonisation of contemporary education systems across Africa by deconstructing the Western based curriculums which drives it. Mawere further argued that, effectively decolonising contemporary education across Africa will require challenging Western epistemologies, the foundation of contemporary education across the continent, and scrutinise their relevance to the African ways of life and the various indigenous knowledge systems. In doing so, indigenous knowledge systems can regain recognition as valid epistemologies within the context of African education and in the global academy.

In conclusion, a concept that is consistent with the trajectory of discourse on education in post-colonial West Africa, as highlighted above, is the concept of indigenous identity. The arguments presented above indicate a form of collective identity of the indigenous people in their various local communities. The notion of collective identity, however, raises serious questions about diversity and the place of individual identities within the various indigenous groups across Africa, particularly across West Africa (Brock-Utne 2012). Also, the various indigenous knowledge systems have been presented as a form of education that are based on, and embodied indigenous identities (Aikman 2011; Dei 2000; Frankema 2012; Zulu 2006). Therefore, the idea of genuine educational partnerships that are based on mutuality and parity of esteem for all the knowledge systems involved, with the aim of emphasising indigenous values in the policies and practices resulting from such partnerships, as argued by Dei (2000) and Mawere (2014), demands a critical analysis of the dominant perception- social position- of indigenous knowledge systems in contemporary discourse on education across West Africa.

5.4 Critical Reflection on the Influence of Global Policies on Post-colonial Education in West Africa

Since the formal establishment of the colonies in the 19th and early 20th century in parts of West Africa to the present times, formal schooling across the region has always been driven and shaped by foreign interests and policies, and most recently by global policies and strategies on education (see Figure 4.0 for an illustration on the influence of global policies and strategies on education). A common factor in all these policies and strategies, however, is that, the premise for introducing them is often based on the need to address certain significant challenges facing the world, which are mostly concentrated in developing regions such as West Africa. These policies and strategies often proclaim the "messianic power" of education, how the delivery of quality education can transform conditions in developing regions such as West Africa to what they "should be". Most recently, the rationale for global educational policies and strategies has been to promote sustainable development, eradicate poverty and ensure world peace (The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development).

Table 3.0

<u>Examples of the promises of education in foreign and global educational policies and strategies</u>

…its [*education*] aim should be to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life, whatever it may be, and to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs, and the inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service (**Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa, 1925** p. 4)
...education can help ensure a safer, healthier, more prosperous and environmentally sound world, while simultaneously contributing to social, economic, and cultural progress, tolerance, and international cooperation… (**World Declaration on Education for All, 1990** p. 6)
…education in rural communities is key to increasing agricultural productivity and overall food security… Education is also a key contributor to the alleviation not only of income poverty but also of capability poverty. …education can help create conditions conducive to peace by cultivating respect for others and fostering global citizenship. [*It*] …can empower learners of all ages and equip them with values, knowledge and skills that are based on and instil respect for democracy, human rights, social justice, cultural diversity, gender equality and environmental sustainability. (**UNESCO Education Strategy 2014-2021** pp. 13-14)

One of the questions that begs a critical analysis of global education policies and strategies in developing regions of the world, particularly in West Africa, is if they are they designed to fix developing countries, or to create avenues through which the contributions of developing countries to global development, particularly in areas of culture, ethics, belief systems, and philosophies can be valued equally to that of developed countries? The answer to this question is complex and multi-dimensional. However, the nature of global education policies and strategies issued since 1990 by global agencies such as UNESCO, the World Bank, and UNDP legitimise the posing such question. Challenges such as civil wars, brutal inter-tribal conflicts, diseases such as HIV and AIDS, high mortality rate, extreme poverty, Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), amongst other difficulties, are often some of the basis for global interventions through policies and strategies in developing regions. Also, Sub-Saharan Africa

and South-Eastern Asia often feature prominently in those global policies and strategies which seek to bring about the 'much needed' development and change in those developing regions. The point here is not to deny the fact that these regions experience some of these difficulties at a larger scale, when compared to other developed regions of the world, and they may require support and international partnerships to resolve these challenges. Rather, the aim is to further raise the question, in the global discourse of best practice, an underpinning factor in global policies and strategies, what do developing regions and countries bring to the conversation?

Table 3.1

Goals of Some Global Education Policies and Strategy

Dakar Framework for Action on Education for All 2000 (reaffirmation of the EFA declaration, 1990)	Millennium Development Goals by 2015	UNESCO Education Strategy 2014-2021
• Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children • 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 • Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life skills programmes • Achieving a 50 per cent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults • Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and	**Goal 2**: Achieve Universal Primary Education: Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling. **Goal 3**: Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015	1. Developing education systems to foster high quality and inclusive lifelong learning for all: • Supporting sector-wide planning, policies and reform • Promoting literacy • Skills development for the world of work • Supporting equitable access to higher education • Addressing teacher issues and improving the quality of teaching • Improving learning processes and Outcomes • Expanding learning opportunities and the quality of education through ICT 2. Empowering learners to be creative and responsible global citizens: • Reinforcing global citizenship education • Strengthening education for sustainable development

achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality • Improving every aspect of the quality of education, and ensuring their excellence so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills		• Promoting health through education 3. Advancing Education for All (EFA) and shaping the future international education agenda: • Rethinking education for the future: foresight and research • Monitoring global education development, including through normative instruments • Building effective partnerships for education

One of the significant achievements of formal schooling across West Africa is that education has been successfully aligned to every aspect of life, both at the regional, national and local community levels across the region. Following the introduction formal schooling to the region in the late 18th and early 19th century by missionaries, and later controlled by the colonial administrations (see chapter 4 for the history of formal schooling in West Africa), and its subsequent regulation in current era of globalisation through global education policies and strategies, the impact of education has become extensive. Consequently, communities across West Africa feel, on a daily basis, the influence of education on every aspect of their lives. At its best, education systems across West Africa, driven by global policies and strategies through various partnerships, have brought about significant changes and improvements in infrastructure, health, communication, regional, national and local economies, amongst other great achievements and improvements to the quality of life across the region. At its worst however, formal schooling has led to mass emigration from certain countries and local communities, the systematic erosion of aspects of indigenous cultures, traditional norms, and perceived indigenous identities. Feeling disenfranchised in their desolation, some tribes and communities have seen their traditional ways of life, aspects of their cultures such as local languages, values, belief systems, among other things, eroded in the face of economic advancements, technological development and globalisation. Also, despite the significant decrease in the percentage of people in extreme poverty in developing countries of the world, from 47% of the population in those countries in 1990 to 14% in 2015 (MDG Report 2015, p. xiv), the reality behind these percentage figures is that extreme poverty still persists in regions such as West Africa, and millions of children who were born

and raised in poverty face bleak prospects of remaining in the same poverty cycle as they transition to adulthood.

The question therefore, is that, have global education policies and strategies failed to deliver, within the parameters of the ambitions set in them, the promises that they proclaim to developing regions such as West Africa and elsewhere? Highlighting some of the challenges which beset the world's education in the 20th century, the World Declaration on Education for All conference in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990, championed by UNESCO, World Bank and other United Nation Development Project (UNDP), identified stack challenges which have significantly hampered education and development globally since the end of the Second World War. After a decade of implementation of the strategies derived from the 1990 declaration, the subsequent conference on education, Dakar Framework for Action on Education for All 2000, whilst reaffirming the world's commitment to the development of education globally, as highlighted in the 1990 declaration, the deriving document identified the challenges of education globally in the preceding decade, between 1990 and 2000. This only reflected minimum changes in what those challenges were at the beginning of the decade. A reflection on the two and half decades of implementation of the Education for All initiative was presented in the final report of the World Education Forum 2015, held in Incheon, South Korea, it states,

> Overall, not even the target of universal primary education was reached, let alone
> the more ambitious EFA goals, and the most disadvantaged continued to be the last
> to benefit. But there have been achievements that should not be underestimated.
> The world will have advanced by 2015 beyond where it would have been if the
> trends of the 1990s had continued (World Education Forum 2015: Final Report
> p.14).

With the understanding that global population increased significantly between 1990 and 2015, 5.3billon in 1990, 6.12billon in year 2000 and 7.35billion by 2015 (Worldometers, http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/world-population-by-year/, accessed on 9th January 2017), the aim of this analysis is not to trivialise the significant achievements of global initiatives for the improvement of education globally in the past decades, such as the Education for All initiative. Rather, the aim is to critically explore the broad influence of

global education policies and strategies on regional, national and local education systems in West Africa. It is important to explore some of the challenges that persist in the region's education systems in spite of decades of global initiatives and international interventions, and also to critically analyse the principles that underpin these global education policy and strategy initiatives.

Table 3.2

Global Challenges of Education in 1990, 2000 and 2015

World Declaration on Education for All Conference, Jomtien, Thailand, 1990
• More than 100 million children, including at least 60 million girls, have no access to primary schooling;   • More than 960 million adults, two - thirds of whom are women, are illiterate, and functional illiteracy is a significant problem in all countries, industrialized and developing;   • More than one-third of the world's adults have no access to the printed knowledge, new skills and technologies that could improve the quality of their lives and help them shape, and adapt to, social and cultural change; and   • More than 100 million children and countless adults fail to complete basic education programmes; millions more satisfy the attendance requirements but do not acquire essential knowledge and skills;
Dakar Framework for Action on Education for All 2000
• Of the more than 800 million children under 6 years of age, fewer than a third benefit from any form of early childhood education.   • Some 113 million children, 60 per cent of whom are girls, have no access to primary schooling.   • At least 880 million adults are illiterate, of whom the majority are women.
Education for All: Global Monitoring Report 2015
• While there has been some progress in universal access to education, compared to 1999 when there were 204 million out of school children and adolescents of primary and lower secondary school age (or 19% of the population), there were still 121 million out of school in 2012 (or 12% of the population).   • The second MDG and EFA goal 2 both envisaged all children completing a full cycle of primary education. Yet, in low and middle income countries in 2015, one in six children will not have completed primary school. In addition, one in three adolescents will not have completed lower secondary school.   • Although it is projected that by 2015 gender parity will be achieved, on average at the global level, in primary and secondary education, 3 in 10 countries at the primary level and 5 in 10 at the secondary level are projected not to achieve this target.

- The adult illiteracy rate will have fallen by only 23% since 2000, instead of the targeted 50% and most of the decrease is due to the transition into adulthood of larger cohorts of better-educated children. At least 750 million adults, nearly two-thirds of them women, will not even have rudimentary literacy skills in 2015.

5.5 Challenges of Contemporary Education in West Africa

The challenges of education across Africa are widely studied, and in the past few decades a significant number of literatures has been produced on the subject. These challenges, for the purpose of this study, are broadly classified into two main categories, namely, national and regional specific challenges, and common challenges which often affect most countries across Africa. In many cases, the national and regional specific challenges are the cause of, and a major contributing factor to, the common challenges facing education across Africa. One example of a national and regional specific challenge facing formal schooling in West Africa is the challenge of resentment towards education. The expression of resentment towards formal schooling in West Africa can be classified into two broad categories. First, through subtle cultural defiance by certain tribes and cultural entities across the region, this is often expressed by limiting or preventing the education of women and girls due to cultural view on gender roles. Second, resentment towards formal schooling is also being expressed through violent attacks, by radicalised entities in parts of the region, against students, teachers and other stakeholders in education, and the destruction of school buildings and other educational infrastructures. This particular challenge of resentment towards education has resulted in the collapse of the school system in certain parts of West Africa.

In recent years, West African countries such as Nigeria, Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger have witnessed a significant increase in this particular wave of challenge, which has resulted in frequent violent attacks on schools and educational facilities, killing and abduction of students, teachers and other stakeholders in education. Some radicalised entities in parts of the region, such as Boko-Haram and the Al-Qaeda affiliated groups, amongst others, have called for the abandonment of Western education, and a return to the pre-colonial Islamic ways of living and education. These deliberate violent attacks on formal schooling are believed to have stemmed from resentment against Western culture and its hegemony on local cultures and ways of life. Such resentment has significantly stunted progress in education in some parts of the region.

In spite of the national and regional specific challenge, as described above, education systems across West Africa, as well as other parts of Africa are marred with significant challenges. Challenges such as gender disparity in school enrolments, poverty, poor quality of education, inadequate resources, increasing repeaters and school dropout rates, low comprehension of curriculum contents, lack of political will for the transformation of the education systems, among others (Adeyinka 1975; Aheto-Tsegah 2011; Lewin 2009; Odia and Omofonmwan 2007; Shabaya and Konadu-Agyemang 2004; Tuwor and Sossou 2008).

Attempts have been made by government regimes and international agencies to find lasting solutions to the challenges which beset education across West Africa. Government regimes across West Africa have implemented several education reforms over the years, while aid agencies and donor countries have contributed immensely towards education programmes and initiatives across the region. However, in spite of the relentless efforts of government regimes, aid agencies and international organisations to rid education systems of the challenges they face, some of the said challenges have proved formidable. Based on the reading of the 2012 Sub-Sahara Africa Education for All Report, the 2015 Global Education for All Monitoring Report, and a review of the literatures referenced above, below are some of the common challenges facing contemporary education systems across West Africa.

5.5.1 Student Enrolment

Enrolments of pre-primary and primary school age children across West Africa have witnessed a gradual increase in the upward trend in the past two decades. There is a more significant increase in some countries in the region compared to others (2015 EFA Monitoring Report). Increase in student enrolment is a positive indicator that a country or region is on the right trajectory to achieving the Universal Primary Education. According to the 2015 Education for All monitoring report, countries like Ghana and Cape Verde have experienced a surge of over 90% enrolment rate in pre-primary education between 1999 to 2012 (p. 59). While the pre-primary enrolment rates in other West African countries are at a much slower pace compared to Ghana and Cape Verde, enrolment rate in general is on the upward trend (Lewin 2009).

Although there seems to be an increase in pre-primary and primary school enrolments across West Africa when compared to the enrolment figures in previous decades, the increase in pre-

primary and primary school enrolments is not parallel with the population growth in the region. The percentage of West African school age children who are out of school is still significantly high (Lewin 2009; Sifuna and Sawamura 2010). According to the 2012 Sub-Sahara Africa Education for All report, 35% of school age children in 15 West African countries are out of school. It is important to note that there are variations in the percentages of the out-of-school children between the countries in the region, with "6% in Benin, Cape Verde and Togo, it is above 15% in many other countries, and over 36% in Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Niger and Nigeria" (p. 10). However, despite the variations in percentages, the number of school age children that are out of school is at a high rate.

5.5.2 Increase in Repeaters and Dropout Rates

Increase in enrolment figures is one thing; the number of students who stay in education till graduation is another thing. Education across West Africa suffers from significant increase in the number of repeaters and students who drop out of school before the end of the education cycle (Kwapong 1988; Lewin 2009). Consequently, the increase in repeaters and dropout rates has stunted the completion rates in the region. There was 15% increase in the school completion rate between 2002 and 2011, from 52% in 2002 to 67% in 2011 in West Africa (2012 Sub-Sahara Africa EFA Report). The flipside of the 2011 completion figure is that over 30% of children enrolled in schools dropout before the end of the education cycle. Several factors have been said to be responsible for the increase in repeaters and dropout rates: Poverty, geographical factors, political factors, poor quality of education, and poor comprehension of curriculum contents are some of the factors which are considered to be responsible for the increase in the number of students who drop out of school (Sifuna and Sawamura 2010).

On the issue of quality of education in West Africa, as opined by Sifuna and Sawamura (2010), quality in education is a complex concept and so is defining what it is. They opined that,

> …there is as yet no consensus on the definition of the term "quality" [authors' emphasis]. More importantly, notions of quality change over time and are tied to social values (p. 1)

The conditions under which education is being delivered, the pedagogical approaches, the relevance of the education that is being delivered to the needs of local communities these are some of the factors to be considered when defining quality in education across West Africa, particularly in disadvantaged and poor communities. Although certain countries in the region appear to be performing well with regards to enrolment rates, the quality of the processes and contents of education is still concerning. According to the 2015 Education for All Monitoring Report,

> The quality of provision is a concern. Pedagogy and subject content are often age-inappropriate. In Accra…, schools are a downward extension of schooling, with rows of desks where children begin literacy and numeracy learning. Home languages are not often used or included as a lesson subject… classes are teacher-led, children as young as 3 or 4 sit for exams, and ranked accordingly (p. 67).

Aside from the quality issue, another major factor responsible for the increasing repeaters and dropout rates in West African schools is poor comprehension. The implication of poor comprehension of curriculum contents is that many children attend schools but they are not learning. This may be due to a number of reasons. The most discussed of those reasons are lack of adequate understanding of the language of instruction, poor pedagogical methods, inadequate properly trained teachers in schools, and irrelevant curriculum, among others.

5.5.3 Gender Disparity in Education

Gender parity in education is one of the main goals of the Education for All and the Millennium Development Goals. According to the 2012 Sub-Sahara Africa Education for All report, gender parity in primary education is an area where most countries in West Africa have performed exceptionally well. Performing at over 90%, most countries in the region already exceeded the set target for gender parity in education by 2015 (2015 EFA Monitoring Report). However, although certain countries in the region have exceeded expectation with regards to gender parity in primary education, when looked at collectively, both in primary and at other levels of education, more is still required with regard to gender parity in education (Lewin 2009). According to the 2015 Education for All monitoring report, poverty is one of the major reasons why some countries in the region are experiencing significant difficulty in achieving gender parity in education.

…the poorest girls remain most likely to never attend primary school. In Guinea and Niger in 2012, approximatively 70% of the poorest girls had never attended primary school… (p. 153)

In addition to the fact that enrolment of girls is generally lower than that of boys in most countries in West Africa, the dropout rate for girls is also higher across the region. This is said to be due to an array of factors which may be economic, political, cultural or religious in nature.

