

***“AVANT DE S’OUVRIR, UN ÉLÈVE COMME UN ARBRE, DOIT
D’ABORD S’ENRACINER”***

Decolonising Opportunities and Impediments for History and Geography
Teaching in Senegalese High Schools

A Master's Thesis by Tikam Liese SALL



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A Master's Thesis by Tikam Liese SALL (s2382644)

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African Studies Centre, Leiden University
The Netherlands

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Supervisors: Dr. Mayke Kaag (Leiden University)

Second Supervisor: Dr. Hamidou Dia (Researcher at IRD, Université Paris
Descartes)

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Cover: High school North in Dakar, Teacher Fabouwa’s Terminale class, 7th January 2021.

Photo credit: Tikam Sall

¹ As Mamadou a gardener in Nianing said about my research.

« Je viens vous dire ceci : moi, la Grande Royale, je n'aime pas l'école étrangère. Je la déteste. Mon avis est qu'il faut y envoyer nos enfants cependant. [...] L'école où je pousse nos enfants tuera en eux ce qu'aujourd'hui nous aimons et conservons avec soin, à juste titre. Peut-être notre souvenir lui-même mourra-t-il en eux. Quand ils nous reviendront de l'école, il en est qui nous reconnaîtront pas. Ce que je propose c'est que nous acceptions de mourir en nos enfants et que les étrangers qui nous ont défaits prennent en eux toute la place que nous aurons laissée libre »

KANE, Cheikh Hamidou. 1961. *L'aventure ambiguë*, Paris, France, 10/18, Univers Poche.

This thesis is dedicated to Teacher Fabouwa and Teacher Fa Keita, whose passion for teaching and history is inspiring and encouraging. They dedicate their entire career to the education of the future generations. I honour their patience and strength.

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Abstract

After independences, the Senegalese state acknowledged the necessity to reform its educational system affected by French colonialism. The teaching of history and geography became a significant tool for the construction of a post-colonial identity. This master's thesis questions the historical and actual opportunities and impediments affecting further decolonisation for history and geography content. Focusing on the content of history and geography in Senegalese high school classes, three main actors of the educational system have been observed and questioned: political decision makers, teachers and learners. The research took place in Dakar for a duration of four months, where classroom observations have been an important part of the research in order to analyse how teacher apply the program and if their teaching includes decolonising practices. This thesis understands decolonising practices as endeavours that attempts at deconstructing colonial ideologies in education and recognizes barriers to decolonisation as structural or as behaviours that binds education to colonial legacies. Even though history and geography programs have undergone a series of decolonising accomplishments: 'Africanisation' in the 1970s and 'Senegalisation' in the 1980s, the impediments to decolonisation outsize the opportunities for real decolonisation. Structural and administrative changes are slow and rely on a top-down hierarchical political structure that is influenced by external donors rather than the population's opinion. Furthermore, Leopold Sedar Senghor's philosophy of *Rootedness and Openness* which has strongly oriented the choice of historical and geographical content has re-centred knowledge taught to local realities. However, this has also rather favoured a Western universalism than an authentic universalism. In fact, the lesson plans of history and geography show on paper a balanced equilibrium between Senegalese related topics and world problematics, but in reality, mostly non-African content is being taught. This is also due to the fact that the lesson plans are not adapted to the disadvantaging teaching conditions, and other modalities (language barrier, large number of students per class, etc.), which results in an incomplete proceeding of the lesson plan. Additionally, so-called general knowledge about history and geography is anchored in Western epistemology, which puts learners in an admiring position. Although, some professors discourse would emphasise nationalistic values and express criticism of Western capitalistic relationships with Africa, their overall narrative is not critical and reinforces Western ways of conceiving history and geography. Especially when it comes to geography classes, Senegal is portrayed as a delayed country, with the incapacity to adjust to development standards. Interestingly, learners are aware of this imbalance in content distribution and ask for more Senegalese and African oriented content. Yet the majority want to study abroad (Canada, France and the United States). In conclusion, one unspoken reason why the content of history and geography is open towards the West in the final classes of high school is to prepare Senegal's best learners to continue their higher education overseas.

Key Words: decolonising education, secondary schooling, Senegal, educational policies, history and geography teaching.

Résumé

Après les indépendances, l'État sénégalais a reconnu la nécessité de reformer son système éducatif bouleversé par le colonialisme français. L'enseignement de l'histoire et de la géographie est devenu un outil important pour la construction d'une identité postindépendance. Ce travail interroge les opportunités et les obstacles historiques et actuelles à une décolonisation plus poussée des contenus d'enseignements de l'histoire et de la géographie. En se concentrant sur le contenu des cours d'histoire et de géographie dans les classes de lycées (Seconde, Première et Terminale), trois catégories d'acteurs principaux du système éducatif ont été observés et interrogés : les décideurs politiques, les enseignants et les apprenants. Ma recherche a eu lieu à Dakar pour une durée de quatre mois, pendant lesquels les observations en classes ont été une partie importante de la recherche afin d'analyser comment les enseignants mettent en œuvre le programme et si leurs enseignements incluent des pratiques décolonisatrices. Nous entendons par pratiques décolonisatrices tout effort qui tente de déconstruire les idéologies coloniales dans l'éducation et, de manière équivalente, par obstacles à la décolonisation, toute structure ou comportement qui lie l'éducation aux héritages coloniaux. Même si les programmes d'histoire et de géographie ont subi une série d'accomplissement décolonisateurs ('Africanisation' dans les années 1970 et la 'Sénégalisation' dans les années 1980), le contenu actuel n'a pas été actualisé depuis 1998. Dans l'ensemble, les obstacles à la décolonisation dépassent les possibilités de décolonisation réelle. Il y a plus de barrières en place structurellement que de mouvements de décolonisation sur le long terme. En effet, les changements structurels et administratifs sont lents et dépendent d'une structure politique hiérarchique qui subit de fortes influences extérieures (coopérations et acteurs internationaux). Par ailleurs, la philosophie d'enracinement et d'ouverture de Senghor, qui a fortement orienté le choix des contenus historiques et géographiques, a peut-être recentré les connaissances enseignées sur les réalités locales, mais a également favorisée un universalisme occidental. Les contenus des cours d'histoire et de géographie montrent certes un équilibre entre des sujets liés au Sénégal et aux problématiques mondiales, mais en réalité, ce sont surtout des contenus non-africains qui sont enseignés dans les classes de Première et de Terminale. Bien que les discours de certains enseignants mettent l'accent sur les valeurs nationalistes et soient critiques à l'égard des relations néocoloniales entre l'Europe avec l'Afrique, les discours en général renforcent une manière occidentale de concevoir l'histoire et la géographie. En particulier dans les cours de géographie, le Sénégal est dépeint comme un pays en retard et incapable de s'adapter aux normes internationales de développement. Il est intéressant de noter que les apprenants sont conscients de ce déséquilibre dans la distribution des contenus et demandent un contenu plus orienté vers le Sénégal et l'Afrique. Le paradoxe est qu'une bonne partie de ces étudiants souhaite étudier à l'étranger, notamment hors du continent africain (au Canada, en France et aux États-Unis de préférence). En conclusion, une raison tacite selon laquelle les contenus de l'histoire et de la géographie sont ouverts sur l'Occident au lycée serait pour préparer au mieux les meilleurs apprenants à poursuivre leurs études supérieures à l'étranger.

Mots clés : décoloniser l'éducation, éducation secondaire, Sénégal, politique d'éducation, enseignement de l'histoire et de la géographie.

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List of Abbreviations

French Abbreviations:

ALENA – Accord de libre-échange Nord-Américain

ASPHG – Association des Professeurs d’Histoire et de Géographie

BFEM – Brevet de fin d’étude Moyenne

CDAO – Communauté économique des états de l’Afrique de l’Ouest

EDB10 – Éducation de Base de 10 ans

EGEF – État généraux de l’éducation et de la formation

FASTEF – Faculté des Sciences Techniques de l’Éducation et de la Formation

GEEP – Groupe pour l’étude de l’Enseignement de la population

HG – Histoire et Géographie

IFAN – Institut Fondamental d’Afrique Noire

INED – Institut national d’étude démographique

INSEE – Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques

IGEF – Inspection Générale de l’Éducation et de la Formation

INEAD – Institut national d’étude et d’action pour le développement de l’éducation

PARC – Projet d’appui au renouveau des curricula

SFIO – Section Française de l’Internationale Socialiste

UCAD – Université Cheikh Anta Diop

UEMOA – Union économique et monétaire ouest-africaine

English Abbreviations:

IMF – International Monetary Fund

NATO – North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

UN – United Nations

USAID – United States national agency for international development

UNESCO – United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation

WB – World Bank

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All photos were taken by myself in the respect of the anonymity of my interlocutors.

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FIRST PART – THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Chapter 1 – Introduction

Introducing the Research and the Thesis's Structure

This research is a juncture between political and academic questioning I have been involved in for several years. Firstly, my studies in political sciences at the Free University of Berlin, where I got introduced to decolonial theories, were putting me on the way. Then, an internship in a Japanese non-governmental organisation in Dakar gave me the opportunity to visit and observe several primary and secondary schools in Dakar. Furthermore, my passion for education and the possibility to choose our own research project within the research master in African Studies at Leiden university gave me the chance to develop this research that combines my home country, my passion and hopefully future career path in education with my political aspirations.

Colonial education was introduced in Senegal at the beginning of the twentieth century, to train patriotic colonial subjects negating local knowledge whilst promoting Western civilisation. Senegal, and especially its former four communes - which were granted particular privileges such as the French citizenship - is relevant compared to other former French colonies in West Africa for its particular positioning and relation for more than three centuries with France (Clairat, 2007, p. 41). Today's education system in Senegal still carries the legacies of colonial structures in its conception and orientation (Moumouni, 1964). Furthermore, this legacy might be restrengthened by the new global education order emphasising a standardised knowledge model based on Western understandings. Additionally, non-Western global education actors from Asia and the Middle East have progressively gained ground over the last decades.

Since independence, criticism-of the unsuitability of the curriculum to Senegalese and African realities has been expressed. Many decolonial authors have been very critical towards African education in general and more precisely Senegal's adaptability towards French educative conceptions: "There is a school in Senegal but not a Senegalese school" (Timera, 2013, p. 151). Hence, thinkers but also the Senegalese population after independence have pushed for the

decolonisation of Senegalese education. A decolonisation of education should mean questioning and deconstructing colonial ideology in education and should emphasise the process of creating a renewed education that corresponds to Africans (Timera, 2013). In the light of decolonising theories, my research questions the opportunities for and the impediments to further decolonisation within the actual educational system of Senegal. Particular focus will be put on history and geography teaching, as these subjects have the potential to transmit certain ideas about the world and more specifically because they have been instrumentalised after independence as subjects for building the post-colonial national consciousness. Hence, my research looks at different levels where decolonising processes could occur, official programs' elaboration, history and geography classes in high schools, and learners' opinions about history and geography content and teaching. The main research question for this thesis is:

How has the content of history and geography classes for secondary school been decolonised in Senegal? And what are the opportunities for, and impediments to, further decolonisation?

In order to answer this question, my research took place in Dakar from 26th of October 2020 until 3rd of March 2021. Many actors of the Senegalese education system have been interviewed and observed: actors working at the education ministry, actors in charge at the school inspectorate of Dakar, members of the national commission for history and geography, professors responsible for the training of teachers (Fastef²), professors at the department of history at the university Cheikh Anta Diop of Dakar, high school teachers, and retired teachers as well as learners.

In order to answer this main research question, this research exposes in the first part the Senegalese schooling contextualisation, the theoretical ideas that will be used to perceive decolonising practises and the methodological tools used to gather data.

The second part analyses which historical attempts have been made to distance the content of history and geography from colonial legacy. Then it puts *Rootedness and Openness*, Senghor's vision of education into conversations with decolonial authors before analysing who actually decides what content should be included in the official history and geography programs. Lastly,

² (= Faculté des Sciences Techniques de l'Éducation et de la Formation)

the history and geography program in place is analysed by looking at how *Rootedness and Openness* is translated in the lesson plan of History and Geography classes for secondary schooling.

Part three analyses the implementation of the program in classrooms by looking at which attempts are made by teachers to distance their lessons from Eurocentric knowledge and how students engage with the content being taught. The opportunities for and then the impediments to decolonising history and geography teaching and content in the classroom will be exposed.

Today's Schooling Landscape in Senegal

Children's and youth's care and support in Senegal are of important consideration for the Senegalese government as "half the population is under age 18 (...) and the average age is 22.8 in 2017 and 2018" (Sarr & Ba, 2020). The latest educational policy change in 2004 has enforced obligatory schooling for all children of Senegal between the ages of six and sixteen years old. This shows the government's will to make education more accessible. Besides, it shows as well that Senegal stands under international pressure to fulfil the sustainable development goals. Indeed, schooling is strongly influenced by international decisions such as the Jomtien forum (1990), which launched the concept of "Education For All" to the year 2000.

The educational system of Senegal is organised according to three main levels which are very similar to the French system. Primary school has one additional year compared to the French system, where pre-school is generalised. Hence in Senegal primary schools has 6 different levels (CI, CP, CE1, CE2, CM1 and CM2). Secondary education consists of middle school and high school. Middle schools last four years until the BFEM³ certification. In high school, two components are possible: general education or vocational and technical training. General high school education, on which my research focuses, has three levels of study: La Seconde, la première et la Terminale. The gross enrolment rate in primary education in 2019 is 82.07 % and falls considerably for middle education in 2019 with only 46.24 % of Senegalese children attending middle school (UNESCO report, 2021). The aim of secondary schooling is to train "middle-level agents for the economic and administrative sectors, both public and private, and

³ BFEM stands for "Brevet de fin d'étude Moyenne" and corresponds to middle school certificate.

prepare for higher education” (Article 12 of the Law 71-36 on the orientation of national education, 1971). Hence elementary and middle school program are elaborated as a continuous and complete package, while secondary school is explicitly made for a minority of pupils who are trained to continue in higher education. Secondary schooling is not considered as a direct follow up but rather as a deepening of middle school, as the majority of pupils in Senegal will not continue until secondary school. In an interview with Matar Ndiaye⁴, former history teacher and trainer, who participated in the editing of the current program, he explains that

“70% of our students won’t go further than middle school, it’s a reality, we don’t have enough high schools anyways” (Matar Ndiaye).

The schooling landscape in Senegal has been lately diversified because of its Islamisation and privatisation. Aside from public schools, a rapid growth of a school market can be observed with the democratisation of Islamic and Arabic language education with Qur'anic schools, Madrasses, Franco-Arabic schools and the Islamic Institute (Dia et al., 2016, p. 15; Kaag, 2018). Since the 2004 reform “which ended the strict secular character of public education” and introduced religion as an optional subject, more and more double curricula have developed proposing the official curricula alongside religious and Arabic language classes (Kaag, 2018, p. 5). Since the structural adjustments and the lack of national investment into education, the market for schools have been taken over by foreign investors (Kaag, 2018). In 2015, “private establishments make up to 61.7% of the total supply [of high schools]” (Tamboura and Camara, 2018). Different types of private and public schools offer the Senegalese program. Catholic schools and Franco-Arabic schools propose a religious education on top of the national curriculum. In general, private schools are considered as giving the best training, language skills and learning conditions. Parents see in these schools better opportunities for their children, as the number of students per class is limited and teachers might be more motivated and involved in the students’ achievements. Moreover, private schools are less affected by the many strikes that delay the unfolding of the public-school program. Senegalese higher and middle-income family choose private schools to ensure for their children present and engaged

⁴ The names of my respondents have been replaced with the names of characters from Senegalese novels to preserve their anonymity. The choice for fictive names has been done randomly and does not reflect a resemblance to the characters in the novel.

teachers, and sanitary as well as a comfort standard of the school. In fact, public schools' environment can be strikingly broken-down, utilities are not being renewed, classrooms are not sufficient for the number of pupils, teachers are under-paid and school-material is non-existent. Though, Senegal is also recognised for having a high standard of education in Western Africa. Especially Dakar is the hub for schooling, with a growing and diverse market of schools from pre-elementary to higher education. Dakar can be characterized as a hub for schooling and higher education in Western Africa. Many students from other African countries see in Senegalese education a gateway to further study abroad, though Dakar is not representative of the schooling opportunities offered on the Senegalese national level. Regional disparities concerning schooling are striking between the other regions, which have not been included in this research. It would have been very interesting to see whether history and geography content is applied differently in the different regions of Senegal.

Existing Research and Literature Review

This section aims at finding out whether research about decolonising education in Senegal has been published and to what extent authors engage in a critical reflection about the Senegalese educational system. A look at recently published work will be of special interest here.

While most studies on education in Africa theorise about schooling access and development, "politics is a dimension that is avoided in African education studies" (Bianchini, 2004, p.18). So according to Bianchini my research is located in a "marginal place occupied by the sociologies of education that have decided to focus on the countries of the South" (Bianchini, 2004, p.18). Indeed, many publications about education in Africa are embedded in development studies and focus on school accessibility and school enrollment (Charton, 2015, p. 16; Kaag, 2018). In fact, Charton criticises the missing literature "on the actual functioning of the school" that permits a "level of analysis that makes it possible to highlight what school is in Africa today" (*Ibid.*).

Regarding the decolonisation debate, literature is abundant in regard to the topic of decolonizing education through indigenous language uses. In fact, more attention has been given to the re-affirmation and introduction of local languages in schools, literature and academics (Ngugi, 1986). Also, the issue of decolonising education has been lately mainly

raised concerning higher education (Sultana, 2019). Interestingly, many Senegalese authors have actually looked at the Senegalese education system and some more precisely at history and geography teaching but none of their research has analysed the educative content in relation with decolonial objectives. Harsh criticism has been expressed towards the Senegalese educational system, but it does not refer to decolonial theories.

Moreover, many have focused on elementary education such as Seck's article on elementary history schooling, which analyses the different content proposed as well as their often very eloquent silences. Even though he shows some improvements in the direction of decolonisation such as integration of national content, and the increase of time for history classes in elementary school, he still argues that the program did not reach a national integration by excluding specifically some regions of Senegal (Casamance) in the study of the country due to political orientation (Seck, 2015). Also, Senegalese researcher Fall labels Senegalese schooling as extroverted. He argues in his article that the incoherence of the system put in place and the social and political practices that are often in total contradiction with school discourses makes it difficult to contribute to the building of a national identity (Fall, 2012). The drawback with their research is that they analyse the history and geography programs of the period between 1960 and 1990, while the lesson plan has since been readapted. Sow's doctorate thesis entitled "The teaching of history in Senegal from the first schools (1817) to the 1998 reform" is a fundamental piece as it traces back historical and political evolution and changes in the teaching of history and geography (2004). Timera's articles are the ones relating closely to my research topic. He deals with the decolonisation of education in Africa after independence however looks only at geography programs in Senegal (Timera, 2013).

The originality of my research is that it sees history and geography as one teaching entity and is not shy to analyse educational realities through a decolonial theoretical lens. Thus, my research is inserted into the debate of decolonising education and will shine light on history and geography teachers and learners, whose perspective is added to the debate. Hence, this research contributes to the research on Senegalese education, but it shall also contribute to the wider African audience that might consider rethinking and taking a step away from Western oriented education.

Chapter 2 – Theoretical Choices

Introduction: Linking Decolonisation and Education

Decolonisation suggests etymologically the opposite of colonisation and could be defined as an intellectual and activist movement that fights against colonisation. Decolonisation is mostly understood as a process wherein colonized countries or regions become independent again. Decolonial movements started way before – and go further than - African countries' independences. In fact, coloniality is a "much more complex and far-reaching process than any previous mode of domination" because it infiltrated every layer of society: politics, economy, culture (Nederveen Pieterse and Parekh, 1995, p. 1). This means that the complexity of colonialism has not completely vanished with independence and that its impacts can still be observed in both former colonies and former colonial states. In this regard, decolonisation can be defined as: "a social and political process aimed at undoing the multifaceted impacts of the colonial project and re-establishing strong contemporary indigenous nations and institutions based on traditional values, philosophies and knowledge" (Smith, 1999, p. 19).

Many Senegalese thinkers are present in the decolonising debate. Most known is Cheikh Anta Diop, whose approach to history aims to prove Africans were not only victims of history but active participants in the creation and at the origin of important civilizations such as Egypt. His message is still used for political struggles and has contributed to the emancipation of Africans. Leopold Sedar Senghor, Senegal's first president is also recognised as a decolonial activist even though his political approach towards France, Senegal's former coloniser, is more moderate. He also believes in the emancipation of Africans and fought for the re-valorisation of African identities and cultures through his philosophical school of thought, *Négritude* (Lamola, 2016). Although their political approaches differ, they both saw the need to deconstruct the colonial hegemony and legacy in schooling content such as getting rid of any racist and degrading content about Africans and by integrating into schooling African history, values and cultures. His philosophy of *Négritude* can be seen as the foundations of Senegal's cultural and educational policy between 1960 and 1980.

The decolonisation of education has gained importance because some authors such as Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o have argued that decolonising education would contribute to the 'decolonising of the mind'. Indeed, Ngũgĩ has argued that the mind is influenced and moulded by different factors such as language uses and education. In his point of view, using African local languages as instruction tools or within African literature would benefit a real decolonisation of the mind (Ngũgĩ, 1986). Senghor studied African languages and was also an advocate for its re-affirmation. During his twenty years of presidency, he emphasised cultural and educational politics. Senghor strongly believed that the re-affirmation of African cultures and arts would re-build the pejorative idea the world and Africans themselves have about African culture.

Lately, debates on the decolonisation of education and its curriculum have taken another turn on the African continent as well as in non-African countries. Today the debate about decolonising education also includes the contestation and deconstruction of the dominating Western knowledge discourses which devalued over the past centuries other forms of knowledge productions. These accounts advocate for critical perspectives towards colonial afterlives and for making education more inclusive. Many authors from different disciplines have various suggestions on how to decolonise education. Some prioritise institutional changes towards less financial dependency, while others suggest internal changes such as the use of local languages in African literature and as an instruction tool (Mazrui, 1993).

As Mignolo and Walsh accurately reasoned, there is not a single way of perceiving decoloniality and assuming for the Senegalese context that one decolonial theory would fit better than another "would not be decolonial at all" (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p. 2). In fact, the significant influence of Senghor's principle of *Rootedness and Openness* for Senegalese education guided the choice for the following theoretical tools:

Firstly, the Latin-American school of thought helps to question whether the vision of modernity might reproduce colonial ideologies. Next, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2018) and others offer a discussion on politics of knowledge that permits the questioning of hegemonic western knowledge production not only through its content but also through what position historical contents are being enunciated. Finally, criteria will be enunciated more precisely for the decolonisation of historical and geographical teaching and content.

Coloniality/ Modernity Perspective on Knowledge

Post-colonial theories do not always see modernity as inherently linked to colonialism (Baker & Peters, 2012). The modern/colonial world system perspective is a critique of modernity developed by Latin American scholars (Mignolo, Quijano, Wallerstein, Maldonado-Torres and others). The link between coloniality and modernity is intensely explored by Walter D. Mignolo. His critique of modernity will be used in this thesis as a groundwork to reflect on modern education.

Mignolo interprets modernity as a Western projection, that is articulated according to Western norms. He further argues that modernity is a continuation of coloniality, which is why he puts the two concepts together as such. He explains that modernity and coloniality have worked and “continue to negate, disavow, distort and deny knowledges, subjectivities, world senses and life visions [from non-Western spaces]” (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018, p. 4). In fact, Mignolo bases his argument on the historical fact that both have the same historical foundations: “coloniality is constitutive of modernity” (Mignolo, 2007, p.162). The continuation from coloniality to modernity is claimed because the West has historically been exploiting the rest, and the privileges gained have perpetuated the circle of domination. Mignolo and Walsh see in the capitalistic system a deeply rooted hierarchy that takes its source in imperialism and coloniality and which is still reproducing inequalities (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018). He associates modernity, capitalism and coloniality under the same logic of taking control over economy, knowledge and subjectivities (Mignolo, 2007, p.162).

“The modern/colonial world system perspective interprets modernity as a Eurocentric projection, imposed upon the world as if it were valid, universal, and beneficial for everyone. The particular experiences and interpretations of elite, male, Christian Europeans in the early modern period were not only the initial conditions for conceiving modernity, but those experiences and interpretations have been universalized within particular global designs that constitute the modern/colonial world order we live in today” (Baker & Peters, 2012, p. 30).

So, modernity operates under assumptions about how the world, how its people and even its environment should be organised and function. Interestingly, Mignolo shows that while

modernity is presented as a positive and an ideal way of living, it also involves an idea of domination. The modern dominates over the traditional and underestimates other ways of thinking and functioning. For example, modern education as such implies references of education that are fundamentally linked with technology, development, individual career, western languages, etc. The European perception of education becomes the norm while other forms of education are “stigmatized and marginalized as ‘uneducated’” (Mignolo, 2005 quoted in Baker & Peters, 2012, p. 37). Thus, modern education values Western ways of doing and thinking through languages, theories, assumptions about the world etc. Moreover, because modernity is linked to coloniality, modern education and ways of thinking “[tend] to be less critical towards the former colonial state” (Lamola, 2016). Modern education would, for example, praise the accumulation of resources, industrialisation, and technology without reflecting sincerely about human and environmental destructions.

Hereafter, decolonising education would mean to teach critically about colonialism and capitalism. It would also offer alternatives to specific ideals associated with neo-liberal modernity such as consumption, development and individualism. As a matter of fact, until today the colonial legacy of negating local knowledge whilst promoting Western civilisation is still anchored in educational policy making: "African ways of knowing have been denigrated, unvalued and not in any way incorporated into curriculum planning of Africa's modern-day education systems. Most education planners in Africa tend to be in favour of “more enlightened” western-oriented knowledge" (Nashon et al., 2008, p. 3). Indeed, modernity is based on “a Eurocentric projection, imposed upon the world as if it were valid, universal, and beneficial for everyone” (Baker & Peters, 2012, p. 30). For example, modernity values Western sciences over non-Western ways of interpreting the nature and leaves completely out spiritual dimensions for interpretation. Modernity emphasises on industrial and high-tech development, which is not inherently wrong, yet discredits and erases so called ‘traditional’ ways of doing.

The narrative associated with modernity is Eurocentric. Reflecting on epistemology issues in the following section helps to understand the importance of delinking with the assumption that “there is one way of knowing and therefore being” (Mignolo, 2014, p.589).