Almost all countries of the region claim to be moving towards gender parity and equality in school enrolment... However, policy implementation is reportedly constrained by social conservatism, absence of women among decision makers and lack of gender relevant data. Moreover, among girls, low completion rates in primary education are compounded by low transition rates to secondary schooling (2012 Sub-Sahara Africa EFA Report, p. 12).

Although the claim in some West African countries is that gender parity in school enrolments will be achieved in less than a decade from now, the issue of school dropout and low completion rates among girls are not often dealt with as a priority issue. In many cases, the cultural view of girls and women still affect the enrolment of girls in education, and the gender disparity in politics and other aspects of the society, resulting in inadequate role models for young girls, may also be contributing to the dropout and low completion rates among girls.

5.5.4 Poverty

Poverty is one of the most explored of the challenges that beset education in West Africa. The effects of poverty on education in the region can be said to be in two dimensions. First, a significant percentage of West African children live in poor conditions, where the existence of basic amenities such as clean water, food and housing is said to be significantly low and or next to nothing. Many of the children living in such poor conditions are believed to be subjected to child labour in order to raise money to sustain their families (Fentiman, Hall and Bundy 1999). Despite efforts by government regimes and aid agencies to reduce poverty and to make it easier for children living in poor conditions to attend schools by providing meals at

schools, among other things, the effects of poverty on the delivery of quality education across West Africa is still significant (2015 MDG Report).

The second dimension to the effect of poverty on education in West Africa is the inability of poor countries to deliver quality education to their citizens due to inadequate investment through budgetary allocation. As stated in the 2015 EFA Report:

> Many poor countries are far from being able to provide pre-primary schools with the necessary resources, making effective curricula and pedagogies… highly challenging… (p. 68).

Although the Education for All monitoring reports have shown that some countries in West Africa have increased their budgetary spending on education every year in the past decade, and public-private partnership in education have increased quite significantly, poor countries in the region with very low GDP are still well-behind meeting the spending need of delivering quality education. According to the 2012 Sub-Sahara Africa EFA report, some countries in West Africa, countries such as Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea Bissau and Mali, still have class sizes of above 50 pupils. Despite the disparity in GDP and budgetary allocation for education, spending on education is still well below what is needed in meeting the financial needs that accompanies the delivery of quality education.

5.5.5 Inadequate Resources and Infrastructure

The focus across West Africa in the past few decades, as set out in the EFA goals and MDG, was to increase access to education by increasing enrolment rate, not equal attention however is given to the need for increasing resources and improving available infrastructure. Large increases in enrolment over the years have put significant strain on available resources and infrastructure (Sifuna and Sawamura 2010). Although West African countries have increased their budgetary allocations for education in their annual budgets every year in the past decade, such increase has not been enough to meet the needs in resources and infrastructure. Inadequate trained and quality teachers and the poor distribution of the available trained and quality ones, inadequate educational materials and facilities, poorly equipped schools and educational centres. These are some of the acute challenges that education in West Africa faces as a result of inadequate investment.

In conclusion, although this is only a loose analysis of some of the challenges facing education across West Africa, and there possibly are more significant challenges facing education in the region that would be more difficult to quantify using percentage representation, what is not often sufficiently discussed in literatures exploring challenges facing education in Africa and in global policies and strategies reports is the fundamental issue of the purposes of education-what is education for? It is safe to conclude, following the analysis of the early education efforts in West Africa as presented in the previous chapter, that one of the reasons for the successes of both the missionary and colonial education in West Africa was because the overarching purposes of education in those two epoch in the history of education were unambiguous: education for the salvation of the natives and education for colonialism, and were systematically followed. Arguably, addressing the issue of 'relevance' of contemporary education to the needs of local communities is the key to resolving most of the challenges facing education across West Africa.

5.6 Chapter Summary

The main factors that influence post-colonial and contemporary education policies in West Africa are highlighted and discussed in this chapter. Central to the discussions presented in this chapter is a critical analysis of the dominant influence of education policies and strategies issued by global agencies such as UNESCO, the World Bank, and UNDP on contemporary education policies and systems in West Africa. This chapter also addressed some of the significant challenges facing contemporary education across the region with specific focus on key efforts, such as the various international, regional and national educational partnerships, the allocation of aid packages from donor countries and international agencies, in dealing with these challenges.

5.7 Conclusion and Significance of the Chapter

The two fundamental principles underpinning global education policies and strategies, as highlighted in the new global education strategy, Education 2030, education as a fundamental human right and education as a public good, have their roots in colonial education policies, as implemented in colonised West Africa. Focusing specifically on the British and French colonial education policies in West Africa, it is safe to argue that the idea of basic education as a right for all and education as a public good are not recent phenomena. Following the

establishment of Western education in the region by the missionaries and its subsequent control by the colonial governments, the British and French (see chapter 4), the colonial administrations discovered the unique potential of education as an institution that can help launch and foster colonial influence, policies and ideologies in the region and elsewhere. In other words, education was discovered as an effective tool for colonising the natives. It is necessary therefore, to explore the genealogy of the two fundamental principles underpinning contemporary education in West Africa, by tracing their evolution both in mainland France and Britain, and from the colonial era to how they emerged in global policies.

The arguments for and against compulsory public education have formed part of the diverse range of discourse on formal education in England and France by the middle of the 19th century, particularly in England where the rapid expansion of industries, the industrial revolution, had resulted in the need for an expanded labour force with diverse range of skills to meet the new challenges of an industrialised society. Also, by the middle of the 19th century, the fear of civil unrest by the lower class had reached its peak, and it had become necessary to enforce a system of education that would not only produce the much needed workforce for an industrialised society in mass, but also serves as a means for social control. As a result, the Forster Education Act of 1870 in England set out the basis for compulsory basic education for all children, a policy which later prove invaluable for the colonial project.

The consideration of education as a tool for effective colonisation of the natives was part of the discourse from the beginning of France's involvement in the colonial education process. Following the establishment of Western education in the French colonies of West Africa, and the colonial government's gradual involvement in the process of educating the natives, as education navigated the complex cultural landscape of the Senegalese people, considering education as a tool for colonising the natives had formed part of the colonial discourse in main land France before the end of the second quarter of the 19th century. However, it was the governor of the Senegal colony from 1852-1865, Governor Faidherbe, who declared education as a basic means for colonising the natives and implemented policies which later led to the colonial government's control of education, both formal and informal, in the Senegal colony. According to Bolibaugh (1972),

Faidherbe believed that as long as the formal system of education remained a Christian monopoly in a predominantly Moslem country, the natives would resist it and thus a basic means of colonizing would be lost (p. 6).

Therefore, in order to ensure the continued development of education whilst avoiding any form of resistance from the Muslim natives, one of Faidherbe's policies was the establishment of the Franco-Moslem schools. The Franco-Moslem schools policy required the teachers in the local Koranic schools to have government permit, and the Koranic schools had to teach French language as one of its subjects.

As the French colonial administration succeeded in establishing its control over the education systems across its colonies in West Africa in the early years of the 20th century, by the end of the First World War, due to the significant contributions from the colonies towards France's war efforts, the political will in France turned in favour of the colonial project. As a result, the French government declared education as the basis for colonial policies and as the basic requirement for economic development in the colonies. Furthermore, as France's hold on the territories it colonised became stronger, and its influence in the region grew, the idea of compulsory education in French colonised West Africa was introduced together with other radical changes to colonial education policy after the Second World War. One of the declarations in the French-West African Ordinances of 1945 was that, attaining a certain level of basic education should be made compulsory for children of indigenous civil servants in all French colonies (Bolibaugh 1972).

In the British colonies of West Africa, the idea of mass education of the natives designed for the "moral advancement of the native population" (Education Policy in British Tropical Africa 1925 p. 3) was recommended in the first comprehensive British colonial education policy published in 1925,

Side by side with the extension of elementary education for children, there should go enlargement of educational opportunities for adult women as well as for adult men. Otherwise there may be a breach between the generations, the children losing much that the old traditions might have given them, and the representatives of the latter becoming estranged through their remoteness from the atmosphere of the new education. To leave …a community untouched by most of the manifold influences which pour in through education, may have the effect either of breaking

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the natural ties between generations or of hardening the old prejudices of the elder[s]… (p. 8).

In an effort to avoid the "hardening of the old prejudices" of the natives towards colonial education, the 1925 British policy on colonial education led to the introduction of other prominent policies which helped in driving the idea of mass education for the good and the advancement of the native population. Policies such as: Memorandum on the Education of African Communities 1935, Mass Education in African Society 1944, and Education for Citizenship in Africa 1948, all had their foundations in the 1925 policy on colonial education. It is therefore safe to argue that, the emergence of education as a fundamental human right in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the global consensus that education is an institution established for the public good are not a mere coincidence. The aim of this argument is not to undermine the significance of education in human development or to ignore the achievements and advancements that have been made possible through formal schooling across West Africa and elsewhere. Rather, the aim is to seek an understanding of the fundamental principles which underpin contemporary education, and perhaps such understanding could help in the understanding of the root causes of some of the formidable challenges facing education in the developing regions of the world, particularly in West Africa.

The realisation of basic education for all as a fundamental human right globally has been generally considered to be the basis for the realisation of all other human rights as declared in the 1948 Declaration of Human Rights. Therefore, as a fundamental human right, ideally, every human being is expected to have equal access to quality basic education, the same as other rights, such as right to life, liberty and personal security, right to marriage and family, amongst others. The question however, is by whom and what defines, or should define, the contents and processes of a quality basic education that is equal for all? Highlighting the challenges of education globally, the World Declaration on Education for All (1990), in Jomtien, Thailand, declared that:

> More than one-third of the world's adults have no access to the printed knowledge, new skills and technologies that could improve the quality of their lives… (p. 5).

The phrase of interest in the above excerpt is "the printed knowledge". It is safe to assume that the reference to accessing printed knowledge is in relation to literacy skills. However, the idea of 'printed knowledge' as a stand-alone concept, when critically examined, can also be considered as a set of dogma and or a list of best practices for economic and social development which are, presumably, based on hegemonic cultures and knowledge traditions. An implicit interpretation of the above excerpts therefore, can be that, achieving universal access to "the printed knowledge" is a step towards the realisation of education for all. Should this assumption be confirmed, it can therefore be argued that the underlining principles driving contemporary education across West Africa are residues of colonialism. The principles of education as a fundamental human right and education as a public good embody a degree of colonial hegemony.

One of the challenges besetting contemporary education in many West African countries is that education has so far failed to deliver effectively on its numerous promises, as often proclaimed in global policies and strategies which drive it. Peace building, economic and social advancements, eradication of extreme poverty, among other things, are some of the 'promised' outcomes of the delivery of accessible quality education globally. However, despite the significant reduction in the percentage of people in extreme poverty globally, and other successes attributed to education (MDG Report 2015), millions of people in developing regions such as West Africa still live in extreme poverty, youth unemployment rate is consistently high, the outbreak of conflicts, are some of the profound challenges facing developing regions of the world. Some of the reasons for such persistent poverty and the increasing unemployment in developing regions of the world, according to UNESCO (1990, 2000, 2015), are due to the fact that many developing countries lack the financial capacity, due to poor economy, to meet the educational needs of their citizens, let alone provide access to quality education for all. As a result, UNESCO has repeatedly called for international, regional, national, and local partnerships as a way of providing the much needed resources for the delivery of, and access to, quality education for all.

The call for partnerships between countries, both at national and local community levels, and global agencies and international aid organisations for the successful delivery of accessible quality education for all is not without significant challenges. With the danger of international partnerships becoming the process for the imposition of best practices on donor recipient

countries (Ellerman 2008; Mason 2008), the idea of partnership could be considered as an impediment to effective decolonisation in previously colonised regions such as West Africa. Such scepticism towards the notion of partnership immediately exposes the dichotomy which exists between decolonisation and the phenomenon of globalisation. On the one hand, there are continuous calls for partnerships for global development, and through education, the nurturing of global citizenship. On the other hand, Frantz Fanon (1963), in his work titled: *The wretched of the Earth*, argued that the essence of decolonisation is to seek the complete liberation of the colonised from the influence of the forces that devalued, subjugated and colonised them. Therefore, if the fundamental principles that underpin contemporary education in West Africa, as earlier argued, are residues of colonialism, how then can decolonisation efforts run its course without fuelling resentments towards it? Extremist groups such as Boko Haram, Al-Qaeda linked groups, and others in parts of West Africa have exploited the situation to bring about significant destruction of lives and educational resources in parts of the region.

The aim of such concluding argument is not to apportion blame for the challenges facing contemporary education across West Africa to the implementation of global policies and strategies, neither is it meant to highlight any form of global conspiracy to perpetuate challenges in developing regions of the world. Rather, the purpose of this argument is to highlight the need for, and the challenge of, positioning indigenous knowledge systems in the contemporary global knowledge traditions. However, understanding the dominant perception of indigenous knowledge systems in a culturally diverse West Africa is not a task that is free of complexities. Therefore, the next chapter critically explores the dominant perception of pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems in West Africa, how the said dominant perception established a form of hegemony in discourse on pre-colonial West Africa, the form of power it legitimises, and its place in contemporary discourse on education.

Chapter 6
The West African Pre-colonial Indigenous Knowledge Systems

6.1 Introduction

The nature of pre-colonial indigenous cultures, and all their encompassing aspects, particularly the various indigenous knowledge systems, indigenous traditions, and so on, across Africa, and in many previously colonised regions across the globe have been subjects of post-colonial theorising for decades (Dei 2000; Obanya 1995). Also, in contemporary discourse on education at a macro level in West Africa, a previously colonised region, a notable recommendation by some writers and commentators on African issues, as a way of resolving one of the most formidable challenges facing contemporary education in the region, resentment towards formal schooling, is a merger between the various indigenous knowledge systems and contemporary education (Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2003; Dei 2000; Zulu 2006). The purpose of such merger would be, among other things, to create a hybridised education system that will help prevent the erosion of aspects of indigenous cultures and perceived indigenous identities. However, while the nature of formal schooling, its objectives in the early years of its introduction by the missionaries and colonial authorities across West Africa have been subjected to significant critique in post-colonial theorising, the perception of indigenous cultures and knowledge systems has, in large measures, maintained its romantic and nostalgic characteristics in contemporary discourse on education across West Africa.

This chapter explores and critically analyses the dominant perception of the pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems, how the said perception is being reproduced in discourse on contemporary education in West Africa, and the form of domination and injustices that is at play as the said dominant perception is being reproduced and legitimised in contemporary discourse. As a way of identifying the dominant perception of the pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems in contemporary discourse, referred to in this research as social position or collective prior knowledge, diverse genre of texts were analysed with the aim of identifying, first, the authors' description of indigenous cultures and knowledge systems, and second, the authors' presuppositions of the readers' collective prior knowledge on the nature of the pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems.

6.2 Pre-colonial Indigenous Knowledge Systems

Authors and researchers have argued in favour of the existence of indigenous knowledge systems during a vast period of time in African history, the pre-colonial era (Mazonde 2001; Obanya 1995; Zulu 2006) (see Chapter 3 for a discussion on the history of pre-colonial West Africa). Indigenous knowledge systems can simply be defined as unique ways of knowing that are embedded in local cultures, local histories and mythologies, and in the local environments of the indigenous people (Mawere 2014). For the purpose of this research project it is necessary to clarify the connection and the interchangeable use of the terms indigenous knowledge and indigenous knowledge systems. According to Mawere (2014), indigenous knowledges are bodies of knowledge, rooted in specific cultural traditions and indigenous epistemologies,

> …developed through the processes of acculturation and through kinship relationships that societal groups form, and are handed down to posterity through oral tradition as well as cultural practices such as rituals and rites (p. 7).

Indigenous Knowledge Systems, within the context of this research project, represents the processes and or conditions, such as "oral tradition", and "cultural practices", amongst other conditions, through which indigenous knowledges are transmitted from generations to generations, and the unique values, traditional norms, beliefs and other cultural qualities which regulate such processes. Therefore, the term 'indigenous knowledge systems' is used in this research synonymously to indigenous education, indigenous ways of knowing and indigenous epistemologies.

The complex structure of the pre-colonial societies across West Africa, the existence of structured political systems, large scale farming, domestication of animals, craftsmanship, mining and long distance trade, among other things, have been argued to be clear indications of some forms of knowledge systems through which ideas, philosophies, values, beliefs, cultural practices, traditional norms, and indigenous skills were transmitted from generations to generations (Obanya 1995; Olaniyi and Olajumoke 2013; Zulu 2006). A romantic example of a civilised social structure and complex socio-political frame in the pre-colonial West African societies, written by a Spanish-Arab writer *Abu Ubaydallah al-Bakri* in 1067,

and referenced in Davidson, Buah and Ajayi (1965), presents the court of Tunka Manin a Ghana Empire king in 1050 as follows:

> When the king gives audience to his people, to listen to their complaints and to set them to rights, he sits in a pavilion around which stand ten pages holding shields and gold-mounted swords. On his right hand are the sons of the princes of his empire, splendidly clad and with gold plaited in their hair.
>
> The governor of the city is seated on the ground in front of the king, and all around him are his counsellors in the same position. The gate of the chamber is guarded by dogs of an excellent breed. These dogs never leave their place of duty. They wear collars of gold and silver, ornamented with metals. The beginning of a royal meeting is announced by the beating of a kind of drum they call *deba* [author's emphasis]. This drum is made of a long piece of hollowed wood. The people gather when they hear its sound… (p. 38).

The beating of the "*deba*" and the vivid description of this 11th century civilisation presents customary practices which may have been in existence since earlier centuries. It reveals certain craftsmanship with reference to shields, gold-mounted swords, the making and beating of the "*deba"*, and the domestication of animals. Such practices and skills expressed by the pre-colonial West African people have served as the basis for arguing for the existence of some forms of knowledge systems in the pre-colonial era (Arowolo 2010; Falola and Fleming 2009; Mazonde 2001; Obanya 1995; Zulu 2006).

The nature of the various indigenous knowledge systems across West Africa, the tradition which the various indigenous systems promoted, oral or literary traditions, the underpinning fundamental principles of the indigenous systems, and their purposes in the various pre-colonial societies across the region, have resulted in array of discourse. One of the received wisdoms about the various indigenous systems of education, which has been reproduced and legitimised through discourses over the years, and thereby acquiring a form of discursive hegemony, is that the various pre-colonial indigenous knowledge systems were aimed at cultivating the attitude of effective community relationship in the indigenes, or as Mawere (2014) puts it, the fostering of "*kinship relationships*" among the indigenous people (Obanya 1995; Olaniyi and Olajumoke 2013). Kelemba-vita (1977) cited in Taylor (1995), defined the

indigenous knowledge systems as unique processes of education across pre-colonial Africa, which were aim was to

> …transform the individual from his or her status of absolute individual to that of an integrated member of the society, to make him or her lose the illusion of happiness in the state of isolation so that he or she may accede to true happiness by being open to others, not for personal benefits but in order to create with everybody a new reality transcending individuals (p. 240).

The ability to transform the learner from a state of singularity, from a "status of absolute individual", to that of the collective is argued to be one of the unique characters of the various pre-colonial indigenous knowledge systems (Mawere 2014; Taylor 1995). However, the relegation of the indigenous ways of knowing to its informal status by the hegemonic force of formal schooling, both during the colonial and post-colonial era across Africa, has resulted in diverse perspectives on their actual forms and nature during the vast pre-colonial era (Dei 2000). It has been argued that the transmission of complex skills such as indigenous medicines, law and traditional politics, among other skills, in the pre-colonial era must have required carefully structured teaching or training and learning processes, which have been argued to be a form of formal education in the pre-colonial African social context, an epitome of contemporary education-formal schooling (Mazonde 2001; Zulu 2006). The completion of such complex skills acquisition processes was marked by specific ceremonial rites and rituals, which were meant to initiate the learner into the cult of professionals and or adulthood. Such practices have been argued to be synonymous to certain practices which characterise contemporary education-formal schooling (Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2003).

Contrary to the notion of indigenous formal education in the pre-colonial era, Ayittey (1991) opined, based on the dominant tradition within which the indigenous knowledge systems are commonly believed to be situated, that the processes of pre-colonial indigenous education was generally informal. Ayittey (1991) further argued that indigenous education was largely based on oral tradition, whereby cultural values and practices, traditional skills, and the general contents of education were transferred from generations to generations through words of mouth, and through the apprentice style process of education. Indigenous values, practices and skills are said to be preserved in, and through, oracles, proverbs and adages, mythologies,

music and chants. In contrast to Ayittey's (1991) claim, Winters (1991) and Zulu (2006) argued that the absence of literary tradition in pre-colonial Africa, and pre-colonial indigenous education across Africa being referred to as mainly informal are tenuous claims. Based on archeological findings across Africa, particularly in the West African region, Winters (1991) argued that due to the demands of long distance trade in pre-colonial West Africa, which dates as far back as the first and second centuries AD, writing, generally through symbols, was invented for the purpose of keeping transaction records, and to preserve indigenous beliefs and specific cultural rituals. Supporting the argument of pre-colonial literary tradition, Zulu (2006) identified some ancient African scripts

> scripts of ancient Egypt hieroglyphic, Meroitic and Coptic scripts of Nubia,
> Sabean and Ge'ez scripts of Ethiopia, the Nsibidi script of the Efik of
> Nigeria, Mende scripts of Mali and Sierra Leone (p. 34).

Notwithstanding the arguments for or against the existence of pre-colonial indigenous formal education systems across Africa, it is safe to conclude, based on the literatures reviewed thus far in this section, that there existed pre-colonial indigenous knowledge systems across Africa, particularly across West Africa.

6.3 The Nature of the Pre-colonial Indigenous Knowledge Systems: A Review of Literatures

Pre-colonial indigenous knowledge systems are generally referred to as lifelong education, in which the learner is actively engaged throughout life, these pre-colonial systems of education has been referred to as education for living (Olutayo 2010). The term 'education for living' denotes a system or systems of education designed to equip the learners with skills and mind sets required to "…come to know, understand and act within the world around them" (Dei 2000, p. 2). Situated within the frame of culturally diverse indigenous knowledges, the pre-colonial indigenous knowledge systems are argued to be based on, and their contents grounded in local cultures, local histories and mythologies, and the local environment of the learner (Mawere 2014). The indigenous knowledge systems focus on the learner's intellectual, physical and moral development, whilst introducing the learner to aspects of the community, namely, the physical, social, and most importantly the spiritual environment (Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2003). The survival of the learner is said to be determined by his or

her ability to navigate between these three aspects of the community (Dei 2000). The indigenous knowledge systems are also said to inculcate in the learner a strong sense of community, and a deep understanding of customary practices, traditional norms, and cultural heritage (Mawere 2014; Olaniyi and Olajumoke 2013; Taylor 1995).

Exploring the organic nature of the indigenous knowledge systems, Millar and Haverkort (2006) argued that the various pre-colonial African indigenous knowledge systems are characterised by the working together of the bodies of knowledge embedded within the aspects of the learner's milieu, which is consist of the physical, spiritual and social environment. Within the framework of the various indigenous knowledge systems, none of the said bodies of knowledge function in isolation and or independent of the other (Mawere 2014). The indigenous African worldview, as opined by Millar and Haverkort (2006), perceives the world as a single entity and not in parts. It presents the belief that the world is an organic entity wherein the continuity of life forces is dependent on, and determined by, the relationship and interdependence of all its various aspects, both the metaphysical and physical. Millar and Haverkort (2006) further argued that,

> An important yet basic view about nature held by the traditional African is that life forces permeate the whole universe and that matter and spirits are inseparable realities… For the Africans, every plant, animal and natural phenomenon is a carrier of the divine (p. 12, 21).

Spirituality, in other words, specific conception of the "divine", is believed to be the foundation of the various pre-colonial African indigenous knowledge systems. The conception of spirituality as perceived by the indigenous African people, and within the context of their knowledge systems, does not refer to a set of religious dogma, as often regarded within the Eurocentric context, rather, it is believed to be the foundation upon which all other aspects of the world, which indigenous knowledges embodies, are situated (Mawere 2014; Millar and Haverkort 2006; Mosweunyane 2013). Thus, it is safe to conclude that, the deconstruction of the indigenous perception of the learner's environment into disciplines and aspects independent of one another, a Eurocentric worldview fostered through formal schooling, can result in education becoming irrelevant to the socio-cultural and economic needs of a given local community in Africa, particularly in West Africa.

Figure 4.0:

The Relation of the Indigenous Learner to his/her Environments
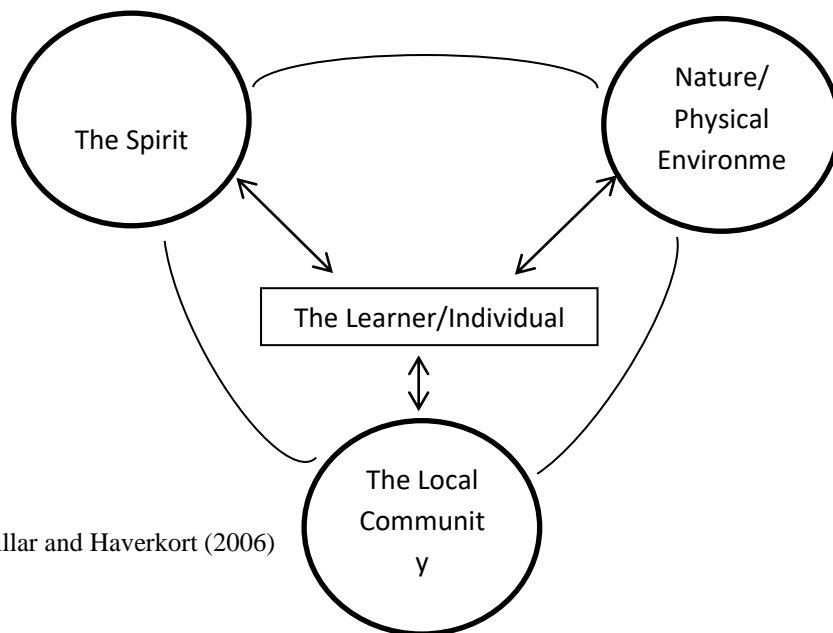
Source: Millar and Haverkort (2006)

One of the dominant perceptions of the pre-colonial indigenous knowledge systems is that they were defined by cultural views of gender roles. The indigenous knowledge systems were systems of education wherein boys and girls were educated separately for different purposes in their local communities (Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2003). Hence, indigenous education in pre-colonial Africa, particularly in pre-colonial West Africa, was focused on preparing the learners for their spiritually ordained roles within their local communities (Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2003; Mawere 2014; Olutayo 2010). A common belief in many pre-colonial indigenous communities was that each member of the community has been assigned specific roles by the ancestors of their communities (Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2003). The ancestors are generally perceived as a spiritual entity, comprising the souls of the deceased elders of an indigenous community, which connects the physical world to the spirit. The ancestors are believed to know the will of the spirit, and they oversaw and regulated the affairs of the pre-colonial societies. It was a common belief amongst the indigenous people that men have been ordained to uphold their family names by continuing the family trade or traditional crafts, and or become the custodians of the family's farmland, to protect and provide for their families, and to participate in the governing of their local communities. Women on the other hand were

assigned the role of childbearing, and instilling in their children the values, norms, and traditions of their immediate communities (Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2003; Mawere 2014; Olutayo 2010). While women played more prominent roles in certain pre-colonial communities, it has been argued that the majority of women in pre-colonial African communities were homemakers (Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2003). A key purpose of the indigenous knowledge systems, therefore, was to equip the learner with the appropriate skill set required to fulfilling his or her pre-ordained roles in the local community (Olutayo 2010).

Another important nature of the pre-colonial African indigenous knowledge systems, as argued by Adeyemi and Adeyinka (2003), was that it was purposefully designed to cultivate the "we feeling" (p. 432) in the learner. In most pre-colonial societies, participating in family and community affairs was obligatory. Each individual asserts their being and belongingness by participating in the spiritual and socio-political affairs of their local communities. Hence, indigenous knowledge systems were aimed at inculcating in the learner communal values and the care and genuine interest in others (Taylor 1995). The notion of multiplicity of roles of members of a given local community implies that, as argued by Adeyemi and Adeyinka (2003), the indigenous knowledge systems were also aimed at equipping the learners with multiple skills, which enabled them to carry out the various tasks associated with their multiple statuses. Adeyemi and Adeyinka (2003) further argued that,

> An individual in the pre-colonial society could, therefore, embark on a variety of occupations without difficulty. He could work as a builder, farmer or fisherman, while a woman was a gardener, housewife and cook, besides being a nurse to her children … (p. 433).

The transmission of skills in "variety of occupations", preservation of indigenous values such as respect for elders and nature, the preservation of cultural heritage, indigenous belief systems, rituals and customary practices, and so on, are considered to be central to the pre-colonial indigenous knowledge systems (Mawere 2014). These indigenous practices, beliefs, and traditional norms are said to embody the perceived indigenous identities of the pre-colonial societies. Thus, the propagation of the said indigenous practices, beliefs, values, and norms through the indigenous knowledge systems ensured not only the physical but also the socio-cultural continuity of life in the pre-colonial societies from generations to generations (Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2003; Mazonde 2001; Obanya 1995; Zulu 2006).

6.4 Indigenous Knowledge Systems as Perceived by West Africans

The specific geographical area of focus of this research project is West Africa, and the objective in this section is to critically explore the dominant perception of the various indigenous knowledge systems that existed in pre-colonial West Africa, and the principles that underpins and reinforce such perception. The various literatures referenced in the above section of this chapter, which are academic in nature, have offered a perspective, which is largely based on empirical work and academic arguments, of the pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems. In order to achieve a more complex and rounded view of indigenous cultures and knowledge systems in West Africa, which is of significance for this research, it is necessary to also explore, away from the 'lofty' positions of many academic analysis, the dominant perception of the pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems in contemporary West African societies, and how this dominant view of the past is being represented in contemporary discourse on education.

As a way of exploring how contemporary West Africans perceive their pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems, this research has adopted an unconventional approach by analysing two different genres of published non-academic literatures, which consist of a fiction text and an autobiography. The rationale for analysing the selected non-academic literatures is to understand the principles that underpin the authors' perceptions of indigenous cultures and knowledge systems, expressed through their presuppositions of the readers' prior knowledge of the same theme.

The significance of the authors' presuppositions for this research is based on the premise that, they are indicators of the 'social position'- the dominant view or collective prior knowledge- on pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems in contemporary West Africa. According to Connelly and Clandinin (1990), the act of telling a story, either a fiction or an autobiographical story, is an act that is based on a unique relationship between the storyteller and the audience for whom the story is meant. Roberts (2002) described this unique relationship between the storyteller and the audience in a more nuance way. He argued that,

> [the]…storyteller or autobiographer seeks an audience just as the listener/reader
> seeks comprehension and human connection. Within the forms of communication

between the giver and the receiver are sets of expectations and conventions which make understanding and rapport possible… (p. 54).

What underpins these "sets of expectations and conventions" between the storyteller and her or his audiences is what Van Dijk (1993) referred to as the "social cognition", in other words, a set of prior knowledge which enables the audiences' understanding of the story being told. This set of prior knowledge is been referred to in the context of this research as social position. Therefore, the classification of the authors' presuppositions, as expressed in the selected non-academic texts, as the social position (social cognition) on pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems in contemporary West African social context is based on the topics addressed in the selected texts, and the audiences for whom they were written. In other words, the selected published literatures provide insight into, and "constitute specimens of" (Peräkylä 2005), the principles which underpin the perception of the pre-colonial indigenous cultures and epistemologies in contemporary West Africa.

6.4.1 Contexts of the Selected Non-academic Texts

The two non-academic texts analysed in this section: *Things Fall Apart* by Chinua Achebe (fiction), and *Of Water and Spirit: Ritual, Magic and Initiation in the Life of an African Shaman*, by Malidoma Patrice Somé (autobiography), are purposefully selected because of the stories the authors told in the texts. The stories are set in two different indigenous tribes from two different countries in West Africa. The authors presented vivid descriptions of indigenous cultures and traditions in the two indigenous communities, and the sudden interruption of the said cultures and traditions caused by the region's encounter with its European colonisers. While the stories told in the texts are classified, in the context of this research, as the representation of the authors' reality (Clough 2002; Badley 2003; Wyatt, 2007), and therefore an indication of the social position on indigenous cultures and knowledge systems (Connelly and Clandinin 1990; Roberts 2002; Van Dijk 1993), the texts were written in different socio-political contexts.

6.4.1.1 The Fiction Text

Things Fall Apart by Chinua Achebe, first published in 1958, is a well-known West African fiction. Set in real cultural scenarios in the pre-colonial Eastern Nigerian tribes, the Igbo

tribes. The author told the story of a local hero, a warrior who was a respected tribe's man, and how his life unravelled as the tribes encountered 'the white man'. The author also presented the colonial experiences of the tribes as a harsh and painful experience, which resulted in the erosion of centuries old traditions, beliefs and indigenous ways of living. As part of his illustration of the rich and harmonious pre-colonial life in the region, the author made significant references to the indigenous knowledge system practiced by the pre-colonial Igbo tribes, and how the system enabled the social continuity of life between the tribes for centuries.

The text was purposefully selected not only because of its rich references to indigenous traditions and knowledge system (Peräkylä 2005), but also due to its role in the decolonisation movements in West Africa and across Africa as a whole. First published in 1958 at a time when the nationalists' movements for decolonisation in the region was at its peak, the novel played a significant role in galvanising support for the nationalists' course by highlighting, amongst other things, the gradual loss of centuries old traditions, beliefs, indigenous cultures, and the imposition of foreign ideas and cultures brought about through colonialism. The novel was effective in its contribution to the nationalists' discourse across Africa because, it taped into the social positions on indigenous traditions and cultures at the time, thereby reinforcing the feeling of subjugation and oppression in the natives, and the need for decolonisation and freedom. Although first published in 1958, the author's perception of pre-colonial culture in his novel is being referred to in this research as contemporary, this is because the author's romantic perception of indigenous pre-colonial culture, as expressed during nationalists' era, still underpins how the pre-colonial era is perceived in contemporary West African social context.

6.4.1.2 The Autobiography

Of Water and Spirit: Ritual, Magic and Initiation in the Life of an African Shaman by Malidoma Patrice Somé, and published in 1994, told the personal life story of a West African shaman. In the book, the author recounted the story of his abduction from his village as a boy, taken to a Catholic mission and educated for almost two decades in the Christian tradition. Upon his return to his tribe, he underwent the required rite of passage initiation of the Dagara tribe of West Africa, an experience which gave him access to the spiritual realm of the tribe's

ancestors. As a result of his initiation, the author gained a unique ability to travel between the world of the living and that of the tribe's ancestors. The initial chapters of the book present vivid illustrations of Dagara traditions ranging from indigenous beliefs, child rearing, funeral rites and so on, which date back centuries.