A non-Western epistemology for education

Ndlovu-Gatsheni's Book entitled *Epistemic Freedom in Africa, Deprovincialization and Decolonization* (2018) argues thoroughly for the imperative need to re-define the politics of knowledge. Epistemic freedom is defined as "the right to think, theorize, interpret the world, develop own methodologies and write from where one is located and unencumbered by Eurocentrism" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018, p. 3). The over-representation of European knowledge models in academia, education and theories exist since colonial encounters however is also being reinforced by new standardized models of education and global systemics (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018). This results in what "the European historian John M. Headly (2008) celebrated as 'the Europeanization of the World'" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018, p. 5).

Decolonial education is applicable not only for Africa but is a global debate that contests the dominance of a certain kind of knowledge. Adebisi argues for the process of decolonial education that " involves arguing that any non-Western system of cognition deserves an equal hearing. Hence, decolonising education involves the "re-evaluation and recontestation of knowledge in Africa and the world" (Adebisi, 2016, p. 451). For instance, the fact that oral traditions have been denied recognition and scientific value over the last centuries proves that Epistemic subjugation is the denial of other ways of conceiving knowledge. In fact, many authors have raised the awareness that knowledge has been and is still mostly validated when it comes from a Western epistemology: "to exist in this World is to constantly try to catch up with Europe" (Thiam, 2021)⁵. In fact, African universities and schools develop and readapt their curricula according to Western institutional norms rather than develop alternative programs which answer the needs of their particular population.

Mignolo also raises the issue that for scholars to be integrated in knowledge institutions they need to adapt to certain methodologies, priorities, discourses etc. (Mignolo, 2014). He refers to academic careers that depend on Western universities in order to be recognised and published. Epistemic decolonisation or epistemic de-westernisation means to move away from the Western centre of knowledge. Mignolo encourages the "reformulating principles and structures of knowledge categories and belief system that Eurocentric science have disavowed"

⁵ Online seminar Baraza 19/03/21 at the University of Florida, Centre for African Studies entitled: "COVID-19, Coloniality, and the Limits of Western Arrogance: Thoughts from Africa" with Cheikh Thiam. Rediffused on YouTube :<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UrwBBIBYDbQ>

(Mignolo, 2014, p. 587). Especially because the ways of knowing in the world have been systematically repressed, colonised, and appropriated in Western ways: "[B]eliefs, ideas, images, symbols or knowledges that were not useful to global colonial domination" would be suppressed "while at the same time colonizers were expropriating from the colonized their knowledge, especially in mining, agriculture, engineering as well as their products and work" (Quijano, 2007, p. 169 quoted in Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018). The example of agricultural permaculture or also mathematical theories from middle Eastern ancient civilisations have been appropriated by Western epistemology.

Kerr, expanding upon Mignolo's theory, describes Western epistemologies as an "epistemic monoculture that emerges from Western cultural traditions of thought and practice" and as dominating and silencing indigenous forms of knowledge in educational and institutional spaces. She writes that this domination "affirm(s) and perpetuate(s) coloniality" (Kerr, 2014). So, an educational model that includes non-Western worldviews and that brings the culture and person of whomever, regardless of their location in the school experience can be considered as decolonial or as a critical cosmopolitan education: "The inclusion of non-western and hence subalternized knowledges [...] open up the possibilities of a critical cosmopolitan education" (Baker & Peters, 2012, p. 38).

Criteria for Decolonising History and Geography Content

Cheikh Anta Diop developed the concept of cultural alienation. He defines it as a denial of a worthy history and culture of a folk towards another. This has been used throughout history as a tool of domination. The denial of African history consequently deprived African people of creative capacity, which makes one only capable of imitating the dominant culture, hence being inferior. For centuries, Western epistemology has been used to justify ways of thinking which assert Black Africans have not been responsible for anything worthwhile (Diop, 1954, p. 14). Cheikh Anta Diop has proved that the ancient Egyptian civilisation is connected to the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa and that Egyptians capable of innovations and great civilisation were actually the forefathers of Sub-Saharan Africans. In this sense, the recognition of African history and civilisation is already a decolonising initiative. Moving beyond the perception of Africa as a tragic figure or ideas that Africa has been discovered are decolonising practices in teaching history. Furthermore, removing Europe from the central position, and not claiming

human heritage as coming from European history (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018) provides the ability and recognition for “African people to write, think from where they are” and means that Africa is recognised as a legitimate historical and epistemic site (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018).

The difficulty in the decolonising education debate is to grasp what is understood as indigenous for each society. What should be considered as national history and what parts should be taught in schools over others have been sources of multiple discussions. In fact, teaching about certain parts of history implies also giving them more recognition. This thesis will not delve into a distinction of what is and is not indigenous to Senegal’s history. Rather, it will consider broadly content that relates to Senegalese, African and Islamic history as locally relevant knowledge. Most importantly, the analysis will draw attention to the degree at which the content is engaging in critical perspectives. The matter of understanding and being able to reflect on the role of power in history is also a significant decolonising asset (Nederveen Pieterse and Parekh, 1995, p. 3). Teaching and learning can be considered as decolonial when they give the opportunity to adapt philosophies, ideas and values to local realities and when teaching encourages critical thinking and critical engagement with Western forms of knowledge. It would also imply processes that strengthens so-called indigenous or local based systems of knowledge, in which locally rooted notions are valued and used as study material.

Thus, this research defines its theoretical criteria for the decolonisation of history and geography teaching and content as critical thinking and/or positioning towards westernised universal forms of knowledge. Reading decolonising processes in schooling praxis could be summarised in observing locally fitting knowledge, African epistemology, non-Western centred forms of content and teaching, and critical thinking in teaching especially towards colonialism and world power relationships.

Chapter 3 – Methodological choices

Apart from the sanitary situation, Dakar has been an exciting field. Every day was different and rhythmical by many spontaneous discussions and many different encounters. The so-called "Teranga sénégalaise"⁶ has been helping me to access educational institutions, schools and respondents very easily.

History and Geography Classrooms as a Research Object

School is an interesting place for research where tensions and ideologies of society are being revealed. More specifically, high schools have been chosen because the matured age of the pupils is noteworthy for critical thinking and political opinion building. Moreover, pupils in high school are making their first decisions about their future career. They are considered as young adults and need to start thinking about what they want to do after school. The last year of high school is even more significant, as what is being taught will be studied intensively for the final examination: the baccalaureate, which is considered as one of the most important steps in one's educational path.

Before starting my research, I thought about combining observations with teachers of different subjects (French, Civic Education, History and Geography). Rapidly, I decided to focus only on history and geography classes as civic education was not taught in high schools. Moreover, because of time constraints and the restricted frame of the master thesis, I opted for one specific research object. Observing French classes and examining the choices for specific literature pieces would have indeed deepened my research. Nevertheless, I rather extend my research, looking at the different actors who may have an impact on history and geography educational content. The subject of history and geography grabbed my attention because after independence it was specifically designed towards a teaching of the national history of Senegal and transmitting national values. In general, school was instrumentalised in the early 1960's for the purposes of national construction in Senegal (Fall, 2010). The construction of the postcolonial national space and identity was administered through history and geography classes: "school

⁶ This appellation refers to the generosity, hospitality and welcoming philosophy of the Senegalese population towards newcomers and guests. It is considered as part of the national identity.

history was to be above all an instrument for the construction and consolidation of the Senegalese nation” (Seck, 2015, p. 253).

Even though history and geography are considered as two distinctive disciplines, they are taught in Senegal as one subject. This is a replication of the inherited French system. History and geography are taught with an average of five hours per week for every grade of high school in Seconde, Première and Terminale and for each different pathway (literature and scientific)⁷. History and geography are taught as one entity in the high school schedule, however there is a specified program and lesson plan for each discipline. Teachers are specialised either in history or geography but teach both of them for each of their classes. In high school, history and geography are considered essential subjects and are deemed compulsory for all pupils until high school graduation.

Therefore, the research object of this thesis is precisely the content of history and geography classes of high school classes in Senegal. The word ‘content’ will be used repeatedly to insist on the difference between content (what is taught) and pedagogy (how content is taught). It is important to distinguish content and pedagogy because as a beginning researcher in political sciences and African studies I did not feel capable yet of analysing pedagogies.

Mixed methods used: Interviews, Observations and Questionnaires

Beside the wearing of masks and the keeping of distance with my respondents, the Covid-19 pandemic did not affect my access to the field. I began my research on the 27th of October; by this time, Senegal was deconfined and school had just opened-up again after four months of complete closure. As positive cases started rising in December, more anxiety could be felt, especially in January as many people started getting sick. The death cases were worrying and Covid was the concern of daily conversations. Nevertheless, schools and institutions did not close and were still accessible to me. I neither felt unwelcomed, nor like I was exposing my respondents to risks. Only two professors preferred doing the interview via online media.

⁷ Similarly, to the French system, student choose in grade 10 an orientation that specifies on certain subjects (scientific versus literature) and weights them accordingly for the high school graduation.

Networking has been a key element in this research and started one month before my arrival in Senegal. I contacted about fifteen different people (including my two supervisors) to ask whether they could help me get in touch with actors involved in the educational system in Senegal. This is how I met my first two crucial contacts: Dr. Saliou Ngom, a doctor in political sciences currently working as a researcher at the IFAN (Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire) at the University Cheikh Anta Diop and Dr. Seydou Khouma, working at the FASTE (Faculté des Sciences et Technologies de l'Education et de la Formation) as a trainer for inspectors. Subsequently, I became acquainted with Dr. Ngom through the stepfather of a friend in Paris, who knew a Senegalese woman active in politics who facilitated our collaboration. An example of far-fetched networking working out beautifully. I got introduced to Dr. Khouma through my second supervisor. Dr. Ngom was my first step into finding interview partners since he worked for USAID on a project for the introduction of national languages in primary schools in Senegal. Dr. Khouma helped me organise the school observations. The first week after arriving in Dakar, I directly met with both of them and got into a swirl sequence of contacts. Networking took a quick turn once I was physically in Dakar, with a Senegalese phone number. The snowball effect was some days difficult to manage. I was constantly calling and texting new respondents to ask them whether they knew potential respondents or could answer my questions. At some point, I acquired so many contacts that it was hard to keep track of whom exactly I had already contacted. An amusing research misstep I made was going to the former minister of education's house; Kalidou Diallo wearing an inappropriate dress code for woman in Senegal. I had so many notes with names and phone numbers that I completely forgot to read the reminder "*former minister*".

Preparing my research, I opted for two different schools in Dakar. One school was to be a public school ("lycée publique") and the other a Franco-Arabic school. I supposed before starting my research, that I could have observed significant differences between a secular and a religious oriented school. I suggested the high school North, that I visited two years ago during an internship in Dakar. By that time, the director's passion for her work inspired me to also get involved in education. Sadly, she retired, and I did not have the opportunity to meet her again. Dr. Khouma contacted the current director of high school North, which received me a week or two later. This school is also called an application school and is located next door from the FASTE; they receive many students in their training to become teachers. This could

be felt throughout, from the first week I became Mr. Fabouwa's intern. Every day other teachers would engage conversation with me and would be interested to know what I am studying and how my observations were going. The director was also very welcoming and accommodating. As a former English teacher, he would always address me in English and make sure I had everything I needed. High school North is a public high school, where I ended up doing most of my observations since the organisation was the most efficient to follow teachers and also because I was enjoying "going to school" there. Considered one of the Senegalese high school of excellency, because they filter and select students after elementary school according to their grades, the level and facilities for schooling are of higher quality than in other public schools. Most of the pupils of this school are from middle- and higher-income families living in Dakar. The school is situated in a neighbourhood called point E. This gentrified neighbourhood is one of the most expensive rental areas in Dakar, with many private schools and universities. Observing its pupils with the latest iPhone and fashion items, as well as hearing that many had already travelled or had family members abroad made me understand that this school was not representative for the national standard of schooling. After three months of observations, all the teachers knew me as well as the working personals. I felt very comfortable walking in the school, having my coffee breaks with the woman selling food for the teacher's canteen and I could always go inside the professor's room.

The Franco-Arabic high school was suggested by Dr. Kouma. The history of the high school South is interesting because it is the very first Franco-Arab public secondary school in Dakar, which started with middle school classes and then developed a high school program with most of the teachers being bilingual in French and Arabic. This school has been taken as a model for other Franco-Arabic schools. The high school program of Franco-Arabic schools prepares its students for the Senegalese baccalaureate as well as for an Arabic examination that permits one to study further Arabic at the university or in Arabic speaking countries. The director of the high school South was generally less available; this is the reason I started my observations there only in December 2020.

In order to vary the schools and see whether my choices of school were representative, I added some observations in two different schools. Sadly, contact with the teachers at each was more difficult, and I could do only few observations. One school was a private school in the

residential neighbourhood of Ouakam in Dakar, that offers a more comfortable schooling environment than the three other public schools (25 students per classes, accommodated building, colour printed school material, informatic classroom). On the contrary, the public middle school Lycée East, where I performed observations only once, was in the near banlieue of Dakar at the intersection of low-income neighbourhood. The conditions of learning and teaching were deprived. I sat in a class of 82 students in deteriorated classrooms. The number of students in the school was striking during the break where all of the students have to change classrooms. Sadly, I could not observe more than once in this school. One of the teachers there, teacher Tiemoko, explained that he teaches 16 hours per week at the high school East. He has four different classes: one Terminale L2 with 58 students, one Première L2 with 74 students, one Seconde L with 82 students and another Seconde S with 71 students. He also teaches in a private school in the available afternoons and two days a week in order to save money. He explains that it is the only way for him to be able to reimburse the house he is constructing in the suburbs of Dakar. He started teaching in 1998 in the region of Casamance for six years. So, I did not insist to bother him for more observations, knowing that he was very busy.

Table 1: Characteristics of high schools studied

High schools ⁸	Highschool North	Highschool South	Highschool East	Highschool West
Type of school	Public excellency middle and high school. 6ème - Terminale	Public Franco-Arabic middle and high school. 6ème - Terminale	Public middle and high school. 6ème - Terminale	Privat elementary, middle and high school. CI - Terminale
Program	national curriculum	national curriculum + Islamic education and Arabic language	national curriculum	national curriculum
Location	Point E (central Dakar)	Point E (central Dakar)	Between HLM Grand Médine and HLM Grand Yoff (almost in the banlieue of Dakar)	Ouakam (residential area in Dakar)
Total of students in the school	approximately 1500	approximately 550 students	approximately 3500 students	approximately 985
Average Student/ in the classe observed	30	12	65	20

⁸ The high school names have been replaced by geographical acronyms that have no relation to the real localisation of the schools.

% success rate at the Baccalaureate	92,76 %		64 %	87% filière L, 53% filière S
Number of History & Geography Teachers	8 teachers	4 teachers	17 teachers	7 teachers for secondary school

This is approximately what my weekly schedule would look like as shown in table 2. At times, I had to reschedule observations in order to do interviews. Teachers would cancel the class for different reasons or do an evaluation on that day, for which I did not stay until I was asked to supervise the class.

Table 2: Example of a Weekly schedule for observations

WEEKLY SCHEDULE for Observations					
Jan-21					
ASSIGNMENT	MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI
8:00-10:00	MR. Fa Keita, High school North, Terminale S		MR. Fa Keita, High school North, Terminale S	MR. Fabouwa, high school North, 1ère L	
10:00 - 12:00			Mr. Samba Diallo, high school South, 1ère SA	MR. Thierno, high school North, 1ère S2B	
12:30-14:00			MR. Fa Keita, High school North, Terminale S		
14:30-16:30	MR. Fa Keita, High school North, Terminale S			MR. Fabouwa, high school North, Terminale L	

During the observation I would always sit at one of the tables at the far back of the class, most of the time alone and sometimes next to one student (depending on the number of students and the tables available). I took handwritten notes observing the atmosphere of the class, copying what teachers would write on the board and record the interactions between the professor and the pupils. Particular attention was given to outspoken critical opinions and discourses referencing the dynamic between Senegal and the West. Most of the time I would neither participate nor ask any questions until the end of the lesson; I tried to disturb as little as I could

of the course. Sometimes teachers would ask me to participate. Teachers would introduce me to the students the first time and then let me step in every other lesson. During the classes, I would collect the documents handed by the teachers. I also bought the four history and geography booklets from the high school North.

The beginning of my research started with conducting semi-structured interviews with actors involved in educational institutions. All specifically had an influence on the content of the program or are working as history and geography teachers. I conducted 22 registered interviews and had more informal conversations. The interview guideline (see Annex 1) was not used during the interview in order to adapt to my respondents and to make the interview feel more comfortable. All the interviews have been conducted in French. Political actors, academics, retired teachers and teachers have been interviewed (see Annex 2).

The first part of each interview aimed at investigating the educational and professional background of my respondents in order to link their opinion to their own educational path and professional standpoint. The second part of the interview aimed at exploring the opinions and the perceptions of the respondents about the actual contents of the programs in Senegal. Direct questioning about decolonisation and decolonising processes were only asked if the respondent did not mention the subjects on their own initiative. A specific focus was placed on their definition and interpretation of what 'decolonising education' means in the Senegalese context.

The aim of using interviews was to get an explanation from educationalist experts on particular questions about policies, pedagogies and schoolbooks. The interviews were also important to ask the personal political opinion of my respondents towards the actual history and geography program. This allowed me to gather information not always included in the academic literature and to have a perception of the field. Preparing for research, I was not thinking that I could have done so many interviews with high ranged state officials. I was planning to interview mostly teachers, yet the perspective of educational experts and academics gave a broader view on the political intertwined aspects.

As far as performing research with students is concerned, it is different from what I imagined. Distance and respect between teachers and students are much more present than in Europe, I

was seen as a trainee and therefore a future teacher, so the students observed me from a distance and were very polite. This distance is necessary in classes with more than 45 students and young adults who are sometimes more than twenty years old. I had rather integrated with the teachers with whom I had informal discussions in the staff room. I did not have much opportunity to talk to the students because at the end of each class I would accompany the teacher (as did the other trainees) to the staff room. I did not see myself as breaking the ice between the students and myself because our age difference is not large. I have had some illuminating informal conversations with smaller groups of students. Moreover, at the lycée North, I was asked to supervise classes that perform evaluations. This "hierarchical" positioning ensured pupils would listen to me. This is why I opted for distributing questionnaires to the students I was observing in class, which allowed me to ask their opinions on the history and geography lessons. I distributed a total of 138 questionnaires in five different classes (see Annex 3). Students are receivers of education and cannot influence the content of the program. However, asking them their point of view was considered as essential to my research. The questionnaire asks firstly about their interest in history and geography and which continent they prefer to learn about. Visualisation of the continents is provided to help them choose. Further, the questionnaire asks what courses they prefer on the basis of the listed lesson plan and for what reasons, which gives them a clear reminder of the content they learn in history and geography classes. It also asks students to identify areas of potential improvement for the teaching of history and geography, and what they would like to do after high school and where. Questions have been oriented but still asked openly to give space for each student to express their individual opinion.

Self-reflexivity – Doing research as a Semi-Toubab

Doing research and meeting new people, I introduced myself every day. Hence, I had to confront myself as to how I would introduce my identity. While I thought people in Senegal would read me easily as a so-called “métisse”⁹, they actually did not. Always triggered by my obvious non-Senegalese physical appearance, they were always positive and happy when I explained to them that my father is Senegalese and my mother German. As soon as I would give them my surname “Sall”, they would then accept me as a complete Senegalese. Some of

⁹ The concept of “métissage” and being “métisse” is part of the common language in France to talk about individuals with parents of different skin color and/or ethnicity and/or nationalities.

the elder men were even behaving like uncles, explaining to me proudly that regardless of my mixed heritage, I should know my Senegalese roots. They would ask about my ancestral village and explain to me some insights into the Peuhl and Toucouleur ethnicity. Many complimented me on the fact that I am working and researching in and about Senegal and were happy that the diaspora is interested in Senegal. Many were encouraging me to come back to Senegal, to be proud of my Senegalese identity and especially my Toucouleur ethnicity. They would sometimes even reflect about my identity (how much European and how much African am I?) and give me advice on how to adapt in Senegal. How to fit into the Senegalese culture, a working environment, and my family is a daily concern in this society of control.

Therefore, when introducing myself in front of the pupils I would always say that I am German and Senegalese. One day, a girl in the class raised her hand to answer the question from the teacher about the consequences of migration. She turned around looked at me and said “le métissage”. Being Senegalese made me feel like I had more legitimacy to conduct observations as I felt like an insider, however I also knew that coming from a European university I was an outsider. It made me uncomfortable being portrayed as a foreigner who would extract information from a foreign country and observe their way of doing.

Colourism and being light skinned gave me privileges, for example I could always enter the university Cheikh Anta Diop even though I did not have a student card. No guards would ever ask questions about my presence in official buildings. I know that my intermediary position being half Senegalese influenced the kind of data I collected. Many professors at the university told me to introduce myself as a European researcher to get more respondents and once I met the respondent in person to add that I am as well Senegalese. This would permit to access more officials and get more information as well. One professor admitted that he would not respond to Senegalese master students the same way he does with me and other European students because the end product would not be of the same academic quality. Being a light skinned woman gave me the privileges that men would give me even more time for interviews or to help me contacting respondents. I got many compliments about my appearance from professors at the university as well as from the school pupils. The girls in high school would make compliments about my hair, and some high school boys would giggle and ask if they can write their phone number on the questionnaires.

These privileges sadly stand for a strong patriarchal and sexist society. The high school teachers I saw every week would ask me more and more questions. They would ask me about my religion, if I live alone, or if I visit my Senegalese family to test how embedded in the Senegalese society I was. I felt judged and misunderstood as a “modern” woman in a patriarchal and Muslim environment. The topic of marriage would of course be raised every day would I rather marry a European or a Senegalese man. Sometimes the conversations in the teacher’s room were pleasant, but sometimes I realised how sexist they were without being able to leave or contradict. In front of the teacher, I would pretend that these discussions are not bothering me. Deep inside, I was revolted to be objectified as a marriable woman. Within my family marriage is topic number one, but I would have never expected that even at school, teachers would talk openly about polygamy and who married who. Thus, it became clear to me that the Senegalese around me are concerned for young women of my age to marry. The strength of this social norm, for women even more than for men, to marry because of economical and societal position was very present. I tried to explain to some teachers that marriage is not a goal for every woman anymore. The more and more I would argue with them, the more freedom they would accord themselves to tell me what they think. They would ask how many Senegalese dishes I was able to cook by myself, cooking being a distinct indicator for a good wife. After few months, Mr. Thierno said that I would do a good niarel (=second wife), even though he would have to re-educate me in regards of religion and my role as a woman. The obvious sexism is so present in Senegal and flirting is not considered negative. Sexism was very frustrating, but I could not get upset with the teachers as I still needed them for my observations. The ambiguity of this position was difficult to handle as I could not fully express my point of view as I needed to keep good terms for my research. Besides, my fieldwork was still a safe environment in which I never felt agressed or abused. My encounters were mostly with men, which also states the minor representation of women in the educational system.

I had to be very patient, because mansplaining was always happening. In general, my respondents, being mostly teachers, rather explain again and again how the program is structured rather than giving me their truthful opinion. None of my respondents understood or thought about the fact that I might have prepared my research and do already have quite some insights about the topic.

Reflecting the Methods

In general, the collection of data could be accumulated easily in a short period, however the question of the quality of the data needs to be discussed.

The questions asked during the interviews were sometimes too broad. Respondents would mostly give me explanatory answers that I knew already and could have read in the official texts. I felt like I was being taught about the evolution of schooling in Senegal during the interviews. Moreover, it was very hard to cut my respondents and say that I already knew the information. I had to be very patient to ask my questions in an appropriated time. One interview with the inspectorate of Dakar exemplifies this situation. She prepared pages of notes and printed out the official program to explain in detail, from the Seconde to Terminale, how the history and geography program was structured. I sat with her for almost two hours listening to her. In fact, most of the respondents were teachers which explains their habit of explaining and keeping the time of speech for themselves, though this type of interview with officials might also show their fear of being critical or saying something wrong. While doing more and more interviews, I found strategies to redirect questions exemplified with concrete happenings or in giving my arguments and asking if they shared the same one.

I had the chance to visit and speak to some high placed members of the ministry of education, but once they accorded me half an hour of their time they never answered back. The department of history at the university Cheikh Anta Diop, the Fastef and the different schools were always welcoming and willing to share a lot of information as well as their opinion. Most of my respondents told me to never hesitate to call back and to pass by for more discussions. Yet, accessing the ministry of education was a hustle. They would cancel meetings, or not answer either my calls nor messages. I tried over three weeks to reach the directress of the secondary schooling at the ministry and she was always unavailable (meetings, sickness, traveling).

Concerning my observations in class, the behaviour of the teachers and the student might not represent the reality, as they might have felt observed and judged while I was sitting in the class. Teachers might have put more effort into their teaching performances and students as well in asking questions, or to the contrary, in not daring to ask questions. Becker also warns

that ethnographic research in a classroom is not always welcomed by teachers as educators may feel held responsible for the successes and failures of educational institutions (Becker, 1983, p. 104). Regarding the qualitative questionnaire, some pupils might have answered effortlessly because they perceived the questionnaire as more workload. This can be noticed in the different argumentation of answers received. Furthermore, I did not foresee that the French level of the pupils in the Franco-Arabic school would not be qualified enough to understand and/or answer my questions. This is why some of the questionnaires are almost unfilled.

My research could have benefitted from being able to follow Arabic classes, as pupils learn Arabic language and culture, however I do not understand nor speak Arabic. Additionally, my Wolof understanding is limited, which does not allow me to understand in depth information. Conversations between teachers and pupils outside of the classroom were mostly in Wolof, so I could not understand insider conversations. Further, I could have extended my research at the FASTEF and observed how the training of history and geography teachers is being done. Additionally, I could have added a critical content analysis of school material to analyse the degree of criticism.

Likewise, I was struck by other social realities before being able to observe decolonial processes (high student numbers per class, primary needs, social incompatibilities). Coming from an elite western schooling path, I recognise being very much embedded in western forms of knowledge, which needs a long process to be deconstructed before being able to recognise other forms of knowledge. For example, the fact that critical thinking is considered in my research as being part of decolonising processes might come from a western idealisation I assimilated during my studies. All in all, my research has been completed without major problems and was well accepted by many of my respondents.



Photo 2 – Me sitting in a classroom of the Franco-Arabic high school South on the 03/03/21
This section has presented the theoretical and the methodological frameworks of the thesis, which allow me to analyse in the following part the decolonising opportunities and impediments in educational political structures.



Photo 3: Teacher Samba Diallo's class in the Franco-Arabic high school South, on the 10/02/21.

SECOND PART – Decolonising Opportunities and Impediments in Educational Political Structures

Chapter 4 – Historical Impediments and Initiatives for the Decolonisation of Education

As Walter Rodney writes, the coloniser did not introduce education in Africa, as it has been commonly propagated. They have introduced a new order of education, with a new ensemble of teaching institutions that have partly replaced the previous ones (Rodney, 1973, p. 696). This chapter will look back at the main historical political structure that anchored impediments to decolonising practices (colonial schooling and the assimilation ideology) or, on the contrary, gave opportunities for the decolonization of education (Islamic education and decolonisation initiatives).

"Besides if we go to the white man for school, we will just learn the way the white man wants us to learn. We will come back and build the country the white man wants us to build. One that continues to serve them. We will never be free." (Gyasi, 2016)¹⁰

The Double-edged Outcomes of Colonial Schooling in Senegal

It is important to grasp the historical context of education in Senegal in order to further analyse the power relations remaining between Africa and Europe. Rodney argues that new ways of formal educational institutions were implemented, which - depending on the administration - partly supplemented and partly replaced the educational forms that were there before (Rodney, 1973, p. 379). In Senegal, Koranic education was present before the first Christian missionaries' schools and has overcome a new domination. The further establishment of the French colonial schools in Senegal supplemented the exiting Koranic daraas but never replaced them. The main goal for French colonial schooling was to train colonial subjects for lower responsibilities in the local administration and private capitalist firms owned by Europeans (Ibid.).

¹⁰ GYASI, Y. 2016. *Home Going*, London, United Kingdom, Penguin Books Ltd., p. 223.

In colonised territories, the training of patriotic colonial subjects and the promotion of Western civilisation over centuries had long-lasting effects, in the way of imagining school and education (Moumouni, 1964). Most authors on colonial education share the opinion that colonial schooling was instrumentalised as a domination and oppression tool: “they would learn that 'the Gauls', our ancestors, had blue eyes', and they would be convinced that 'Napoleon was our greatest general' - the same Napoleon who re-established slavery in the Caribbean Island” (Rodney, 1973, p. 716). Rodney and Moumouni argue that the main goal of colonial schooling was to train patriotic Africans to become the needed administrative workforce: “In Africa, colonialists trained low-level administrators, teachers, non-commissioned officers, railway reservation clerks, etc., for the preservation of colonial relations; and it is not surprising that such individuals carried over colonial values into the period following the return of independence” (Rodney, 1973, p. 758). This small minority is described by Rodney and Moumouni as serving the colonial system and perpetuating the colonial ideology, which spread the belief that the coloniser’s way of doing is the way to accomplishments (Moumouni, 1964). Hence, for Rodney, colonial education is exclusively “de-Africanising” and thus “Europeanising” (Rodney, 1973, p. 722). Indeed, beyond the argument of capitalistic exploitation, he shows how colonial education has strengthened the principle of capitalist individualism, that placed the individual concerned above larger communities, such as the clan or ethnic group (Rodney, 1973, p. 738). Thus, colonial schooling is generally pictured as playing only to the benefit of the coloniser. And even if some colonised actors have managed decolonial improvements, the general opinion is that colonial education “corrupted the thinking and sensibilities of the African and filled him with abnormal complexes” (Moumouni cited in Rodney, 1973, p. 722). Moumouni and Rodney understand inferiority complexes that have been built through colonial ideology putting skin colour, culture, intellectual capacities of the European coloniser as the norm and everything that is not similar as the abnormal. Moreover, colonial schooling had long lasting effects on today’s organisation and imagination of schooling. Colonial schooling was reserved to a certain group, which created a certain elitist society.

Nevertheless, Bryant has argued that we cannot attribute to colonial schooling only negative effects, as it also enabled people at that time to challenge French colonialism. She advances arguments for the self-determining potential of the educated colonised population to transcend

and fool the colonial system (Bryant, 2015). Undeniably, as early as 1914 the rise of an African elite, educated in colonial schools and even in France, contributed to the emergence of the thought of Negritude and the process of decolonisation, though this restricted class of so called “évolués” are also seen as the most assimilated into French culture. Accordingly, they might be reproducing an unconsciously colonial way of doing and thinking in their administrative roles and decisionmaking positions, even after their independence. Yet Cheikh Anta Diop, who went through colonial schooling and accumulated an astonishing number of diplomas in France, is one of the most prominent decolonial thinkers and activists in Senegal. Another more controversial Senegalese figure is Blaise Diagne, the first black and Senegalese deputy in the French Parliament. His election as the first African deputy in the French Assembly goes against a racist ideology based on the intellectual superiority of the white/French men. He became an important figure in the history of Senegal and in the history of black emancipation in Africa. Also, Senghor, whose philosophy will be analysed in detail later, is part of this intellectual elite who studied in France and still were part of the decolonisation movement of Senegal. Even though most literature about colonial schooling portrays teachers as subjects of colonial administration and ideology, their self-determination potential of questioning the methods and knowledge taught on the ground is less documented. Many teachers became intellectuals and political figures who encouraged the philosophies of *Negritude*; for example, Alioune Diop, a teacher who became senator under the 4th French Republic representing the French Party SFIO in Senegal (Section Française de l’Internationale Socialiste). These examples show that colonial education did not only create docile subjects, but it was also a step towards recognition and further contestation against French colonialism. In the early twentieth century, a rise of an African elite educated in colonial schools can be observed. This elite contributed to the emergence of the *Negritude* school of thought and the process of decolonisation.

The discussion of whether colonial schooling was an instrument of only submission or of emancipation as well shows the complexity of this topic and gives the fundamental basis for further discussions on hegemonic knowledge production. This double-edged potential of Western education is at the core of Senegalese schooling preoccupations. The increasing number of Franco-Arabic schools demonstrates this concern of providing pupils with career opportunities through Western schooling while still not neglecting cultural rootedness through religious theology.

The Assimilation Ideology in French Colonies

The assimilation ideology that was particular to French colonisation needs to be examined to understand its important impact on the education system (Blackmore, 1970). The French assimilationist colonial ideology foresaw not only political integration, but also cultural assimilation of the colonised populations into the French Nation (Blakemore, 1970, p. 86). Even if in reality this ideology did not reach every French colonised space, the case of Senegal is unique among the other French colonies in Africa. Firstly, because French presence was maintained over three centuries and secondly because Senegal and especially the residents of the four communes (Dakar, Gorée, Rufisque and St Louis) enjoyed a privileged position such as being granted the French citizenship. Furthermore, the Federation of West Africa was in Dakar, which meant that Senegal received more attention from federal officials than other colonies (Blakemore, 1970, p. 85). This translated also into utilising French as the lingua franca and French schooling aligned with the program of France for these four communes (Blakemore, 1970, p. 4).

Assimilationist French colonial conception portrayed itself as a tool to familiarise students from the colonies with the European economic, social and moral order as the most important step towards their integration into France (Blakemore, 1970, p. 86). The case of Senegal is strongly representative for French colonial education in West Africa, because in the four Senegalese communes (Dakar, Gorée, Rufisque and Saint-Louis) the inhabitants were not considered as colonial subjects but as extended French citizen. They would not fall under the colonial code for indigenus¹¹ and were granted some participative and political rights. In these communes, colonial education was also predominantly developed. Indeed, "according to the French, an African, after receiving French education, stood a chance of becoming an assimilé - one who could be assimilated or incorporated into the superior French culture" (Rodney, 1973, p. 391).

Assimilation was France's primary colonial doctrine until the end of the 19th century: "based on the assumption that all the colonies of France would eventually become part of the mother

¹¹ « Le code de l'indigénat » is a particular code of conduct for colonial subject in French colonies.

country" (Blakemore, 1970, p. 86). As Blakemore explains, assimilationist ideology foresaw not only a political integration with French institutions, but cultural assimilation of the colonised populations would permit a cultural integration into the French nation. Although the preservation of certain cultural and religious aspects which did not run counter to French moral standards were accepted, the culture of the colonies was considered to be of lesser value (Blakemore, 1970, p. 86). Muslim customs in terms of marriage and polygamy were, for example, conserved (*Ibid.*).

Moumouni argues that colonial education in Africa generally was an instrument of "cultural oppression and depersonalisation" (Moumouni, 1964, chapter II, section 5). The assimilation doctrine present in French colonised territories reinforced and propagated the idea of a Western superiority. The local cultures and epistemologies have been undermined and Western culture is perceived as fundamental for the entire humanity (Sarr, 2016). Education aimed to transform the colonised population and pretended an equal hearing was possible once assimilated, however racist prejudice impeded any kind of equal integration. Sarr quotes Mudimbe to define colonial discourse as "aiming for physical domination, reshaping indigenous mentalities and integrating local and economic histories into a Western perspective. Colonial discourse views non-Western cultures through the prism of cultural superiority and racist prejudice" (Sarr, 2016, p. 104). Assimilation has consequences until today's way of portraying education. Sarr advocates that moving away from re-production and mimetic teaching requires an understanding of the Westernisation of the African continent (Sarr, 2016). So, because the assimilation ideology infiltrated the ways of portraying education and educational success it stands here as a continuing impediment to further decolonisation.

The role of Religion in the Decolonisation of Education

In our context of increasingly Western worldviews, consumptions and standards, it is often assumed that its proliferation has spread over the African continent, forgetting the historical influence of Islamisation and the Arab World in Senegal (Kaag, 2018). Colonial schools were criticized throughout their development by local populations who turned to Quranic schools that better suited their customs. Moreover, African populations have shown a form of resistance against colonial education through several strategies (Bryant, 2015). In fact, already in the nineteenth century, Muslim brotherhoods stood against colonial education with the

development of daaras (traditional form of learning the Koran), that were understood as a symbol of cultural resistance to colonial domination (Bodian and Villalon, 2015). Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba, the founder of the Murid brotherhood¹² in Senegal, is recognised as a decolonial figure. He fought against the cultural assimilation of French colonisation through the rejection of French language and the establishment of an endogenous education system. He developed an educational system that aimed at building a Senegalese personality that could not be affected by all the influences of colonialism. The philosophy of teaching was based on Sufi ethics to build accomplished humans¹³. More pupils were attending Koranic schools than colonial schools. French colonisers attempted to control Koranic education in Senegal without success, as a majority of the Senegalese population still favoured Koranic schools that corresponded to their customs (Bryant, 2015, p. 24).

Also, in the aftermath of independence, the social demand for a religious reorientation of educational policy became evident with the population's resistance against secularism. Islamo-Arabic education has been favoured by many Senegalese families. Therefore, the Senegalese government brought different reforms including the introduction of Islamo-Arabic education in public schools, the development of public Franco-Arabic schools, and the recognition and modernisation of daaras (Bodian and Villalon, 2015). The latest update in education policy was the recognition of Islamo-Arabic schooling to facilitate compulsory schooling:

“In order to facilitate this compulsory schooling for all children aged 6 to 16, the present bill provides that public and private schools may offer optional religious education. This offer is made in accordance with the principle of secularism of the State and parents are entirely free to decide whether or not to enrol their children in this education” (Law 2004-37 of 15 December 2004 amending and supplementing the National Education Orientation Law n° 91-22 of 16 February 1991).

This shows that the Senegalese state has recognised the social demand and the influence of Islamo-Arabic schooling, which was more significant for the local populations (Dia et al., 2016,

¹² The most important Muslim (Sufi) brotherhood in Senegal that has a significant political, economic and social influence on the country.

¹³ Source : Webinar organised by the University Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba on the 29th of August 2020. Rediffused on YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ynvolj6AtA&t=5s>

p. 14). Islamo-Arabic education has been propagated by the Muslim brotherhoods in Senegal since the 19th century (Dia et al., 2016). Learning the Qu'ran, Arabic language, and Islamic sciences has been propagated through the Qu'uranic schools and public and private Franco-Arabic schools in Senegal. The considerable growing market for these schools is also reinforced by external funding from Saudi-Arabia, Kuwait, or Egypt for example (Dia et al., 2016; Kaag, 2012). So although Islamo-Arabic education has been implemented by external actors in Senegal, it has become deeply entrenched to local identification and cultures (Dia et al., 2016). "The Al-Azhar school network founded in Senegal in 1974 by Serign Mourtada Mbacké, the youngest son of the founder of the Mouride Brotherhood" shows the expansion of Islamo-Arabic education (Dia et al., 2016, p. 14). The Franco Arabic secondary school where I did my observation is the first one in Senegal. The so called "censeur" responsible for the good conduct of studies and the general discipline of the school explained to me that General Khalif of the Murids is the godfather of this school, because he personally asked the president Senghor for a secondary school that would teach Arabic language and religious education. This would permit more pupils whose parents would favour daraas, to enter in the formal education system. It gives the opportunity to combine religious education and future possibilities in the formal system due to their high school graduations.

One could possibly argue that an Islamic form of knowledge and schooling is another form of external domination introduced in Senegal, as Islam was introduced in the country around the eleventh century (Seck et al., 2015). Nevertheless, Islamo-Arabic education is considered as locally rooted in the Senegalese culture and tradition, as it is organised and respects the religious values.

"One cannot disconnect Senegalese culture and Islam. The Islamic values are in the Senegalese values. The Koranic studies began in reality well before the colonial school. And Islam was implanted in Senegal well before the 11th century"
(Mademba Diop).

The Franco-Arabic school at which I did my observation has an external building for prayers and respects the daily prayer schedule. All the pupils are dressed respecting the Muslim norms of clothing (long leaves and the headscarf for girls). Before my research I assumed that Franco-Arabic schools could give another perspective to Senegal's history and be more critical towards some Western ways of doing and conceiving history and geography. Nevertheless, the hybrid

program of Franco-Arabic schools actually offers exactly the same program as public high schools and adds on top two different classes: Arabic language and religious education. Furthermore, the expansion of Franco-Arabic schools concerns especially primary education. Only a few Franco-Arabic secondary schools allow to graduate within the Senegalese program and to have a certificate in Arabic language as well.

To conclude, this part showed why the discussion about decolonising education in Senegal is coloured by the emancipation of Islamic education. Islamo-Arabic education has been historically against colonial education and still offers an alternative to Western forms of schooling. Franco-Arabic schools conform to the social demand and permit a double curriculum that opens all the opportunity for further studies and integration in the hybrid system as well as religious education.

Decolonising Initiatives After 1960 for History and Geography Content and Teaching

Student movements and teachers' unions played an important role in raising anti-colonial awareness in the educational system. Bianchini's book refers to many student organisations and teachers' unions that were increasingly mobilised against foreign intervention and structural adjustment (Bianchini, 2004). Attempting to go through all the decolonising initiatives for the Senegalese education cannot be undergone in this thesis, therefore this part focuses on the decolonising attempts that impacted the content and teaching of history and geography.

Shortly after independence, Moumouni argued strongly that education in most former French colonies is still anchored in inherited colonial structures in its conception and orientation (Moumouni, 1964). After the independence of Senegal in 1960, education did not directly undergo restructuring. Slight readjustments in locally relevant contents have been made for certain subjects such as literature, history, geography and civic education in elementary school, but secondary education has stayed much identical because of the will of French equivalent diplomas (Moumouni, 1964, chapter 3, section 7). The most offensive elements about African history or African personhood have been removed from the history and geography programs (Fall, 2010). As Fall explains, the decolonisation of education has been firstly initiated through a continental cooperation:

“When Senegal gained independence the teaching of history was then the subject of an attempt at decolonisation. Indeed, in accordance with the recommendations of the 1961 Addis Ababa conference, the history curriculum underwent a restructuring in 1962. The history syllabus was cleaned of all content that was demeaning to the African personality. Thus, figures of the anti-colonial struggle such as Lat Dior and El Hadji Omar were valorised and presented as 'national pride' for their resistance to colonisation” (Fall, 2010, p.253).

The teaching of history became a unifying tool. It was perceived as necessary to transmit the same norms and values to the young generations. History and civic education had the role to transmit nationalistic values as much as a culture of openness (Sow, 2004). The fact of having magnified the history of France for generations and of having followed a policy of cultural alienation that obscured African history is vividly criticized (Sow, 2004). An effort to adapt the content taught to African realities is starting. This African wide concern led to the collaboration and the formulation of the Pan-African program of Tananarive in 1967, which reformed the history programs of secondary schooling. The African, Malagasy and Mauritian program of 1965 and 1967 were written interestingly by Africans and French such as Joseph Ki-Zerbo, Amadou Moctar Mbow, Jean Devisse (Timera, 2013, p. 145). The Tananarive program is a Pan-African program that emphasises African interlinked historical trajectories and further cooperation. Attention is given to a common African identity and less to a national one. It is the only program to have issued history textbooks for the middle school level. Though, the Tananarive program is reformed after nationalist movements in the beginning of the 1970s (Timera, 2013). In fact, after youth contestations and student movements asked for a radical rupture with colonial schooling, the government issued the first law for the orientation of education (Seck, 2015) which gave priority to the building of a national Senegalese identity through the teaching of history and geography. This resulted in another important step in the decolonisation of history and geography programs: the 1972 issued Rufisque program, considered the ‘Senegalisation’ of education. Indeed, the republican character of the state insisted on homogeneity to avoid cultural provincialism, which was relevant when looking at the fraction of Casamance (southern region in Senegal), which has been demanding its autonomy since independence (Sow, 2004).

The building of a national identity through the program of history and geography has failed according to Kipré. He argues that the main topics taught in history are “pre-colonial Africa,

the slave trade, colonisation and decolonisation”, which reinforce what he calls “a culture of violence” instead of promoting “responsible citizenship, mutual understanding and peace” (Kipré, 2005, p. 170). Furthermore, he argues that the teaching of African empires focuses more on their constitution than on their civilisation and culture, which again tends to value differences instead of intercultural dialogue (*Ibid.*). Also, Fall criticised the national integration of the different regions of Senegal. He wrote that the history program focused on the Western, Northern and Central kingdoms and left out the Southern and Eastern regions (Fall, 2010).

In 1981, the summit of the general states for education echoed a crisis in the education system (Orientation Law, 1991). Tension between teachers' unions and the government were at their peak. Teachers were striking and asking for a general re-valorisation and upgrading of the teacher's function and a fundamental reform of the teaching system (Bianchini, 2004). “Les Etats Généraux de l'Education et de la Formation” (: EGEF) as they are called in French, are political assemblies held to deliberate on public matters. The interest of the entire society is supposed to be represented through Muslim and Christian religious leaders, traditional chiefs, teachers, parents, trade unions and political parties (Fall, 2010). The EGEF acknowledged the need for a renewal of the education system with the creation of the “new school” (“l'école nouvelle”). A new program for history and geography was elaborated for elementary schooling with the aim to develop a Senegalese consciousness (Fall, 2010). The INEAD is in charge of the conception of history schoolbooks that finally include all the regions of Senegal and does even give a place to the long-silenced heroine, woman and queen Aline Sitoe Diatta, portrayed as the colonial resistance in Casamance¹⁴ (Fall, 2010). Concerning secondary history programs, the new objective-based pedagogy takes over the reformulation of content and enunciates the lesson plan in terms of learning objectives (Seck, 2015, p. 265). The renewed program in the 1980s integrated religious figures such as Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba to better satisfy the social demand (Seck, 2015, p. 265). Nevertheless, compared to the 1960/70s, history teaching no longer has an ideological vocation to ‘Africanise’ instead the 1980s and 1990s are characterised by new pedagogical approaches. In fact, history and geography teaching is supposed to eliminate ideological content and focus on pedagogical approaches. The content approach is

¹⁴ The southern region of Casamance, has been involved in armed insurgency over years for the independency. The inclusion of this region in the history of Senegal is important to debunk separatist movements.

withdrawn for the objective approach and further replaced by the competency approach¹⁵. The latter bases its teaching on historians or geographer's competences rather than on content. For example, investigative history is taught in order to bring the pupil to appropriate the critical function of history (Seck, 2015).

Timera recognises that the decolonisation of African education took place on several levels, yet between France and French-speaking African countries many agreements were still signed concerning primary, secondary and higher education. The agreements concerned for example assistance in terms of staff recruitment or documentation. This is what Timera calls the bilateral cooperation that promoted French educative values adapted to the African continent. Timera quotes Senghor's opinion on it: "our education will continue to be inspired by French teaching, I mean its spirit of universality" (Timera, 2013, p. 144). Even the multilateral cooperation of the United African Organisation insisted on decolonisation processes, whereby the discipline of history and geography is recognised as needing to be decolonised because of its fundamental role in the education of a citizen consciousness and transmission of pan African values. Inter-African cooperation for renewed education is most often organised regionally, regrouping French-Speaking African countries and highlighting France again as the main interlocutor, such as the 1967 conference of ministers of education of 18 countries members of the OCAM¹⁶ to cooperate for the elaboration of history schoolbooks (Kipré, 2005). So, for Timera even if an Africanisation of curricula did occur, the French colonial identity of programs has remained present (Timera, 2013, p. 141).

The re-valorisation of African history in school curricula has been one of the first step to decolonise education in Senegal. In the 1970s the emphasis was put on a Pan-African way of reformulating the history. The interconnection of trajectories and the cooperation of African countries was favoured instead of focusing on each African national history. This was translated in the program of Tananarive of 1971, which was considered according to most of the teachers interviewed as a too ambitious program. In 1982, the reformed program of Rufisque focused more on Senegalese national history without neglecting other African

¹⁵ "L'approche par les compétences"

¹⁶ OCAM stands in French for « L'Organisation commune africaine et malgache », regrouping African French-speaking countries for economic, cultural and social cooperation.

countries. The teaching of African and Senegalese national history is meant to give a set of references for the pupils they can identify with such as national heroes, and most importantly to build a national consciousness (Fall, 2012). The majority of the teachers interviewed acknowledged that the teaching and the learning of African and Senegalese history was necessary for decolonisation. Matar Ndiaye, former history teacher, member and leader of the history and geography teachers' association and commission was at the core of every reform for history and geography. He even played an active role in the redaction of the programs and said that the "Senegalisation was a need, it was not even a need, it was an imperative!":

"La Sénégalisation [des programmes] c'était un besoin, ce n'était même pas un besoin c'était un impératif!" (Matar Ndiaye)

In conclusion, Senegalese and African initiatives influenced concrete changes for history and geography education, such as the EGEF that guided the adoption of Law 91-22 on 16 February 1991, the second education policy law, which will be analysed in the next chapter.

Chapter 5 - Senghor's Philosophy of *Rootedness and Openness* for Education

This chapter puts Senghor's vision of education into conversations with anti-colonial oriented authors. The first two parts present Senghor's philosophy of *Rootedness and Openness* and its concrete effects on the orientation laws for education in Senegal. The last part looks critically at Senghor's *Rootedness and Openness* in the light of decolonial theories.

L'Enracinement et l'Ouverture - Senghor's Philosophy of Rootedness and Openness

Leopold Sedar Senghor (1906-2001), the first elected president of the Republic of Senegal and one of the main leaders of the *Négritude* school of thought, prioritised education and culture throughout his mandates between 1960-1980. Senghor is a famous literary-philosopher, poet and politician, well known for his many publications. His biography and political positionings are both unique and controversial. On one hand, he is the perfect outcome of colonial education and French assimilation ideology, with an astonishing study trajectory, and his election as the first black African in the 'Académie française', which represents "the French intellectual immortals" (Lamola, 2016, p.53). Moreover, he "was elected to the French Constituent Assembly, and from 1948 until 1958, he was Senegal's representative in the French National Assembly" (Lamola, 2016, p.59). He even represented France at UNESCO, and at the European Assembly in Strasbourg (*Ibid.*). On the other hand, he was also a fervent representative of the anti-colonial intellectual movement having played a fundamental role in the creation of the *Négritude* school that strives for the liberation and renaissance of 'Africanity' (*Ibid.*). Senghor is an interesting person for having affirmed his Africanity within the framework of literary French excellency.

Senghor's vision for the orientation of education is emblematic of the principles of *Rootedness and Openness*¹⁷. With the intention of breaking away from colonial education, Senghor emphasised so-called African values and deeply rooted local identities, something he calls "enracinement" (Kane, 2012, p. 94). His vision of *Rootedness* is inspired by the *Négritude* movement that aims at the (re)appreciation and pride of being African (Lamola, 2016). The reaffirmation of an African identity goes with its preservation and an "active contribution to

¹⁷ Italic will be used to refer to Senghor's translated concept of "*L'Enracinement et l'Ouverture*"

the global dialogue of cultures” (Lamola, 2016, p. 58). Indeed, *Rootedness* as such has never been acclaimed without *Openness*. As a matter of fact, *Rootedness* goes hand in hand with *Openness* because Senghor’s has always been in favour of intercultural relationships: “to define himself in relation not in opposition to Others” (Lamola, 2016, p. 60). *Openness* in Senghorian conception is a way to avoid firstly introversion and most importantly to stay connected to the rest of the world for cooperation and exchanges. Senghor has elevated the cultural “métissage” to the level of an ideal.

Senghor's double-edged concepts of *Rootedness and Openness* would be transmitted through adapting the content to Senegalese realities while using French as the only instruction language. Senghor perceived *Rootedness and Openness* as a well-adjusted way to renew education in Senegal. He argued that decolonisation requires new forms of consciousness and imagination (Nederveen Pieterse and Parekh, 1995, p. 3). Nevertheless, he was also a dedicated advocate of French language, implementing its usage as a national language and as a medium of instruction in all public schools. He believed that adapting the content to Senegalese realities and aiming for French language proficiency would be the best way to combine development, academic excellence and cultural re-appropriation (Ndiaye, 2012). Senghor's idealisation for intercultural association also involves the incorporation of French culture and French educational excellence in the Senegalese education. Literature programs have been adapted to the Senegalese context, putting in the foreground French writing African authors for the study of literature, for example. Senghor’s philosophy and vision on education has had significant influences on the education orientation of Senegal because of the Orientation Law.

The Legal Framework – The Orientation Law of the Senegalese National Education

The “diptych”, as Fall labels *Rootedness and Openness*, was the foundation for Senegal’s cultural and educational policy during Senghor’s presidency (Fall, 2010). This concept can be considered as a milestone for education, being the first law voted for the orientation of education of post-colonial Senegal (Seck, 2015, p. 258). In the year 1971, the principle of *Rootedness and Openness* is ratified through the following article:

“L’éducation nationale sénégalaise est une éducation africaine, prenant sa source dans les réalités africaines et aspirant à l’épanouissement des valeurs culturelles africaines. Partant de ces réalités, elle les domine et les dépasse en vue de leur

transformation. Elle intègre les valeurs de civilisation universelle et s'inscrit dans les grands courants de monde moderne. Par cela, elle développe l'esprit de coopération et de paix entre les hommes.” – Article 3 de la loi d'orientation de l'éducation nationale, du 3 Juin 1971

The law on the orientation of education of 1971 can be translated¹⁸ as follow:

“The Senegalese national education is an **African education**, taking its source in the **African realities** and aspiring to the **blooming of the African cultural values**. Starting from these realities, it dominates them and exceeds them in order to transform them. It integrates the values of **universal civilization** and is in line with the **great currents of the modern world**. By this, it develops the spirit of **cooperation** and **peace** between men.” - Article 3 of the Law 71-36 on the orientation of national education from the 3rd June 1971.