This text was purposefully selected for few reasons. First, the author presents a vivid illustration of an indigenous education process which is rooted in centuries old traditions and rituals, and therefore relevant to the area of focus of this research (Peräkylä 2005). Second, following the author's initiation, as recounted in the book, he was assigned a crucial role by the ancestral spirits of the Dagara tribe, a calling to educate the Western world about the spiritual knowledge and powers of the tribe, an assignment which the author accepted, resulting in the publication of the text being analysed in this research. Therefore, in order to fully adhere to his calling by the Dagara ancestral spirits, the author's illustration of the tribe's centuries old traditions, cultures and initiation process would not only have been acceptable to the said ancestral spirits but also in line with the social position on how the tribe perceived its own past (Roberts 2002). Also, the author presents a romantic view of a peaceful and harmonious past similar to the way Chinua Achebe, in his fiction text, presented his perception of indigenous culture and traditions almost four decades before the publication of this text. This therefore offers the opportunity to analyse the data from both texts as complementary data, as a continuum (Peräkylä 2005)

6.4.2 The Perceived Nature of Indigenous Cultures and Knowledge Systems in Contemporary West Africa

The perceptions of lay people and that of academics and or professionals on many socio-political issues in contemporary societies often differ. While such claim may not be exclusive across all socio-political issues, but rather anecdotal in nature, these differing views could be as a result of a number of conditions, which can range from the nature of and access to available facts, to the disposition of both parties to the available facts on a given socio-political issue. However, the perception of the West African indigenous cultures and knowledge systems appears to be one of the socio-political issues which challenge the above claim. A central theme that emerges time and again, to the point of establishing a form of hegemony in discourse, both academic or professional and non-academic or lay discourses,

on pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems is the notion of deep sense of community as one of its fundamental principles (Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2003; Mawere 2014; Obanya 1995; Olaniyi and Olajumoke 2013). This notion of deep sense of community is explicitly stated in Kelemba-vita's (1977) (cited in Taylor, 1995) definition of the precolonial African indigenous ways of knowing. The author argued that, the goal of the African indigenous ways of knowing is to

> …transform the individual from his or her status of absolute individual to that of an integrated member of the society, to make him or her lose the illusion of happiness in the state of isolation so that he or she may accede to true happiness by being open to others, not for personal benefits but in order to create with everybody a new reality transcending individuals (p. 240).

The idea of transforming the learner "from his or her status of absolute individual" to that of the collective, to be community minded, or in other words, the nurturing of the 'We' feeling in the learner (Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2003) is strongly echoed in the two non-academic literatures (Achebe, 1958 and Malidoma 1994) explored for the perception of West Africans of their pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems.

6.4.2.1 Community Oriented

The opening chapter of the fiction story: *Things Fall Apart* began with the story of the main character of the book, Okonkwo. A highly respected tribes' man who had already earned his fame and respect in all the tribes by the age of eighteen. Introducing Okonkwo to his readers, Achebe (1958) wrote,

> Okonkwo was well known throughout the nine villages and even beyond. His fame rested on solid personal achievements. As a young man of eighteen he had brought honour to his village by throwing Amalinze the Cat. Amalinze was the great wrestler who for seven years was unbeaten, from Umuofia to Mbaino. He was called the Cat because his back would never touch the earth. It was this man that Okonkwo threw in a fight which the old men agreed was one of the fiercest since the founder of their town engaged a spirit of the wild for seven days and seven nights (p.3).

The main character's privilege of bringing "honour to his village" at a very young age set him apart amongst his fellow tribes' men. Presented as a successful strong man who enjoyed hard work, the biggest goal of Okonkwo's life was never to become a man like his father was, and in spite of his strength and victories at inter-tribal wars, the fear of becoming a man like his father terrified him the most. Highlighting the reasons for Okonkwo's resentment of his father's legacy in the tribes, Achebe wrote,

> He [Okonkwo] had no patience with unsuccessful men. He had had no patience
> with his father.
>
> Unoka, for that was his father's name, had died ten years ago. In his day he was
> lazy and improvident and was quite incapable of thinking about tomorrow. …He
> always said that whenever he saw a dead man's mouth he saw the folly of not
> eating what one had in one's lifetime. Unoka was, of course, a debtor, and he owed
> every neighbour some money, from a few cowries to quite substantial amounts.
> …when Unoka died he had taken no title at all and he was heavily in debt. Any
> wonder then that his son Okonkwo was ashamed of him? (pp. 4-7).

Presenting Okonkwo's father as a "lazy and improvident" man amongst his tribes' men was partly because he held no title to his name during his lifetime. Among the Igbo, owning a title in one's tribe is perhaps the biggest indicator of success. In the pre-colonial times, the title holders form the council of elders who were responsible for the running of the tribes' affairs. Therefore, being a member of the council of elders in one's tribe was perhaps the greatest honour a man could have. The author presented Okonkwo's father as an unsuccessful man, and his son's life's goal was never to be like the man his father was, nor allow any of his own sons to become like their grandfather. Okonkwo's father was a man who spent his life not as blessing to others but rather as a debtor who owed his neighbours significant amounts in his lifetime. The terrifying possibility of becoming a man like his father, a man with no title amongst his people, made Okonkwo arrogant, rude and impatient towards anyone he considered to be lazy and unsuccessful. Such was the case when a relative contradicted him during a meeting,

> Only a week ago a man had contradicted him at a kindred meeting which they held
> to discuss the next ancestral feast. Without looking at the man Okonkwo had said:
> 'This meeting is for men.' [author's emphasis] The man who had contradicted him

had no titles. That was why he had called him a woman. Okonkwo knew how to kill a man's spirit (p. 25).

The impatience of Okonkwo towards men without a title was evident in the way he educated his sons. Okonkwo's education of his sons was aimed at making them strong men amongst the tribes, men who would have titles to their names, men who would have enough to feed their families and contribute towards the development of the tribes in very significant ways. These, for the Igbo tribes, were the indicators of a successful life, a good life that is worth living. As a result, Okonkwo introduced his sons to certain activities that were considered in the tribes to be masculine in nature at an early age,

> Inwardly Okonkwo knew that the boys were still too young to understand fully the difficult art of preparing seed-yams. But he thought that one could not begin too early. Yam stood for manliness, and he who could feed his family on yams from one harvest to another was very great man indeed. Okonkwo wanted his son to be a great farmer and a great man. He would stamp out the disquieting signs of laziness which he thought he already saw in him (p. 31).

The implication of the fictional story so far is that, amongst the pre-colonial Igbo tribes, success was measured based on one's role and contributions towards the development of the tribes. Such contributions could be, amongst other things, bringing honour to the tribe, or through one's contribution as an elder in the running of the tribe's affairs. Therefore, the objective for educating a child was to instil such sense of community in him or her. Complementing Achebe's underlying perception of a principle of pre-colonial education amongst the Igbo tribes, as expressed through the fiction story so far, Malidoma (1994), in his autobiography as a West African Shaman, identified the said deep sense of community as a fundamental principle that underpinned the indigenous knowledge systems. According to the author, this underpinning principle was at the core of the Dagara culture and traditional process of education, which was aimed at making the learner into an elder of the tribe,

> We have a saying that it takes the whole tribe to raise a child. Homes have doorless entrances to allow children to go in and out wherever they want, and it is common for a mother not to see her child for days and nights because he or she is enjoying the care and love of other people…

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When a child grows into an adolescent, he or she must be initiated into adulthood. A person who doesn't get initiated will remain an adolescent for the rest of their life, and this is a frightening, dangerous, and unnatural situation. After initiation, the elders will pick a partner for the young person, someone who is selected for their ability to team up with you in the fulfilment of your life purpose. If one obediently walks their life path, they will become an elder somewhere in their late forties or early fifties. Graduating to this new status, however, depends on one's good track record (p. 23).

It is logical to conclude that an education process which involved "the whole tribe" and was aimed at transforming the learner into an elder, who played an active role in the affairs of the tribe, had the fostering of a deep sense of community at its core. Writing about his experience of the Dagara culture and the objective of the indigenous process of education in the West African tribe, the author identified becoming an elder in the tribe as synonymous to achieving wealth and fulfilment in life. In line with Achebe's (1958) implicit view on the principle of the pre-colonial indigenous knowledge system amongst the Igbo tribes, and Kelemba-vita's (1977) definition of the African indigenous knowledge systems, Malidoma (1994) wrote,

Wealth among the Dagara is determined not by how many things you have, but by how many people you have around you. A person's happiness is directly linked to the amount of attention and love coming to him or her from other people. In this, the elder is the most blessed because he is in the most visible position to receive a lot of attention (p. 23-24).

The identification of sense of community as one of the fundamental principles that underpinned the indigenous knowledge systems in two different indigenous communities in West Africa, as expressed, both directly and implicitly, in the two non-academic literatures (Achebe 1958 and Malidoma 1994), and the equation of becoming an "elder" in one's tribe and owning tribal titles to "wealth, happiness" and fulfilled life, not only confirms Kelemba-vita's (1977) definition of the African indigenous knowledge systems, it offers a contrast to what many contemporary West Africans considers as the underpinning principle of contemporary education both in the region and elsewhere.

6.4.2.2 Spiritual Life Force

It can be argued that having sense of community as a fundamental principle of the indigenous knowledge systems is one of the implications of the general world-view of the indigenous people, a view that all people, all creatures, and all aspects of nature are connected, and this connection is underpinned by a spiritual force. According to Millar and Haverkort (2006), they argued that,

> An important yet basic view about nature held by the traditional African is that life forces permeate the whole universe and that matter and spirits are inseparable realities… For the Africans, every plant, animal and natural phenomenon is a carrier of the divine (pp. 12-21).

This spiritual thread, or as Millar and Haverkort described it "the life force", which links all aspects of life, as perceived by the indigenous people, did not only determine how the pre-colonial indigenous people interact with the nature around them, it determined the nature of their relationship with each other, and each person's responsibility towards their immediate community. Expounding on the idea of a spiritual force connecting all things as a worldview of indigenous people, Malidoma (1994) wrote about a supernatural force which regulates the affairs of the living in the indigenous Dagara tribe of West Africa. For the Dagara tribe, this supernatural force is made up of the deceased elders of the tribe often referred to as the tribe's ancestors. As part of their control of the affairs of the living, the ancestors are responsible for assigning every child's destiny, and thereby determining the type of education the child receives from the tribe. Explaining the nature of the connection between the spiritual force and the living, the author wrote,

> In the culture of my people, the Dagara, we have no word for the supernatural. The closest we come to this concept is *Yielbongura*, [author's emphasis] "the thing that knowledge can't eat." [author's emphasis] …In Western reality, there is a clear split between the spiritual and the material, between religious life and secular life. This concept is alien to the Dagara. For us, as for many indigenous cultures, the supernatural is part of our everyday lives. To a Dagara man or woman, the material is just the spiritual taking on form.

…it is my belief that the present state of restlessness that traps the modern individual has its roots in a dysfunctional relationship with the ancestors. In many non-Western cultures, the ancestors have an intimate and absolutely vital connection with the world of the living. They are always available to guide, to teach, and to nurture. They represent one of the pathways between the knowledge of this world and the next. Most importantly –and paradoxically- they embody the guidelines for successful living –all that is most valuable about life. Unless the relationship between the living and the dead is in balance, chaos results (p. 8-9).

This lack of "clear split" between the "supernatural" and the living, and the consideration that the tribe's ancestors, in their infinite spiritual nature, knows "all that is most valuable about life", gives them the capacity not only to know what the future holds but also to guide the indigenous tribe through every step in their journey towards the future. As a result, the ancestors determine the destiny of every new member of the tribe, and thereby determining the types of education that is appropriate for each member, which will enable each learner to contribute towards the tribe's pre-determined future. Achebe (1958), in his fiction story, also highlights the connection between the indigenous Igbo tribes and the supernatural, the world of the tribes' ancestors. In his book, Achebe told the story of the events that occurred during the funeral ceremony of the oldest man in one of the tribes, a highly respected elder and title holder who had lived well amongst his people. The author presents a vivid illustration of centuries old rituals and display of traditions of the indigenous Igbo culture. As a natural progression for the deceased elder, once the funeral rites are concluded he would join the tribe's ancestors. Explaining the connection that existed between the indigenous tribes and their ancestors, Achebe wrote,

The land of the living was not far removed from the domain of the ancestors. There was coming and going between them, especially at festivals and also when an old man died, because an old man was very close to the ancestors. A man's life from birth to death was a series of transition rites which brought him nearer and nearer to his ancestors (p. 115).

The "transition rites" Achebe referred to in the above excerpt are usually preceded by a series of predetermined indigenous education processes (Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2003; Mawere 2014; Mazonde 2001; Olutayo 2010; Zulu 2006). Not only is the indigenous education

process tailored to enable the learner to acquire the skills that are needed to fulfil his or her assigned destiny at each stage of his or her life, it is also a gender specific form of education (Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2003).

6.4.2.3 Gender Specific

Most indigenous cultures perceived the responsibilities of men and women to be naturally different. As a result, not only were they educated separately, each gender was educated for different roles in their pre-colonial indigenous communities. The men were often educated to become the head of their families, the custodian of the family trade, the family rituals and or spiritual powers, and to become a tribe's elder who would participate in the running of the tribe's affairs. While women on the other hand, were often educated to become home makers, as a mother whose primary responsibility was to raise her children in the unique cultural values and traditional norms of the indigenous community.

The gender specific nature of the indigenous education process in the pre-colonial Igbo tribes is evident in Achebe's (1958) fiction story. The author told the story of how Okonkwo, the main character of the story, educated his son. Okonkwo's goal was to educate his son Nwoye, to become a strong man, a masculine individual who is not only capable of ruling his household with an iron fist, but also to become a man who would hold his head up high in the tribes. For this reason, Okonkwo was often pleased at Nwoye's development whenever he showed himself to be masculine by taking on male tasks and complaining about women.

> Nothing pleased Nwoye now more than to be sent for by his mother or another of his father's wives to do one of those difficult and masculine tasks in the home, like splitting wood, or pounding food. On receiving such a message through a younger brother or sister, Nwoye would feign annoyance and grumble aloud about women and their troubles.
>
> Okonkwo was inwardly pleased at his son's development... He wanted Nwoye to grow into a tough young man capable of ruling his father's household when he was dead and gone to join the ancestors. He wanted him to be a prosperous man, having enough in his barn to feed the ancestors with regular sacrifices. And so he was always happy when he heard him grumbling about women. That showed that in time he would be able to control his women-folk. No matter how prosperous a man was, if he was unable to rule his women and his children (and especially his

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women) [author's emphasis] he was not really a man. He was like the man in the song who had ten and one wives and not enough soup for his foo-foo.

So, Okonkwo encouraged the boys to sit with him in his *obi*, and he told them stories of the land—masculine stories of violence and bloodshed. Nwoye knew that it was right to be masculine and to be violent, but somehow he still preferred the stories that his mother used to tell, and which she no doubt still told to her younger children—stories of the tortoise and his wily ways, and of the bird *eneke-nti-oba* who challenged the whole world to a wrestling contest and was finally thrown by the cat…

That was the kind of story that Nwoye loved. But he now knew that they were for foolish women and children, and he knew that his father wanted him to be a man. And so he feigned that he no longer cared for women's stories. And when he did this he saw that his father was pleased, and no longer rebuked him or beat him (pp. 49-51).

The reference to "masculine stories of violence and bloodshed" in the context of the above excerpt implies a specific form of education given to boys in the pre-colonial Igbo tribes, which is meant to prepare them for their predetermined leadership roles, both as the head of their families and as leaders in their local community. While violence towards women and children may not necessarily be part of the contents of all male education in the pre-colonial indigenous Igbo tribes, as was the case in Okonkwo's education of his son, this excerpts from Achebe's story implies the role of fathers in ensuring that their sons, particularly the first son of the family, take over as the head of the family and the custodian of the family's trade and or magical powers after the passing of his father to join the tribe's ancestors. It is a similar situation in the indigenous education process for boys and girls in the Dagara tribe of West Africa. Writing about the separate indigenous education given to him and his sister in his autobiography, Malidoma (1994) wrote,

It was dark already, and the farmers were returning from their days work. My mother was first to arrive, loaded down with a pack of dry wood that she balanced high on her head. To pass through the gate into our courtyard, she had almost to kneel double to avoid hitting the top and side of the narrow doorway.

My mother walked to the middle of the compound yard, tilted her head, and dropped the wood next to the central cooking pot. Relieved of her burden, she

breathed deeply, wiped the blinding sweat from her eyes, and unfastened the wide
flat carrying basket from her head. My sister entered with her own small load of
dry wood –nothing heavy, since she was so small. She had no trouble passing the
gate. She was only six years old, but her education had already begun. Every
morning she had to follow my mother to the farm and perform the duties of her
sex, on a smaller scale. She dropped her load carelessly and went into the kitchen
in search of food… (pp. 29-30).

Grandfather had named me Malidoma for reasons pertaining to ancestral law.
Because he was the guardian of the house, the link between the dead and the living,
he expected his grandson to be recognized by the ancestors. As the first male of my
family, my responsibilities had already been predetermined. The first male must be
prepared to take charge of the family shrine when his father, the current priest, dies
(p. 36).

The said "predetermined" course of education for boys and girls, arguably, was the basis for
the relative social cohesion in the pre-colonial indigenous communities. Extensive arguments
on the gender specific nature of the indigenous knowledge system have been made by
researchers and writers on African issues such as Adeyemi and Adeyinka (2003), Kingsley
(2010), Obanya (1995), and Olaniyi and Olajumoke (2013). They have argued that not only
was the indigenous knowledge systems a targeted and focused systems aimed at providing
appropriate skills for gender specific roles from an early age, it was aimed at preparing the
learners for living in and their role within their local communities. In other words, the
indigenous knowledge systems provided gender specific skills training which enabled the
learner to "…come to know, understand and act within the world around them" (Dei 2000, p.
2).