A clear duality stands out between African realities and African cultural values on one side and universal civilisation and the modern world on the other. The relationship between these two entities is exposed by the following sentence: “**Starting** from these realities, it **dominates them** and **exceeds them** in order to **transform them**”. The verbs used for African realities indicate that the end goal is not to be inserted in these African realities as they are. On the contrary, the purpose can be interpreted as joining the “great currents of the modern world” by integrating the “values of universal civilization” into the Senegalese national education. Even though it seems like the political orientation of education celebrates the re-valorisation of African values and cultures in curricula, it also praises modernity and directs towards an integration of this “modern world”.

Concerning more specifically the content and structure of education, article 6 states:

“Le contenu general de l'éducation nationale se définit d'une part, par la connaissance du milieu et la formation du jugement, d'autre part, par l'acquisition de la science et de la technique dans ce qu'elles ont d'universel” (Titre II, Contenu et Formes de l'éducation, Article 6 de la Loi 71-36, 1971)

“The general content of national education is defined, on the one hand, by knowledge of the environment and the training of judgement, and on the other hand, by the acquisition of science and technology in the universal sense” - Article 6 of the Law 71-36 on the orientation of national education from the 3rd June 1971.

¹⁸ Self-made translation.

The political orientation of Senegalese schooling includes the mandate that pupils be given the modern tools and knowledge to be able to participate in our actual modern/global system. The fact that modernity is portrayed as an ideal to achieve through education shows the lack of critical reflection towards this concept. Yet, the concept of ‘modernity’ has been strongly criticised by many decolonial authors such as Mignolo and Walsh, who expose it as a continuation of colonial domination (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018). It is assumed that Senegal needs to catch up with industrialised nations that have benefited from colonialism and imperialism. Furthermore, even though a certain importance is given to local values, “local knowledge is said to be taking a step backwards while universal knowledge would aid in moving forward” (Apffel-Marglin, & Marglin, 1996). This implies a subtle submission of local/indigenous knowledge towards universal knowledge.

The 1971 orientation law of national education has been modified in 1991 after the general States assemblies yet the principle of *Rootedness and Openness* has not evolved since 1971. It still includes the importance of a Senegalese and African education which aims at rooting its students in local cultures and values (Orientation Law 91-22, 1991). It also reinforces the necessity for the usage of local languages as instruction languages. One difference is the inclusion in the Francophonie:

“L’éducation nationale reflète également l’appartenance du Sénégal à la communauté de culture des pays francophones en même temps qu’elle est ouverte sur les valeurs de civilisation universelle et qu’elle s’inscrit dans les grands courants du monde contemporain, par là, elle développe l’esprit de coopération et de paix entre les hommes” (Article 6 de la loi n° 91-22 du 16 Février 1991 portant sur la modification de l’orientation de l’Education nationale)

“National education also reflects Senegal's membership of the cultural community of French-speaking countries, while at the same time being open to the values of universal civilisation and in line with the major currents of the contemporary world, thereby developing the spirit of cooperation and peace between people” (Article 6, modified Orientation Law 91-22, 1991)

The problematic raised by Timera for a French-speaking cooperation of African states is that France inevitably turns out to be the main interlocutor and reference (Timera, 2013). The modified orientation law embraces the same position towards modernity and universalism.

Universalism and modernity are not essentially wrong, however they function within world power dynamics that enforce a Western view of modernity and universalism. Western European and North American ways of doing and thinking are considered as the heritage of intellectual knowledge: “self-imposition of Anglo-Saxon and North American value systems and thought-forms as universally normative” (Lamola, 2016 p.56). The following part will discuss how the concept of universalism is not as neutral as its philosophical conceptualisation.

Discussing Senghor’s Philosophy of *Rootedness and Openness* Through Decolonial Thinkers

As Timera enlightens about Senghor’s principle for education: "The future of Africa must be defined by taking into account the ancestral and the modern, the indigenous and the universal. Thus, in the field of education, the idea of forming an African rooted in African values and realities is always associated with the need to sensitise and open young people to other cultures. Senegal has made this duality (rootedness and openness) the pedagogical principle that must guide all educational work" (Timera, 2013, p. 148). Yet, some decolonial thinkers have expressed valuable criticisms towards the concept of *Rootedness and Openness*. Indeed, the problematic of the principle of *Rootedness and Openness* in the Senegalese educational political orientation is that it entails a hierarchical binary between the "mother land" that emphasising so-called African values to deeply root its local identities as opposed to the “modern world”, which one should strive for.

The philosophical concepts of universalism and modernity / globalism are not essentially wrong but they are embedded in power dynamics, which Mignolo refers to as the colonial matrix of power (Mignolo, 2018). Historical imbalances come into to play with political and economic domination. Considering the long-lasting effects of the Atlantic slave trade, imperialism, and colonialism, decolonial thinkers see in a so called global or universal culture the domination of Western European and North American culture. Hence, the subtle hypocrisy when talking about a universal culture that actually turns out to be a western culture. The two-facedness of universalism should include an honest reflection on Western hegemony in order to avoid global cultures' erasures as they are incorporated into Western culture. Lamola’s article proposes a decolonial critique of Senghor’s philosophy, in which he strongly argues that the opportunity to develop local epistemologies after independence was prevented by the priority given to modernisation (Lamola, 2016). Senghor’s life as well as his intellectual career

anchored in French excellency is harshly criticized in Lamola's article. He disapproves of Senghor's aspiration towards cultural fusion and exposes him as assimilated and in favour of replicating a certain French elite. By doing so, Senghor's cultural universalism served a "privileged a French-led globalism" (Lamola, 2016, p.54). The fact that Senghor did not include a critical analysis of Western hegemony in his conceptualisation of *Openness* goes against decolonial theories.

Additionally, Lamola criticises Senghor's re-valorisation of African heritage as formulated in a way for the West to accept it. He argues that Senghor's vision of African renaissance included a French way of doing in order to be accepted by the West (Lamola, 2016, p. 60). Lamola's take implies that an Africanity threatened by globalisation can only be in opposition to modernisation. One could argue that it suggests Africanity and globalism are both exclusionary concepts. In fact, according to Lamola, modernity is a continuation of colonialism, which he labels a (re)coloniality. He identifies an "African postmodernity" that clashes with Eurocentrism and goes not only temporarily past modernity but also beyond the assumption that knowledge production started with Western civilisation. So, according to Lamola, Senghor's principle of *Rootedness and Openness* as well as the *Négritude* philosophy are not utterly decolonial because they are not deconstructing the Western epistemological monopolization. In fact, they are reinforcing a colonial continuity as it does not deconstruct colonial epistemics inserted in Western modernity, and the West is placed as a reference for knowledge production. A path taken by Frantz Fanon and Aimé Césaire, who started the *Négritude* movement with Senghor.

Overall, this part reflected critically on Senghor's vision for Senegalese education although, his philosophy of *Rootedness and Openness* has impacted the way in which the programme is conceived and formulated (chapter 7) decisive actors might be involved in decolonisation processes. This question is addressed in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6 - The decision makers of the Program

This part explains how and who makes decisions about the content included in history and geography programs, giving particular attention to the question of whether these actors might be inserted into decolonising practices.

Top-Down Decisionmaking Through the Ministry of Education

Since 2004, the Ministry of Education has been responsible for, among other tasks, the elaboration of the above analysed program. The programs for history and geography for middle and high school classes have not been changed since their inception. The lesson plans have been readapted recently due to the Covid-19 pandemic, which considerably shortened the school year.

To reform the content of history and geography programs in high schools, the direction of the middle and secondary school would have to issue a reformation project which would state precisely the different steps needed for their renovation. These could include, for example, reflection workshops with educational experts, hiring consultants, organising assemblies of teachers, etc. Every step of the project would have to be budgeted until its implementation. If the Minister of Education validates the project, according to all the other proposed projects from the three different directions (pre- and elementary schooling; middle and secondary schooling, higher education) it can be presented as a new national project. Hence, taking initiative for change is in the hands of the ministerial directions. As Dr. Doudou Diouf, former primary school director, elementary school inspector, Doctor of linguistics and assigned at the Ministry for the Introduction of National Languages in Elementary Schools, told me:

“The contents come from above, that is also a problem. Nobody can change the content, and changes are very difficult to coordinate in this system”.

Dr. Doudou Diouf explains that after projects are being approved within their directions and from the Minister of Education, every project has to go through an arbitration session that controls the financial allocations from the provisions of the state budget. Only after can educational projects be presented in front of the national assembly. The financial support of projects is decided on the basis of all the other ministries (health, environment, etc.). The

national budget of Senegal is allocated depending on the different projects every year. The national assembly and the president ultimately authorise the execution of the budget repartition with the law of finance passed every year. Doudou Diouf confirms that change comes only when there are remarkable difficulties and repeatedly failures. This top-down hierarchy for decision making does not favour decolonising practises. As Doudou Diouf declares a bottom-up approach to educational politics would permit to create an educational system that meets the need of the population. In his point of view, grassroots movements have historically been the ones that demanded changes for the common good.

Dr. Doudou Diouf enlightens that under the presidency of Abdoulaye Wade (2000-2012) the priority was given to education. Nonetheless, primary education has received the bulk of the government's devotion and funding. Additionally, as Doudou Diouf and Alfa Ndiaye explains, the priority was to build proximity schools. The objective was that pupil and especially girls would not have to walk kilometres anymore to go to school.

“We have focused too much on elementary education [...] Emphasizing girls' schooling is supported by the World Bank [...] It was necessary to build community colleges especially to boost girls' schooling”¹⁹ (Alfa Ndiaye).

This prioritised program on accessing school has shown effective progress in the construction of thousands of middle and high schools all over Senegal. Dr. Doudou Diouf says:

“Now we have high schools everywhere, and students with a baccalaureate but universities have not moved” (Dr. Doudou Diouf).

His remark is very pertinent. While investing first in primary school and then into middle and secondary school, the new challenge is also to provide opportunities for further studies and training for pupils with a high school degree. The priority set over the last decades only on maintaining children at school should be rethought, integrating future professional perspectives.

¹⁹ “On a mis trop le focus sur l’enseignement élémentaire [...] Mettre l’accent sur la scolarisation des filles est appuyée par la banque mondiale [...] Il fallait construire des collèges de proximité surtout pour booster la scolarisation des filles » (Alfa Ndiaye).

Fall analyses that Senegal has made the same mistake as France wherein there is a disfunction between the educational system and the labour market. Higher education no longer necessarily leads to a job and technical training has been devalued, on the contrary to Germany. Fall argues that there is a mismatch between the discourse of politicians on youth and the lack of consideration for their needs.

Another impediment to change is the career approach attitude of the members of the ministry in general. Alfa Ndiaye, who worked for the Ministry of Education as a technical advisor and then direct counsellor of two education ministers explained that prioritising personal careers is getting in the way of real realisation: “*At the Ministry people manage their careers, but not the national interest*”.

The main conclusion that emerged frequently during the interviews is that the institutional decision-making system is centralized and inefficient because of its very slow administrative organization. A renewal of the content of history and geography for high school is not considered as an imperative. From my observations and conversation, it seems like these last years commodity imperatives such as building schools were given more importance rather than the rethinking of the program. Though education was prioritised, the content of education was left behind. Some respondents said that we are moving towards a rewriting of the programs, as President Sall mentioned during the last 2018 general competition. Apparently, the reflection is launched and most of educational actors are reflecting about the necessity to rewrite the programs.



Photo 4 – The new building of the ministry of education in Diamniadio, Senegal on the 04/11/20

External Influences

Brock-Utne's book shows that Sub-Saharan African countries are dependent on Western aid for their education sector (Brock-Utne, 2000). Since structural adjustment programs in the 1980s, Senegal's public funding on education decreased giving more opportunities to private schooling, often funded by the West but also increasingly initiatives funded by non-Western actors, such as from the Gulf countries, Turkey, and China (Kaag, 2018).

“The disaster started when the WB and the IMF, in 1993/94 implemented the adjustment programs, where they said to stop the four years training [of teachers], we have to reduce the costs, they [teachers] are now trained for one year, that's where the drop in performance came from, but the WB is not going to say that they are responsible for that. It's the African governments that are responsible for that, it's the Africans” (Alfa Ndiaye)²⁰.

The structural adjustments suppressed budgets for non-productive institutions such as education, culture, or health. In order to save costs on teaching staff; less teachers were employed and volunteers were recruited instead of trained teachers. Also, temporary shelters have remained over years instead of being transformed into real buildings.

²⁰ “La Catastrophe a démarré quand avec la BM et le FMI, en 1993/94 avec les programmes d’ajustements, où on a dit arrêter la formation de quatre ans, il faut réduire les coûts, ils sont maintenant formés pendant un an, c’est de là où il y a eu cette chute de performance, mais la BM ne va pas dire qu’ils sont responsables pour ça. C’est les gouvernements africains qui sont responsables de ça, c’est les Africains”

In another article, Brock-Utne demonstrates that the World bank's influence has stretched out from primary education to higher education pressuring African countries with their neo-liberal agenda, language policy and standardised knowledge production (Brock-Utne, 2003). Thus, processes of decolonising education in Senegal are bounded to global institutional structures that have to be taken into account in this research. The role of the World Bank and its 1990 Education for all conference show that aid maintains power position and even "an intellectual recolonization" with Western curricula, languages and forms of schooling (Brock-Utne, 2000, p. xxiii). Senegal is part of and has even hosted the 2000 Education for All Conference.

Alfa Ndiaye complains about the funding approach that sets up what external actors see as necessary. For example, USAID project EDB10 (Education de Base de 10 ans) agrees to integrate Koranic education, which could be perceived positively as it incorporates locally relevant content. Yet Alfa Ndiaye argues that external donors are primarily driven by their quantitative goals, which are to increase the enrolment at the middle school level. So, in his point of view:

“USAID has a very local and cultural approach in their projects unlike France. USAID even supports Koranic schools. Perhaps more because of competition than for conviction of the Senegalese cultures. (Alfa Ndiaye).

Indeed, according to Alfa Ndiaye there are 26 external partners investing in education in Senegal, who consequently also compete for market share. When I asked Alfa Ndiaye, why external donors invest in education in Senegal, he explained that it is to gain access to education markets. The nominal amounts reported as aid to Senegal is not directly invested in Senegal. A large component goes to international consultants, who get paid, foreign companies building schools, foreign material ordered, etc.

“10 or 15 % goes to Senegal of the total project. The reality of aid is that it allows these funding countries to make their companies work. For schools, you need buildings, furniture, pedagogical material, textbooks published in France” (Alfa Ndiaye).

Alfa Ndiaye warns against the depicted good intention of external donors to invest in Senegal's education and human capital, that is mostly linked to market opportunities.

So, the educational system is based on a top-down structure, where decisions are made either among members from the ministry or from foreign actors. Alfa Ndiaye argues that the diagnosis of the needs for education should be negotiated with the populations, who are the ones concerned:

"Only experts in education but we need to negotiate with the people, the quality of education depends on that. There is no part of the community in the design of programs" (Alfa Ndiaye).

Alfa Ndiaye problematises that only so-called experts in education make decisions and mostly foreign education experts work for the UN or the World Bank. He warns that the quality of education depends on the inclusion of the population and local experts (Interview, Alfa Ndiaye).

To conclude, this part argues that the financing of education is still very much tied to external donors, the majority of whom are in Western countries. Projects that are accompanied or directly financed by the World Bank or the IMF bring with them their orientations which do not go in the direction of local social and cultural realities. As a result, there are many inconsistencies with the external vision of education and its application on the local populations. Hence, another major impediment to decolonising practices is the new global education order that binds Senegal politically and financially and even restrengthens the legacy of Westernised knowledge production.

The National Committee and the Association of History and Geography Professors

Apart from the Ministry of Education, other institutions and organisations have an influence to reform the content of history and geography.

Firstly, the General Inspectorate of Education and Training (IGEF) is placed under the direct authority of the Minister of Education and is extended at the national level for all public and private schools. Its mission is, among other things, to evaluate middle and secondary school programs, to participate in the reform of the education system, to chair national discipline

commissions, and to validate textbooks and teaching materials introduced into the education system. At the Senegalese national level, there are only five inspectors (IGEF) for the discipline of history and geography responsible for everything mentioned above related to the discipline of history and geography (programs, exams, time credit, continuous training for teachers, schoolbooks). The IGEF could play a significant role in the elaboration and verification of appropriate content taught but they are clearly under-staffed. Five inspectors could never complete all the missions listed above on a national level. Since structural adjustment the IGEF has not taken on any new employees due to the drastic shortage of the education budget. So, the IGEF is a structure that could push for renewed content in history and geography content but has not the capacities.

Another structure is the national committee for history and geography, made out of experimental teachers, inspectors and university professors. They are responsible for the conception of the programs and lesson plans as well as all the formal examinations. The current director of the national commission was not really enthusiastic about responding to my questions. My research would have gained in depth information if I could have attended one of these commissions organised a few times throughout the year. Nevertheless, many of my respondents were members of the commission and acknowledge the active dynamic of the commission for the decolonisation of the history and geography content:

"The commission has worked a lot to take into account the thought of Cheikh Anta in the curricula, we have had seminars to assimilate the thought of Cheikh Anta and teach it in elementary school, middle and high schools, the contribution of Africans in the world wars, the tirailleurs sénégalais, we have worked on it" (Ndétare).

The national commission for history and geography are the ones who decided to reduce the lesson plan due to Covid confinement. So, they are also the ones who could initiate a re-adaptation or a renewal of the program. Though, a complete change of the history and geography program does not appear as a necessity for Madické, member of the commission and general secretary of the Association of History and Geography Teachers. According to Madické, the commission works predominantly on the elaboration of examination subjects for middle and high school graduation.

The last organisation I found who could have had an influence as an organised structure is the ASPHG, the Association of the History and Geography Teachers. The founders of the ASPHG are Amadou Mokhtar Mbow²¹ and Assane Seck²². The association was created in 1958 and has 10,000 members today. The ASPHG is supposed to defend the subjects of history and geography and their content; however the interview with the general secretary of the association indicated that the association has not been active for many years. The reasons for its inactivity are internal problems and apparently also financial. The lack of funds does not permit them to organise any more pedagogical outings for teachers. The only activity I could notice is the sharing of historical and geographical documents on the WhatsApp group of the association. An analysis of the documents shared, and the problems raised could have been an interesting addition to this research. My exchanges with teachers did not indicate the existence of an active teachers' unions either.

To conclude, the inclusion of Cheikh Anta Diop's thoughts shows that there are different spaces and organisations existing to navigate decolonising practices, nevertheless the national commission and the ASPHG are still dependent on the Ministry of education who allows real reforms. The next chapter analyses the history and geography program in place formulated by these different decision-making structures.

²¹ Senegalese political figure, Amadou Mokhtar Mbow fought for the French army during the Second World War before becoming the first African general director of the UNESCO between 1974 and 1987.

²² Assane Seck is a Senegalese political figure, who held multiple ministerial positions such as culture and education minister under the presidency of Senghor.



Photo 5 – An empty classroom after a history evaluation in the high school North on the 19/01/21. I was supervising the evaluation, this is why I could sit on the teacher’s desk.

Chapter 7 – The History and the Geography Programs for Secondary Schooling - A Rooted Baobab Tree Open to the World.

The national history and geography programs are official documents, which list the pedagogical guidelines and the lesson plans all teachers in Senegal have to apply. This part aims at evaluating how *Rootedness and Openness* is operationalized in the actual history and geography programs, while questioning how much content included in the programs corresponds to Senegalese reality. Additionally, the elaboration of the program will be interrogated, to see which decision makers influence the outline of the programs and whether these actors might be influencing the conceptualisation of the program with decolonising practices.

Official Guidelines for the History and the Geography Programs

Every public high school in Senegal is teaching the same history and geography programs. Regardless of ideological orientation, Franco-Arabic schools, like schools that refer to the Senegalese official program, teach the same history and geography programs. Adherence to the official guidelines is required because exams are the same for all schools and developed based on the official program.

The actual programs have been lastly actualised in September 2004 and count as the official guidelines that professors need to conform to. These two programs include a lesson plan for history and geography for all the three different classes of high school (Seconde, Première and Terminale) and highlight the priorities for teaching practices. The introduction of the programs announces the pedagogical methodologies and approaches for teaching and evaluating students. For example, students' participation in the elaboration of knowledge is encouraged, as is an emphasis in class on teaching transferable knowledge and skills. Placing the pupil at the centre of the pedagogical approach is one of the main pedagogical priorities. The student is considered an active participant in the classroom contrary to colonial schooling as only a receiver of knowledge. Placing the child at the centre of teaching and learning is considered an empowering pedagogical method, especially in that it places the African child and their experiences at the centre of phenomena (King and Swartz, 2018, p. 26).

Interestingly, oral tradition is also explicitly mentioned as deserving a place in the construction of knowledge. Hereafter, a reconsideration of teaching methods has been undertaken and even adapted to Senegalese reality. Ndétare explains that in the lower classes, pupils are asked to get some information from their family members or in their neighbourhood about historical facts. This reinforces local knowledge and gives a recognition and value to oral tradition as a source for historical knowledge. As Sow shows, oral tradition can be considered as the local archives for history. They were taught orally through the “griots” and mainly elders in communities, that acted as historical instructors (Sow, 2004).

The history program is led by three principles, formulated as follows: 1) “refocusing on Senegalese history from its origins to independence without neglecting African and extra-African history”; 2) “articulating content according to the different themes chosen without neglecting chronology”; 3) “emphasizing on a conception of history that privileges the role of people and economic, political, social and cultural facts” (source: official history program, 2004). The concept of *Rootedness* and *Openness* is accentuated with the first principle, showing the concern to recentre knowledge around Senegal without falling into self-centeredness. The aim to Africanise the curriculum without isolating Senegal and Africa from the rest of the world is clearly stated. *Rootedness* and *Openness* is seen as a two folded principle that should be beneficial for Africa (Timera, 2013). The third principle tries to dissociate the teaching of history and geography from state-oriented topics. This demonstrates the distance taken to a previously nationalist ideological orientation in the teaching of history and geography.

Concerning geography, the concern raised in the program is to break with encyclopedism and to accentuate the use of the immediate reality and the environment of the students in geography classes. The approach adopted here is similar to the approach in the history program, and starts from the surrounding environment of the student to open up slowly to other environments. The notions acquired evolve from the local to the national level to open up to the continental and international levels. Here again the principle of *Rootedness and Openness* is the main guideline for the geography lesson plan, in which it is considered that the familiar environment can serve as a starting point to discover other spaces. In the following parts I will explore how the lesson plans are adjusted according to this principle.

Analysis of the History Lesson Plan – a Balance Between African and World history

The following Lesson Plan was applied during my field research; it has been reduced due to the covid-pandemic and the delayed start of the schoolyear.

Table 3: History lesson plan for 2020-21, reduced due to confinement (Covid-19 restrictions).

Classe de Seconde	Classe de Première	Classe de Terminale
Leçon 2 ²³ : Problématique de l'histoire africaine. (2h ²⁴)	Leçon 1 : La révolution industrielle. (1h)	Leçon 1 : Les conséquences de la 2 ^{ème} guerre mondiale et les règlements du conflit. (3h)
Leçon 3 : L'Afrique, berceau de l'humanité. (2h)	Leçon 2 : Conséquences de la révolution industrielle. (1h)	Leçon 2 : Les relations Est/Ouest. (3h)
Leçon 4 : Les civilisations paléolithiques et la révolution néolithiques en Afrique. (2h)	Leçon 3 : Le syndicalisme et le socialisme. (2h)	Leçon 3 : La Chine de 1945 à 1990. (2h)
Leçon 7 : Exercices à la technique de dissertation. (1h)	Leçon 4 : Rappel méthodologique sur la dissertation et le commentaire. (1h)	Leçon 4 : Causes générales de la décolonisation. (2h)
Leçon 8 : La civilisation de l'Égypte pharaonique. (2h)	Leçon 5 : L'impérialisme en Afrique. (1h)	Leçon 5 : Les formes de la décolonisation. (3h)
Leçon 9 : L'empire de Axoum en Éthiopie. (1h)	Leçon 7 : La conférence de Berlin. (1h)	Leçon 6 : La décolonisation au Proche -Orient, la question palestinienne et les relations israélo-arabes. (2h)
Leçon 12 : Les civilisations du Soudan médiéval (Ghana, Mali, Songhai). (2h)	Leçon 9 : Les différentes formes de résistance à l'impérialisme européen. (2h)	Leçon 10 : Introduction à l'étude des civilisations. (1h)
Leçon 13 : Le processus d'islamisation en Afrique occidentale. (1h)	Leçon 13 : La première guerre mondiale et ses conséquences. (2h)	Leçon 12 : Les civilisations négro-africaines : Organisation sociale, politique et économique. (2h)
Leçon 17 : La traite arabe. (2h)	L'Afrique dans la première guerre mondiale. (2h)	Leçon 14 : L'évolution du monde négro-africain : l'influence de l'islam, du christianisme et de la colonisation. (2h)
Leçon 18 : La traite atlantique. (2h)	La Chine de 1911 à 1945. (2h)	Leçon 19 : Unité et diversité du monde musulman. (2h)
Leçon 20 : La révolution du Torodo. (1h)	La crise économique de 1929 et la montée des périls dans le monde (fascisme, nazisme). (2h)	
Leçon 23 : Les révolutions américaines et française. (2h)	La seconde Guerre mondiale. (2h)	

²³ Lessons are numbered according to the official lesson plan, to facilitate a comparison and to show the reduction.

²⁴ (2h) = 2hours ; (1h) = 1hour.

As Timera operationalises, the concept of *Rootedness* for history and geography content aims at forming a Senegalese citizen conscious of his belonging and his identity (Senegalese history and Muslim civilization). *Rootedness* also means that the national education should include African history and cultures. It emphasises the solidarity of the African continent and cultivates a sense of African unity. *Rootedness* also includes the Francophonie: “It should reflect Senegal’s membership in the cultural community of French-speaking countries” (Timera, unpublished). *Openness* means that “education is open to the values of universal civilization and is embedded in the currents of contemporary world, in this way it develops the spirit of cooperation and peace among humans” (Orientation Law n° 2004-37, 2004).

The lesson plan above shows that in general there is a slight predominance for lessons embedded or relevant for Senegalese realities. The time repartition shows that out of a total of 61 hours, 55,7% can be considered as part of *Rootedness* and 39,3% as part of the *Openness* (the 5% remaining are either methodological lessons or general theoretical notion). *Rootedness* is weighted more strongly than *Openness*.