6.4.3 Perceived Components of the Indigenous knowledge systems

The various components of the pre-colonial West African, indigenous knowledge systems
have been the subject of extensive debate amongst writers and researchers on African issues
(Dei 2000). However, the debate is often limited to issues relating to the mode of delivery of
the contents of the pre-colonial indigenous education process. According to Mazonde (2001)
and Zulu (2006), they argued against the contemporary classification of the pre-colonial
indigenous knowledge systems as non-formal in nature. They argued that the form of

education which existed in the pre-colonial communities across Africa can be classified as formal education, considering its contents and the various processes involved. The premise of Mazonde's (2001) and Zulu's (2006) argument is based on the idea that skills such as traditional medicine, indigenous politics, long distance trade, among other skills, could only have been transferred through a formal system of training. Also, the transition rites into the cult of professionals and or adulthood which marked the end of a training process in precolonial indigenous communities indicate a form of organisation in the indigenous education process. Ayittey (1991) on the other hand argued against the idea of a formal indigenous pre-colonial education. Ayittey's (1991) rationale is based on the idea that the contents of the indigenous pre-colonial education were delivered through non-formal means such as mythologies and stories, through participation in rituals, and through apprenticeship. This section explores how the aforementioned components of the indigenous precolonial education are portrayed in the two non-academic literatures analysed (Achebe 1958 and Malidoma 1994).

6.4.3.1 Mythologies and Stories

There seem to be an unspoken consensus amongst writers and commentators on African issues on the significance of stories and storytelling as components of the pre-colonial indigenous knowledge systems. While the non-academic texts explored in this section are stories in their own rights, they made significant references to the use of storytelling as a tool for conveying indigenous philosophies and moral principles in their representation of pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems in two indigenous West African tribes wherein the texts are set. As part of the unravelling of the life of the main character in Achebe's (1958) fictional story, set in the pre-colonial indigenous Igbo tribes, Achebe told the story of how Okonkwo was schooled and strongly corrected when he, as a result of his uncontrollable anger, broke one of the rules which governed life in the indigenous Igbo tribes, the Week of Peace, a tradition which must be observed before every planting season. Okonkwo severely beat one of his wives during the Week of Peace partly because she was not available to cook for him when he was hungry. The judge in the case, as part of his verdict, reminded Okonkwo and everyone present at the hearing of the myth behind the tribes' observation of the Week of Peace before the planting season began, partly as a way of

dissuading anyone who may feel embolden to violate the tradition due to Okonkwo's behaviour,

> 'Listen to me,' [author's emphasis] he said when Okonkwo had spoken. 'You are not a stranger in Umuofia. You know as well as I do that our forefathers ordained that before we plant any crops in the earth we should observe a week in which a man does not say a harsh word to his neighbour. We live in peace with our fellows to honour our great goddess of the earth without whose blessing our crops will not grow. You have committed a great evil.' [author's emphasis] He brought down his staff heavily on the floor. 'Your wife was at fault, but even if you came into your *obi* [author's emphasis – translation: hut] and found her lover on top of her, you would still have committed a great evil to beat her.' [author's emphasis] His staff came down again. 'The evil you have done can ruin the whole clan. The earth goddess whom you have insulted may refuse to give us her increase, and we shall all perish.' [author's emphasis] (p. 29).

> …No work was done during the Week of Peace. People called on their neighbours and drank palm-wine. This year they talked of nothing else but the *nso-ani* [author's emphasis – translation: crime/evil act] which Okonkwo had committed. It was the first time for many years that a man had broken the sacred peace. Even the oldest men could only remember one or two other occasions somewhere in the dim past.
>
> Ogbuefi Ezeudu, who was the oldest man in the village, was telling two other men who came to visit him that the punishment for breaking the Peace of Ani had become very mild in their clan.
>
> 'It has not always been so,' [author's emphasis] he said. 'My father told me that he had been told that in the past a man who broke the peace was dragged on the ground through the village until he died. But after a while this custom was stopped because it spoiled the peace which it was meant to preserve.' [author's emphasis] (p.30).

The special cultural traditions and rituals which were "ordained" by the indigenous tribes' "forefathers" are handed down from generations through storytelling. Also, moral principles and certain unique skills, such as the act of telling a story, were taught through storytelling. Similar to Achebe's portrayal of the significance of stories amongst the indigenous Igbo tribes, Malidoma (1994), in his autobiography, made notable references to the importance of

stories in teaching young learners of the cultural and moral principles of the tribe. Describing the significance of storytelling in the indigenous education process in the Dagara tribe, Malidoma (1994) described how his grandfather taught him and other children around him through stories,

> …When he had a real audience, as he did every evening at storytelling time, he would teach us all through his tales. He would speak until everyone fell asleep, then would rail at us, saying that sleep was a dangerous practice no different from that of eating too much food (p. 26)
>
> Grandfather never tackled a question directly. He had the habit of introducing an answer by way of a whole bunch of stories that often placed the question being asked into a wider context. Your answer would arrive when you were least expecting it, nestled into the middle of a litany of fascinating narrations. Thus one would go away with more than they came for, enriched with fantastic tales (p. 28).

These "fantastic tales" as described in the above excerpts embodied much more than "*fascinating narrations*", they embodied centuries old cultural values, indigenous philosophies, moral principles, and the myths that underpinned specific traditions in the indigenous tribes. Therefore, narrating ancient tribal mythologies and stories to young learners as part of their indigenous education process did much more than preserving such mythologies and stories, it was also a way of instilling indigenous philosophies, the tribes' world views and moral principles in the younger generation.

6.4.3.2 Rituals and Rites

Rituals and rites were a core part of indigenous life in pre-colonial Africa, particularly the pre-colonial West African tribes (Mazonde 2001 and Zulu 2006). One of the reasons for this may be the result of the indigenous worldview that spiritual forces underpin every aspect of indigenous life (Millar and Haverkort 2006). Consequently, to maintain an ongoing connection between the living and the said spiritual forces, and to remain in their good will, periodic rituals and rites that incorporated such spiritual forces were necessary. There were different types of rituals and rites in the indigenous tribes of West Africa, and these rituals and rites were carried out for a range of reasons (Achebe 1958; Malidoma 1994). While some rituals occurred during festivals and specific consultation with the tribes' spiritual forces, some occurred during funeral rites and rite of passage or transition rite ceremonies.

The significance of rituals and rites, in all their various forms, to life in the indigenous pre-colonial cultures is explicitly highlighted in Achebe's (1958) fiction story. Firstly, as part of his narration of events which took place during a funeral rite, Achebe highlighted that "A man's life from birth to death was a series of transition rites" (p. 115). Amongst the Igbo tribes, these "transition rites" marks the successful completion of a developmental phase in one's life. With regards to the rituals that occurred during funeral rites, as narrated by Achebe, they marked the end of one's journey amongst the living, and the transition into the realm of the ancestral spirits of the tribes. Therefore, progressions through the stages of life from birth to death were marked through specific transition rituals and rites or rites of passage ceremonies. These transition rituals and rites were meant to introduce the individual into adulthood, the cult of professionals, and the spiritual world of the ancestors, among other things, following the completion the relevant indigenous education process. Second, other reasons for conducting rituals and ceremonial rites amongst the indigenous Igbo tribes were festivals and special consultations with the tribe's numerus gods. As a way of highlighting the importance of rituals and rites, Achebe made significant references to customary practices and events which required certain rituals,

> One day a neighbour called Okoye came in to see him [Unoka: Okonkwo's father] ...He immediately rose and shook hands with Okoye, who then unrolled the goatskin which he carried under his arm, and sat down. Unoka went into an inner room and soon returned with a small wooden disc containing a kola nut, some alligator pepper and a lump of white chalk.
>
> "I have kola," he announced when he sat down, and passed the disc over to his guest.
>
> "Thank you. He who brings kola brings life. But I think you ought to break it," replied Okoye, passing back the disc.
>
> "No, it is for you, I think," and they argued like this for a few moments before Unoka accepted the honour of breaking the kola. Okoye, meanwhile, took the lump of chalk, drew some lines on the floor, and then painted his big toe.
>
> As he broke the kola, Unoka prayed to their ancestors for life and health, and for protection against their enemies. When they had eaten, they talked about many things… (pp. 5-6).

"Every year …before I put any crop in the earth, I sacrifice a cock to Ani, the owner of all land. It is the law of our fathers. I also kill a cock at the shrine of Ifejioku, the god of yams. I clear the bush and set fire to it when it is dry. I sow the yams when the first rain has fallen, and stake them when the young tendrils appear…" (p.17).

The Feast of the New Yam was approaching and Umuofia was in a festival mood. It was an occasion for giving thanks to Ani, the earth goddess and the source of all fertility. Ani played a greater part in the life of the people than any other deity. She was the ultimate judge of morality and conduct. And what was more, she was in close communion with the departed fathers of the clan whose bodies had been committed to earth.

The Feast of the New Yam was held every year before the harvest began, to honour the earth goddess and the ancestral spirits of the clan. New yams could not be eaten until some had first been offered to these powers (p. 35).

These ritual and rites, among others, were necessary for the spiritual and social continuity of life amongst the indigenous Igbo tribes. Not only did the practices of rituals and rite helped sustained indigenous cultures and traditions, which were passed down from generations, these practices were a platform for educating the younger generation of the tribes' cultures and traditions which have sustained the tribes for generations. As well as Achebe, Malidoma (1994), as part of his vivid description of the Dagara culture and traditions, made significant references to different kinds of rituals and rites performed in the tribe for different purposes, ranging from knowledge seeking to appeasing the tribe's ancestors and or gods. Explaining the process involved in some of the rituals and rites he wrote,

For the Dagara, every person is an incarnation, that is, a spirit who has taken on a body. So our true nature is spiritual. …A birth is therefore the arrival of someone, usually an ancestor…, who has important task to do here… A few months before birth, when the …child is still a fetus, a ritual called a "hearing" [author's emphasis] is held. The pregnant mother, her brothers, the grandfather, and the officiating priest are the participants. The child's father is not present for the ritual, but merely prepared the space. Afterword, he is informed about what happened. During the ritual, the incoming soul takes the voice of the mother …and answers every question the priest asks. The living must know who is being reborn, where

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the soul is from, why it chose to come here, and what gender it has chosen… (p. 20).

Strangers used to come now and then to seek medical help, and Grandfather would begin long ceremonial rites that took most of the day. Sometimes the stranger would bring chickens and, speaking breathlessly in an unintelligible magical language, he would cut their throats and direct the spurting blood unto some statues, representing different spirits, carved out of wood or built against the wall. He never tired of rituals (p. 31).

My father was supposed to perform the ritual that every person who becomes a father of twins must perform. It consists of filling up two clay posts with root juice and burying them at the entrance of the compound. These pots symbolize the link between the pair of humans and the spirits that invited them to come into the family. The original reason for this ritual, as with many others that the Dagara practice, has been lost in oblivion, but people always perform them because their fathers did before them. It is also a very real incentive, borne out by long experience, that those who do not perform these rituals most often meet disaster. The purpose of ritual is to create harmony between the human world and the world of the gods, ancestors, and nature (p. 32).

The creation of "harmony between the human world" and the spiritual forces which underpinned all aspects of life in the indigenous tribes is believed to be essential for the continuity of the indigenous life, and the processes of creating and sustaining the said harmonious relationship between the living and the spirits is one of the main components of the indigenous knowledge systems.

6.4.3.3 Apprenticeship

The argument on the classification of the various indigenous knowledge systems across Africa during the pre-colonial era, as formal or informal education, has resulted in several positions and conclusions amongst writers and commentators on African issues. Obanya's (2010) conclusion that, "…in the beginning was education" (p.27) contributes to the argument by asserting that, irrespective of how the indigenous knowledge systems are classified in contemporary discourse, the existence of complex political and economic structures, among other things, in the pre-colonial societies across the African continent is an

indication that knowledge systems were in place to ensure the continuity of those complex socio-economic and political structures. The relegation of the indigenous knowledge systems to its informal status in contemporary discourse (Dei 2000) is, in part, due to one of its prominent components, apprenticeship, which was one of the main methods used in the indigenous education process.

The apprenticeship method of education is perceived, in the two non-academic texts explored in this section (Achebe 1958 and Malidoma 1994), to be the main avenue through which traditional skills such as farming and indigenous crafts, among other skills, were passed down through generations. One of the several references to the indigenous education process in Achebe's (1958) fiction story is his portrayal of how the main character of the story, Okonkwo, trained his sons in the art of growing yam-crop, which was considered amongst the Ibgo tribes to be a symbol of manliness. In his narration of this particular process, Achebe wrote,

> Okonkwo spent the next few days preparing his seed-yams. He looked at each yam carefully to see whether it was good for sowing. Sometimes he decided that a yam was too big to be sown as one seed and he split it deftly along its length with his sharp knife. His eldest son, Nwoye, and Ikemefuna helped him by fetching the yams in long baskets from the barn and in counting the prepared seeds in groups of four hundred. Sometimes Okonkwo gave them a few yams each to prepare…
> Inwardly Okonkwo knew that the boys were still too young to understand fully the difficult art of preparing seed-yams. But he thought that one could not begin too early… Okonkwo wanted his son to be a great farmer and a great man (p. 31).

The implication of the above excerpt is that, the complex art of "preparing seed-yam", and other traditional skills that are unique to the tribe, were learned by observing and participating in the process at a smaller scale. Similar to Achebe's description of the apprenticeship process amongst the indigenous Igbo tribes, Malidoma (1994) in his autobiography, as part of his description of the indigenous education process in the Dagara tribe wrote,

> Children learn by watching adults work and by doing the same things on a smaller
> scale. With the help of grown-ups, they obtain the range of skills they need to
> confront their own adult duties. Collecting wood is essentially the work of women,

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but it is also the work of boys. Bringing dry wood to your mother is a sign of love
(p.17).

This hands-on approach to learning, which enabled the younger generation to "obtain the range of skills they need to confront their own adult duties", not only ensured the survival of certain traditional skills, which are unique to the indigenous tribes, it also ensured the preservation of specific rituals that are required in the process of performing these complex skills. It can be argued that, while oral tradition, which incorporated mythologies and stories, was the method used for the transferring of moral and cultural values, and specific indigenous traditions, apprenticeship was the method used in transferring skills in the areas of indigenous crafts, trade, farming, medicine and politics, among other skills.

6.5 Chapter Summary

Perceptions of pre-colonial indigenous knowledge systems in contemporary discourse on education at a macro level in West Africa are presented and discussed in this chapter. The first section of the chapter addressed the perception and characterisation of pre-colonial indigenous knowledge systems in academic literatures. The second section of the chapter addressed the perception and characterisation of pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems in non-academic narratives, specifically in a fiction and autobiographical texts. The two non-academic literatures were each written in different socio-political contexts and set in different indigenous cultures in West Africa.

The objective in this chapter is to highlight the dominant perception of pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems in contemporary discourse on education at a macro level in West Africa. And how this dominant perception of the past, in part, contributes to, and reinforces, the challenge of resentment towards formal schooling in the region.

6.6 Conclusion and Significance of the Chapter

The nature of indigenous pre-colonial cultures and all their encompassing aspects, such as indigenous knowledge systems, indigenous traditions, and so on, across Africa and in many previously colonised regions across the globe have been subjects of post-colonial theorising for decades. The two non-academic texts explored in this chapter, Achebe (1958) and Malidoma (1994), not only were they of different genre, set in different indigenous West

African tribes, they were also written in different socio-political contexts. However, both authors' presuppositions of their audiences' collective prior-knowledge-social position (Van Dijk 1995), as referred to in this thesis, of indigenous cultures and knowledge systems may be perceived as similar. Also, while both texts are of different genre and written in different socio-political contexts, each of texts was purposefully written with specific socio-political objectives.

Achebe's (1958) fiction text, written in an era when the struggle for decolonisation was at its peak across Africa, particularly in West Africa, played a role in highlighting the negative impact of colonisation on indigenous people, their cultures, traditional norms and ways of living in the region. The author wrote in a way that portrayed a vivid image of the hegemonic force of the colonising powers, and the rapid transformation of the traditional ways of living in the indigenous communities, which in turn resulted in the erosion of the communities' perceived collective identity over a sustained period. The shift in 'the order of things' in the indigenous communities due to colonisation, as portrayed in Achebe's fiction story, played a notable role in galvanizing support for the Nationalists' drive for decolonisation at the time of the text's publication. Achebe's fiction story was able to make significant contribution to the Nationalists' discourse on decolonisation because his romantic portrayal of life in the pre-colonial indigenous Igbo tribes, prior to the formal establishment of the colonies, is positioned within the social cognition or social position (Van Dijk 1995) which underpinned the decolonisation discourse. Therefore, Achebe's work played a significant role in the reproduction and legitimisation of certain narratives about the nature of indigenous life prior to colonisation, and the negative impacts of colonisation on the pre-colonial ways of living, which in turn highlighted the need for decolonisation.

Malidoma's (1994) autobiography on the other hand, written in a different socio-political era to that of Achebe's (1958) fiction text, has two main objectives. Written in the post-colonial era, Malidoma's (1994) contribution to post-colonial discourse can be classified into the following two strands, first, the autobiography highlights the cruelty of colonisation and the resulting pain and suffering both on himself and on the indigenous communities across West Africa who experienced it. Malidoma's (1994) description of indigenous culture and the traditional ways of living is almost identical to Achebe's (1958) portrayal of indigenous life before the era of colonisation. In other words, the autobiographical text, in part, builds on,

and or, reinforces the decolonisation narrative as a way of highlighting the negative impacts of colonisation. Second, another important objective of Malidoma's(1994) autobiography, as expressed in the text, is to portray indigenous cultures to the 'Western world' as equally complex and civilised. Situated within post-colonial discourse, the autobiography is aimed at challenging the contemporary perception of indigenous cultures as primitive and uncivilised. Therefore, it is safe to conclude that, while the fiction and the autobiographical texts were written in different socio-political contexts, their political objectives, implied and otherwise, overlaps with one another. Also, by the nature of the discourses which both texts contribute to, the decolonisation and post-colonial discourses, and the objectives of their contributions, the narratives in the texts can be classified as been romantic and nostalgic representation.

A significant discovery made in this chapter following the analysis of a diverse genre of texts, which includes academic texts, a fiction and an autobiography, is the stack similarities in how pre-colonial indigenous cultures and all their encompassing aspects, particularly the various indigenous knowledge systems, are perceived and portrayed, both implicitly and otherwise. The pre-colonial cultures and knowledge systems practiced in the various indigenous communities are perceived to be free of foreign influence. They are perceived to have been developed from the communities' centuries of interactions with one another, with their immediate environments, and through centuries of traditional practices, which made the said cultures and knowledge systems exclusively indigenous. Therefore, the result of such exclusively indigenous cultures and knowledge systems, underpinned by a committed spiritual force, the ancestral spirits of the indigenous communities, was socially stable and morally balanced indigenous societies in the pre-colonial era. Also, due to the unique nature of the various indigenous knowledge systems, and the knowledge and skills transmitted thorough the various traditional education processes, pre-colonial indigenous communities are perceived to be self-sustaining, resulting in relatively peaceful and rich pre-colonial societies until colonisation occurred.

Contrary to the above mainstream perception of pre-colonial indigenous cultures and all its encompassing aspects, particularly the indigenous knowledge systems, the historical analysis of pre-colonial West Africa from the reign of the first Empire to the era when Western colonies were formally established in the region, as presented in Chapter 3 of this thesis, reveals a different reality. The historical analysis reveals significant struggles and complex

transformation of the region's diverse cultures, its political structures, its diverse groups of people and their ways of living prior to colonisation. While there were instances of relative peace and complex traditional diplomacies amongst the various indigenous societies throughout the vast pre-colonial era in West Africa, the historical analysis of the region did not reveal an entirely peaceful region in all its pre-colonial existence, the lack of foreign influence on the region's diverse cultures, nor did it portray West Africa as a region with exclusively indigenous cultures. On the contrary, most pre-colonial West African indigenous cultures are embodiments of hybridity through centuries of acculturation. The historical analysis of the region also reveals deep sited resentment and centuries of conflict between certain pre-colonial tribes, some of which still persists in contemporary West Africa.

A close analysis of the region's myths and legends of how great empires and kingdoms were established and succeeded one another, mostly through bitter and prolonged wars, also reveals that each of the empires and kingdoms which exerted its control and authority over others in the region emerged with its own ideologies, structure, knowledges, beliefs and political systems. Consequently, as empires were succeeded and cultures transformed, so did the philosophies, ideologies, and other aspects of the region's cultures. Therefore, it is safe to conclude that, every Empire and Kingdom of pre-colonial West Africa established its own systems of ensuring the continuity of ideas, philosophies and beliefs. Arguably, the implication of such reality is that, the perception of pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems as exclusively indigenous to the pre-colonial tribes and communities, free of foreign influence, may have been a purposefully crafted narrative for decolonisation purposes. Hence the notable differences in the perception and portrayal of pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems in the diverse genre of texts analysed in this chapter and the historical analysis of the region.

To conclude, this research acknowledges the cruelty of colonisation, and the unwarranted pain, subjugation and suffering that colonised groups and countries experienced both in West Africa and in other colonised regions, and the justified need for decolonisation and all the factors that enabled and contributed to its achievement. However, the objective in this chapter is to critically explore, and as a result deconstruct, the relevance of such purposefully crafted narratives, meant for the purpose of decolonisation, in contemporary discourse on education in West Africa. The analysis in this chapter also reveals how narrative descriptions of the

past, which were meant to galvanise support for the nationalists' drive for decolonisation, overtime became the social position-social cognition (Van Dijk 1995) on indigenous cultures and knowledge systems. Reproduced and legitimised in diverse genre of texts and through other forms of discourse, this mediated perception of indigenous cultures and knowledge systems has gained a form of hegemony in contemporary discourse on the state and challenges of education in contemporary West Africa. Also, this hegemonic perception of the pre-colonial past is still been considered as the basis for actions of defiance by indigenous cultural groups and radicalised entities in the region, whom, as a consequence of the rapid advancements and bruising changes brought about through globalisation, and all its encompassing factors, feel disenfranchised even in a post-colonial world.

Chapter 7
Analysis

7.1 Introduction

> …if the genealogist refuses to extend his faith in metaphysics, if he listens to history, he finds that there is "something altogether different" [author's emphasis] behind things: not a timeless and essential secret, but the secret that they have no essence or that their essence was fabricated in a piecemeal fashion from alien forms (Foucault 1977 p. 142).

The goal of this research is to contribute towards the discourse on resolving the challenge of resentment facing contemporary education–formal schooling at a macro level in West Africa, in a way that acknowledges the complex nature of the challenge. This research's point of focus in the ongoing discourse is on the familiar call for a merger, a form of ideological partnership, between contemporary education and the components of the various West African indigenous knowledge systems (Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2003; Dei 2000; Zulu 2006). This form of partnership is perceived to be the way of addressing the rapid erosion of indigenous identities, a consequence of the hegemonic force of globalisation, a phenomenon which, arguably, contributes to the formidability of the challenge of resentment facing formal schooling across West Africa.

This chapter analyses, at a macro level, the complexities of the formidable challenge of resentment facing formal schooling in West Africa, by critically analysing the fundamental principles that underpin discourse in each strand of the knowledge systems in the region, the various indigenous knowledge systems and contemporary education–formal schooling. The premise for the critical analysis of the two strands of knowledge systems is that, before a merger, a form of ideological partnership, between the two knowledge systems can occur, and lead to the resolution of the challenge of resentment facing formal schooling in the region, it is necessary to deconstruct the discourse in each strand, with the aim of identifying the fundamental principles that underpin them, and the origin of their conceptions. The outcome of the deconstruction and critical analysis of the said principles is classified into two broad categories. First, it highlights and critically explores the origin of key predispositions that underpin the portrayal of pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems in

contemporary discourse on education on one hand, and on the other hand, the colonial hegemony that underpin global education policies and strategies, which in turn underpins contemporary education across West Africa. Second, the critical analysis highlights the reproduction and legitimisation of certain forms of power that exists in the discourse within each strand of the knowledge systems, and the origins of the ideologies which reinforces them.

The rationale for this elaborate deconstruction and critical analysis of underpinning principles is that, it can result in an opportunity to reconceptualise how the various pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems across West Africa are perceived and portrayed in contemporary discourse. Also, this critical analysis challenges the obscure motives of global education policies and strategies, and their role in the legitimisation of domination and devaluation of aspects of local cultures and perceived indigenous identities in disenfranchised indigenous communities in contemporary West Africa (Fairclough 2012; Wodak and Meyer 2001).

Applying Foucault's (1977) genealogical analytical approach as part of the conceptual framework for this critical analysis sheds light on the complex nature of the formidable challenge of resentment facing contemporary education across West Africa in two main ways. First, it helps in understanding why noble principles, such as education as a fundamental human right and as a public good, results in actions of resentment toward formal schooling being witnessed in certain parts of the region. These acts of resentment toward formal schooling includes, in some cases, the killing and abduction of students and other education stakeholders, destruction of educational facilities, among other things, and in other cases, it includes subtle acts of defiance and resistance by certain cultural entities. Second, the genealogical analytical approach offered insight into why actions of defiance and resistance to dominance, underpinned by the decolonisation narratives, by certain entities in the region are directed towards contemporary education. These actions often result in the poor and unlawful treatment of women and girls, among of things, and are prevalent in parts of a contemporary and globally oriented West Africa.

In the above excerpt from Foucault's (1977) work on the genealogical approach, he argued that, it is only through listening to histories, that is, the careful analysis of the histories of

things, of ideas, that one identifies the inconsistencies, the fabrications obscured within the process of their conception. He further argued that this meticulous process of disentangling the complex web of the histories of big ideas, which are commonly considered as noble, moral and good intentioned, will

> …identify the accidents, the minute deviations, the errors, the false appraisals, and
> the faulty calculations that gave birth to those things that continue to exist and have
> value for us… (p. 146).

The two strands of ideas that "continue to exist and have value" in contemporary discourse on education across West Africa, education as a fundamental human right and as a public good, and decolonisation, are historically explored and analysed with the aim of identifying, first, the "errors" in their conceptions, and second, the obscure objectives they serve as they are reproduced and legitimised in contemporary discourse.

7.2 In the Name of Globalisation

Globalisation is a "complex, multidimensional and polycentric" Phenomenon (Bonal and Rambla 2009 p. 143). Like the hollowed sound of the *ekwe* (Achebe 1958) penetrating the dark night in an indigenous West African tribe, as the town crier proclaims the king's instruction to his subjects, or like the beating of *deba* (Davidson Buah and Ajayi 1965) proclaiming the opening of the court of a 4th century king in the old Ghana Empire of West Africa, multinational agencies, charity organisations and monetary fund bodies have introduced several development and education policies and strategies across West Africa, all in the name of globalisation. This complex phenomenon, driven by the idealistic view of world peace, and a world where all nations and people become interconnected as global citizens, and are empowered to reach their full potentials, has resulted in significant expansion, both social, economic and technological, across the globe, particularly in developing and previously colonised region such as West Africa. Education, as envisioned in the 1948 Declaration of Human Rights, has been the primary driver of the said social, economic and technological expansions globally.

Achieving the idealistic goals of globalisation in all its complex forms requires the realisation of education as a fundamental human right globally. As highlighted in chapter 5, the declaration of education as a fundamental human right was the basis for the first global

strategy on education by UNESCO in 1990, Education for All, and other subsequent global policies and strategies on education by global agencies such as the World Bank, UNDP, amongst others. The main premise for these policies and strategies is that, the realisation of education as a fundamental human right and as a public good are the bases for the realisation of all other human rights, as declared in the 1948 Declaration of Human Rights. Therefore, it is safe to conclude that education has always been at the fore front of globalisation in all its multidimensional forms. Highlighting the significance of education to globalisation as a phenomenon, Stromquist (2002) argued that,

> …globalization has multiple dimensions-economic, technological, and political- all of which spill into culture and affect in all-encompassing ways the kinds of knowledge that are created, assigned merit, and distributed (p. 3).

The idea that globalisation, in all its complex dimensions, determines "the kinds of knowledge that are created, assigned merit, and distributed" is an indication of the mutually reinforcing relation between education and globalisation. That is, as the hegemonic force of globalisation determines and assigns merits to sets of knowledges, which are considered necessary for the new and advanced globalised world and the global economy, the assigned knowledges are then disseminated through education. Having equal access to this formal process of dissemination-formal schooling- is therefore the primary driver of globalisation in all its complex and multidimensional forms.

The periodic production and reviews of global education policies and strategies by UNESCO, the World Bank, UNDP, amongst other global and multinational agencies, all in the name of development and globalisation, have called for, and resulted in, the establishment of several educational partnership initiatives at the regional, national and local community levels, and significant funding allocations being channeled to many donor recipient West African countries. Post-colonial West Africa have witnessed significant advancements in economic, social, political, technological, and in other aspects of life due to the region's access to education–formal schooling. The merits of contemporary education, the various educational partnership initiatives and international funding allocations in post-colonial West Africa includes, but not limited to, significant reduction in child mortality rate, improved standard of living for some West Africans, advancements in modern medicine and healthcare, access to

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modern communication technologies, modern transportation facilities, among other things. However, these necessary advancements in all aspects of life in contemporary West Africa, and the shift from subsistent economy to participating in the global economy are perceived to have come at a significant cost, the systematic erosion of aspects of indigenous cultures, and the displacement of perceived collective identities of indigenous communities. In other words, as global education policies and strategies, underpinned by the ideals of globalisation, drives contemporary education across West Africa, many indigenous communities feel disenfranchised due to the rapid pace at which indigenous traditions and norms are being eroded, and persistent poverty.

The fundamental principles that underpin the issuing and ongoing reviews of global education policies and strategies, and in turn drive contemporary education in West Africa and elsewhere, education as a fundamental human right and education as a public good, are noble ideals. It can be argued that these ideals have resulted in significant social, economic and technological benefits both across West Africa and elsewhere. However, the genealogical analysis of these fundamental principles has revealed that they are deeply rooted in colonial ideology. The conception of education as a fundamental human right and as a public good are rooted in an ideology which considered education as an effective tool for the colonisation of the natives in both French and British colonies of West Africa. While such colonial view of education later evolved, and incorporated into a larger discourse on Human Rights, it can be argued that education, a phenomenon in its own right, has retained its characteristic as an effective tool for disseminating ideas and knowledge which are "assigned merit" (Stromquist 2002) in modern and globalised societies. In other words, while colonisation and neo-colonialism are often classified in contemporary discourse as amoral ideologies, which have no place in a modern and globalised world, residues of colonial ideology, albeit refined and modernised for noble purposes, still underpins global education policies and strategies, and in turn, contemporary education in previously colonised region such as West Africa. Consequently, the hegemonic force of globalisation, perceived as being reproduced and legitimised through policies and strategies underpinning contemporary education, is considered to be the cause of the rapid erosion of indigenous traditions, norms, and perceived collective identities of indigenous tribes and communities across West Africa.

The issuing and frequent reviews of global education policies and strategies by agencies such as UNESCO, the World Bank, UNDP, amongst others, often accompanied by significant amount of funding allocations and different forms of national and local partnership initiatives, plays a major role in the legitimisation of an obscure form dominance by powerful nations and economies, whose normative ideologies underpins the said policies and strategies, over regions and economies that are considered developing (Fairclough 2012; Wodak and Meyer 2001). In other words, these global policy initiatives may be classified as a form of imposition of best practices by powerful nations on donor recipient regions and countries (Ellerman 2008; Mason 2008) and are covertly designed to establish strategic influence on these donor recipient regions and countries. Therefore, from a critical socio-political perspective, this obscure form of domination of developing regions and economies can be classified as a form of post-neocolonialism, legitimised through the larger, complex and multidimensional discourse on globalisation.

The use of the term post-neocolonialism in this analysis is deliberate. It is meant as a way of acknowledging the continued evolution of many global and multinational agencies, such as the ones that produces and review global education policies and strategies, from how they were structured at their initial stages, and the terminologies used in some of the initial policies and strategies they produced, to a more diverse, national and community focused, and partnership driven agencies. In other words, if current global education policies and strategies are analysed in isolation, due to the use of evolved terminologies that further obscure any form of dominance they may legitimise, it could be almost impossible to classify them as imposition of best practices, covertly designed to establish strategic influence on developing economies. However, if one analyse the histories of some of the noble principles that underpins these evolved policies and strategies, the colonial ideology that underpins them would become evident.

This critical view of globalisation, in all its complex and multidimensional forms, as a new form of post-neocolonialism, reproduced and legitimised through global policies and strategies which drives contemporary education-formal schooling across West Africa and elsewhere, has resulted in a degree of resentment toward formal schooling by certain cultural entities and radicalised entities in the region. Such resentment towards contemporary education is being expressed in different forms by these different entities in the region.

Radicalised entities such as Boko-Haram and Al-Qaida linked groups operating in parts of West Africa expresses their resentment towards formal schooling through violence, the abduction and killing of students, teachers and other education stakeholders, destruction of school buildings and other educational facilities. While some indigenous communities and cultural groups express their resentment towards contemporary education in subtle ways, which may be classified as cultural defiance. Some cultural groups in the region tend to discourage girls' education over a certain age, or prevent them from attending school at all, due to the perceived social role of women and girls in their communities. While some cultural groups may prevent the first son of the family from attending school due to their predetermined role as the custodian of the family's tradition, and in some cases, their family's traditional skill or trade.

7.2.1 Gender Violence as it Relates to Resentment Towards Formal Schooling

The broader discourse on gender violence, and the expression of power through subjugation and control of women and girls, particularly in post-colonial and developing social, political and economic contexts, is a complex and multi-layered field of study, and it warrants ongoing critical interrogation. However, the subjugation and control of women and girls, as it relates to resentment towards formal schooling in West Africa, is approached in this research as a cultural response to perceived domination and the systematic erosion of indigenous cultural norms and values. While equally perceived as unjustified, unlawful and ill treatment of women and girls in contemporary West African societies, gender violence is not the focus of the critical analysis carried out in this research. Rather, the focus of this research's analysis is the cultural response to perceived domination and the systematic erosion of indigenous cultural norms and values, which legitimises such unjustified, unlawful and ill treatments in the first place.

The analysis carried out in this research, both historical and policy analysis of formal schooling across both the British and French colonies of West Africa, have shown that the education of women and girls was a significant challenge for both colonial administrations across the region throughout the colonial era. While both colonial administrations felt that women and girls deserved to be educated, for the sake of avoiding confrontation with the locals, both administrations across the region opted to be guided by local views on gender

roles (see Chapter 4 for further discussion on the Histories of Formal Schooling in West Africa). Interestingly, this passive position of colonial administrations on the education of women and girls was abandoned in the global post-colonial discourse on education, specifically in the Education For All initiatives and the Development Goals that seeks gender parity in education (see Chapter 5 for further discussion on Global Education Policies and Post-colonial Education in West Africa). Therefore, it is safe to conclude that the global drive for gender parity in education may have been perceived as a direct assault on indigenous tribal views on gender roles, thereby warranting a cultural response against the global drive for gender parity in education. Consequently, the education of women and girls remain one of the flashpoints in the contention between global politics and local cultures as it relates to contemporary education in West Africa.