Especially for the class of Seconde, most of the content can be related to Senegalese realities apart from the last lesson about the American and French revolutions. Pre-colonial African history is being tackled in many different regions. The first lesson about the problematic of African history deconstructs the invented belief that Africa had no history prior to colonisation. Friedrich Hegel and others have for decades portrayed the African continent as the dark continent with no civilisation and no history. This illusion is being dismantled throughout the program with seven lessons about African civilisations before colonisation.

In the class of Première, the majority of the content shifts towards *Openness* with the industrial revolution and the first World War in Europe. The African continent is addressed only in relation to imperialism and the first World War. The role played by the so called tirailleurs sénégalais, who were Senegalese and other Africans from former French colonies involved in the first World War is not being silenced anymore. Their implication, but most importantly the racist treatment and non-recognition received during and after the War by France, is being spoken aloud. The massacre of Thiaroye in 1944, where thousands of soldiers who were

claiming their war compensation were killed by French forces, is being addressed. More historical facts particular to Senegal are not being addressed in Première.

For the class of Terminale the lesson plan starts with the Second World War, its consequences, and the Cold War. The decolonisation and independence movements are given a significant importance with three lessons in the reduced program and five in the official. Here again it can be observed that the lesson plan includes examples from almost all of the continents. The lessons about decolonisation do not focus only on Senegal or Western Africa. On the contrary, the program tries to embrace as many examples as possible from all over the world. The case of Algeria as a violent form of decolonisation is juxtaposed with Senegal and India as peaceful forms of decolonisation. The examples of Indochina, the Maghreb, the Gold Coast, Guinea Bissau and the middle East (Israel and Palestine) are supposed to be tackled. The third major topic learned in class of Terminale is the study of civilisation. The two civilisations chosen are “negro-African civilisation” and “Muslim civilisation” as labelled in the reduced program. Hence, for this last class of high school, a major portion of the content refers to *Rootedness* and seems in line with decolonial thoughts.

Nonetheless, the reduction of the program shows that the lessons completely left out do concern *Rootedness* such as Senegalese history for the class of Seconde (the study of the relationship between Egyptian civilisation and the rest of Africa or the Jolof empire). For the class of Terminale it is the topic about decolonisation and Muslim civilisation that has been cut out drastically from the official program (see table 4). While four different lessons were included in the official lesson plan, only lesson 19 remained, entitled Unity and Diversity of the Muslim World.

Table 4: Omitted history lessons, normally included in the official history lesson plan.

Leçon 15 : La naissance de l’islam : l’Arabie préislamique ; Mohamed.

Leçon 16: Le Coran et les fondements de l’islam.

Leçon 17: La constitution du monde musulman : expansion et organisation.

Leçon 18: La culture
musulmane: pensée religieuse,
vie intellectuelle et artistique

Compared to the first part entitled “The World in the Aftermath of the Second World War 1945-1990” that has been kept as such, the second part about decolonisation and affirmation of the Third World has been reduced importantly as well as the part on African and Muslim civilization. One could argue that the lesson plan of Terminale has not been reduced according to Senegalese realities.

The fact that the reduced as well as the official program use the word “negro-Africaines” to talk about Sub-Saharan countries shows how outdated colonial terminology is still being used in teaching programs. To entitle a part of the lesson plan as such is a replication of colonial rhetoric. The identification of a certain territory according to the “race” of its population is in my point of view problematic and arose during colonisation, when the distinction of pigmentation between Northern and Southern African population made a subjective difference for the colonisers. Moreover, using the description “Third World” as a title and in the lessons shows that reflection about its inappropriate use has not reached the people formulating the program. The so called “Third World” is negatively connoted and takes its sources from the Cold War, as the countries who were not aligned to any blocs (NATO versus Warsaw Pact). The term developing countries, or Global South is portrayed as being a less pejorative way of describing lower income countries. The problematic of these terms is that they categorise countries according to standards defined only by a minority of powerful countries. Additionally, categorising countries according to certain development criteria does not consider the historical exploitative oppression involved. Oppressor countries and oppressed countries are labels that would still show the dichotomy but handle the responsibility from a different perspective.

Interestingly, China has a significant place compared to other countries as Chinese history is being dedicated two lessons, one in Premiere and one in Terminale. China represents a counter power state compared to the Western powers. It also gives another example to development and political organisation. One could argue that the growing investment of China in Senegal makes it necessary to know more about Chinese history, though the question whether students

can relate to and see meaning in learning about Chinese history could also be asked. Regardless, China represents an alternative to Western countries for history and geography classes, which is a way to decolonise content.

To conclude, analysis of the history lesson plan reveals that Senegalese and African history associated with Rootedness is as much represented as world history presented through the lens of Openness, as shown in the following figure.

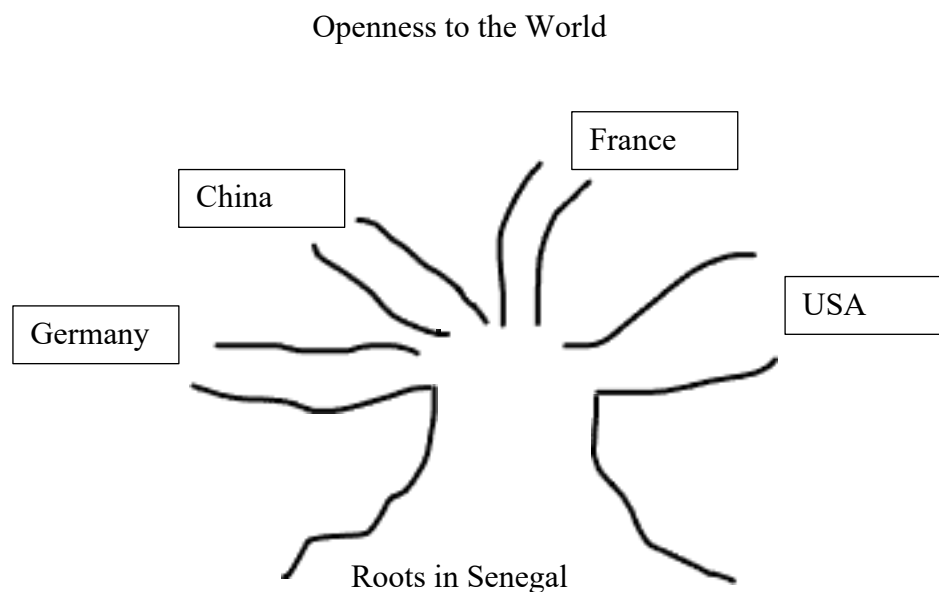


Figure 1: Self drawn baobab tree to depict the philosophy of *Rootedness and Openness*

Analysis of the Geography Lesson Plan

Table 5: Geography lesson plan for 2020-21, reduced due to confinement (Covid-19 restrictions).

Classe de Seconde	Classe de Première	Classe de Terminale
Leçon 2 ²⁵ : Les mouvements de la Terre. (2h)	Leçon 1 : Les inégalités de développement dans le monde. (2h)	Leçon 1 : Le système-monde : Les espaces interdépendants. (2h)
Leçon 3 : Les formes de représentation de la Terre (y compris les coordonnées géographiques). (2h)	Leçon 3 : L'accroissement de la population mondiale et les politiques démographiques	Leçon 2+3 : L'espace Nord-américain : milieux naturels et populations. (3h)

²⁵ Lessons are numbered according to the official lesson plan, to facilitate a comparison and to show the consequent reduction.

	(construction et interprétation de courbes d'évolution). (2h)	
Leçon 4 : La répartition des continents et des océans. (2h)	Leçon 4 : Les migrations. (3h)	Leçon 4 : La construction de l'espace économique : Etats-Unis, Canada, Mexique. (2h)
Leçon 5 : Les eaux marines (2h)	Leçon 5 : Les structures de la population mondiale. (2h)	Leçon 5 : Le modèle économique américain : Caractéristiques et problèmes. (3h)
Leçon 7 : Structure de l'atmosphère. (2h)	Leçon 7 : La répartition de la population mondiale. (2h)	Leçon 6+7 : La construction européenne : réalités et perspective. (4h)
Leçon 8+9 : Les facteurs et les éléments du climat. (2h)	Leçon 9 : Les formes de mise en valeur agricole dans les pays tropicaux et leur évolution. (3h)	Leçon 8 : Etude économique (alternée chaque année) entre la France et l'Allemagne (2h)
Leçon 11 : La tectonique des plaques et l'isostasie. (2h)	Leçon 12 : L'évolution des formes de mise en valeur agricole en Europe. (2h)	Leçon 9 : Les facteurs d'émergence et leurs limites. (2h)
Leçon 12 : Les roches. (2h)	Leçon 13 : Les formes de mise en valeur agricole dans les pays dits neufs (exemple des Etats-Unis). (2h)	Leçon 10 : Le modèle économique japonais : Caractéristique et problème. (2h)
Leçon 13 : Les grand types de structures et leur répartition. (2h)	Leçon 14 : La pêche : formes traditionnelle et moderne. (2h)	Leçon 11 : Les problèmes démographiques de la Chine. (1h)
Leçon 14 : L'érosion. (2h)	Leçon 16 : Les formes d'urbanisation dans le monde et leurs problèmes. (3h)	Leçon 12 : Le modèle de développement économique et sociale chinois. (3h)
Leçon 15 : Les formes de relief terrestre et leur répartition. (2h)	Leçon 18 : Les activités urbaines dans le monde. (2h)	Leçon 13+14 : Le Brésil : une puissance du tiers-monde. (2h)
Leçon 17 : Les régions intertropicales. (2h)	Leçon 20 : Les moyens de communication : Transports et télécommunications. (2h)	Leçon 15 : Les problèmes et perspectives de développement du continent africain. (2h)
Leçon 18 : Les régions tempérées. (2h)	Leçon 22 : L'organisation du commerce mondial et l'échange inégal. (2h)	Leçon 16 : Milieux et populations du Sénégal. (1h)
Leçon 19 : Les régions polaires. (2h)	Leçon 23 : Les espaces d'intégration économique : problématique et organisation. (2h)	Leçon 17 : La question de l'eau au Sénégal. (1h)
Leçon 20 : L'originalité des montagnes et des littoraux. (2h)		Leçon 18 : Les problèmes économiques et les politiques de développement. (2h)

The lesson plan of geography appears more difficult to categorise into a schema of *Rootedness* or *Openness*. Many topics can be described as general knowledge, or world problematics. For example, geographic notions about planet earth are relevant to general knowledge, while a title such as “Migrations” or “World populations” seems to be part of worldwide problematics. The generic titles of the geography lessons are therefore more difficult to identify as either *Rootedness* or *Openness* than the history lessons. Impressively, only the last two lessons of Terminale refer in their title specifically to Senegal and lesson 15 in Terminale to the African continent. Timera explains that with the reform of 1967, geography lessons were no longer structured according to states but by larger physical, economical and human problematics (Timera, 2013, p. 150). States’ particularities serve as examples for each topic. Timera concludes in his analysis of the 1967 geography program that: “The concern to give young Africans a universal and humanistic culture has led to the development of exhaustive and encyclopaedic content covering the whole planet and addressing issues and object of several kinds” (Timera, 2013, p. 150). Timera’s argument can be applied to the 2004 lesson plan, as the non-specific titles of the lessons show the will to embrace as many different subjects as possible. Through an analysis of the content of the lessons, I will be able to confirm or challenge Timera’s argument about encyclopaedic content.

The lesson plan for the class of Seconde concentrates on physical geography with lessons about earth movements, oceans, climates, etc. No specific world regions are distinguished in the lesson plan, beside guidelines that call upon teachers to refer mainly to local examples. Hence, the principles of *Rootedness and Openness* are not applicable for the lesson plan of the class of Seconde. All the lessons seem to be part of a general knowledge about the physical traits of planet Earth.

In the class of Première, human geography is the central thematic. The official program seeks to address the unequal development of the world. The suppression of the notions of development and underdevelopment is explicitly mentioned, to be replaced by “more dynamic terms such as inequality of development” (official geography program of 2004). The second part of the program deals with population and activities in rural areas. Interestingly, as Timera analysed already for the program of 1967: “rurality and traditions are no longer presented as horizons to be surpassed, contrary to colonial writing, but as forms of enhancement or practices

that should serve as models” (Timera, 2013, p.149). Indeed, the lesson plan always titled its lessons as valorisations of the rural areas. Yet, no lessons on agriculture refer directly to the Senegalese context. The lesson plan for Première in 1967 has almost the exact same lesson titles as the current one. This means that the lessons about rurality and agriculture have remained in place for more than fifty years. Furthermore, the dichotomy between rurality and urbanisation can be observed with lessons concentrating firstly about agriculture and fishery to evolve towards urbanisation, cities, and trade. Timera analyses for the program of 1967 that lessons about urbanisation and cities are portrayed less positively than the ones about rurality, associating urbanisation with the collapse of traditional structures while associating rurality with traditions and customs. Observations in class would have allowed me to evaluate Timera’s observation, but unfortunately, I have only had the opportunity to observe until lesson 7 for the class of Première. Only the last lesson of the program, with the study of international cooperation, includes more or less directly Senegal with the examples of the UEMOA and the CDAO. Yet here again the program formulation shows the will to include the “whole world”, instead of concentrating on regional cooperation in which Senegal is implicated. The ALENA and the European Union are also part of the last lesson.

In the class of Terminale, specific countries are mentioned: Japan, the United States, France, Germany, Brazil, and China. Only Brazil represents the so-called emerging countries. Even though it is more difficult to visualise *Rootedness* and *Openness* in the lessons of geography, it is evident that for the class of Terminale more lessons deal with the study of non-African countries. Most of the countries specifically mentioned in the titles of the lessons are powerful nations. It seems like they are used as examples of development ideals. This will be confirmed in the next chapter with the analysis of the content of these lessons.

Timera examines for the 1967 geography program that: “Africa as an object of study carries almost the same weight as the rest of the world” (Timera, 2013, p.150). This is not applicable for the 2004 high school geography program, in which clearly Senegal and African countries are represented only minimally. A look at the geography lesson plan for middle school (from 6ème to 3ème, grade 6 to grade 10) shows that the focus on Senegalese geography is only in grade 6, in which all the lessons refer to the different regions of Senegal. Grades 7, 8, 9 and 10 are like the class of Première- not country-related but dealing with human geography

problematics. Without an analysis of the content of the lessons, it is difficult to review what balance between *Rootedness* and *Openness* is applied in geography for high school classes.

All in all, the ambition to structure lesson plans like a double funnel (figure 2) that starts with *Rootedness* to open up slowly to the world and then re-centre back to its origins has worked out for the subject of history yet failed for geography content in high school.

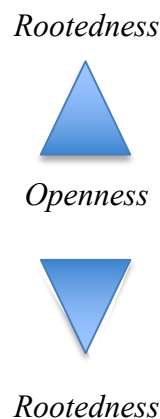


Figure 2 – Double Funnel representing the organisation of content taught

Accordingly, a significant portion, yet not the majority, of the lesson plan for history is attributed to African history or African related history. This means for the teaching of history that the content goes from the local to the global to re-centre back to Senegalese history (as the figure above shows). Some respondents explained that for the middle school classes a predominance of rooted content was taught and that is why in the last high school years the equilibrium between *Rootedness* and *Openness* can be equal. For the lesson plan of geography, *Rootedness* is limited and the double funnel that opens up slowly to the African continent and the world cannot be observed. Lessons' titles are generic and concern mostly word problematics. For the three high school years of geography, only the last two geography lessons of Terminale re-centre specifically on Senegal.

This chapter provided an examination of the official program and political guidelines that set the framework for history and geography teaching in Senegalese high schools. Nevertheless, it

does not show how the program is applied on the ground. The next chapter will look at the implementation of these programs in the classroom through classroom observation.

Conclusion

To conclude, there are several historical circumstances and political structures that gave opportunities or, in the contrary, anchored impediments to decolonising practices for history and geography content. Researching the changes and the reforms of education laws and history and geography programs has shown that Senegal's first president Leopold Sedar Senghor, in power from 1960 until 1980, has set the tone for education issues in Senegal. His principles of *Rootedness* and *Openness* count as guidelines for all educational curricula and teaching programs since 1971. It can be especially understood as the foundation for the content of history and geography from primary school to secondary school. Senghor's integration of African content did not include criticism towards power relations entailed in modernity and universalism, nor criticism towards colonialism nor imperialism in Senegal. All in all, historical attempts at decolonising history and geography teaching have been present with the integration of African and Senegalese content. The content of high school years for history shows an equilibrium between 'rooted' content and 'open' content. Yet geography lessons are generic and concern mostly word problematics. The history function to transmit a national consciousness favoured locally relevant knowledge, however the assimilation ideology infiltrated in today's way of perceiving education and impedes African content in favour of Western general knowledge. Furthermore, one could argue that internal decolonisation of programs cannot be achieved without an external decolonisation of the system as well. In fact, Senegal's state is inserted in complex dependent relations for financial assistance in education that bind them to certain decision making. The latest changes have been financed and urged by Western donors that introduce new content and pedagogies such as the competency approach and prioritising primary education. Hence, historically and politically, decolonisation occurred for history and geography teaching, however, it also confronted new forms of colonisation/domination of knowledge. Investigating how the Senegalese state resists or caves to these re-colonisations could be an appropriate extension of this research.

THIRD PART – Decolonising Opportunities and Impediments in the Classrooms

This part will go beyond the titles of the lesson plan and analyse the unfolding of the program through observations realised in different classes over a duration of three months between 3rd of December 2020 and the 3rd of March 2021. How teachers make use of historical and geographical content in the classrooms will be analysed to explore whether teachers are engaged in decolonising practises. The documentation that teachers use and the reaction and opinion of students will also be analysed in the light of decolonising prospects. The 138 questionnaires distributed and collected, allow to examine the learner’s opinion about history and geography classes. Chapter 8 will explore the possibilities for decolonisation, while chapter 9 and 10 will show the different impediments to decolonisation of history and geography content and teaching.

Chapter 8 – Exploring Possibilities for Decolonisation in the Classroom

Re-Valorisation of African History

African History has been denied its existence through Hegel’s and others determinist affirmation that Africa had no history. The Hobbesian picture of Africa as “the dark continent” without civilisation, history, culture nor art has been propagated through colonisation (Mudimbe, 1988). The instrumentalization and deformation of African history during colonisation, and its invalidation in the name of colonial epistemology, generated a larger problematic this thesis cannot tackle. Nevertheless, the importance of teaching and learning African history from an African perspective is one of the key elements in decolonising education.

In September 2016, after the celebrations of the 30th anniversary of Cheikh Anta Diop's death, the government decreed the integration of his thoughts into the school curriculum. Cheikh Anta Diop is a Senegalese historian and scientist who proved through linguistic analysis and archaeology that the Egyptians were Black Africans and interconnected with the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa. He participated in the development of the project for the re-writing of African history and fought as a political figure for the independence of Senegal and the building of a federal African union. The first two history lessons for the class of Seconde about ‘Africa, the

creed for civilisation’ and ‘Egyptian civilisation’ integrate his work. The fact that the ancient Egyptians were black Africans is being taught and that Black Africa was the mother of all civilizations dismantles the part of racism and colonialism, which assimilated Africans with less intellectual capacities. Former teacher and member of the national commission Ndétare, teaching history at the university Cheikh Anta Diop expresses that:

« On a tendance à penser que ce sont les Européens qui était à l’origine de ces civilisations mais fondamentalement ce sont des civilisations africaines qui ont été bâties par des Africains et c’est la compréhension de ce phénomène qui me semble être important » - “We tend to think that it was the Europeans who were at the origin of these civilisations but fundamentally they are African civilisations that were built by Africans and it is the understanding of this phenomenon that seems important to me” (Ndétare).

Remarkably, in the estimation of the 138 questionnaires, the two lessons ‘Africa, the creed for civilisation’ and ‘Egyptian civilisation’ show a distinctive preference. For each class the questionnaire asked to choose the two most interesting lesson of the lesson plan. Out of 138 questionnaires, 86 learners in the Franco-Arabic high school as well as in the public excellency high school have answered preferring the course of “Africa, the creed for civilisation” out of all the other lessons in the class of Seconde. To exemplify their comments, here is what learner North_TerminaleS1-1²⁶ said:

Je préfère ces leçons car je les ai comprises mieux que les autres. Par ailleurs, concernant le ①, ce fut un plaisir pour moi d'apprendre que l'Afrique est le berceau de l'Humanité car étant considérée depuis longtemps un continent sans civilisation. Pour le ② et le ③, c'est des leçons qui permettent de comprendre comment le monde a évolué politiquement, économiquement et socialement.

Après le Bac, j'aimerais faire :	Dans quel continent ?	Dans quel pays ?
Études supérieures	Afrique	Canada ou France
Formation ✓	Amérique du Nord ✓	
	Amérique Latine	
Trouver un emploi	Europe ✓ Asie	

²⁶ The code to identify learners refer to the high school, the class and the number of the questionnaire. In this case, North = High school North – Terminale S1 for the class and 1 for the questionnaire rank in my analysis.

Extract from the questionnaire of learner North_TerminaleS1-1

The explanation of the learner North_TerminaleS1_1 says that “it’s been a pleasure to learn that Africa is the cradle of humanity because it has been considered since a long time as a continent without civilisation”. This shows how African history can positively and personally affect learners.

Learner North_TerminaleS1_3 shares her/his interest for the two lessons ‘Africa, the creed for civilisation’ and ‘Egyptian civilisation’, saying that it was the most interesting lesson of high school. She/he also demonstrates having understood Cheikh Anta Diop’s argument that black Africans have been creators of civilisation, which places them at the same level of capacities as the white man: “These 2 lessons seem to be the most interesting out of all that I could have learned in high school (at least for now). The reason for these choices is the fact that at the end of each lesson, we understand that in reality Africa is not a continent of barbarians and that the black man is on the same level than the white man” (Learner North_TerminaleS1_3).

Questions 3 : D’après les leçons ci-dessous (même si vous ne les avez pas toutes abordées) entoure les deux leçons que tu as préférées/ qui t’ont le plus intéressées en histoire, cette année et les années précédentes. Explique en quelques mots ou phrases pourquoi ces leçons t’ont le plus intéressées.

Les 2 leçons me semblent être les plus intéressantes de tout ce que j’ai pu apprendre au lycée, (du moins pour le moment). La raison de ces choix est le fait que à la fin de chaque leçon, on comprend en réalité que l’Afrique n’est non seulement pas un continent de barbares mais aussi que l’homme noir est au même niveau que l’homme blanc.

Extract from the questionnaire of learner North_TerminaleS1_3

Learner North_1ère_1 also details reasons why it is important and interesting to learn about the Senegalese and African history. Interestingly is that she/he knows that African history is until today not told rightfully:

Questions 2 : Entourez le continent qui vous intéresse le plus pour apprendre des contenus d'Histoire et de Géographie ? Et choisissez parmi ce continent deux pays qui vous intéresse le plus.

	Afrique	Europe	Asie	Amérique du Nord	Amérique Latine	Océanie
Quels Pays :	Sénégal Nadi					

Expliquez pourquoi ce choix.

Car le Sénégal est mon pays natal mais ce qui me pousse véritablement à vouloir étudier l'histoire dans mon pays est que si je pars en Europe par exemple la vraie histoire de mon pays ne me sera pas racontée mais plutôt ce qu'ils veulent que je sache ce qui entraînera le mépris de mon pays.

Questions 3 : D'après les leçons ci-dessous (même si vous ne les avez pas toutes abordées) entourez les deux leçons que tu as préférées/ qui t'ont le plus intéressées en histoire, cette année et les années précédentes. Expliquez en quelques mots ou phrases pourquoi ces leçons t'ont le plus intéressées.

L'Afrique, berceau de l'humanité et les civilisations préhistoriques et la révolution néolithique africaine.

Cette leçon nous a permis de connaître la vraie histoire de l'Afrique par rapport à l'enseignement primaire mais aussi comment on nous a colonisé et le plus important pourquoi l'Afrique est le berceau de l'humanité. Elle nous a beaucoup renseigné sur le statut de l'Afrique que nous ont fixé les blancs.

Extract from the questionnaire of learner North_1ère_1

The learner North_1ère_1 explains that “Senegal is my home country but what really motivates me to study the history of my country is that if I go to Europe for example, the real history of my country will not be told but rather what they want me to know will be told, which will result in the contempt of my country”. This learner from North_1ère_1 demonstrates knowing that history can be instrumentalised. The learner continues arguing that the lesson about ‘Africa, the cradle of humanity’ “has permitted to know the true history of Africa compared to primary teaching but also how we have been colonised and most importantly why Africa is the cradle of humanity. It has taught them about the status of Africa fixed by the Whites”. In fact, as Diop explains, many scientists worked on the scientific justification that Africa had no history in order to serve colonialism. In this way, invasion and domination could be defensible. The indoctrination that Africa had no history and no civilisation means for the colonisers to deny any valuable creative capacities to the colonised and the only ability of imitation (Diop, 1954, p.14). To deconstruct this ideology through history education is a decolonial practise.

Another learner South-1èreS2-1 recognised the necessity to learn about African history by saying that:

“Connaitre l’histoire de l’Afrique c’est ma priorité. Ce que j’aimerais pouvoir changer ou améliorer c’est qu’on nous apprend nos histoires au lieu de l’histoire de l’Occident qui nous ont causé tous nos problèmes d’aujourd’hui” – “Knowing the history of Africa is my priority. What I would like to be able to change or improve is that we are taught our own history instead of the history of the West that has caused all our problems today” (South-1èreS2-1).

Moreover, learner South_1èreS2_1 also expresses the will to learn more about the history of Afro-Americans and gives the example of Malcom X.

Questions 2 : Entourez le continent qui vous intéresse le plus pour apprendre des contenus d’Histoire et de Géographie ? Et choisissez parmi ce continent deux pays qui vous intéresse le plus.

	Afrique	Europe	Asie	Amérique du Nord	Amérique Latine	Océanie
Quels Pays :				- Canada - USA		

Expliquez pourquoi ce choix.

J’ai fais ces choix parce que j’aimerais bien savoir l’histoire des noirs américains par exemple : **Malcom X**. Pour moi il est temps que les africains connaissent leur histoire pour stopper l’hémorragie. **Ce fait parti de mes combats.**

Extract from the questionnaire of learner South_1èreS2_1

This demonstrates the will to connect African history beyond the African continent. Seck argues for the necessity to teach about the “deported Africans”, creolisation, and to understand the reasons for their involuntary displacement (Seck, 2007, p. 118). Learner South_1èreS2_1 also adds that: “it is time for Africans to know their history to stop the haemorrhage. It’s part of my battles”. This shows that this learner is aware about the danger of silencing African history and that he/she might want to take actions.

Unfortunately, I did not do observations in a classroom where the lesson about ‘Africa, the creed for civilisation’ and ‘Egyptian civilisation’ were taught. The questionnaires show that 72% of the learners asked preferred firstly ‘Africa, the creed for civilisation’ and then 41% of the pupils also enjoyed the class about Egyptian civilisation out of all the other lessons in the program of Seconde. This majority regardless of the school, could also be explained because these two classes are taught at the beginning of the school year when teachers have enough

time and energy to go in depth. This would make sense according to the following chapter, that shows that the program is too long and rarely unfolded until the end (chapter 10).

Furthermore, professor Fodé Ndao also retells that during their training to become teachers in the 1980s, students (future teachers) had to visit different regions and research historical information on the ground. In that way, he says that the content of history was also decolonised. They would collect information through conversations with local populations and learn about the localities. This was in place when the regional Ecole Normale²⁷ schools still existed; they were suppressed afterwards with structural adjustment and the cutting of funds to be spent on education. The formation of history and geography teachers went from four to two years of training. Some respondents deplored this shortening because it ended up in lack of historical depth and pedagogical training. Still, Fodé Ndao also reminds that:

« L'Africanisation du personnel fait partie de la décolonisation, c'est pour cela que l'École Normale est devenue la FASTEF. La formation de profs par des anciens profs sénégalais va participer à une sénégalisation des enseignements et des contenus des programmes » - "The Africanisation of the staff is part of decolonisation, that is why the *École Normale* became the FASTEF. The training of teachers by former Senegalese teachers will contribute to a Senegalisation of the teaching and the content of the programmes" (Fodé Ndao)

Indeed, the perspective of historians also impacts on the resulting historical content. Even though, history is supposed to be a non-subjective discipline, it can be argued that the positioning of historians influences on the historical outcomes and narrations, especially if the latter are anchored in Eurocentric forms of discourses. This is being discussed and acknowledged as a new challenge for historians aware of the limits of a Eurocentric vision of history (Chrétien, 2003). Therefore, promoting African historians to research and write African history is facilitating an African approach and hence acts as a decolonial approach to history.

Teachers' interviews show the awareness about the ambition for the re-writing of African history. The general project for the re-writing of African history as well as the national project

²⁷ L'École Normale is the previous name of the FASTEF, the training school for teacher of all subjects. IT was named École Normale according to the French system and the existing École Normale in France.

for the re-writing of Senegalese history, launched among others by Professor Iba der Thiam²⁸ contributed importantly to the affirmation and re-valorisation of African history. Some respondents stated that these projects should give future prospective to the actualisation and reformulation for the next historical and geographical programs. Regrettably, no official guidelines have been designed to link the re-writing of Senegal's history with educational content.

To conclude, looking at pre-colonial African history shows that the multi-ethnic empires had efficient modes of governance, religious tolerance and most importantly were capable of creativity, organisation and civilisation. Abdou Sow argues that teaching historical governance capacities and cooperation could be the foundations for a future African federal state²⁹. Though, Mor Ndoa and Ndétare also warned against teaching only ancient African history and leaving out contemporary African history. They argue that it is necessary to integrate post-independence Africa into the notion of *Rootedness* that essentially mostly refer to ancient civilisations. In general, re-valorising African history has benefits for learners' sense of belonging. As the questionnaire showed, learners are mostly interested in African history and are willing to know more even about it. Their interest in African history is closely linked to their identity building as we will explore more precisely in the next part.

Re-Valorisation of African Pride

The creation of new African states makes the teaching and learning of history and the past even more necessary for the younger generation to deconstruct negative prejudices in order to revalorise a new African consciousness (Kipré, 2005). As Kipré argues, the teaching of history and geography contributes to the building of a national consciousness and personal identity. This role is attributed among others to history and geography teaching in the official program:

²⁸ Professor Iba der Thiam is a Senegalese historian and politician, minister of education in Senegal, he worked for the re-writing of African history at UNESCO and stands as one of the main advocate for the re-valorisation and re-affirmation of African history.

²⁹ Abdoul Sow in the radio program of RFI Afrique (Radio France International) of the 24/02/2017 entitled: "Enseigner l'Histoire Générale de l'Afrique".

“S’attacher à leur pays, l’aimer et le servir avec dévouement, être des patriotes imbus du sens civique” – “To be attached to their country, to love it and serve it with dedication, to be patriotic and civic-minded” (official history program, 2004).

“Que les hommes ne se sentent pas mal dans les peaux de leurs espaces et de leurs milieux, dans leurs paysages et dans les régions des civilisations autres que les leurs..., parce qu'ils en connaîtront les origines et les évolutions, ensuite parce que les ayant compris, ils seront en mesure d'agir sur eux, de les transformer en connaissance de cause” – “That people do not feel bad in their skin, about their spaces and environments, their landscapes and in the regions of civilisations other than their own..., because they will know their origins and developments, and then because, having understood them, they will be able to act on them, to transform them” (P. Pinchemel quoted in the official geography program, 2004).

So, one mission given to the teaching of history and geography is to be able to localise oneself in a national space and to be proud to belong to it. Also, learners explained that they prefer to study African content and justify their choices because of national belonging. A large number of learners (61 out of 138) have chosen Senegal as a country about which they are mostly interested in to learn history and geography content. Learner North_1èreS2_1 clearly expresses that learning about her native country and her origins would permit her to become “more proud of who I am”.

Questions 2 : Entourez le continent qui vous intéresse le plus pour apprendre des contenus d'Histoire et de Géographie ? Et choisissez parmi ce continent deux pays qui vous intéresse le plus.

	Afrique	Europe	Asie	Amérique du Nord	Amérique Latine	Océanie
Quels Pays :	Sénégal Mali					

Expliquez pourquoi ce choix.

Premièrement, je suis africaine précisément sénégalaise d'origine malienne. J'aimerais connaître l'histoire de mon pays natal et celle de mon pays d'origine pour plus être fière de ce que je suis. Quant à la Géographie, elle est aussi importante car elle m'aidera à augmenter d'une part ma culture générale.

Questions 3 : D'après les leçons ci-dessous (même si vous ne les avez pas toutes abordées) entourez les deux leçons que tu as préférées/ qui t'ont le plus intéressées en histoire, cette année et les années précédentes. Expliquez en quelques mots ou phrases pourquoi ces leçons t'ont le plus intéressées.

Also, learner North_1èreS2_2 explains that because she is African and Senegalese, she wants to root herself in the cultures, traditions and civilisations that are hers.

Questions 2 : Entourez le continent qui vous intéresse le plus pour apprendre des contenus d'Histoire et de Géographie ? Et choisissez parmi ce continent deux pays qui vous intéresse le plus.

	Afrique	Europe	Asie	Amérique du Nord	Amérique Latine	Océanie
Quels Pays :	Sénégal Egypte					

Expliquez pourquoi ce choix.

Déjà parce que je suis africaine sénégalaise donc forcément j'aimerais m'intéresser dans les cultures, traditions, civilisations qui sont miennes. En ce qui concerne l'Egypte je m'y intéresse juste parce que c'est le berceau de la civilisation et que j'aime tous les théorèmes mathématiques qui en découlent.

Questions 3 : D'après les leçons ci-dessous (même si vous ne les avez pas toutes abordées) entourez les deux leçons que tu as préférées/ qui t'ont le plus intéressées en histoire, cette année et les années précédentes.

Many learners have explained their interest in Senegalese or other African countries' history and geography because of their national belonging. Many other learners have justified their interest because they want to know more about "their home country, their history, their ancestors, and their roots". Fall explains that teaching history had the ambition to build a post-colonial national consciousness (Fall, 2012). Kipré adds that patriotism and national pride helps to cure the pain of the past history (Kipré, 2005).

Also, some teachers observed were emphasising Senegalese pride and patriotism. Teacher Fabouwa, with whom I did most of my observation, defines himself proudly in front of the class as a nationalist and always jokes about himself not being willing to take an airplane to travel let alone the idea of migrating. He retells proudly his childhood stories and how he grew up in the Casamance region to the learners. He encourages pupils to invest in land and farming to aim for alimentation sufficiency. One of his main expressions even reiterated by one student in the questionnaire is:

"Il faut consommer local" – (Teacher Fabouwa)

All the other teachers had a more impartial way of teaching history and would stick to their prepared lessons. One teacher interviewed warns against nationalistic teachings that tend to glorify one's history. He suggests moving away from a positivistic approach that praises national heroes and rather teach about the socio-economic organisation of civilisations, their traditional and religious practices for example. Yet, Fabouwa always captured the attention and interest of the learners when he recounted personal stories or links historical and geographical content to Senegalese realities.

"Fabouwa dit qu'il se courbait avant, du primaire à l'université, pour travailler la terre" - "Fabouwa says he used to bend over from primary school to university to work the land".

Correspondingly, learners have asked to learn more content about Senegal and Africa. The fourth question of the questionnaire asks students what they would like to improve in the teaching and content of history and geography classes. In all classes, many students asked for more Senegalese or African related content:

"J'aimerais diminuer les programmes en favorisant les leçons ayant un rapport direct avec l'Afrique" – "I would like to reduce the programmes by favouring lessons directly related to Africa" (Learner North_TerminaleS1_3).

"Diminuer les leçons et essayer de focaliser la majeure partie des leçons sur l'Afrique" – "Reduce the number of lessons and try to focus most of the lessons on Africa" (Learner North_TerminaleL2_2).

“Plus de sujets qui concernent nos traditions sénégalaise” – “More about our Senegalese traditions” (Learner North_1^{ère}S2_4).

“Apprendre sur le mode d’exploitation des Africains avant notre indépendance” – “Learn about the way Africans were exploited before our independence” (Learner South_1^{ère}S2_3).

Learner North_1^{ère}S2_3 expresses frustration about learning more Western content than African content. She/he says that the “other continent[s] do not learn about Senegalese history and geography and when they learn about it, it’s to denigrate us”.

Questionnaire

Ce questionnaire est anonyme, j'aimerais recueillir l'avis personnel d'élèves sur les cours d'Histoire et de Géographie au lycée. Vos réponses seront exclusivement utilisées pour ma recherche et ne seront pas transmises aux professeurs. Votre ressenti (ce que vous aimez, ce que vous n'aimez pas) est le plus important. Vous n'êtes pas obligé de répondre à toutes les questions. Cela n'aura aucun impact sur votre parcours scolaire. Je vous remercie d'avance,
Tikam Sall.

En quelle classe es-tu actuellement ? Classe : 1^{ère} G₂

Question 1 : Qu'est-ce que tu aimes le plus dans tes cours d'Histoire et de Géographie ? Et pourquoi ?

Pardon mais moi je n'aime pas les cours d'Histoire et Géographie. J'apprends mes leçons juste pour avoir la moyenne mais je ne le fais pas pour plaisir.

Questions 2 : Entourez le continent qui vous intéresse le plus pour apprendre des contenus d'Histoire et de Géographie ? Et choisissez parmi ce continent deux pays qui vous intéresse le plus.

	Afrique	Europe	Asie	Amérique du Nord	Amérique Latine	Océanie
Quels Pays :	Sénégal Afrique du sud					

Expliquez pourquoi ce choix.

Parce que si il s'agit du Sénégal ou de l'Afrique du sud, nous pouvons connaître les civilisations anciennes dans notre continent. Je pense que ce n'est pas la peine d'apprendre aux Africains la civilisation des européens japonais, Amérique du Nord ou ceux que l'apprennent par les médias ou s'ils apprennent à l'étranger nous dérange et nous dit de n'importe quoi.

Questions 3 : D'après les leçons ci-dessous (même si vous ne les avez pas toutes abordées) entourez les deux leçons que tu as préférées/ qui t'ont le plus intéressées en histoire, cette année et les années précédentes. Expliquez en quelques mots ou phrases pourquoi ces leçons t'ont le plus intéressées.

A souligné JENE SUIS PAS RACISTE

This shows that learners are aware of the racist and pejorative representation of Africa in other regions of the world. Then it also shows that learners are conscious about the injustices and the

relationship of domination between Africa and the rest of the world. Indeed, Western countries do not learn about Senegal as explains learner North_1èreS2_3. The fact that Senegal needs to stay open to the world and learn about different countries is also because of its marginalised position in the world system.

Hence, it is important to teach critically about power relations and the consequences of colonialism. The next part will investigate if critical thinking is used in the classrooms.

Critical Thinking

Critical thinking in education refers to the fact of integrating in teaching pedagogies reflections about what is the truth and whether the truth exists at all. Critical thinking can be assigned to the image of “thinking outside of the boxes” and means in this thesis to reflect on the mainstream historical and geographical explanations. Critical thinking attached to decolonial theories means to think outside of the hegemonic frame of Eurocentrism because as Mbembe explains: “A Eurocentric canon is a canon that attributes truth only to the Western way of knowledge production. It is a canon that disregards other epistemic traditions. It is a canon that tries to portray colonialism as a normal form of social relations between human beings rather than a system of exploitation and oppression” (Mbembe, 2015). Hereafter the importance of critical thinking in decolonising practices.

During teacher Fabouwa’s class of the 10th of December 2020 about the creation and functioning of the United Nations, he criticised the dominant position of the United-States by saying that:

“L’ONU agit en grande partie pour qui? [...] Usage abusif du droit de veto, partant de leurs intérêts les grandes puissances utilisent le conseil général pour leurs intérêts. Êtes-vous d’accord que les États-Unis imposent leur point de vue ? C’est eux qui financent le plus, derrière le Japon, mais les États-Unis financent plus de 12% du budget de l’ONU. Les Africains devraient aussi financer l’ONU pour gagner de l’influence, mais nos dirigeants manquent d’argent. – “Who is the UN working for? [...]Misuse of the veto right, starting from their interests the big powers use the general council for their interests. Do you agree that the United States should impose its point of view? The US is the biggest funder, behind Japan, but the US finances more than 12% of the UN budget. Africans should also fund

the UN to gain influence, but our leaders lack money” (extrait de notes d'observation du 10/12/20).

Fabouwa reflects on the power dynamics within the functioning of the UN while teacher Fa Keita presents the UN as an organisation in which all the members are equal states as the lesson of the booklet states. In fact, the principles of the UN foresee that all members are equal and sovereign but as teacher Fabouwa noted, the reality is different. He also complains that most of the topics at the UN are Africa related, yet none of the African countries are represented in the security council. He portrays the security council as actors making decisions over countries they do not know about. In doing so, teacher Fabouwa applies what Freire developed in his concept of the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2000) where “Education, according to Freire, should therefore be directed toward raising the consciousness of the general population in a manner that enables them to recognise the causes of oppression in their daily lives” (Thomas, 2009, p. 255).

In fact, Freire’s work, the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2000) is a fundamental piece in the field of critical education. Freire perceives education as functioning within oppression (Thomas, 2009). Hence, education controls thinking and actions and “lead[s] learners to adjust to the world and inhibits creative power” (Thomas, 2009, p. 254). So according to Freire, education perpetuates oppression and his model of the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* give the tools to dismantle oppressive education. Developing critical thinking in teaching practices is one of the key elements in his argumentation: “Rather than simply depositing information into the student, and thus treating the student as an empty receptacle or container, the educational goal should be to problematise the world around us, and the relations we have within it. In other words, the instructor/teacher would encourage students to become active and responsible participants in their own education” (Thomas, 2009, p. 255).

Teacher Fabouwa is the only teacher observed that openly criticized capitalism by pointing to the fact that economic dependency fixes Senegal to stay poor and that the capitalist system has no intention of saving African countries from poverty. On the contrary he claims that capitalism makes the poor poorer and the rich richer. He also reminds the students that states do not have friends, they only have an interest to protect:

“Les pays n’ont pas d’amis, ils n’ont que des intérêts à protéger” – “Countries do not have friends, they only have interests to protect” (Teacher Fabouwa).

Also, Fabouwa for example relativizes the fact that the high natality of African countries is a bad indicator for development. He also shows the downside of the very low natality rate of Germany and the consequences attached to it. Though, the main idea of the lesson about the demographic transition is that Africa is delayed compared to Europe for not yet having reached the second phase.

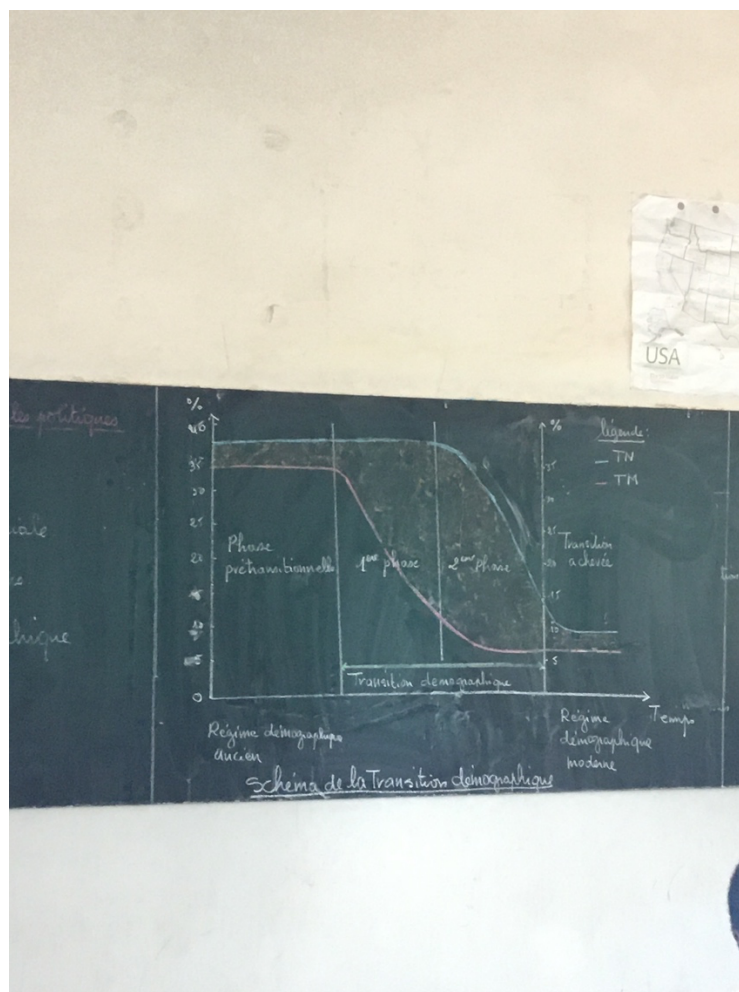


Photo 6: Geography class in Teacher Samba Diallo’s class in the Franco-Arabic high school South, on the 10/02/21.

The class in Terminale about “Le système monde – des espaces interdépendants” integrates the inequalities in development and the marginalisation of Senegal and other African countries in

globalisation. It also explains that some countries are being exploited for their natural resources and therefore left out in the power dynamics of globalism. The link between the accumulation of wealth during the industrial revolution and the exploitation of the global South is also acknowledged. Yet most of the teachers do not go beyond facts and content. Yet “According to Freire, rather than simply dictating the ‘facts’ to students, teachers should pose questions and problems for the learner to engage with and analyse in creative and innovative ways“; however this is difficult to apply in most Senegalese public schools as chapter 10 will show (Thomas, 2009, p. 255).

Learners were affected by injustices and inequalities, though teaching and learning does not include problem solving pedagogical methods. Instead of being faced and listing all the various problem faced by Senegal, attempts to solve problems could be brainstormed. Having to acknowledge the development deficiency of one’s own country might make the learner feel discouraged and enraged. Alternatives to economic production should be considered in geography classes to encourage creative and autonomous thinking: “problem-posing education involves a constant unveiling of reality. The former attempts to maintain the submersion of consciousness; the latter strives for the emergence of consciousness and critical intervention in reality (Freire 2000 quoted in Thomas, 2009, p. 255).

To conclude, this chapter showed that decolonising opportunities have been taken through the re-valorisation of African history. Moreover, the integration of Cheikh Anta Diop’s thoughts into history classes is a decolonising practice that has significant effects on the learners. The belief that black Africans are less capable than white Europeans is being dismantled, which raises the interest of the learners. Their statements denote a certain pride and a re-affirmation of African identity. Moreover, critical thinking towards colonialism and the notion of development and capitalist inequalities have been addressed but should be developed further to encourage the learners to become problem solvers instead of problem accepters.

Chapter 9 – “Openness to the World” – A Western implementation of general knowledge in the Content and Teaching of History and Geography

Francophonie

The modified law for the orientation of education of 1991, states that the Senegalese education should echo Senegal’s membership in “the community of culture of French-speaking countries” (Orientation Law 1991). Nevertheless, as Timera fairly argued within French-speaking cooperation, France embraces the referring standard and automatically becomes an interlocutor (Timera, 2013). Even though the Francophonie includes many non-Western countries does it also accentuate non-Western epistemology? Many anti- and post-colonial authors such as Frantz Fanon (1952), Ngugi wa Thiong’o (1986) and Alamin Mazrui (1993) have put emphasis on indigenous languages as one of the means for decolonization. As such, the Francophonie and French speaking cooperation are inevitably to a lesser extent decolonial, as they are based on French language and not on local languages. Structures such as the Francophonie alienates African epistemology, as it strengthens French language usage and participates in the “linguicide” of indigenous languages (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018). The Francophonie invests in French education and is a barrier to the implementation of education in local languages. Furthermore, the Francophonie unites states according to their French language similarity and consequently restrains diversity in political and in educational cooperation.

Since Senegal’s independence in 1960, language policies have been debated and the introduction of local languages as instruction language is foreseen in the orientation law of Senegalese national education (Orientation Law 1971 and 1991). Besides pilot projects, local languages have not been implemented as a medium of instruction (Diallo, 2011). Diallo found that 87 percent of the Senegalese population believe that the indigenous languages should be introduced into the education system (Diallo, 2011). Within the pedagogy, extensive literature questions the role of language for cognitive development of children and the role of learning in mother tongue languages rather than in former colonial ones. Some have argued that children would connect better to their environment and learn better in their mother tongue (Ngugi, 1986). Indeed, in the Franco-Arabic school teachers were complaining about the difficulties for some pupils to understand, express themselves and write in French. Their French level

could also be observed in the questionnaires, which shows a radical difference between the pupils of high school North and the Franco-Arabic high school South. Some students of the Franco-Arabic school also asked to use easier French language in class to facilitate their comprehension. One teacher and dean of the high school North shared during an interview what he sees as necessary to change for Senegalese education:

“La langue d’enseignement, il y a des gosses qui parle le français que à l’école. Continuer à enseigner en français est une continuation de la colonisation”- “The language of instruction, there are kids who speak French only at school. To continue to teach in French is a continuation of colonisation” (Teacher Fa Keita).

The observations also showed that France was used in general more often than other countries as an example for comparing or illustrating historical and geographical facts. During Mr. Fabouwa’s class about the Second World War, when explaining about the Treaty of Tehran and the Atlantic Treaty, two pupils asked why France was not part of these treaties. Learners are used to learning about France as a powerful nation and wonder why they are not included in these treaties. Though, as Timera writes “France is not perceived as a space of reference and identity. On the contrary, it is positioned and studied in the geography programme as a space of otherness in the same way as Germany and the other countries of the European Union” (Timera, unpublished, p. 5). France has a special place, because of its historical ties with Senegal and because many teachers know more about its history and can easier exemplify their explanation comparing France with Senegal.

“Il y a un cordon ombilical qui nous lie à la France, à la Francophonie. Cette relation privilégiée reflète aussi leur part d’influence dans nos enseignements. Mais faut-il couper ce cordon ?” – “There is an umbilical cord that links us to France, to the Francophonie. This privileged relationship also reflects their influence in our teachings. But should we cut this cord?” (Matar Ndiaye)

Yet, France is placed on an equal footing with the other Western and even Asian countries for teacher Fabouwa and Fa Keita. Mr. Fabouwa never contemplates the French way of doing, on the contrary, he always highlights other historical leaders. Further observations showed clearly a detachment of the younger generation from the metropole and a harsh critical resentment towards France's neo-colonial policies. Mr. Fabouwa also never misses an opportunity to make

fun about Senegal's submissive behaviour towards France, for example when acknowledging that: "*Les presidents sénégalais aiment la France, ils prennent tous leurs retraites là-bas*".

Another issue concerning teaching in French language is the use of a lot of French sources for historical and geographical documents. French or European authors' publications are often used for topics concerning World history and even African history. One examination for high school graduation is the historical commentary. The two exam papers I supervised and corrected were relying on a French and a Canadian publication. For most geography classes observed, statistical tables were only based on the World Bank's publications or the INSEE or INED³⁰. Sources from African authors were also used for African related topics such as decolonisation but not systematically. It is the teacher's agency to choose their documentation. One teacher who developed his own material told me that he would buy historical books in France or get the information through online research. A deeper research into the preparation and school material used by teachers would have permitted me to claim a predominance of either Western or African sources. An interesting continuation of this research could have been to include an analysis of the history and geography documents used for the high school examinations. Nevertheless, using African written or produced documentation could facilitate the insertion of content and teaching in African epistemology. Indeed, it would highlight the legitimization of knowledge production within the African continent, and re-centre Africa as an epistemological site (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2018).

Western Epistemology in Development and Modernity Concepts in Geography classes

The main topic observed for geography classes of Première and Terminale were topics related to the larger theme of globalisation (economic, cultural and human exchanges) in which the so-called world-system and its economic and social development inequalities are addressed. To analyse whether the content of geography taught contributes to decolonising practices, questions such as "how is the globe imagined? How is modernity defined? How is the relationship between modernity and colonialism defined? Whose notion of time and progress

³⁰ The INSEE is the French national institute for statistics and economical research. The INED is the French national institute for demographics.

is deployed? What analysis of power relations are being made? What counts as knowledge and whose knowledge counts?” are asked (Andreotti, 2011, p. 392).

Even though the causes of globalisation, the interdependency of the different spaces of the world system with the centre and the integrated and marginalised peripheries are being addressed, not much criticism is expressed towards the concept of globalism. The concept of globalism implies that the interests of the world are prioritised before the individual nations, however Lamola argues that globalism profits the West (Lamola, 2016). Besides teacher Fabouwa, all the other teachers did not express criticism towards modernity and portrayed globalisation from a Western perspective.

In the class of Terminale on the 14th of December 2020 in the private high school the course about “Le système monde” (the World system), the teacher explains the unequal integration of the different regions of the world in the globalisation without insisting on the sources of such inequalities in development. When explaining that the most powerful states are part of global exchanges while Senegal was still relying on foreign aid, he lamented: “*The other countries have left without us*”. Acknowledging the different wealth of countries is important in geography classes, however silencing the fact that the West has historically been exploiting the rest, and that these privileges gained over centuries are perpetuating their affluent position and domination is not objective in decolonial theories. This is the reason why Sultana argues for the imperative to decolonise the notion of development and to address and finally recognise that development is anchored in exploitation and therefore that development institutions are maintaining coloniality (Sultana, 2019).

Only teacher Fabouwa criticises capitalistic system and its economic inequalities. He complained about the World Bank and the IMF and unequal capital flows. In his critical discourse, he adds that even though the system is exploitative, African governance is also responsible for their exploitation. He defines globalisation pejoratively by saying that the rich are getting richer while the poor poorer. Teacher Fabouwa, despite being patriotic, highlights the importance of other models of development, and especially refers to Asian countries: “*Les*

Tigres et les dragons”³¹. Also teacher Sene, who mentioned having travelled to Japan, admires in his class some Asian countries for having developed so fast and independently from the West. Indeed, Japan is seen as a model of economic performance that has overcome poverty through discipline and hard work of its people (Timera, 2012). Fabouwa emphasises the hard work of Japanese people in his class however compares it with the laziness of Senegalese people who are made responsible for their “underdevelopment”. So, Japan serves as a non-Western model for development and key player in globalisation, being a member of the Triad (Timera, 2012). According to teacher Fabouwa, Senegalese should look upon the hard work and discipline of Asian countries such as Japan and South Korea for development potential. Hence, teaching Japan in geography classes plays a role for the construction of otherness by giving elements of comparison. Timera also explains that teaching the Japanese development model is intended to influence mimicry (Timera, 2012).

Most of the geography classes observed were presenting the development and progress factors according to Western parameters (formal income, education standards, GDP, trade balance). As a matter of fact, development indicators are being taught without reflecting on their utility or their relevance for the Senegalese context, such as the exercise given by Mr. Bakhoum on the 3rd of March where the economic indicators of Germany, France, USA, China and The United Kingdom were compared. The exercise asked students to represent a graph with the GDP/habitant and the share of the different countries in the world exports. Furthermore, the exercise asked students to estimate the population of Germany in 2030 and analyse challenges facing the German economy.

The twisted problematic behind this race for modernity and development is that it freezes a duality between developed/underdeveloped, modern/traditional, hence good/bad. The dichotomy between developed and under-developed countries was very present. Senegal was always portrayed from a Western perspective, as delayed and in an urgent need of development. Timera already analysed for the program of 1967 that the geography program seemed to become “a kind of ideological shell where semantic pairs such as town-city, modernity-tradition, Africa-abroad are used. Their translation into knowledge to be taught in geography

³¹ “The tigers” refer to Thailand, Malaysia, Vietnam The Philippines and Indonesia and “the dragons” refer to South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and Hong Kong.

seems to result in a contemplative discourse” (Timera, 2013, p. 151). This duality is holding a hegemony in place, that envisions personal, as well as national, comfort and achievement in the light of modernity and development. Modernity is upheld as the only key to success.

In the African context, tradition and modernity have often been contrasted: “Modernity would be defined as that which is substantially opposed to values, reference systems, in short to the epistemes of tradition” (Sarr, 2016, p. 31). Modernity and African tradition are in a dialectic of opposition and mutual exclusion, therefore the hidden mission of modernity in an African context seems to want to create a “new African man”. Hence, “African modernity would in this case be nothing more than a withdrawal from tradition, a negation of the old” (Sarr, 2016, p. 32). According to Sarr, the path to an African modernity would consist in the selective incorporation of technologies, discourses and modern institutions of Western origin into an African cultural and political universe in order to give birth to a distinct and autonomous modernity (Sarr, 2016, p. 33).

The relationship between modernity and colonialism is tackled in the lesson about the European industrial revolution. It is explained that the accumulation of resources has taken its sources in imperialism, the notion of progress deployed is still Western. The observed geography classes are embedded in a Eurocentric epistemology for development. Besides the teacher’s agency to include critical thinking toward the concept of globalism, capitalism and development, the official program does not include a decolonised approach to these concepts.

A Western Universalism in the Teaching of History and Geography

The general orientation of the program is based on the principle of *Openness* that aims at establishing a universalistic sense in the future African citizen. “It is therefore necessary to learn the history of all the continents, insofar as it opens the children's minds” (Kipré, 2005, p. 168). In fact, most of the teachers interviewed agreed about the importance of learning about other countries and staying open. As Matar Ndiaye would say “*We never wanted to lock them up*”. The will to be identified as “*progressive Senegalese and above all citizen of the World*” can be sensed in most of the interviews recorded.

Of course, learning about the world history is necessary, however the universalism aimed for in the teaching of history and geography in Senegalese high schools is Western centred. The

lesson about socialism and syndicalism in the class of Première, observed in the lycée Franco-Arabic South, on the 22nd of January with teacher Bakhoum, showed that the content is entirely based on Western European society. The class starts with Mr. Bakhoum asking the pupils to define socialism and syndicalism, then one student reads Karl Marx's biography. Additionally, the text distributed in class is written by Louis Favreau, entitled "Le projet socialiste dans l'histoire du mouvement ouvrier international", published in Montreal, Canada in 1979. The text and the lesson dictated refer only to French and English socialism. Based on the text, Mr. Bakhoum explains the difference between utopian and scientific socialism. He dictates the following content:

1) *Le socialisme utopique*

C'est un socialisme qui vise à instaurer une société d'égalité et de fraternité. Ces théoriciens sont Louis Blanc et Joseph Proudhon. Ces derniers comptent sur la générosité et la bonté des bourgeois pour améliorer le sort des ouvriers, en leur redistribuant leurs bénéfices des entreprises. Mais l'absence d'action concrète fait qu'on nomme cette théorie comme étant utopique.

2) *Le socialisme marxiste et scientifique*

Il est l'œuvre de deux théoriciens allemands Karl Marx (1818-1883) et Friedrich Engels (1820-1895). Karl Marx constate que la lutte des classes est le moteur de l'Homme. Il annonce que la mission du prolétariat est de renverser la bourgeoisie par la révolution sociale et d'instaurer la dictature du prolétariat.

Conclusion

*Le socialisme et le syndicalisme sont des doctrines sociales qui ont permis une amélioration du sort de la classe ouvrière. Cependant malgré ces acquis la société **européenne** reste toujours inégalitaire. (Extracts from observation notes).*

The first part defines utopian socialism as following: "This is a socialism that aims to establish a society of equality and fraternity. Its theorists are Louis Blanc and Joseph Proudhon. The latter relied on the generosity and kindness of the bourgeoisie to improve the lot of the workers, by redistributing to them their profits from businesses. But the lack of concrete action means that this theory is called utopian". The second definition of the lessons describes Marxist and scientific socialism as "the work of two German theorists Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1895). Karl Marx noted that the class struggle is the driving force of Man. He

announced that the mission of the proletariat is to overthrow the bourgeoisie through social revolt and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat”. The conclusion of the lesson states that: “socialism and trade unionism are social doctrines that have improved the lot of the working class. However, despite these achievements, European society is still unequal”.

While being aware that this class is part of *Openness*, some examples could have been made to link the content to the student’s reality. One girl asked about socialist political parties existing in Senegal, showing the need for relevant and local examples. I asked teacher Bakhom why the content taught about socialism and syndicalism is not including African and Senegalese examples, such as the railway workers' strike³² in Senegal. He answered that they focus on the founders of socialism and syndicalism. After sharing with him my point of view in the teacher’s room, about the importance of socialism and syndicalism in Africa for the struggle against colonisation he acknowledged the significance, though it seemed like he did not know much about it. In fact, history classes about socialism could include African examples such as Julius Nyerere's socialist vision for development in Tanzania. The content of this lesson, as well teacher Bakhom’s teaching, can be considered as anchored in a Western epistemology.

The fact that pupils in Senegal have to learn Western history from a Western perspective is criticised by one learner: “The fact to know about the First, Second and Cold war does not bring us anything in return”.

³² The Senegalese writer Ousmane Sembène recounts this strike in his novel *Les Bouts de Bois de Dieu* published in 1960. The railway was a colonial project that was supposed to connect Dakar until Niger for the transportation of resources. Senegalese workers were striking over months for better payment.

Question 4 : Qu'est-ce que tu aimerais pouvoir changer/améliorer dans les cours d'Histoire et de Géographie ?

Permettre à l'élève de faire un choix entre l'histoire et la Géographie
 Et de diminuer les ~~sons~~ leçons et essayer de focaliser la majeure partie de la leçon sur l'Afrique, de fait de savoir comment s'est déroulée la première, deuxième guerre, ou guerre froide ne nous apporte rien en retour au fait.

Question 5 : Après le Bac qu'est-ce que tu aimerais faire ? Entoure dans chaque colonne ce que tu envisages de faire et dans quel pays ?

Après le Bac, j'aimerais faire :	Dans quel continent ?	Dans quel pays ?
Études supérieures x	Afrique	x Sénégal
Formation	Amérique du Nord	
	Amérique Latine	
	Europe	
Trouver un emploi	Asie	

Other students have also expressed their frustration about learning a lot of non- African content. This shows that learners cannot relate to the content taught and sees that kind of content as unnecessary. The study of the Second and Cold War is part of general knowledge and could be studied from an African perspective to involve learners. This results in the learner not feeling being concerned about such topics. Addressing the effects on Africa, what role played the African countries, how they participated or what their positioning was during the First, Second and Cold war would benefit the learners and rise their interest for such topics. So that learners can make links, see similarities and connect to the content taught.

“We cannot live in an insularity [...]we have similarities with other Asian countries and other African countries, the connection of continents with the Atlantic slave trade for example.” (Fodé Ndao)

For example, Mr. Fabouwa in his class about the creation of the United Nations, made many connections to the political situation of Senegal and Africa while giving the most important information about the United Nations.

L'ONU a servi à la décolonisation de l'Algérie et a agi contre la colonisation de la Namibie. Certains disent que l'ONU n'a rien fait depuis sa création, ce n'est pas vrai, les casques bleus sont intervenus pour la décolonisation de l'Algérie. [...] Aujourd'hui on a un bilan catastrophique de l'ONU qui n'a pas éradiqué les guerres ni les abus contre les droits de l'Homme. L'ONU est incapable de prévenir

des conflits [...] Ouighours, l'ONU n'a rien fait, en Birmanie les musulmans sont persécutés, mais ne touchez pas la tête d'un chrétien. – The UN was used for the decolonisation of Algeria and acted against the colonisation of Namibia. Some people say that the UN has done nothing since its creation, this is not true, the blue helmets intervened for the decolonisation of Algeria. [...] Today we have a catastrophic review of the UN, which has not eradicated wars or human rights abuses. The UN is incapable of preventing conflicts [...] Uighurs, the UN has done nothing, in Burma Muslims are persecuted, but do not touch the head of a Christian (Extracts from observation notes).

After these remarks Mr. Fabouwa enters in a discussion with the students about which African countries could take over the seat of the Secretary General. “*Brazil and India have also asked to be included, why not Africa?*”. One student says that Senegal is stable, Mr. Fabouwa replies that Cape Verde and Ghana are also very stable countries. Fabouwa says that if the United States of Africa existed it would be easier to represent Africa as a permanent member of the UN Security Council.

Aside from teacher Fabouwa adapting the content to the local reality of the learners, most content taught considered as universal history and geography is rather Western universalism. The *Openness* claimed in the program is oriented towards powerful nations. The Latin American continent is mentioned only once with a lesson about Brazil. Arabic states are also completely silenced in geography lessons, while learners of the Franco-Arabic schools mentioned being interested to know more about Saudi Arabia, Mecca, and Dubai. Also, only Western Europe is represented in the content taught. Hence, the universalism broadcasted does not include African epistemology.

To conclude this chapter showed that the concepts of development, modernity, and universalism are inserted in a Western epistemology reproducing Western narratives and ways of conceiving the world.



Photo 7: Teacher Tiemoko's class in the high school West, on the 12/01/21.

Chapter 10 – Hindering Modalities for Decolonising Practices

This chapter reveals three main modalities of the teaching environment that make it difficult for teachers and learners to even have a space to engage in decolonising practices. Firstly, the fact that the program is too long necessitates that some lessons about African and Senegalese history are being left out. Secondly, ‘top-down’ dynamics in the teacher’s way of approaching the lesson plan as well as in the relationship between teacher and learners does not permit to develop independent agency for both actors. Lastly, the absence of history and geography schoolbooks obstructs quality content especially about African related history.

“Le Programme est trop long” – The Lesson Plan is Too Long

All the teachers interviewed agreed unanimously that the high school history and geography lesson plans were too long. Also, learners complained that the lesson plan was too long and that they could not finish the program in time. The official time suggested for each lesson is too short, which means that most of the teachers are unable to finish the lesson plan before the end of the school year. The official time accredited neither includes the correction of evaluation, nor administrative organisation for the baccalaureate classes, for example. Consequently, the lesson plan that accords two or three hours per topic is undoubtedly delayed. Moreover, absent teachers are mostly not being replaced in public schools and a classroom shortage in some schools makes it difficult to organise evaluations. At the Lycée East, teacher Tiemoko was explaining to me that his class of Terminale LA (literature & Arabic) of 82 students could not do their exams in the same classroom. For the usual history and geography classes, 80 students could squeeze into one classroom, however for evaluation and in order to prohibit cheating, students had to be separated into two groups of 40 students for each evaluation, which meant to ask another teacher to supervise and give away his classroom. Hence, schools with numerous students are even more prone to delay in the unfolding of the lesson plans.

For the class of Première in history, the first two lessons about the industrial revolution and its consequences are supposed to take only four hours. Consequently, in a week's time (5 hours of history and geography/week is scheduled) the teacher should be done with these two topics. At the Lycée North, I observed Mr. Fabouwa’s class of Première starting the second lesson of the

history lesson plan about the consequences of the industrial revolution only on the 17th of December. Knowing that the school year started in the middle of November suggests already some time delay for Mr. Fabouwa's class although, the comparison is not always valid as teachers can decide independently how they unfold the history and geography lesson plan, switching between the two subjects. Mr. Fabouwa, for example, started the school year with geography lessons. Nevertheless, Mr. Fabouwa as all the other teachers, took more time to finish each lesson than the time accredited. I never observed a lesson of two hours, whereby the teacher started and finished an entire topic. The lesson about the relationship between East and West, deals for example with the formation of the two blocs, the three main crises (Berlin, Korea and Cuba) and the final rapprochement between the two blocs. This lesson is scheduled to last only three hours in the official lesson plan, which is obviously not coherent and feasible in order to go in-depth.

An extra challenge that schools had to face last year and this year is the closing of schools for months due to the Covid-19 outbreak. The reduction of the history and geography lesson plans is minimal looking at the fact that the 2020/21 school year started with four weeks delay. Furthermore, last school year 2019/20 was even more strongly impacted by Covid-19 restrictions. Schools closed from March to July 2020, providing pupils with only five months of schooling out of nine. Teachers complained this year that they could not go on with the lesson plan as pupils were missing content from last school year. So, instead of cutting out some lessons completely, two topics were combined in one and hours were shortened. This reveals even more delay and inefficiency for the school year 2020/21, however let's hope this won't be representative for the next school years.

To conclude, the history and geography programs are obviously too long. Teachers, regardless of their teaching conditions, rarely manage to finish the program during the school year. The time accredited is not realistic. Observations showed that a lesson that is expected to last for two hours, yet the teacher will spend 4 to 6 hours on it. Thus, not all the lessons foreseen in the program will be tackled. Moreover, it seems like designers of the lesson plan prioritise a larger diversity of topics to build so called general knowledge rather than in-depth learning. The inefficiency of the lesson plan has been reiterated in all of my 22 interviews without exception. This confirms Timera's criticism about history and geography teaching being encyclopaedic

(Timera, 2013). Instead of focusing deeper into fewer topics, the program is built to tackle a larger variety of lesson in a short time. Finally, the lesson plan might have scheduled a predominance of African related topics in history, though in reality a dominance of European history is being taught in the last two years of high school.

Top Down Dynamics in the Classroom

Along with the fact that the lesson plan is too long, most of the lessons about Senegal and the African continent are placed at the end of the lesson plan for the classes of *Première* and *Terminale* both in history and geography. Suggesting that they are not being dedicated much time or any time at all (Timera, unpublished). Astonishingly, teachers would always start with the first lesson and respect strictly the order of the lesson plan. I was wondering why teachers would not deal with the lessons they might be best prepared for; or the ones they might prefer. Or even why they would not choose the historical and geographical topics according to the actualities. The only reason exposed why teachers are all following rigorously the order of the lessons was to facilitate some common evaluations with other colleagues. Other reasons why teachers unfold the lessons exactly in the same order could not be explained. My observations showed that on the 18th of February teacher Fabouwa started with lesson 3 about China in the history lesson plan. The remaining four months of schooling for the class of *Terminale* is evidently not enough for the lessons about decolonisation, African and Muslim civilisations that stand at the very end of the lesson plan. The reason why African related topics are placed in the lesson plan after the world history topics for the class of *Terminale* has not been elucidated through my research. Nevertheless, it is clear for history teaching in *Terminale* that the classes about Muslim civilisation are being silenced. None of the teachers asked seemed worried about my observation and did not perceive a particular priority given to the first planned lessons. They explained that pupils will have to study these last lessons by themselves at home for the baccalaureate. Teachers told me however, that for the baccalaureate all the topics could be equally addressed. An analysis of the examination subjects at the baccalaureate over the past years, would help to reveal a certain priority given to certain topics.

Furthermore, the pedagogy applied is the teacher speaking most of the time on the podium and dictating the lesson. Teachers are the ones with most speech time and they initiate by asking pupils specific questions for their participation. Room for open discussions or debates is

restricted. Pupils rarely take the initiative to ask questions for clarification or curiosity. The position of the teacher is very respected and distant from the pupils, which struck me. Calm and discipline are the watchwords. Some of the teachers are breaking this hierarchy with jokes and informal discussions. Nevertheless, the strict discipline and distance does not give the opportunity for students to express themselves. No real space is given for exchanges, which takes the agency of the students away to be actors of their own education. This also puts the teacher in a superior and decisive position. Furthermore, students end up learning by heart most of the lessons. In every class, students would recite perfectly the content of their lesson to answer the teacher's questions. Also, in the evaluation I corrected most of the students copy-pasted the exact same content than in their lesson. The teaching of history and geography does not emphasise on awakening critical knowledge. On the contrary, learners are passive and subjected to the teacher's lesson. Colonial assimilation established a pedagogy of imitation that has become "a pedagogical modality in the Senegalese system" (Sow, 2008). Even though the pedagogy is supposed to be accentuating on the competences of the learner, the reality is different. Lately the pedagogical competency approach APC³³, introduced in Senegal by Canada is supposed to accentuate on the competency of the learners in the teaching of history and geography. The students are supposed to participate in the construction of their own knowledge. Knowing how to work in a team, representing statistical data, developing critical thinking, working on their analysis and research skills can be transferred to professional needed requirements.

"APC is not a reality in the junior level. Content-based approach rather in the junior level" (Alioune Diop)

Even if this pedagogy does not go fundamentally against decolonial objectives such as putting the learner in the centre of learning and emphasising on critical thinking, it is still a Canadian creation applied to Senegal, and therefore by definition reinforces a Western epistemology.

No History & Geography School Books for Senegalese High Schools

³³ APC stands for Approche par les compétences.

The absence of history and geography schoolbooks at high schools in Senegal struck me while doing my research. What does this lack of history and geography schoolbooks say about the teaching of these subjects in high schools?

The importance of schoolbooks is multiple for teachers and learners. As Kipré explains, “in countries, where other teaching materials are rare, history textbook is the main instrument for introducing history to the classroom, learning both critical and analytical skills” (Kipré, 2005, p. 167). Indeed, my observations in the public schools showed that only occasionally was teaching support used. Most often, teachers distributed black and white printed documents, which mostly included text extracts or statistical data. One time teacher Rama used a large world map during a geography class that she hung on the board. In the public high schools, I could not observe any uses of pictures or any kind of other visual material besides of statistical graphs and curves that were mostly drawn on the board by the teachers themselves. The high school north was equipped with projectors; however teacher Thierno complained about the difficulty to prepare the room and get the technology functioning. Nevertheless, teacher Fabouwa and teacher Thierno shared visual material such as pictures, videos and documentaries in the WhatsApp group of the class. I understood that the class’ WhatsApp groups became an important communication medium between teachers and their pupils during confinement and continued to be an alternative to the lack of material and technical support available in schools. In the private school, many classes were equipped with video projectors and teacher Madické handed out several colour printed documents. The problem with printed documents is that teachers in public schools have to pay for them with their own money. Furthermore, for classes of 40 or even 80 pupils printing pages becomes expensive and even time consuming. This is where the utility of textbooks is considerable.

As Kipré elucidates, certain information for particular topics such as pre-colonial African kingdoms are harder to access than the Second World War: "except for a few pre-colonial kingdoms, the history of peoples is very poorly known and very often dependent on ethnology" (Kipré, 2005, p. 167). Schoolbooks would permit to move away from encyclopaedic and Western ethnologic knowledge, providing a quality standard for teaching history and geography. Additionally, the fact that some professors do not have enough time to prepare the lessons has also been raised during my interview with teacher Fa Keita. He said that especially

in the regions of Senegal, teachers have to manage two classes at the same time and are overwhelmed with the number of pupils in class. Their teaching time does not include any preparation time for classes. Researching information, detailing the lessons and preparing pedagogical support is time and energy consuming. Some teachers find easier ways out and use the same lessons over and over or lessons made by other teachers. Using schoolbooks would help teachers significantly prepare their lesson and would also permit to assure a certain standard of quality content for each lesson.

The only schoolbook published I could find on the market, is the one published by Gabriel Boissy, a Senegalese historian, who reedits his schoolbooks regularly on the demand of specific private catholic schools. This research could not figure out why his manuals are not used throughout the public schools as well. According to one teacher it is the responsibility of the schools and town halls to order schoolbooks for their students. The one alternative developed by the FASTEF was to provide teachers with documents:

“Il a fallu donc dans certains domaines où il n’y avait pas de manuel ou autre, que ces commissions en même temps que la FASTEF fassent des rédactions de documents qu’on mettait à la disposition des professeurs sur le terrain” (Matar Ndiaye) - "It was therefore necessary, in certain areas where there was no manual or other, for these commissions, together with the FASTEF, to draft documents that were made available to teachers in the field" (Matar Ndiaye).

Another alternative to schoolbooks is the independent production of booklets made by teachers themselves that summarize lessons. The High School North sells³⁴ each booklet for history and geography for the price of 2500 CFA. The editing of the booklets is made by two teachers of the high school voluntary; the price covers the printing expenses. These booklets do not include pictures nor exercise sheets. Also, learners have complained of missing visual support such as images and historical photography. The fourth question of the questionnaire asks students what they would like to improve in the teaching and content of history and geography classes. Concerning pedagogical teaching methods, learners demand more visual support such as videos, documentaries, and pictures. Some learners also asked for outings to visit historical

³⁴ 2500 CFA corresponds to approximately to 3,80 euros.

sites such as Gorée Island or Museums. The opening of the Museum of Black Civilisation in Dakar in 2019 should be an opportunity for an alternative teaching site.

This absence of history and geography schoolbooks can be explained through the difficulty for African states such as Senegal to compete within the market of schoolbooks production: “price deregulation and the weakness of the local or national publishing system have made the textbook in circulation totally unsuitable. Not to mention the NGOs that offer books in good faith that are not related to the programmes in force in most countries. In the almost total absence of production, people 'consume' what arrives from France or use old books from the 1970s" (Kipré, 2005, p. 171). Furthermore, another explanation heard repeatedly in interviews is that the Senegalese government fails at prioritising schoolbooks in their annual budget:

“Le ministère ne s’intéresse pas à la production de livres scolaires, nos autorités mettent l’argent dans d’autres choses” (Alfa Ndiaye) – “The Ministry is not interested in the production of schoolbooks, our authorities put the money into other things” (Alfa Ndiaye).

I was very interested to see if the writing of the General History of Senegal would indeed have any consequences on the curriculum. I have addressed this issue in all my interviews and unfortunately the idea is there, but there is no practical application for the moment except for some initiatives of pedagogical didacticism by Prof Abdul Sow, which did not lead to a wider national project.

C'est aux autorités politiques de mettre les moyens pour faire le lien entre la production historique du supérieur et les contenus des programmes - projet de réactualisation des manuels. - It is up to the political authorities to provide the means to make the link between the historical production of higher education and the contents of the curricula - project to update the textbooks (Doudou Diouf).

The question of whether history can be taught effectively if teachers have too long and therefore unfeasible lesson plans and not enough relevant and up-to-date pedagogical tools becomes an impediment for decolonising practices. The top-down structure for teaching and learning also acts as an impediment towards further decolonisation. The degree of feasibility of the programs without schoolbooks is further reduced, especially for teachers at public schools with high

numbers of pupils per class and also for those in remote areas of Senegal. Other hindering modalities come to play such as the payment of public-school teachers who need to teach in private schools as well in order to increase their salaries. Teachers work in classes of fifty or more students and correct each of their evaluation papers.

Conclusion

This chapter analysed the decolonising opportunities and impediments in the classroom. It showed that teachers have the agency to engage in decolonising practises during their classes, expressing critical thinking or giving counterarguments to Western oriented knowledge. The personal will of the teachers has been shown in chapter 8 through their emphasis on African history and critical thinking. The re-valorisation of African history leads to a reevaluation of African capabilities and ways of functioning. It permits students to understand the links between African countries and promotes an African identity. Despite teachers' as well as learners' will and conviction to accentuate African history and pride, there are numerous structural impediments for this to work out. Most of the geography classes observed presented development and progress factors according to Western parameters (formal income, education standards etc.). The dichotomy between the developed and under-developed countries was not deconstructed and Senegal was always portrayed from a Western perspective as belayed and in an urgent need of development. In conclusion, African epistemology is used for certain lessons such as the lesson about Africa as the creed for civilisation and the Egyptian ancient civilisations but does not take Western epistemology. One other serious impediment to decolonising education, is the lack of written work from Senegal for history and geography teaching. The complete absence of history and geography schoolbooks for high school classes since independence exposes that neglect of history and geography within educational priorities. It also shows the deficiency in sovereign decision making and concrete actions taken to decolonise the content and teaching of history and geography. Hence, the hierarchical top-down structure extends beyond the classroom and includes decision making between the Ministry of Education, teachers, and external actors. Finally, the difficulty to access up to date school material and to prepare lessons is neglected and does not provide a favourable teaching environment for alternative and critical knowledge. Additionally, the daily difficulties in the teaching modalities (no funds for equipment, too many students per class) makes it almost

impossible for teachers to engage in new forms of teaching and content. They are almost predestined to fall back into mainstream and encyclopaedic teaching, even though their personal will and conviction might desire more decolonial content.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the approach taken in this thesis to examine history and geography content builds on the criticism of modernity through critical and decolonial thinkers. This thesis examined how the content of history and geography classes for secondary school has been decolonised in Senegal. Indeed, decolonisation of education occurred through different initiatives and reforms; especially after the independences of 1960, the new role and ambitions attributed to the teaching of history and geography to build a post-colonial African identity have contributed to an African and local oriented content. Also, different international conferences such as the 1967 conference of Ministers of Education were organised to decolonise and ‘Africanise’ the content of history and geography. Additionally, the EGEF launched because of the Senegalese population discontent had also significant consequences on the ‘Senegalisation’ of education. So even though colonial education has spread the ideology of assimilation and Senghor’s concept of *Rootedness* and *Openness* applied to education is anchored in Western universalism, Senegalese resistance towards colonial schooling and Western education has always been present.

Classroom observations have shown that some teachers and learners are aware, manifest criticism against neo-colonial forms of domination, and try to accentuate African history and pride. They are critical towards France and Senegal's unequal relationship and the consequences of colonialism. The research showed that the actual impediments to decolonisation exceed the opportunities. The historical and geographical content taught has undergone reforms and has refocused on local realities yet it is also strongly influenced by a Western universalism. Indeed, the *Openness* promoted in the Senegalese history and geography program is trying to integrate as many regions as possible of the world yet falls back into encyclopaedic knowledge as the time and resources needed for in-depth content is not available. Moreover, world history focuses rather on Western countries or developing countries as models of development instead of giving a real-world history where all of the regions are represented regardless of their power position. Additionally, Western epistemology is utilised to conceptualise modernity and development, which reinforces dominance-based relationships and a negative consideration about Senegal and Senegal’s opportunities. Development becomes a race where exploited countries need to catch up with their former and present-day

exploiters. Furthermore, the classroom observations have shown that the content about African and Muslim civilisation are rarely touched upon in reality because of unaccommodating teaching modalities. The program is too ambitious compared the number of students per class, teachers' amount of work, school equipment and teaching material. History and geography schoolbooks for high school classes are non-existent, which does not facilitate decolonial content. Historical research and content written by Senegalese historians and geographers is available, though the didactic work has not been set on the Ministry of Education's agenda. In fact, priority has been given in the last decades to primary education due to external funders and guidelines. So even if the institutional will to establish *Rootedness* has been pushed forward, which might have worked out better for primary and middle school, the content in the last two classes of high school is still very far from Senegalese realities. Despite teachers' as well as learners' will and conviction for decolonial content, there are today still numerous political and structural impediments for decolonising practices, which could be explained by looking beyond high school classes and interrogating educational trajectories.

This thesis points to areas in need of further exploration. Indeed, most of my respondents were convinced about the concept of *Rootedness* and *Openness* for education, yet some of them gave me hints of a paradoxical situation that goes beyond history and geography classes. In fact, *Openness* to the World and learning about specific parts of the world instead of others could also be explained regarding migration dynamics. The hypothesis I developed while doing my research is that one unspoken reason why the content of history and geography is open towards the West in the last classes of high school is actually to prepare Senegal's best learners to continue their higher education overseas.

This hypothesis could not be proven through my data but unfolding my research I observed a link between *Openness* and studying abroad. Indeed, some teachers related that their students were studying in Canada, the United States and France and proudly accentuated that they are managing their studies also because of the content taught. They would explain that the content taught about Western countries is further needed when studying in Western universities. A certain pride about Senegalese education could be observed when comparing it to other Western African countries. Also, teachers explained that the Senegalese program has a certain standard recognised internationally that prepares their pupils to be able to study abroad. It even

serves as a gateway for West African nationals who would attend high school in Senegal and their first year of studies in Senegalese universities and then continue abroad. Senegalese private universities are also recognised and attract many students from the entire African continent.

The questionnaire shows a clear preference of the pupil to learn African content in history and geography classes, though the majority of the questionnaires handed to the students show that all of them would like to study abroad, mainly in Canada. Indeed, 37,68% of the students answered wanting to study in Canada, 23,91% in France, 21% in Senegal and 17,44% mentioned other countries such as Japan, Dubai, China and Morocco.

Table 6: Learners' preferences of countries to study abroad

	Thierno High school North	Fa Keita High school North	Fabouwa High school North	Rama High school South	Samba Diallo High school South	Total
Canada	22	4	15	3	8	52
France	10	9	11	2	1	33
Senegal	5	4	7	10	3	29
Other	3	0	3	10	8	24
Total of pupils	40	17	36	25	20	138

Only one learner LFM_1èreL_2 mentioned explicitly wanting to study in Canada and come back to Senegal to work. Interestingly, one learner also exposed the problem of unemployment in Senegal even with a university degree.

Questions 2 : Entourez le continent qui vous intéresse le plus pour apprendre des contenus d'Histoire et de Géographie ? Et choisissez parmi ce continent deux pays qui vous intéresse le plus.

	Afrique	Europe	Asie	Amérique du Nord	Amérique Latine	Océanie
Quels Pays :	Sénégal					

Expliquez pourquoi ce choix.

Parce que après mes études j'aimerais finir mes études à l'étranger pour après trouver un emploi parce qu'au Sénégal on sait très bien que après les études si tu n'as pas de chance tu vas aller en chômage parce que y'a rien et surtout quand tu n'as pas de bras longs

Questions 3 : D'après les leçons ci-dessous (même si vous ne les avez pas toutes abordées) entourez les

Learner LFM_1èreL_2 said that: "Because after my studies I would like to finish my studies abroad to find a job because in Senegal, we know very well that after your studies if you are not lucky you will be unemployed because there is nothing and especially when you don't have long arms". This shows the widespread idea that studying abroad allows better professional opportunities. And more generally as teacher Fa Keita said: "The West seems to be the Mecca of Senegalese, especially young people who dream of going there".

"L'Occident semble être la Mecque des Sénégalais notamment des jeunes qui rêvent que d'aller là-bas" (Fa Keita).

In fact, the high rates of unemployment of young Senegalese university graduates does not encourage young Senegalese to pursue their studies in Senegal. On the one hand, it is increasingly necessary to have a higher education diploma in order to find a job, yet the diploma does not guarantee employment. The idea that education promises future job opportunities in the modern economy is rising and influences parents' choices for schools. As Kaag has argued "people's educational trajectories influence their opportunities to be part of certain networks" (Kaag, 2018, p. 7). Indeed, some learners of the Franco-Arabic high school South have shared wanting to study in Dubai, while the reality is that students of the excellency public high school North will have more chances to be enrolled in Western universities. Study related migration is seen as giving more opportunities for higher income careers: "In the imagination of the Senegalese population, going to the West is associated with success, a rapid accumulation of income and a spectacular material ascension (Fall, 2018, p.388). Yet the growing diversity of the schooling landscape of Senegal "at least offers the (theoretical)

opportunity to choose between systems and worldviews” (Kaag, 2018, p. 8). However, this does not solve the problem of brain drain. Indeed, an interesting topic for further research arising out of this thesis could be a focus on the phenomenon of brain drain. The fact that the best students are even granted bursaries from the Senegalese state and foreign countries to study abroad without any conditions of returning to Senegal is appalling. The phenomenon of brain drain also demonstrates the domination of knowledge production and whose knowledge is accredited as valuable on the job market. Such a research might point towards another understanding of Openness in Senegalese education, which might say more about a way of conceiving success outside of the country.

The interview guideline - Annex 1

These questions are planned to be followed with flexibility according to the interviewing situation, respondent, time and location. All the interviews have been conducted in French. Direct questioning about decolonisation and decolonising processes will only be asked if the respondent did not mention the subjects on their own initiative.

First part of the interview:

Investigate the educational and professional background of my respondents, in order to link their opinion on the Senegalese school curriculum to their own educational path / professional stand.

Pouvez-vous vous présenter s'il vous plait ?

Quelle est votre situation professionnelle actuelle ?

Pourriez-vous m'en dire plus sur votre carrière professionnelle ?

Quelle étude avez-vous fait ?

Second part of the interview:

Investigate about the opinions and the perceptions of the respondents towards the actual content of history and geography programs in Senegal.

Le contenu des cours d'histoire et de géographie enseigné actuellement correspond-il à votre avis aux réalités sénégalaises ?

Comment les programmes/manuels ont été adaptés aux réalités sénégalaises ?

Comment ont été adaptés les programmes en fonction des demandes des populations ?

Quelles ont été les demandes les plus fortes/prioritaires des populations ? Avez-vous observé des changements entre votre génération et la génération actuelle ?

Que signifie selon vous une décolonisation de l'éducation ?

Les processus de décolonisation de l'éducation sont-ils toujours actuels au Sénégal ? Qu'est ce qui a été fait dans ce sens ?

Comment se traduit cette décolonisation de l'éducation actuellement au Sénégal ? (Quel changement dans les programmes ? Dans les pédagogies ? Dans les structures ?)

Avez-vous observé une approche différente de la décolonisation de nos jours par rapport à votre "époque" ?

Quels sont les besoins d'un enfant sénégalais dans ses cours d'histoire géographie ?

Quelle est la place accordée et l'importance de l'histoire coloniale/l'histoire du monde arabe dans les contenus des cours d'histoire géographie ?

L'éducation islamique correspond-elle davantage aux réalités sénégalaises ? Quels en sont les atouts et les inconvénients comparés au system public sénégalais.

Comment évaluez-vous les cours et contenus d'histoire spécifiquement ?

En êtes-vous satisfait de ce qui est enseigné ? Pour quelles raisons ?

D'après vos souvenirs, les contenus d'histoire ont-ils changé radicalement entre maintenant et quand vous étiez allés à l'école ?

Que changeriez-vous dans le contenu des cours d'histoire ?

Qu'est-ce que vous considérez comme indispensable à enseigner dans les cours d'histoire pour les générations futures sénégalaises ?

List of interviewed teachers and officials - Annex 2

Interview	Position professionnelle antérieure	Position actuelle	Lieu	Durée de l'entretien	Date
1		INEAD (manuel scolaire)	INEAD	36min	3/11/20
2	Instituteur puis chercheur	INEAD (langue nationale)	INEAD	1h10	5/11/20
3	Dr. en science de l'éducation. Prof université UCAD et en France. Publication sur l'éducation au Sénégal.	retraité	whatsapp call	1h24	6/11/20
Doudou Diouf	A travaillé au ministère de l'éducation, inspecteur de l'éducation et Dr. en linguistique.	Dr. Faculté des lettres, CLAT	UCAD/CLAT	54min	17/11/20
Mademba Diop	Enseignant d'histoire-géographie (=HG) au lycée Nganlandou Diouf 10 ans, spécialiste de l'histoire moderne et contemporaine	Enseignant chercheur depuis 2014 chef de département d'HG à la FASTEF	FASTEF	34min	18/11/20
Alfa Ndiaye	Conseiller numéro 2 de plusieurs ministres. A travaillé pour UNICEF, et la JIKA comme conseiller pédagogique.	USAID, INEAD	INEAD	1h28	19/11/20
Ndétare	Professeur de lycée en HG 20 ans, inspecteur du moyen secondaire pendant 16 ans, membre de la commission nationale d'HG.	Vacataire en Histoire à l'UCAD.	UCAD, faculté des lettres et science humaine	30min	21/11/20
8	Professeur d'HG au lycée 20 ans, IEMS d'HG première promotion 2000-16, Dr. en Histoire (basse Casamance)	Vacataire en Histoire UCAD, membre de la commission nationale d'HG.	UCAD, faculté des lettres et science humaine	45min	21/11/20
Fodé Ndao	Thèse sur l'alimentation et la santé des enfants au temps colonial au Sénégal. Enseignant dans les lycées depuis 10 ans.	Prof d'HG à l'UCAD - directeur de l'école doctorale - IGEN (Inspecteur General de l'Éducation Nationale), membre de la commission nationale depuis 2014	École doctoral Ethos - UCAD	43min	25/11/20
10 (Femme)	Enseignante d'HG de collèges et lycées pendant 20 ans, 2006 concours inspecteur de spécialité (2eme et dernières	Inspectrice de spécialité	IA (Inspection d'Académie) de Dakar	1h45	26/11/20

	promotions d'inspecteur de spécialité)				
11	Ancien ministre de l'éducation de 2004 à 2008	Proviseur d'une école de formation privée, retraité.	Dans son appartement à Point E, Dakar	1h24	26/11/20
12		Directeur de l'INEAD et instituteur d'HG au primaire qui travaille à l'INEAD	INEAD	1h00	30/11/20
13	PhD Amsterdam en Histoire sur les mouvements sociaux de 1968 au Sénégal, prof lycée en Casamance de 1992 à 1997 puis à St Louis jusqu'à 2001 au lycée Faidherbe. Puis Université Alexandrie.	Professeur en Histoire à l'UCAD	UCAD, faculté des lettres et science humaine	1h30	02/12/20
Matar Ndiaye	Prof à la FASTEUF a formé depuis 1977 des futurs professeurs d'HG. Prof de 72-77 dans le lycée Blaise Diagne. Parmi ceux qui ont dirigé et rédigé les pgms. Membre de l'association des Prof d'HG. A dirigé la commission nationale d'HG jusqu'à 2008. IGEF d'HG de 1983 à 2008. A été au coeur de toutes les réformes.	retraité depuis 2008	FASTEUF GEEP	57min	03/12/20
15_Part 1	1989 Prof d'HG au lycée à Kafrine. Participe à l'écriture des programmes en représentant la région de Kaolack, puis conseiller pédagogique. 2001-2008 Enseignant et formateur associé à la FASTEUF et au lycée Nord. 2008 USAid Education de Base. Conseiller du Secrétaire Général au ministère de l'éducation en 2013. 2015 Coordinateur administratif et pédagogique PARC	PARC	FASTEUF GEEP	25min	05/12/20
Teacher Madické_1	Enseignant en HG, Maitrise en HG (les épidémies et les politiques sanitaire au temps colonial au Sénégal).	Enseignant d'HG au lycée Ouest, Secrétaire Général de l'association des professeurs d'HG	Lycée Ouest	1h57	07/12/20
Falla Diaw	Thèse épistémologie scolaire. Articles sur les usages des pgms pour les enseignants. Article sur le Japon et l'enseignement mimétique.	Prof UCAD et responsable de la pédagogie.	UCAD, faculté des lettres et science humaine	30min	07/12/20

15_Part 2	(voir ci-dessus)	PARC	FASTEF GEEP	33min	08/12/20
15_Part 3	A assisté et participé à l'écriture des programmes	PARC	FASTEF GEEP	36min	18/12/20
18	Professeur de mathématique lycée de la Fausse, responsable de l'encadrement des profs de la région de Djouloulou. Inspecteur à Ziguinchor, président du parti de Wade de Djouloulou, conseiller d'éducation de Wade.	retraité	jardin d'ami en Casamance	54min	29/12/20
19	Prof d'HG pendant 23 ans, inspecteur (ans, inspecteur de spécialité, SG de l'académie de Rufisque, à travailler sur les reformes d'HG et surtout d'ed. civique.	retraité depuis 2018, membre de la commission nationale d'HG.	appel téléphonique	34min	12/01/21
Teacher Fabouwa	Enseignant d'histoire de géographie	Enseignant d'histoire de géographie au lycée Nord	lycée Nord	49min	02/03/21
Teacher Fa Keita		Enseignant d'histoire de géographie à LTSNT (Doyen)	lycée Nord	1h04	03/03/21
22	Prof d'HG au lycée Ngalandou Diouf de 1990 à 2005, a rédigé des fascicules d'hist/géo et des manuels d'exercices	retraité	FASTEF GEEP	55min	21/04/21

Teachers' and respondents' names have been changed to preserve their anonymity. The names used are inspired by personages of Senegalese novels. The character or traits of the personages have no resemblance with the actual respondents. The novels used are: *Les bouts de Bois de Dieu & Le docker noir* from Ousmane Sembene, *Une si longue lettre* from Mariama Ba, *Frère d'âme* from David Diop, *l'Aventure amiguë* from Cheikh Hamidou Kane, *Maïmouna* from Abdoulaye Sadj, and *Le ventre de l'Atlantique* from Fatou Diome. Respondents whose direct quoting haven't been used in the thesis are given numbers.

Observation Guideline- Annex 3

Contexte Pédagogique	Observations	1ère Analyse
Établissement, Nom du Lycée	Collège-Lycée North	
Classe et Matière enseignée	1ère L1L2B Histoire-Géographie	
Nombre d'heure / semaine	4heures/semaine	
Nom de l'enseignant	Fabouwa	
Nombre d'élèves	45 élèves présents.	
Description de la salle de classe	Le nombre de tables peut exactement accueillir le nombre d'élèves, salle de classe simple sans décoration, table ancien format français. Grand tableau vert et une estrade. Salle plutôt propre et en bonne condition.	
Date, heure et lieu	03/12/20 à 8heure en classe 1B	

Contenus du Cours	Observations	1ère Analyse
Nom du cours et Chapitre Date:	Leçon 1: Les inégalités de développement dans le Monde.	
Thématique de cours	Les pays du Nord versus les pays du Sud, leur différence de développement. IDH, IPH, PIB, PNB (ne mentionne pas leur limite ni leur adaptation au contexte africains/sénégalais).	
Langues utilisées	Français, seulement dans ses blagues Mr. Drame utilise le Wolof.	
Organisation de la leçon, temps horaire consacré à quelle activité	70% à expliquer et blaguer 30% à dicter le cours quelques minutes d'interruption du surveillant général pour passer un message de l'IA, qu'il faudra payer 300 fcfa pour les examens.	
Thématique sénégalaise abordées/ Centralité du Sénégal?		
Thématique africaine abordées/ Centralité de l'Afrique?		
Réalités locales utilisées	Importation de lait alors qu'il y a beaucoup de vaches au Sénégal, 1 medecin au Sénégal pour un département par rapport à la France, 1 médecin pour 350 hommes.	
Positionnement de l'enseignant face à la thématique.	Il faut assainir les relations que les Pays du Sud ont avec le Nord. Il faut industrialiser le Sénégal. En faveur de la Russie pour le G8 et son annexion de la Crimée.	

Participation des élèves	<p>Pose 6/7 questions de cours avant de commencer la leçon. 2 élèves récitent parfaitement leur leçon. Participation active des élèves dès que le prof pose une question. Les élèves rient aux blagues du prof et commentent ce qu'il dit.</p> <p>Mr. Fabouwa a une manière de ne pas finir ses phrases ou ses mots pour que les élèves devinent la suite. Ce qu'ils font ensemble et motivés. C'est comme s'il chantait le cours et que les élèves répondaient en coeur.</p>	
Question posées par le prof	<p>"Comment on reconnaît un Pays du Nord/du Sud ?"</p> <p>"Après le Bac vous voulez aller en Europe ?" Les élèves disent qu'il n'y a rien ici.</p>	
Questions des élèves	<p>Un élève pose une question de compréhension : "C'est quoi épanouissement intellectuel ?"</p>	
Esprit critique éveillé	<p>Les pays du Nord dans les postes de commandement (ONU, FMI, Banque Mondiale, qui sont les bras armés de l'impérialisme) : "Ceux qui produisent les richesses ne sont pas nombreux, 16% de la population a 80% des richesses".</p> <p>Pas de pays africains dans le G7, ce n'est pas normal car les thématiques discutées sont africaines.</p>	
Épistémologie et vision du monde		
Actualité sénégalaise utilisée		
Autres	<p>Il fait rire les élèves très souvent, ex : Il voulait écrire un article sur les accords de la France après la décolonisation mais il a eu peur de la police dans un de ses rêves et d'être mis en prison.</p>	
	<p>Se moque de la France "elle est partout" en expliquant comment la France a rejoint le G7.</p>	

List of Observations – Annex 4

Professor, school and class observed	Teacher Fabouwa Terminale L1' L2B High school North	Teacher Fabouwa 1ère L1' L2B High school North	Teacher Fa Keita Terminale S1 High school North	Teacher Thierno Terminale S2 High school North	Teacher Thierno 1ère S2B High school North	Mr. Bakayoko Seconde LA High school North
Lesson observed Time in hours Date	Le bilan de la 2GM et les règlements du conflit 2h 03/12/20	Les inégalités de développement dans le monde 2h 03/12/20	La seconde guerre mondiale, les étapes de la guerre 2h 21/12/20	Les relations Est-ouest 2h 19/01/21	L'accroissement de la population mondiale et les politiques démographiques suite et fin 2h 28/01/21	Géo : Les mouvements de la Terre. 2h 04/12/2020
	Le système monde, des espaces interdépendants 2h 08/12/20	La force des inégalités régionales et locales 2h 10/12/21	Correction de la dissertation sur Le système Monde 2h 06/01/21		Correction du devoir et début de la leçon sur les migrations 2h 11/02/21	
	La conférence de Yalta, et la conférence de Berlin, le temps des compromis 2h 10/12/20					
	Le système Monde Les causes de la mondialisation 2h 15/12/20	Leçon 2 : Les conséquences économiques, sociales politiques et culturelles de la Révolution industrielle 2h 17/12/20	Exercice sur le solde commercial, le PIB, le taux de croissance Leçon sur l'ONU 2h 11/01/21			
	Les règlements du conflit de la 2GM 2h 17/12/20	l'évaluation sur la leçon 1 les inégalités de développement dans le monde 2h 17/01/21	L'espace Nord-Américain 2h 18/01/21			
	Leçon 2 d'Histoire : Les relations Est-Ouest de la Guerre Froide à la chute du mur de Berlin 2h 17/01/21		La guerre froide 2h 25/01/21			
	La Chine de 1945 aux années 90 2h 18/02/21		La déserte et ses conflits périphérique 2h 15/02/21			
			La Chine à l'école soviétique ou l'application du 1 ^{er} quinquennal de développement social et économique 2h 01/03/21			

Professor, school and class observed	Teacher Raama Ière LA Franco-Arabic High school South	Teacher Samba Diallo Ière SA Franco-Arabic High school South	Teacher Madické Terminale L2B L' High school West	Teacher Tiemoko Terminale LA High school East
Lesson observed Time in hours	Correction de l'évaluation n°1 commentaire sur l'industrialisation 2h 06/01/21	Le socialisme et le syndicalisme. 1h30 22/01/21	Le système Monde 2h 14/12/20	L'espace Nord-Américain milieux naturels et population 2h 12/01/21
Date	Leçon 3 Les migrations 2h 27/01/21	L'accroissement de la population mondiale et les politiques démographiques 2h 10/02/21	La guerre froide et la coexistence pacifique la crise de Berlin et de Suez 2h 18/12/20	
	Les rivalités coloniales : Le Congrès de Berlin et ses conséquences 2h 17/02/21	Les formes de migrations 2h 26/02/21		
		Exercice sur les indicateurs économique 2h 03/03/21		

- Surveillance du devoir pour remplacer un prof d'histoire, Mr. Thierno me demande de le faire, 19/01/21, 2h de devoir.
- Observation dans une classe de 3^{ème} de Mr Samba Diallo, 20/01/21, Les rivalités coloniales : le congrès de Berlin.
- Discussion avec les élèves de Terminale S de Mr. Fa Keita un jour ou il est arrivé en retard.
- Surveillance et correction du devoir de la Terminale S1 de Mr. Fa Keita, 12/02/21.

The Learner's questionnaire - Annex 5

Questionnaire

Ce questionnaire est anonyme, j'aimerais recueillir l'avis personnel d'élèves sur les cours d'Histoire et de Géographie au lycée. Vos réponses seront exclusivement utilisées pour ma recherche et ne seront pas transmises aux professeurs. Votre ressenti (ce que vous aimez, ce que vous n'aimez pas) est le plus important. Vous n'êtes pas obligé de répondre à toutes les questions. Cela n'aura aucun impact sur votre parcours scolaire. Je vous remercie d'avance, Tikam Sall.

En quelle classe es-tu actuellement ? Classe :

Question 1 : Qu'est-ce que tu aimes le plus dans tes cours d'Histoire et de Géographie ? Et pourquoi ?

Questions 2 : Entourez le continent qui vous intéresse le plus pour apprendre des contenus d'Histoire et de Géographie ? Et choisissez parmi ce continent deux pays qui vous intéresse le plus.

	Afrique	Europe	Asie	Amérique du Nord	Amérique Latine	Océanie
Quels Pays :						

Expliquez pourquoi ce choix.

Questions 3 : D'après les leçons ci-dessous (même si vous ne les avez pas toutes abordées), entoure les deux leçons que tu as préférées/ qui t'ont le plus intéressées en histoire, cette année et les années précédentes. Expliquez en quelques mots ou phrases pourquoi ces leçons t'ont le plus intéressées.

Leçon en Classe de Seconde	Leçon en Classe de Première	Classe de Terminale
L'Afrique, berceau de l'humanité et Les civilisations paléolithiques et la révolution néolithiques en Afrique.	La révolution industrielle et ses conséquences	Les conséquences de la 2 ^{ème} guerre mondiale et les règlements du conflit.
La civilisation de l'Égypte pharaonique.	Le syndicalisme et le socialisme.	La guerre froide.
L'empire de Axoum en Éthiopie.	L'impérialisme en Afrique	La Chine de 1945 à 1990.
Les civilisations du Soudan (Ghana, Mali, Songhai).	La conférence de Berlin	La décolonisation en Afrique (Algérie, Gold Coast, Sénégal et Guinée Bissau)
Le processus d'islamisation en Afrique occidentale.	Les différentes formes de résistance à l'impérialisme européen	La décolonisation en Asie : Inde et Indochine.
La traite arabe.	La première guerre mondiale et ses conséquences.	L'évolution du monde négro-africain : l'influence de l'islam, du christianisme et de la colonisation.
La traite atlantique.	L'Afrique dans la première guerre mondiale.	Les religions traditionnelles.
La révolution du Torodo	La Chine de 1911 à 1945	La naissance et les fondements de l'islam.
Les révolutions américaines et française.	Le fascisme et le nazisme et la seconde Guerre mondiale	Unité et diversité du monde musulman.

Question 4 : Qu'est-ce que tu aimerais pouvoir changer/améliorer dans les cours d'Histoire et de Géographie ?

Question 5 : Après le Bac qu'est-ce que tu aimerais faire ? Entoure dans chaque colonne ce que tu envisages de faire et dans quel pays ?

Après le Bac, j'aimerais faire :	Dans quel continent ?	Dans quel pays ?
Études supérieures	Afrique Amérique du Nord Amérique Latine Europe Asie	
Formation		
Trouver un emploi		

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