To conclude, in the larger discourse on Human Rights, and contemporary discourse on social issues such as gender equality and gender parity in education, preventing women, girls, and or boys, from education for cultural or any reason at all is often considered unlawful and barbaric. Rightly so, if such act is perceived within the context of the ideals of a modern and globalised world, however, if perceived within the social context of indigenous communities which feels disenfranchised, and their indigenous traditions, norms and perceived collective identities been eroded at a rapid pace, the default reaction, when caught is such perceptive state, is often that of resistance and the struggle for freedom, for decolonisation.

7.3 In the Name of Decolonisation

The act or combination of acts which results in the undoing of decades of subjugation, domination, and all other forms of injustices associated with colonisation and neo-colonialism, are acts worth pursuing, and the idea that underpins such acts of freedom is a noble one. The decolonisation arguments, and the efforts which accompanied it, are compelling and far-reaching, and their objectives, amongst other things, are to highlight the injustices associated with colonisation and neo-colonialism, while arguing for autonomy and total liberation from the forces that brought about these injustices in the first place. During the era of the decolonisation efforts by various Nationalists groups across West Africa, and across Africa, several approaches to achieving autonomy and liberation were taken by different groups in the region. However, at its peak, the most effective effort was the one which rallied all groups and tribes against the colonising forces, thereby turning public

opinion, both in the region and globally, against colonisation. While there were historical conflicts and animosity between certain tribes and indigenous groups across West Africa prior to colonisation, a phenomenon which, in part, enabled the establishment of the colonising forces in the region, the decolonisation narratives, purposefully crafted for political objective, united all the tribes and indigenous groups against the forces that colonised them.

The decolonisation narratives portrays pre-colonial West Africa as a glorious past, where indigenous traditions and cultural norms underpinned 'the order of things' in the various indigenous tribes and communities, and the pre-colonial societies as socially balanced and morally stable. These narratives may be credited for the rallying of the various indigenous groups, in spite of their differences, and influenced public opinion against colonisation both in the region and globally. Produced and legitimised through the various forms of discourse, the decolonisation narratives became the basis for a form of collective identity, the identity of the colonised, the oppressed identity. After achieving independence and autonomy across West Africa through the various decolonisation efforts, the post-colonial era has seen the revival of some of the historical conflicts and animosity between certain indigenous tribes and communities, resulting in several civil wars and bloody tribal and political conflicts, some of which still persists in the region. However, the nostalgic and romantic views of pre-colonial cultures and all their encompassing aspects, particularly the various indigenous knowledge systems, reproduced and legitimised through stories, academic publications, fiction stories, autobiographies, and other forms of discourse, persists in contemporary discourse.

The romantic view of the various West African indigenous cultures and knowledge systems, purposefully crafted for decolonisation purposes, reproduced and legitimised through discourse, has become the social position-social cognition- (Van Dijk 1995) of West Africans in contemporary discourse on education, and on the impact of globalisation on local cultures and indigenous identities in the region. The analysis of a diverse genre of texts, which includes academic texts, a fiction story and an autobiography, in chapter 6 shows the reproduction of the decolonisation narratives in different forms. In a form of an 'echo chamber', the romantic perception of the pre-colonial era as a glorious past, where the unique and exclusively indigenous knowledge systems resulted in socially stable and morally

balanced pre-colonial societies for centuries, before "things fell apart" (Achebe 1958) as a result of colonisation, has become the hegemonic description of the past in contemporary discourse. And any deviation from such description of indigenous cultures and knowledge systems is often classified as delegitimising the decolonisation efforts, and a bid to normalise neocolonialism.

The hegemonic romantic view of the West African indigenous cultures and knowledge systems is being reproduced and legitimised in contemporary discourse in different forms, by different entities, and for different purposes. Academic writers and certain authors on African issues often deploy such view of indigenous cultures and knowledge systems, first, when calling for a merger of the indigenous knowledge systems, which is perceived to embody core indigenous values, and contemporary education, as a way of resolving the challenges facing education in contemporary West Africa (Adeyem and Adeyinka 2003; Zulu 2006). Second, such view of indigenous cultures and knowledge systems is also often deployed as the basis for the critique of contemporary education and its inability to fully deliver on the promises of eradicating poverty and improving the standard of living for all (Kingsley 2010; Obah and Ebo 2011; Malidoma 1994). Disenfranchised cultural groups on the other hand, often deploy the hegemonic romantic view of indigenous cultures and knowledge systems as a form of resistance to dominance and a way of holding on to their cultural values and perceived indigenous identities, which are being eroded as a result of globalisation. However, such resistance to dominance arguments by disenfranchised indigenous communities is often deployed in contemporary discourse to obscure the poor treatment of women and girls, amongst other things, based on their cultural views on gender roles (Fairclough 2012; Wodak and Meyer 2001). Finally, radicalised entities in West Africa, such as Boko Haram and other Al Qaida linked groups, deploy the said romantic decolonisation narratives as justification for their disruptive and criminal actions against schools and education stakeholders in the region, and as an effective recruitment tool in disenfranchised and impoverish communities.

In conclusion, the genealogical analysis of the histories of pre-colonial West Africa, from the era of the establishment of the first empire, to the time of the formal establishment of colonies in the region, reveals a non-romantic evolution of cultures and ways of living, as empires and kingdoms fell and rose, often through brutal wars, and on occasions, through traditional diplomacy. However, there is a difference between the outcome of the said

historical analysis and the social position of West Africans on indigenous cultures and knowledge systems in contemporary discourse. This is because, the idea that underpin West Africans' social position on indigenous cultures and knowledge systems, which is often the basis for the challenging of all obscure forms of domination and control by the so-called developed economies and nations in this post-neocolonial era, is decolonisation.

7.4 Decolonisation in a Globalised World: The Need for a Third Space

> …for me the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather, hybridity to me is the 'third space' [author's use of quotes] which enables other positions to emerge. This third space displaces the histories that constitute it, and sets up new structures of authority, new political initiatives, which are inadequately understood through received wisdom (Bhabha in Rutherford 1990 p. 211).

The conceptual framework of this research is, in part, based on the post-colonial theory of "cultural hybridity and the third space". In previous sections, summaries of the critical analysis of two strands of knowledge systems have been presented. The objective in each of the analysed strand is to attempt the deconstruction of the "received wisdom", the hegemonic narratives within each strand, and the ideologies that underpin them. The premise for the deconstruction of these hegemonic narratives and their underpinning ideologies is that, it is by "displacing the histories"-the hegemonic narratives and their underpinnings- which constitute the discourse within each strand of the knowledge systems, and in turn highlight the dominance and injustices at play in each strand, that a "third space", where dynamic, pragmatic and ongoing dialogue for ideological partnerships becomes possible. However, the third space which this research argues for is a departure from the call for a merger between the two strands of knowledge systems, a middle ground where both strands overlaps (Adeyemi and Adeyinka 2003; Dei 2000; Zulu 2006). It is an argument for a separate space, a pragmatic space, which has the needs, practical and socio-political situations of the people for whom education is meant as its underpinnings.

The call for ideological partnership as a way of resolving some of the challenges facing contemporary education across Africa, particularly in West Africa, is not a new thing. Most of such calls have focused on a form of hybrid education that incorporates aspects of the two strands of knowledge systems analysed in this research, as a way of safeguarding indigenous

cultural values and perceived indigenous identities in this era of globalisation. The common use of Bhabha's (1984, 1994) cultural hybridity and the third space in post-colonial and other socio-political discourses often focus on the third space in the middle of the constituting spaces, where the hybrid culture or identity emerges. Bhabha (1994) described the third space as "the disturbing distance in between" (p. 45) the constituting spaces, a space that has no allegiance to neither "the colonialists' Self or the colonized Other" (p. 45). However, the main influence of Bhabha's (1994) post-colonial theory on the conceptual framework of this research is the characteristics of the third space itself, not necessarily the location where the space exists in relation to the constituting spaces. Bhabha (in Rutherford 1990) described the character of the third space as a space where "new structures of authority" and "new political initiatives" (p. 211) emerges. He further argued that, the unique nature of what emerges in this new space "is inadequately understood through received wisdom" (p. 211), hence, the deconstruction of the fundamental principles that underpin discourse in each of the two strands of knowledge systems analysed in this research.

The departure from the exclusive focus on the middle ground in between the constituting spaces, that is the two strands of knowledge systems, is due to the nature of the principles that underpin the discourse in each of the strands. As shown in previous sections, first, the hegemonic narrative portrayal of the pre-colonial West African indigenous cultures and all its encompassing aspects, particularly the various indigenous knowledge systems, in contemporary discourse is underpinned by decolonisation. Second, the fundamental principles that underpin contemporary education across West Africa, education as a fundamental human right and as a public good, are residue of colonial ideology. Albeit refined for noble purposes, these principles make contemporary education, arguably, the most efficient tool for the globalisation project. Therefore, perceived through the prism of the conceptual framework of this research, the ideologies that underpin the constituting spaces are decolonisation on one hand, and globalisation on the other. And by their nature, these ideologies have differing objectives. In other words, one seeks to undo the essence of the other.

The differing objectives of decolonisation and globalisation underscore the complex nature of the challenge of resentment facing formal schooling in West Africa, and why the said challenge has been formidable over the years. Decolonisation defines the acts which seek to

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liberate the colonised from all forms of control, influence, subjugation, and domination by the colonisers. While globalisation, in all its complex and multi-dimensional forms, seeks to bring people together in an interconnected way, with the objective of creating global citizenship. Arguments for, and attempts to achieve, a merger between these two differing ideologies or a middle ground in between, as a way of resolving the challenge of resentment toward contemporary education by cultural groups and radicalised entities in West Africa, have arguably made the challenge more formidable. This is due to the fact that globalisation is multi-dimensional, and it affects every aspect of life in contemporary West Africa and elsewhere. Consequently, as its hegemonic force takes hold, it rapidly erodes aspects of indigenous cultures, traditional norms, and perceived indigenous identities, in spite of all the established local, national, regional, and international partnerships. This hegemonic force of globalisation is therefore perceived by some indigenous communities as an obscure form of domination and imposition, thereby resulting in acts of defiance and resistance, which are often directed toward formal schooling in the region. Also, this view of globalisation as an obscure form of domination and imposition has become a recruitment tool for radicalised entities in parts of the region, and the rationale for the poor treatment of women and girls by limiting or depriving them access to education due to perceive gender role in some indigenous communities.

The differing nature of decolonisation and globalisation produces significant tension between the two strands of knowledge systems, and in turn, prevents genuine ideological partnership, or an overlap between the constituting spaces. Attempts to bring about an overlap between indigenous cultures and all their encompassing aspects, and globalisation in all its multi-dimensions have resulted in several partnership initiatives and significant funding allocations in countries across West Africa and elsewhere. Also, global agencies such as UNESCO, the World Bank, and UNDP, amongst others, have become more culturally sensitive, and have adopted measures to actively acknowledge and incorporate local cultures into their policies and strategies. However, in spite of all these efforts, aspects of indigenous cultures and traditional norms are constantly being eroded due to rapid social transformation and modernisation, which are being propagated through formal schooling. Therefore, these efforts to bring about a merger, and or an overlap, between indigenous cultures and globalisation in all its complex multi-dimensional forms in West Africa, have been classified as post-

neocolonial strategies that further obscure domination, and the establishment of strategic influence on developing regions.

7.4.1 My Lived and Living Experiences of the Third Space

Bhaha (1984; 1994) defined the third space as a space where new positions emerge, underpinned by "new structure of authority" which enables "new political initiatives" to develop. The third space, a futuristic space, is a space for dialogic relation between the constituting spaces, a dialogue underpinned by conscious awareness of the complexities each of the constituting spaces embodies. As a dual national, Nigerian-Irish, my personal and professional lives embody, on a daily basis, this dialogic relation, a constant dialogue and negotiations between multiple identities. Born and raised by traditionally minded parents in an indigenous cultural setting in the South-western part of Nigeria, and as an Irish academic with decades of schooling and education practitioner experiences, not only do I claim two broad cultural heritages, namely, African cultural heritages (specifically Nigerian cultural heritages) and Western cultural heritages (specifically Irish cultural heritages), my emerging role often requires me to narrate aspects of my African experiences in Western social and educational contexts, and vice versa . My daily negotiations between these cultural identities, both in my personal and professional lives, not only demands a pragmatic approach but also situational responses.

The pragmatic and situational responses that characterise the dialogic relation between my cultural identities does not seek to elevate one and subdue the other as the situation may demand, rather, it endeavours to act anew as the situations arises. In line with Bhabha's (in Rutherford 1990) analogy of translation, whereby the original is translated, through the "negotiation of meaning and representation" (p. 211), into a meaning that fits within a given dialogic context. Bhabha further argued that, while the new meaning carries within it some characteristics of the original and that of the translator's present context wherein the translation occurs, "it does not give them the authority of being prior in the sense of being original" (p. 211). In other words, the new meaning is liminal in nature, it is neither here nor there, it is in the third space. It is this liminality that characterise my personal and professional lived experiences as a hybrid living in the futuristic and ever evolving third space.

7.5 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, a combined analysis of the two strands of knowledge systems analysed in this research was presented and discussed. The principles that underpin dominant discourse within each strand of the knowledge systems analysed are explored and deconstructed, with specific focus on the forms of power and injustices they legitimise within each strand of the knowledge systems. Central to the analysis presented in this chapter is this research's conceptual framework, Bhabha's (1984, 1994) cultural hybridity and the third space, and Foucault's (1977) genealogical analytical approach. In other words, each strand of the knowledge systems analysed, the indigenous knowledge systems and contemporary education-formal schooling at a macro level in West Africa, are analysed as complex constituting spaces, hence the need for a genealogical analytical approach, as a way of identifying the principles that underpin discourse in each strand, and the origin of their conception.

7.6 Conclusion and Significance of the Chapter

This research has so far presented two broad arguments. First, the hegemonic force of globalisation is far reaching, and formal schooling across West Africa, underpinned by the noble and well-intended principles of education as a fundamental human right and as a public good, is an efficient tool in spreading and establishing this hegemonic force in nations and local communities across the region. However, these underpinning principles, albeit noble and well-intended in this globalised and post-neocolonial era, are residues of colonial ideology. Amongst all the technological, economic and social advancements brought about through globalisation across West Africa, there is the ongoing and systematic erosion of aspects of indigenous cultures and perceived indigenous identities in communities across the region, a consequence of the inherent nature of the phenomenon of globalisation. The goal of globalisation is to create an interconnected world where all nations and people can reach their full potential and work together for global citizenship. The implication of this global project however, is that, dominant cultures and economies overshadows, and in some cases erodes, local cultures, traditional norms and values through several means, some directly and some through obscured avenues such as policy initiatives, funding allocations, and partnership initiatives. While these policy initiatives and funding allocations are usually well intended,

they may also be classified as impositions of best practices by dominant cultures and economies.

Second, colonisation, neocolonialism, and all obscure forms of domination are cruel and unjustified, and the acts which seek to break free from such influence, domination and control are justified. As defined in the previous section of this chapter, the decolonisation arguments, while they were constructed for socio-political purposes, they are compelling and far-reaching, and their main objectives are to highlight the injustices associated with colonisation and neo-colonialism, while arguing for autonomy and total liberation from the forces that brought about these injustices in the first place. In other words, the goal of decolonisation as an ideology is to break from the influence and domination of the 'Other'. However, in the current globalised, post-colonial, and arguably post-neocolonial era, decolonisation arguments are often used as the basis for injustices such as the poor treatment of women and girls, and violent acts by radicalised entities directed towards formal schooling and education stakeholders in parts of West Africa. And to highlight the injustices of such unlawful acts and challenge the place of decolonisation arguments in contemporary discourse on education, and in other contemporary socio-political issues, is often considered as delegitimising the decolonisation efforts, and akin to neo-colonialism.

The call that is being made in this research is not for a merger between indigenous cultures and knowledge systems and contemporary education in West Africa, neither is it for a state of 'educational utopia', where the ideologies that underpin each strand of the knowledge systems operates with equal significance. Rather, the call being made in this research is for a critical understanding of the complex power relation at play both within each strand of the knowledge systems and between them. In other words, this research highlights the obscure forms of domination which are being reproduced and legitimised through the discourse in each strand of the knowledge systems and between them. These obscure forms of domination are brought to the fore by deconstructing the ideologies that underpin the discourse in each of the strands, and the histories of their conception. This process of deconstruction, or as Foucault (1977) puts it, listening to history, reveals the errors, the flaws in the hegemonic narratives in each strand of the knowledge systems. It reveals,

…that there is "something altogether different" [author's emphasis] behind things: not a timeless and essential secret, but the secret that they have no essence or that their essence was fabricated in a piecemeal fashion from alien forms (Foucault (1977, p. 142).

The hope of this research is that highlighting fabrications in the "essence" of both the decolonisation narratives and the noble and well-intended principles of education as a fundamental human right and as a public good, and the obscure forms of domination they impose, will challenge the significance of these principles in contemporary discourse on education in West Africa. It will also result in reconceptualised notions of these principles, which could lead to the emergence of "new structures of authority" and "new political initiatives" (Bhabha in Rutherford 1990, p. 211) that can help reduce and or eliminate violence and other forms of resentment toward formal schooling across West Africa.

Chapter 8
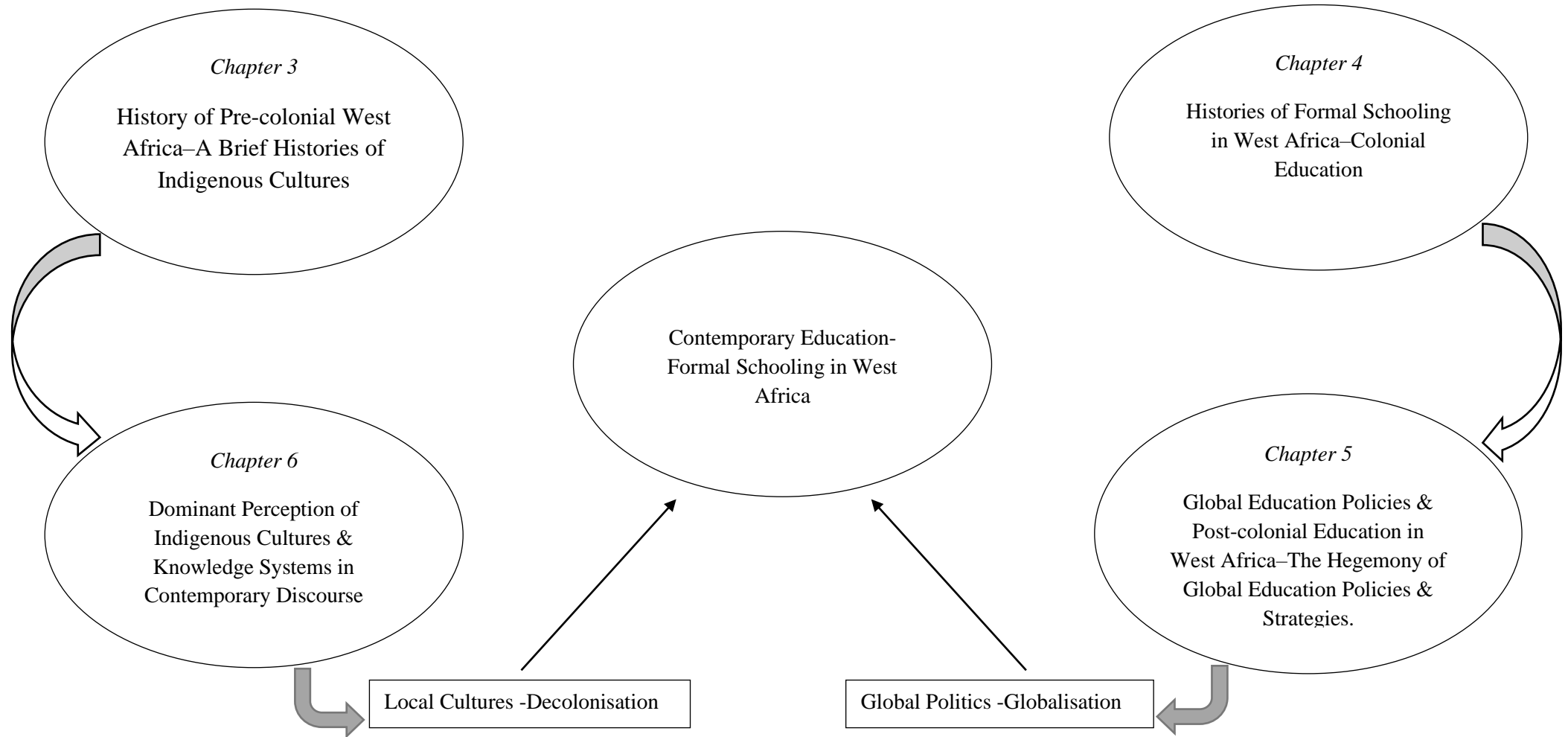## Knowledge Contributions

8.1 Introduction

Contemporary education-formal schooling across West Africa is a contested space between global politics and local cultures. Considering the pace at which aspects of local cultures, traditional norms, and perceived indigenous identities are being eroded across the region, it is safe to conclude that global politics in all its complex multi-dimensional forms, and all the obscured and transparent agendas that accompanies it, has the upper hand in its contentions with local cultures, particularly in education across the region. Certain tribes and radicalised entities in parts of West Africa have chosen formal schooling as the platform to challenge this unequal power relation between global politics and local cultures. Attempts to highlight the significance of indigenous cultures and argue for parity of esteem with dominant global principles, by cultural groups and radicalised entities in parts of the region in the contention between global politics and local cultures, often contradicts some of the objectives of globalisation. One of the flashpoints of such contradictions is the education of women and girls, amongst other things, hence, the formidable nature of the challenge resentment toward formal schooling in the region (see Chapter 7.2.1 for further discussion on Gender Violence as it Relates to Resentment towards Formal Schooling).

A resolution to the formidable challenge of resentment toward formal schooling in West Africa, a form of resentment expressed both through subtle means of cultural defiance and through violence and unlawful acts by radicalised entities, can be found. However, the basis for such resolution cannot be the abandoning of global politics for local cultures, and vice versa, nor can it be a blind merger between the two to form a hybrid. Rather, a resolution can be found through a critical understanding that highlights the errors and fabrications in the conception of the ideologies that underpin both sides. Bringing such critical understanding to bear in a dialogic relation between global politics and local cultures can play an important role in resolving the challenge of resentment toward formal schooling across West Africa. The nature of such dialogic relation, and the roles it can play in resolving this challenge of resentment towards formal schooling, and other challenges facing education across West Africa, can form the basis for future research on education in the region.

Figure 5.0:
Education in West Africa as a Contested Space between Global Politics and Local Cultures.

Chapter 3

History of Pre-colonial West Africa–A Brief Histories of Indigenous Cultures

Chapter 4

Histories of Formal Schooling in West Africa–Colonial Education

Contemporary Education-Formal Schooling in West Africa

Chapter 6

Dominant Perception of Indigenous Cultures & Knowledge Systems in Contemporary Discourse

Chapter 5

Global Education Policies & Post-colonial Education in West Africa–The Hegemony of Global Education Policies & Strategies.

Local Cultures -Decolonisation

Global Politics -Globalisation

Chapter 3: History of Pre-colonial West Africa: From the Pre- historic Era to the Nineteenth Century.
Chapter 4: History of Formal Schooling in West Africa: It's Evolution from Missionary to Colonial Education.
Chapter 5: Global Education Policies and Post-colonial Education in West Africa.
Chapter 6: The West African Pre-colonial Indigenous Knowledge Systems.
The Contested Space

8.2 Knowledge Contributions

This research is an exploration exercise, and the goal is not to specifically recommend any form of systematic process that will exclusively help resolve the challenge of resentment toward formal schooling across West Africa. Rather, the goal of this research is to contribute to the wider discourse on resolving the said challenge across the region. As a result, instead of making specific recommendations as many qualitative researches on education would, this research exploration has resulted in four general knowledge contributions, specifically directed towards key sectors, namely, the global, regional, and national education policy makers, writers and commentators on African issues, the field of qualitative research methods, and the field of post-colonial theorising.

8.2.1 Education Policy Makers

The processes involved in policy making are complex and multi-layered. They are usually underpinned by certain ideologies, and significantly influenced by prevailing politics. These processes are more complex when it comes to international and global policy making. While many global policies and strategies are generically designed so that they can be adapted to suit local, national and regional social-political situations, they are also underpinned by fundamental human rights and principles. However, these fundamental human rights and principles, while they are presumed noble and well-intended, are significantly influenced by prevailing economies and powers at the global level. Global education policies and strategies issued by global agencies such as UNESCO, the World Bank, and UNDP, among others, are no different in this regard. Underpinned by two main fundamental principles, namely, education as a fundamental human right and education as a public good, policies and strategies issued by these agencies influence, and in many cases, determine the course of education in many West African countries. However, as argued in previous chapters of this thesis, these two main underpinning principles, while they are noble and well-intended principles, they are rooted in colonial ideology. The colonial root of these fundamental principles, coupled with the hegemonic force of globalisation and the rapid pace at which the said force transforms local, national and regional socio-political situations, may have contributed to, or resulted in, certain cultural groups and entities becoming apprehensive towards contemporary education in parts of West Africa.

It is necessary that education policy makers at the global, regional and national levels understands not only the ideologies which underpins the policies and strategies they produce, but also the histories of the conception of such ideologies. Such understanding will be invaluable in consultation and negotiation with cultural groups and local entities, as it will, among other things, give policy makers an awareness of the limitations of the policies they seek to introduce, no matter how well-intended they may be. It will also enable them to anticipate certain reactions, and possible reasons for such reactions to proposed policies by cultural groups and local entities. The objective here is not to accept and or create a platform for the subversion fundamental human rights on the basis of cultural views or beliefs. Rather, the objective is for policy makers, both at the global, regional and national levels, to understand that ideas and fundamental principles, well-intended or otherwise, are mediated, and as a result, flawed phenomena (Foucault 1977). Such understanding at the consultation and negotiation stages of policy making may result in pragmatic dialogic relations between policy makers and cultural groups and local entities, which may in turn lead to "new socio-political initiatives" and "new structures of authority" (Bhabha in Rutherford 1990, p. 211) within the education sectors across West Africa and elsewhere.

8.2.2 Writers and Commentators on African Issues

Writers and commentators are the primary drivers of discourse. They are the conduits through which certain thoughts, ideas, knowledge and power in its diverse forms are reproduced and legitimised. The contributions of writers of all genres and commentators in the diverse range of discourse on African issues have been both remarkable and invaluable. However, in the course of highlighting social injustices, promoting the diverse and complex African cultural heritages, discussing contemporary education and the challenges that besets it across Africa, and highlighting colonisation and decolonisation issues, amongst other issues, writers and commentators on African issues tends to reproduce, and therefore legitimises, a romantic perception of the continent's pre-colonial past. In a form of an 'echo chamber', the romantic perception of the pre-colonial past has been reproduced in diverse genre of texts, which includes academic texts, fiction, autobiographies, documentaries, news reports, among others, to the point of becoming the hegemonic perception of the pre-colonial past in contemporary discourses on African issues, particularly the discourse on education. To challenge this widely reproduced, and as a result, legitimised romantic view of the past, and its place in

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contemporary discourse, is often considered as delegitimising the decolonisation efforts and the Nationalists' movements which ensured it, and as an attempt to legitimise neo-colonialism in all its obscured forms.

The brief historical analysis of pre-colonial West Africa laid out in Chapter 3, beginning from the era of the establishment of the first great Empire to the time of the formal establishment of colonies in the region, reveals a less romantic past, as often portrayed in texts and discussions on pre-colonial indigenous cultures and ways of living. It reveals a region and people, whom, amongst their cultural and socio-political advancements, experienced significant challenges, the most notable of those challenges been the intertribal and cultural conflicts and animosity between some of the indigenous groups in the region. Some of the pre-colonial intertribal and cultural conflicts and animosity still persists in certain, now independent contemporary West African states. Therefore, this research's contributions to the broader discourse on African issues, particularly West African issues, are in different stages. First, this research re-emphasises the injustices of colonisation and neo-colonialism, and acknowledges the need for a purposefully constructed, and unifying narratives about the past, which ensured the coming together of all tribes and cultural groups against the colonising forces and neo-colonialism. Second, this research challenges the hegemony of the said purposefully constructed narratives about the past in contemporary discourse on African issues, particularly on West African issues. This research highlights how these purposefully constructed narratives are reproduced and legitimised in diverse genre of texts and commentaries on education in West Africa. Finally, this research also reveals that the deployments of the said decolonisation narratives in contemporary discourse on education, in part, reinforces and legitimise a certain form of power relation, which ensures, among other things, a form of domination and injustices towards women and girls.

8.2.3 Qualitative Research Method Contribution

This research has chosen an unconventional approach to data gathering by collecting data, in part, from two different genres of published non-academic texts, namely, a fiction and an autobiography. As an exploration which seek, in part, to critically analyse the social position (or commonly accepted prior knowledge) of West Africans on their pre-colonial indigenous cultures and knowledge systems, and how such position is being reproduced in contemporary

discourse on education in the region, this research has chosen a fiction and an autobiographical texts as complementary sources of data on the said social position.

The position of this research on fiction texts is that they can be classified as an objective representation of the authors' reality (Clough 2002; Badley 2003; Wyatt 2007). The writers of fiction and autobiographies are story tellers. According to Connelly and Clandinin (1990), the act of telling stories, either fiction or autobiography, is an act that is based on a unique relationship between the storyteller and the audiences for whom the story is meant. What underpins this unique relationship between the storyteller and her or his audiences is the audiences' social position (Van Dijk 1993), a set of prior knowledge which enables the audiences' understanding of the story being told. The perception of fiction texts as stories underpinned by real social positions (Connelly and Clandinin 1990; Roberts 2002), presents a relatively untapped source of data for studying social positions on a range of sociological issues, and how such positions evolves as societies changes over time. Therefore, the position of this research on published texts that tell stories, particularly fiction, is that, based on the themes and topics they addressed, and the audiences for whom they were written, such texts are a great sources of insight into the audiences' social positions on sociological issues, and how such positions evolves over a given period. Also, as a way of validating the social position expressed in any given fiction text, it is necessary to compare such social position with the one expressed in a real-life story that is based on similar themes and topics, hence, the use of a fiction and an autobiographical text as complementary sources of data in this research.

8.2.4 Contribution to Post-colonial Theorising

Homi Bhabha's (1984, 1994) theory of Cultural Hybridity and the Third Space, which form part of the conceptual framework of this research, is an influential theory in post-colonial discourse, and its influence has gone beyond post-colonial theorising into other fields. Most of the work which adopts Cultural Hybridity and the Third Space as their theoretical frame often focuses on the third space that emerges in between the constituting spaces. Bhabha (1994) himself described the third space as "the disturbing distance in between" (p. 45) the constituting spaces. However, while the search and arguments for an overlap, the meeting point in between the constituting spaces, may be of significance in certain discourses, the position of this research on hybridity and the third space, hence, its contribution to post-

colonial theorising, is that, in discourses which involves theorising on the relation between the phenomenon of globalisation and local cultures in preciously colonised regions or states, the arguments for a third space in between the two may be more problematic.

This research has argued that certain tribes, cultural groups and entities in previously colonised countries across West Africa considers the phenomenon of globalisation to be responsible for the gradual and systematic erosion of indigenous norms and values, and in turn, perceived indigenous identities. This has resulted in a degree of resentment toward formal schooling in the region. The resentment toward formal schooling is being expressed both in subtle forms of cultural defiance, and through violent acts by radicalised entities in the region. In spite the efforts to resolve this particular challenge of resentment toward formal schooling, which are often aimed at finding a middle ground between the phenomenon of globalisation and local cultures, the challenge remain formidable. This research has also argued that one of the reasons for the formidability of this challenge is the inherent nature of the ideology which underpins each of the constituting spaces, in this case, decolonisation on one hand and globalisation on the other. The primary objective of decolonisation is to free the colonised 'Self' from the influence and control of the colonising 'Other'. Globalisation on the other hand seeks to bring people, cultures, and economies together. Therefore, arguments for a third space 'in between' these two differing phenomena tend to reinforce the existing challenge of resentment. This is because the phenomenon of globalisation is multidimensional and far reaching, as a result, a direct overlap 'in between' the two phenomena, often guised in all forms of partnerships and funding allocations, tends to result in imposition of best practices.

Taking Bhabha's (1984, 1994) theory of cultural hybridity and the third space forward, this research has argued for a shift in focus on "the… distance in between" (Bhabha 1994, p. 45) the constituting spaces as the third space. Rather, while maintaining the characteristics of the third space, as set out in Bhabha (1984, 1994), the positioning of the third space, in discourses which involves the phenomenon of globalisation and local cultures in previously colonised regions and states, should be removed away from the constituting spaces, and most importantly, while this new space should, as argued by Bhabha in Rutherford (1990), displace the histories of the constituting spaces, it should also acknowledge the misconceptions and fabrications in the conception of the ideologies that underpin each of the constituting spaces

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(Foucault 1977). Acknowledging these misconceptions and fabrications in a standalone third space will set the stage for a pragmatic dialogic relation that could lead to the emergence of "new structures of authority" and "new political initiatives" (Bhabha in Rutherford 1990 p. 211) in the third space.

8.3 Scope of this Research

This research, through Critical Discourse Analysis, contributes, at a macro level, to the discourse on resolving the challenge of resentment towards formal schooling in West Africa. Central to this research goal is the deconstruction and critical analysis of presuppositions and underpinning ideologies. As a research process situated within the methodological framework of Critical Discourse Analysis, and therefore underpinned by unambiguous normative view of applied ethics (Van-Dijk 1993), undauntedly, my presuppositions and assumptions as a social actor in the social contexts wherein this research is situated must have played a role in this research's meaning making processes. As a result, while this research seeks to deconstruct and critically analyse presuppositions and underpinning ideologies, a critique of this research may argue that the choice and nature of arguments presented in this research, and entire research process itself are underpinned by the researcher's own presuppositions and assumptions.

This research addresses education in West Africa at a macro level, hence, the use of broad terminologies such as contemporary education-formal schooling-, indigenous knowledge systems, globalisation, and global education policies and strategies. These terminologies are complex phenomena in their own rights, and a critique of this research may argue that their use in this study does not fully capture their complex natures. While this research acknowledges the complex nature of the said terminologies, their broad use in this study is deliberate, as it aligns with the nature of this research.

Finally, the use of an unconventional data source, the use of fiction text as one of the sources of data for this research, may be considered, by a critique of this study, as lacking validity and reliability due to the lack of rigorous academic foundation on the use of fiction as a data source. As highlighted in a previous section of this chapter, the use of fiction as a source of data is considered as one of this research's knowledge contributions to the field of qualitative

research methods, and my hope is to expound on the use of fiction as a data source in subsequent research.

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Appendix A
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Appendix B
List of Abbreviations

AIDS: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

HIV: Human Immunodeficiency Viruses

UN: United Nations

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNOCHA: United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs