COLONIAL LEGACIES AND PRESERVICE TEACHER

SUBJECTIVITIES IN MALI: A CRITICAL

EXAMINATION OF TWO TEACHER

TRAINING PROGRAMS

by

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ABSTRACT

The main goal of this dissertation is to identify major characteristics of French colonial education in Soudan Francais (present day Mali) before discussing ways in which, despite major education reforms, legacies that relate to those characteristics continue to, either consciously or unconsciously, be reproduced, altered, or challenged in two current higher education teacher-training programs in postcolonial Mali. The discussions offer insights with regard to how issues of reproduction, hybridity, and resistance play out in various data sources before examining ways in which they affect the subjectivities of preservice teachers graduating from the two teacher training programs investigated.

Data were collected from a wide range of sources, which include colonial and postcolonial legislations and documents, textbooks, retired and preservice teachers' responses to questionnaires, and Skype interviews of a focus group of preservice teachers. Methods of content analysis and narrative analysis were used to make sense of data collected while simultaneously calling in major concepts from postcolonial theory for a broader analysis and discussion.

The analysis and discussion of data collected revealed multiple instances of reproduction, resistance, and hybridity within the two departments, thereby positioning graduating preservice teachers to be likely to engage in similar practices potentially resulting in similar instances in their own future classrooms. Whether related to current,

retired, or preservice teachers, it appeared that instances of reproduction, resistance, and hybridity sometimes occurred deliberately, though often times not deliberately. The concluding section of this dissertation offers some possible pathways for Malian stakeholders to examine in order to address major educational issues that were revealed throughout this study.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Legacies from European colonization continue to shape current realities in previously colonized lands in ways that reveal serious postcolonial tensions and uncertainties (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1989; Bhabha, 1994; Cesaire,1955; Conklin, 1997; Cooper, 2002; Fanon, 1961,1967; Loomba, 2005; Moumouni, 1964; Mouralis, 1984; Rodney, 1982; Wa Thiongo, 1981, 1987; Willinsky, 1998). While researchers often disagree about the degree to which and the mechanisms by which those legacies have continued to survive, their combined work suggests that no area of life in the colonized lands was left untouched by the colonial encounter and that among all, colonial schools more than any other fields were sites of organized and planned colonial violence against occupied lands and communities. Undoubtedly, in the eyes of these researchers, serious seeds of colonial violence were planted since those times, and colonial schools were positioned not only to grow but also to perpetuate that violence.

During their independence period in the early 1960s, new African states found themselves cornered between internal demands of nationalism, their chronic under equipment in terms of general infrastructure (including schools and trained elites) and a political pressure of alignment of the Cold War context of the East/West divide (Igue, 2010). As a result, newly independent African countries abruptly found themselves facing a historical dilemma of whether to follow the Hegelian dialectic of letting history

take care of the contradictions and tensions mentioned above or relying on a Marxist framework by which a class (or a group of elites in this case) would have to resolve them. Regardless of the path they followed, it remains surprising that legacies of that colonial encounter continue, in many ways, to shape present-day lives in those countries more than half a century after their independence. This study aims to uncover the implications of those colonial legacies for schools in Mali (called Soudan Francais [French Sudan] during French colonization) and, more specifically, the ways in which the subjectivities of preservice teachers graduating from two departments of Ecole Normale Superieure (E.N. Sup.) position them as likely agents of resistance, hybridity, reproduction, or any other instances.

As we learn from Cooper (2002), postcolonial sub-Saharan Africa has known three major historical periods, which could be summarized as follows: From 1940 to 1973, from 1973 to 1990, and from 1990 to date. Igue (2010), moves along similar lines with a more specific focus on French West Africa, which he thinks also has a history divisible into three main periods: 1960s–1970s, 1970s–1990s, and 1990s to date. As one can see, the timeframes given by these two historians share many commonalities. The difference between their positions appears to be due to the fact that Cooper focused more on economic aspects, while Igue mainly focused on socio-political considerations. Indeed, both economic and sociopolitical aspects are important in order to fully understand colonial and postcolonial implications in West Africa. A full and in-depth account and analysis of those periods are therefore important for a better understanding of French colonial legacies currently taking place in schools and what those legacies imply for those countries.

For example, as we learn from above-mentioned research, postcolonial sub-Saharan Africa remains one of the very few parts of the world where native languages are only used for communication and nothing else, which leaves French as the only official language in its previous colonies in West Africa. The use of French as an official language and the lack of political will (from most West African leaders) to seriously attempt to introduce local languages into the education system is both a deliberate move by France to maintain its ties as well as a consent of most West African leaders to maintain the status quo. The exclusion of native languages from schools, which dates back to French colonial practices, coupled with many other schooling practices from that colonial period, have resulted in complex subjectivities for postcolonial-era teachers in French West Africa. Part of the teachers' complex subjectivities lies in the fact that many of the preservice teachers reveal deeply ambiguous or ambivalent positions when it comes to handling the native language issues in their future classrooms (Achebe, 1958; Bhabha, 1994; Cesaire, 1955; Fanon, 1961,1967; Igue, 2010; Sanogo, 2007; Wa-Thiongo, 1981).

In the case of Mali specifically, in addition to the language issue discussed above, other examples of French colonial legacies continue to be displayed in teacher training programs in ways that shape postcolonial teacher subjectivities. Still today, in a Malian teacher training program, it is very common to get students expelled from school for challenging a teacher's viewpoint; teachers lecture and students listen; teachers decide on one or two exam questions for the entire class: In many cases, teachers have predetermined (or boxed) answers which they want students to provide. Students do not have the option of writing on projects of their choice; students' behavior in school

continues to be graded; students are frequently expelled for getting certain low grades

with no chance of repeating the class. Evaluation questions are sometimes deliberately

tightened or complicated to reduce chances of students' success. Also, because French

colonial schools were mostly used to train the necessary number of elites needed to

support the colonial administration, the selection and exam process for students to move

up was particularly difficult (Moumouni, 1964; Sabatier, 1978). Unfortunately, these

tightened selection and exam processes continue to this day in the Malian education

system, even though one of the country's main educational goals has been "Education for

all by 2015."

Indeed, many of these types of educational practices are not exclusive to the

Malian context. Similar practices have taken places in religious (Catholic, for example)

schools as well as in boarding schools for Native Americans (Pai, Adler, & Shadiow,

2006; Qoyawayma, 1964). However, in the context of Mali a quick comparative look at

earlier forms of traditional education in French West Africa (Ibn Batuta, 1352;

Moumouni, 1964; Nyerere, 1967) reveals that French colonial education is to blame for

introducing such practices into that West African land.

In that sense, this project aims at understanding and analyzing postcolonial

preservice teacher subjectivities in Mali. In order to do that, I first identify major

characteristics of colonial education in French Sudan (Mali's previous name during the

French colonial era). Then, I proceed to specifically look at the ways in which two higher

education teacher training departments in postcolonial Mali shape the subjectivities of

preservice teachers graduating from them. During the examination of the two

departments I pay specific attention to instances where the colonial education

characteristics previously identified may have been reproduced, altered or challenged in those departments. Then, I examine ways in which preservice teachers graduating from the two departments under investigation are positioned to either reproduce, alter or challenge those characteristics in their future classrooms. I argue along those same lines that postcolonial leaders of the French West African state of Mali have failed to engage in real educational reforms for the benefit of their country. Another argument I make is that because those leaders have fallen short of enacting successful educational policies that would reverse the French colonial ties in a way to design an educational system that would train proud Malian subjects (something that is necessary for the development of their nation), preservice teachers continue to be trained in ways that position them to be very likely to reproduce some colonial education characteristics and tools in their future classrooms.

In short, in this research project, I am interested in exploring how preservice teachers trained through Malian teacher training programs continue to be likely to reproduce characteristics and tools that seem to be inherited from French colonial times. To do this, I will use postcolonial theory more specifically in its aspects related to postcolonial subjectivities to assist in my analysis. Finally, I will employ qualitative methods to assess how Malian teachers, whether knowingly or unknowingly, continue to reproduce, alter or resist teaching materials, policies and tools inherited from French colonial schools.

In the first chapter I provide a historical overview of education in Mali before and during French colonization, as well as an account of the major educational reforms the country has undertaken since its independence in 1960. While doing that I examine how

my own educational journey as a student and high school teacher in Mali and a graduate student in the United States positions me in my attempts to look critically at the education system of that country. The overview is of paramount importance in order to provide context for the current situation in Malian teacher training programs. Next, I describe how I use postcolonial theory in this project as a tool to understand colonial legacies in Malian education in general and more specifically what those legacies imply for teacher training programs. In doing so, I particularly document how postcolonial theory is useful in assessing and contextualizing how preservice teachers in Mali are likely to reproduce, alter or challenge colonial subjectivities. In the third chapter, I describe the data collection and analysis methods and methodologies I use to conduct this work. I use qualitative methods ranging from individual questionnaires to document review and focus group interviews to collect data. I then call in Paulo Freire's (1970) concept of the banking approach, and techniques from other postcolonial theorists (Bhabha, 1994; Conklin, 1997; Loomba, 2005; Singh, 2009; Willinsky, 1998; Young, 2003) to understand how the reproduced practices can be traced back to the oppressive French colonial schooling context. Freire (1970) defines the banking approach to education as a system characteristic of an oppressive environment where teachers are the sole possessors of knowledge and students are passive receivers, in other words a system where teachers "deposit" knowledge. In that kind of system, teachers teach and students listen. Teachers are the authority and students are more likely to just follow. Freire's description of the "banking approach" to education renders it as being fit for oppressive contexts like the colonial context in Mali. The fourth, fifth and sixth chapters of this work offer me a space to analyze and discuss data using content analysis (Budd, Thorp, & Donohew, 1967;

Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Linkvist, 1981; McTavish & Pirro, 1990; Tesch, 1990; Weber, 1990) and narrative analysis (Bruner, 1991; Hyvarinen, 2007; Labov, 1972; Ochs, 1999, 2001; Pavlenko, 2008; Ricoueur, 1981, 1988). Finally, in the last chapter I establish links between the findings of my research and major concepts in Postcolonial Theory, before making a list of recommendations to stakeholders.

My positionality, subjectivity, and how
I got interested in the topic

For more than a decade, my long journey as a committed teacher has led me through schools in Gao, Bamako and Timbuktu, Mali, West Africa. There I witnessed an urgency for teacher training programs to be reshaped. Legacies from the French colonial encounter still continue to shape teachers' views and classroom practices (in terms of teaching and assessment) more than 50 years after the country's political independence. Unfortunately, in spite of many educational reforms, those legacies continue to be reproduced through teacher training programs, which have failed to critically reconsider Malian teachers' position as postcolonial subjects in order to consequently make the changes that needed to be done. For example, still today, in a Malian teacher training program, it appears that challenging a teacher's viewpoint can get a student suspended or expelled; classroom roles seem to go along the lines of teachers talk and students listen; some humiliating tools and techniques have been frequently used to maintain classroom discipline; and finally, exams, testing and evaluation appear to be elitist and routinely mechanical. These in my view are legacies of French colonial education practices and the rigorous disciplinary intents around them. Beyond the fact that these characteristics constitute what Freire (1972) would call a banking approach to education, I see them in

total alignment with the "civilizing mission" and the "exploitation" which, as Conklin (1997) put it, were the defining points of the French colonial project in West Africa (which includes Mali). As I moved along in this project and read through the literature, my own schooling process keeps being reminded to me through its challenges and its successes.

History, geography, and philosophy
as they were taught to me

During my own grade 1–12 studies back in the Malian education system, while I studied history and geography for many years (grade 4–12), my exposure to philosophy only took place in 12th grade, which is the last year of high school in Mali. During those years, my history and geography classes, as I recollect them now, have created in me the constant desire to visit or immigrate to Europe, more specifically to France. The entire eighth-grade curriculum, for example, with no mention of Mali or any other African country, emphasized the history and geography of European countries, starting first with France. I remember how those lessons used to embellish France and European history, geography, economy, resulting in many of my classmates (myself included) contemplating immigrating to France and to Europe. Their history was described to us as the model, their economies as ones with strength and opulence, their beautiful landscapes depicted in the geography books printed in Europe reinforced that desire to visit or immigrate to them. When I passed the *Baccalaureat Malien 1ere partie* (a national exam for high school for 11th graders), the prospect of starting philosophy classes the following year was one of the most exciting things in my mind.

I had long heard about this discipline since my earlier grades. All things

considered, there were good things and bad aspects to philosophy. For example, I had heard that it was an interesting subject, that it would push students to think and be good debaters, etc. However, I had also heard that it is a subject that would challenge students' religious views, and that it would create many doubts in students' heads and therefore a subject likely to put students in conflicts with their families, especially given the degree of religiosity of Malian communities. All these supposedly good and bad things added to the excitement I had at finally getting the opportunity to discover what philosophy was really about.

And here comes the philosophy teacher. One of the first things that teacher mentioned to us in the lecture was that "Philosophy was born in Greece" and went on to define it. We spent the entire first term from October to December on Greek Philosophy and Mythology-Why not? After all, philosophy was born in Greece, he said. Then came Descartes and then German Philosophy (Kant, Marx, Hegel, Nietzsche, etc.) in the second term from January to April. Finally came the topic "African Thought." This entire so-called "African Thought," however, was to be covered in 2 weeks, sometimes less. Ironically, the authors studied under this topic are mostly not Malians, nor Africans, but rather people who wrote about Africans like Reverend Tempels (a Belgian missionary 1906 –1977) who in 1945 wrote *La Philosophie Bantoue* [Bantu Philosophy] about Bantu communities in central and southern Africa.

As I looked back to all of my personal memories, through my high school notes, curriculums and books taught to us then, chats with my then classmates, and compared those memories to how these two disciplines are now taught in those same schools in Mali, I realized how, despite some progress made, there have been many missed

opportunities, which could have allowed Mali to improve its education system, namely its teacher training programs in history & geography as well as philosophy & psychopedagogy. The missed opportunities would have made the specified programs more critical and by that same token would have gotten rid of many inaccuracies which in my eyes are reflective and reproductive of Eurocentric views which may have been "deposited" in the leaders of Mali as a consequence of the almost century-long French colonial occupation and schooling (Fanon,1967).

Additionally, in the context of this research, while examining my own insider/outsider positionality as a researcher, I have discovered and read more about feminist methods in research (Foss & Foss, 1994; Gorashi, 2005; Stanley, 1990). I see myself as an outsider in the sense that I am the researcher conducting this study and as such will have to abide by all the rules in order to make the findings of the study as reliable and trustworthy as possible. However, I am also an insider in the sense that this research will be conducted in a field I see myself as a part of. The complexity of this double positionality is well summed up by Gorashi (2005) in her study of feminist epistemologies when she says: "Feminist attention on life stories as a method, and feminist anthropologists' attention to particularity, involvement and reflexivity give the author the space, and inspire her, to explore the issue of positioning" (p. 363).

Along the lines of feminist scholars (Foss & Foss, 1994; Gorashi, 2005; Stanley, 1990), I find it useful to share some of my own personal background while conducting this study. Bringing in my background is important for the contextualization of this study in the sense that it provides an idea of why I decided to go in the field of education. The background also provides insights on some of the current and upcoming challenges that I

have faced in the context of this research.

I graduated from a teacher training program in Mali and taught high school there for more than a decade before coming to the United States for my graduate studies. As I moved through my graduate programs of study, classes I took allowed me to utilize critical lenses and apply them to some of the educational issues I faced while in Mali both as a grade 1-12 student and a preservice teacher as well as in my previous position as a high school teacher. I see these aspects of my background and my previously faced educational challenges as assets which will inform this study. During all my years as a pre- and in-service teacher in Mali as well as the more recent years as a graduate student in the United States, I have maintained a good relationship and contact with both my former colleagues and the Malian Department of Education. As a matter of fact, many of my former colleagues now hold leadership positions in schools and in structures at the Department of Education level. Those former colleagues, indeed, constituted important and useful connections in my data collection process in terms of recruiting participants across different age and gender groups.

Postcolonial Mali and France's military

intervention in Northern Mali

I embarked in this study at a time of serious existential hardship for the country of Mali, which is both my country of origin and the site for this study. Between the end of March and early April 2012, Northern Mali fell under the occupation of hardline Islamists and separatist Touareg rebels. Northern Mali, which includes the regions of Timbuktu, Gao and Kidal, is the area I am originally from and where most of my immediate relatives have lived and continue to live. In other words, this is the place I call

home. This unfortunate occupation took place on top of a military coup which took place about a week earlier. Malians suddenly found themselves occupied in the Northern region of the country by the Islamist and rebel groups, and the rest of the country, under brutal military rule.

Due to that unforeseen situation, while working on my proposal for this study, I have found myself stuck between my desire to finish this study, go back to Mali and make the changes I have always wanted to make in the education system on the one side; and on the other side the sudden uncertainty filled with violence which Mali found itself in. Beyond my involvement in various Malian think tanks, marches and social media activism, my inability to offer immediate help to my people caught in this situation left me not only with a feeling of helplessness but also with thoughts about lots of questions originating from phone calls from relatives in the occupied area as well as all over Mali. The questions and thoughts varied from how I would even conduct this research in the context of what was going on in Mali to whether it would be possible to travel there and collect data and data sources. Should I even stay and continue my PhD? Or should I go back home and join the fight to retake control of my hometowns of Gao and Timbuktu?

In the midst of all this, human rights organizations as well as local, national and international press have continued to release horrible crimes of rapes, sex slavery, killings, tortures (hand chopping and whipping of so-called unwed couples) and vendetta, as mentioned in the United Nations' July 2012 report on Mali. The more politicians, international organizations and media debate the crisis in Mali, the more it became clear to me that populations in northern Mali will have to wait for months or years (God forbid!) before the situation can be under control. Living thousands of miles from there, I

started to become pessimistic about the salvation of my people as they continue to experience more and more violence.

It is in the midst of all this that on January 11, 2013, while Islamists were attempting to move southward to control more territory, the interim president of Mali, Mr. Dioncounda Traore, reached out to France's president, Francois Hollande, for help. The former colonial power quickly stepped in as the danger of an Islamist takeover of the country was imminent. Indeed, an Islamist takeover of Mali would have meant a serious existential threat to all West African countries. It would have certainly meant more hardship for populations in terms being subjected to more violence from Islamists and rebels. Finally, an Islamist takeover would have also meant an extremely dangerous threat to the world, and most immediately to France which, because of its colonial past, has had direct economic and political ties to most West African countries.

So, France, the former colonial power, stepped in immediately. While the French-led intervention was welcomed by most Malians because of their perception of the existential threat to Mali, the very fact that it was the former colonial power that was stepping in to help brought big debate and tensions among Malian citizens at all levels of life. While most regular Malians welcomed French intervention and even portrayed France as a savior in local media and displayed French flags all over walls in Malian cities, many Malian intellectuals, on the other hand, were very much divided about whether to welcome or criticize French intervention. On the one hand the debate was framed around feelings of colonialism, shame and anger directed toward Malian political leaders (including the interim president himself) who, more than half a century after independence, have been incapable of securing the country despite many earlier warnings

from intelligence received from many other countries. The other side of the debate welcomed French intervention and saw it as necessary to counter the existential threat to Mali. Some intellectuals on this side of the debate argued also that French intervention was logical since it has, with the complacency of Malian elites, deliberately created and maintained neo colonial ties with its former colony.

In those debates among Malians and friends of Mali which usually took place in schools, meetings, conferences, marches, on radios, television channels, mailing lists and social media (Malilink, Maliwatch, Facebook and Skype conference groups) I found myself, most of the time, in a very ambivalent position. My postcolonial theorist proclivities tended, on many occasions, to press me to blame France for intervening because its intervention will bring France again into Mali's business.

However, on multiple other occasions, the thought of my relatives, friends, community and more than half of my country under the violent rule or control of hardline Islamists and separatist rebel groups quickly came in and pushed me to be more accepting of the French-led intervention. My position as a researcher in this study accounts for both of these positions. I have, therefore, learned to cope with this oftentimes double positionality and believe in that, the context of this research, this duality has been a critical asset for me in my data collection and analysis processes.

In any case, skepticism often times made me think that through this intervention, France, to paraphrase the saying, killed many birds with one stone: It stopped Islamist extremists' takeover in West Africa, which means positive economic and political implications for it as the former colonial power, and it repositioned itself with a more positive image by appearing as a 'savior' as it has regularly been mentioned and seen in

public places in Mali since the intervention, therefore making it more challenging for its Malian critics to continue to criticize it. At the same time, its leader, President Francois Hollande, scored political ratings in France and around the world as a defender of human rights.

Finally, this French military intervention may have complicated things even more. Because of this intervention, it is possible that France may now continue to have, more than it has already had, a stronger say in Malian politics in terms of deciding who gets elected as President, which will mean influencing policies (with regard to education, the economy, etc.) and gearing them more towards France's metropolitan interests. This time, France may even do it easily and openly, as it has been perceived as a savior by most Malians, including political leaders. I believe this second arrival of France in Mali through this military intervention, in addition to its previous position as a colonial power, deserves to be analyzed in light of what it means in terms of the reproduction of colonial practices in Mali. This study concerns itself with the understanding of such practices in schools and more specifically their implications for preservice teachers graduating from two departments of Ecole Normale Superieure (E.N. Sup.) of Bamako.

Background of the problem: A historical overview

of education in Mali

Before moving forward in this project, it is important to take a quick look at the history of education in Mali. In this historical overview, I will attempt to offer the state of education in Mali before French colonization (traditional education, Islamo/Arabic education). I then provide a description and analysis of French colonial education. Finally, the overview discusses some of the educational reforms that took place in the

country from its independence from colonial rule in 1960 to the present. This historical overview provides the foundation needed to contextualize current educational issues in Mali. To paraphrase historians, in order to know where we are going, it is important to know where we are coming from. In that sense, the following historical overview helps us assess the transformations/alterations brought to Mali by French colonial education and what those transformations meant for students, teachers, local communities and the colonizer herself/himself. As I move along these lines of contextualization, my own experience as a product of the current Malian educational system from elementary to higher education guides my path and reminds me of some challenges that my classmates and I faced in relationship to our teachers. I believe some of those challenges are legacies of French colonization and that it is important to unpack and address them for the betterment of the Malian education system, more specifically its higher education teacher training programs. Knowing about the transformations/alterations discussed here will help us better assess ways in which (and why) those transformations/alterations continue to be displayed in Malian teacher training programs in such a way that they significantly shape preservice teacher subjectivities.

Mali used to be called Soudan Francais during colonial times. It was administratively part of Afrique Occidentale Francaise (A.O.F.) [French West Africa]. The country became politically independent on September 22, 1960 under the different name of "Mali," a move portrayed as a rejection of historical ties with France by the new country's leaders. This move was also described as a way of showing national pride by reclaiming the name of one of the most powerful kingdoms in West African history, which existed on almost the same lands.

Indeed, before its colonization by France in the late 19th century, the land covered by present-day Mali used to house some of the most famous empires and kingdoms in West Africa (and even in all of Africa): For example, the empires of Ghana (5th to 11th centuries); Mali (12th to 15th centuries); Songhay (15th to 16th centuries) and the kingdoms of Bambara (from 1712 to 1818); Toucouleur (from 1852 to 1864); Wassoulou (1883-1898); Macina (1818-1853); and Kenedougou (1815-1898) all used to cover most (or part) of the geographic area of present-day Mali (Battuta, 1352; Caille, 1829). Many of these kingdoms fought as harshly as they could against colonial occupation but lost. Colonial occupation of Soudan Francais (present day Mali) lasted from the late 19th century to 1960. Ultimately, after many political struggles and fights, the country became independent under the historic name of Mali. As we discussed above, the use of the name "Mali" represented in the eyes of the country's founding fathers a symbolic rebirth of national pride after independence. Today's Mali covers 1,241,000 square kilometers for a population of about 15 million people living in eight administrative regions (Census Report, Mali 2009).

Early arrival of Islam and Arabic culture in Mali and

their impact on Malian traditional education

Throughout the colonial era in Africa, French colonizers, in their eagerness to reach their objectives of conquest, domination and exploitation, could not accept and recognize that African people had their cultures, ways of knowing, and civilizations, let alone that they had education systems that produced lots of writings, such as the Timbuktu ancient manuscripts, for example. Had they done so, there would not have been much reason for them to stay in those lands, as they were supposed to "bring civilization"

therein. Moreover, recognizing the existence of African ways and sources of knowing like Timbuktu ancient manuscripts would have deeply challenged the Enlightenment assumption of Europe as the only center of civilization, culture and modernity. It would have been one way of recognizing some sort of value in the "Others" whom their project was aiming to dehumanize and objectify. Instead in their move to "civilize" the African continent, French colonizers began building their own schools, to which they obliged parents to send their children instead of having them attend traditional Koranic schools.

I should also note that long before the arrival of French colonizers, West African territories had writing systems. In the case of Mali, an accurate history of formal education can be traced back to the 14th and 15th centuries with the Koranic schools, where children learned to read and write in Arabic, and the University of Sankore. The University of Sankore was an educational institution with around 25,000 students of different nationalities. According to Ibn Battuta (1352), the University of Sankore in Timbuktu "exchanged students with the Universities of Egypt and Fez in Morocco. Inhabitants from the Muslim World went to Timbuktu to deepen their knowledge in theology, grammar, law, traditions, history, and astrology" (Battuta, 1352). Teaching and writing became important activities in the life of Timbuktu people. As a result, thousands of manuscripts were written or copied throughout the city.

Even though those manuscripts were in Arabic, there was a big amount of transliteration taking place. Transliteration here refers to using Arabic alphabet to transcribe local stories, tales, knowledge about traditional medicine, local laws, astronomy and other areas of knowledge (Battuta, 1352). In most cases the knowledge transcribed into Arabic was already known and available to locals, even though, in other

cases, it was about new knowledge from elsewhere. For example, Alidou (2004) argues that Dan Fodio, a famous scholar in Nigeria, used transliteration to translate Greek Math into his own Hausa language and that most of the writings he produced were destroyed by British colonizers after a Muslim resistance to them. The purpose here was not only to reduce the number of Arabic learners and thereby reduce the number of local writings, but also to turn young people's minds toward Western culture and have them reject their local ones. Colonizers' strategy by doing so, as many historians have argued, was to bring confusion by suppressing the habits and frames of reference of the local people in such a way that they become strangers in their own lands.

A discussion of the impact of Islam and Arabic culture on Malian culture and the education system is very important for us to assess the consequences of French colonial education, which came in later. Even though the arrival of Islam and Arabic culture was colonial by its very nature, its impact on local cultures and the education system was of a different nature from French colonization. As we learn from Ibn Battuta (1352), Arabs' arrival in Soudan Francais (present-day Mali) was more characterized by spreading Islam as a religion and expanding trade. It is important to remember that colonial violence did occur during the arrival of Islam and Arabs in Sudan, too. There were many religious wars and acts of slavery, and Arabs' presence also impacted the local cultures and communities.

However, in spite of the amount of Arab-Islamic colonial violence, local communities appeared to have shown a great deal of resilience by profiting from trade and the use of Arabic script to write their local stories and knowledge (Battuta, 1352). Local communities by doing that showed not only resilience but also resistance by

strategically using Arabic culture and language to their own local benefits. They somehow transformed the arrival of Arabs from a colonial intrusion to a profitable situation where the Arabic language was used to record local stories, knowledge and epistemologies. As a result of that local agency (through resilience and resistance) thousands of manuscripts were written and thousands of children and adults were able to read and write by attending Koranic schools. As we learned earlier from Ibn Battuta (1352), at one point, the University of Sankore in Timbuktu trained in many disciplines with Arabic as a medium of instruction for 25,000 students from many nationalities, including Arab nations.

In contrast, the education system developed by colonial France in Mali was never intended to help Malians (Conklin, 2007; Kamara, 2007; Moumouni, 1964; Nyerere, 1967; Quijano, 2007). Worse, it attacked and destroyed the very mechanisms by which Malian and West African cultures were meant to survive (Moumouni, 1964; Nyerere, 1967; Quijano, 2007). As we learn from a participant to this study, the destruction occasioned by that system might have reached the size of a "cultural genocide." In the words of retired teacher, OES:

> We are in T*[a popular city in French Sudan/Mali]. Before French colonization, there were koranic schools and universities in the city. There were 25,000 students in the city in the 16th century under the emperor Askia Daoud of Gao. Colonial education has destroyed everything. Children from big families were enrolled in French schools where they spent 6 hours a day. Our cultural treasures which gave Ahmed Baba Soudani, Mohamed Bagayogo have evaporated. Rene Caillie [a French explorer] who came to T* in 1828 had witnessed it by saying that everyone in T* could read and write in Arabic. These were very negative changes. I would even say a cultural genocide.

The system was developed in the sole interest of France, and any resistance or resilience attempt by locals were violently subdued, and its authors were either killed or

deported to different colonized lands to do some forced labor. Forced labor and killings were used by French colonizers as a sword of Damocles on indigenous communities in Mali, and as a result of that those communities could rarely transform the colonial situation in their advantage in any significant way. As we learn from Moumouni (1964), Conklin (1997) and Kamara (2007), French colonial schools in West Africa were meant to mold indigenous communities in such a way as to make them ready to serve France's interests. France never opened schools in the colonies where French people would go and study. The dumbed down curriculum and the violent disciplinary practices were only intended for local communities.

French colonial educational policies in West Africa

and Soudan Francais (Mali)

Beyond earlier missionaries and explorers' encounters with local communities, most of the formal colonization process of Soudan Francais (present-day Mali) occurred between the years 1883 and 1960. Colonial troops encountered fierce resistance from local kingdom leaders, many of whom ended up being killed or committing suicide in order not to have to deal with the "white man," or being captured and deported, as in the cases of Babemba Traore and Samory Toure in 1898.

As we learn from Moumouni (1964), Conklin (1997) and many other researchers, colonial times in French West Africa, more specifically in Soudan Francais, witnessed a great deal of violence, forced labor of communities, as well as guerrilla wars carried out by many local communities resisting or revolting against colonial rule. Worse, at the end of each of those guerrilla wars, more violence was enacted by France toward the communities which attempted to resist or revolt. Along with that violence and the

measures taken by French colonizers to maintain control, educational policies were put in place to concur with the colonial goals of "civilization," "assimilation" and "exploitation." I intend to discuss in detail those educational policies and their implications through the following pages.

A thorough investigation of French colonial educational policies in West Africa reveals two main competing groups of thought. On the one hand, Hazoume (1935), Kane (1961), Senghor (1964), Couchoro (1983), and other researchers argue that French colonization of West Africa in general together with its educational policies there were "un mal necessaire" [a necessary evil]. This school of thought argues that colonial educational policies have helped create some sort of critical consciousness within part of the African elites trained through that system and that that consciousness had at some point resulted in a revolutionary spirit for some of those African elites which made them stand up against French colonizers. In this sense, as some historians have argued, those indigenous colonial time elites, by strategically working through the colonial system and then fighting it later on, were engaged in a form of resistance. While one can see the potentially strategic advantage of such an approach for those elites, I argue that such an explanation of things might be difficult to sustain knowing that legacies of that colonization have continued to live in the concerned countries more than 50 years after independence. This explanation becomes even more difficult to support given that, despite the Senegalese presidency of Senghor, one of the elites who backed this approach, French colonial legacies still continue to be displayed in the education system of that country.

In the specific context of Mali, the occurrence of that form of resistance was

much later on discussed by Coulibaly (2003) while looking at Malian students' activism in the early 1990s. The patterns of resistance found in his study highlighted students' selective appropriation and their rejection of neocolonialism in their country in the 1990s. Even though the author termed it "selective resistance" in a postcolonial and neocolonial context, his findings share some similarities with the types of resistance activities in which many colonial-time indigenous elites engaged. Nevertheless, the concept of "selective resistance" discussed by Coulibaly (2003) runs the risks of accepting too many aspects of French thought and practices, aspects which appear to be detrimental to Malian people.

However, though the argument related to that form of resistance strategy by colonial-time indigenous elites deserves some credit, given the fact that leaders of most West African anticolonial movements were some of such elites, this school of thought has failed to inform us when and how those elites started to engage in any form of resistance, especially knowing that most of those elites were highly active in supporting and furthering colonial exploitation until its so-called end in the 1960s independence era. Furthermore, I would argue with regard to those groups of colonial-time indigenous elites that their resistance was not really resistance given that they negotiated power transfer with France and when they came into power they did not challenge most colonial practices. Rather, many of them (like Senghor in Senegal, Houphouet-Boigny in Côte d'Ivoire, and other early leaders in Mali) have either maintained their friendship with France along with a great part of the same colonial policies or have timidly changed some of them. This leaves analysts with an even deeper question, which is to know how (or to what degree) people or elites trained by colonial rulers can engage appropriate and

effective changes or reforms after the political independence era given the pervasiveness of colonial ideology.

On the other hand, a different group of educational historians and researchers, including Mouralis (1984), Kamara (2007), and Alidou (2004, 2009) have argued that educational policies in French colonial West Africa not only had an assimilationist but also an exploitative agenda. These historians and researchers have provided us with accounts of colonial violence and also informed us on ways in which schools were used as tools to reinforce that violence and mold local communities and cultures in order to serve the sole interest of France. This group of historians has extensively described ways in which colonial schools were specifically designed to train the kinds of elites that were needed for the extension and the functioning of the colonial project. In this project, I share the position of this group of researchers and argue based on collected data (which I discuss in later chapters) that much of that original colonial design has continued to frame the education system in Mali. For the sake of my argument, after reviewing some colonial and postcolonial documents, I have analyzed data from retired and preservice teachers and ended by examining the role played by two higher education teacher training departments.

Moreover, those researchers purport that French colonial educational policies mostly followed three specific time frames. As Stoler and Cooper (1997) argue, those time frames also reflected key historical changes and tensions within France itself as well as between competing metropoles like France and England. As a general rule, in the process of occupation and control of colonized lands and communities, the ruling strategies (including educational policies) adopted by European powers depended mostly

on their own political realities at home.

Also, while British colonial administrators established indirect ruling strategies by keeping indigenous power structures as representatives of the crown, authorities of the French Third Republic on the other hand emphasized the creation of culturally assimilated elites who would help defend French interests in the colonies. As I discussed earlier French colonial schools were explicitly used as tools for that purpose. As Wyrod (2003) emphasizes, colonial "schools became the primary vehicles for opposing indigenous cultures and instilling a new colonial order" (p. 15). Consequently, an analysis of French colonial educational policies in West Africa reveals three defining periods: (1) from missionary and colonial beginnings to 1870; (2) from 1870 to 1940; and (3) from 1940 to the 1960 independence period.

Among these three distinct and historical periods, the one from 1870 to 1940 under the French Third Republic is of most interest to this study for many reasons. This period witnessed most of the colonial violence and exploitation in French West Africa, and a great deal of that violence was displayed in and through colonial schools (Cesaire, 1955; Collins, 1970; Conklin, 1997; Crowder, 1970; Debeauvais, 1964; Kamara, 2007; Moumouni, 1964). This is also the period during which French colonial authorities enacted more controlling educational laws and decrees to shape schools in colonies in such ways as to deculturalize, discipline and assimilate colonized subjects in order to train them as auxiliaries or "things" to be used by colonial administration and for colonial interests. This period is also the one of most interest to us because many of the curricular/educational practices to which it gave birth in French West Africa continue to be reproduced in present-day higher education teacher training classrooms in Mali.

In such a context, it became necessary to create and maintain colonial schools that would accommodate such policies. The moves taken by France then necessitated more assimilated indigenous people, administration auxiliaries which resulted in educational policies that were enacted to secure and expand the economic and political interests of France. George Hardy, a powerful colonial education inspector in charge of French West Africa (quoted by Surun, 2012) clearly stated that colonial schools were meant to mold colonized indigenous people so as to make them ready to serve their colonial masters and that "les écoles coloniales ne doivent former parmi les indigènes que les élites dont les autorités ont besoin pour faire fonctionner les rouages de la colonisation, en dispensant un enseignement minimal à la masse" [colonial schools must only train among indigenous people the number of elites that are needed to make the colonial project work, by offering a minimal education to the masses] (p. 349).

One of the main challenges of such an educational system therefore became how to provide the type of instruction French colonizers desired without producing elites who might end up questioning or challenging colonial authority. The lines quoted above from colonial education inspector, Hardy, delineate those tensions and challenges. In order to resolve those tensions and challenges, Kamara (2007) argues that French educational policies resorted to dumbed down curriculum content and destructive teaching methods to walk that challenging line. In that regard, educational policies enacted then were built around racial thinking philosophies, which viewed colonized people as "inferior people" who deserved "an inferior education" and that giving them more than that would be dangerous for "superior races."

Furthermore, a group of educational researchers has argued and documented that

the fundamental goal of French educational policies from 1903 to 1944 was to mold the African into an object to be utilized for the benefit of the metropole (Debeauvais, 1964; Cesaire, 1955; Crowder, 1970; Collins, 1970). They did so by teaching oppressive French curriculum in schools aimed at assimilating locals and creating new "French men" (Conklin, 1997). This group of researchers also argues that the use of French as a medium of instruction was an integral part of that project. The teaching methods and pedagogy used reinforced assimilation, domination and exploitation. In many regards their teaching approach reflects similarities with what Freire (1972) would call a "banking approach" to teaching.

Interestingly, it appears that this group of researchers also deprived the colonized indigenous of any sort of agency. Their arguments mostly emphasized colonial violence, which was documented, but they gave limited room for any action from the colonized subject. As Foucault (1977) would put it, power (in this case colonial power) cannot be enacted in a unidirectional way. In other words, as French colonizers enacted power, local indigenous communities also enacted some.

Statement of the problem

More than half a decade after the political independence, and in spite of numerous reforms and forums, educational legislation, tools and teaching materials deeply rooted in the French colonial era (mostly French Third Republic, 1870–1940) continue to be reproduced either consciously or unconsciously in current higher education classrooms of many French speaking West African countries, including Mali. Those constitute legacies from French colonial education, which still continue to impact and shape preservice teacher subjectivities in a way that make them likely to reproduce those same colonial

education characteristics in their future classrooms more than 50 years after the country's political independence. Furthermore, even though postcolonial Mali has enacted many educational reforms, the legacies discussed above continue to be reproduced through teacher training programs which have failed to critically reconsider Malian preservice teachers' position as postcolonial subjects and carry out the necessary changes the process entails.

In consequence, like French colonial schools, Malian teacher training programs, to this date, continue to display practices that educational historians, philosophers, and researchers (Freire, 1972; Moumouni, 1964; Pai, Adler, & Shadiow, 2006) describe as oppressive, humiliating, dehumanizing and deculturalizing. For instance, still today, in a Malian teacher training program, it is very common to get students expelled from school for challenging a teacher's viewpoint; teachers teach/talk and students listen; teachers decide on one or two exam questions for the entire class: In many cases, teachers have predetermined (or boxed) answers which they want students to provide. Students do not have the option of writing on projects of their choice; student behavior in school continues to be graded; students are frequently expelled for getting certain low grades with no chance of repeating the class.

Indeed, these types of educational practices are not exclusive to the Malian context. Similar practices have taken place in religious (Catholic for example) schools as well as in boarding schools for Native Americans (Pai, Adler, & Shadiow, 2006; Qoyawayma, 1964). However, in the context of Mali, as we can see through the historical background offered earlier in this study, French colonial education is the one to blame for introducing such practices in that West African land. Preservice teachers who attend

Malian teacher training programs unfortunately remain likely to reproduce those same negative practices in the elementary or high schools where they are later on hired to teach. At those grade level classes, teachers very frequently add corporal punishment to the list of their practices. These, in my view, are legacies of French colonial education practices and the rigorous disciplinary intents which shaped teachers during their training (Alidou, 2004, 2009; Kamara, 2007; and Mouralis, 1984). Beyond the fact that these practices constitute what Freire (1972) would call a banking approach to education, they also appear to be in total alignment with the concepts of the "civilizing mission" and "exploitation" which Conklin (1997) describes as the defining points of the French colonial project in West Africa, which includes Mali.

Furthermore, because funds to support education reforms at all levels continue to come from Western donors or institutions therein, Malian authorities engaged in earlier educational reforms have been unable to challenge the real roots of educational problems their country experiences. The first problem is less funds allocated to higher education, which makes most stakeholders ready to maintain the status quo, as making real changes would have more financial implications. Also, for the donors and by the conditions of the funding, most parts of the funds should be allocated to elementary education in order to secure "basic education for all" (UNESCO, 1998).

After Mali's independence on September 22nd 1960, the new elite decision makers who were themselves trained through colonial schools engaged in timid (maybe purposefully timid?) reforms which reflected more a national pride in becoming "independent" rather than a critical look at curricular contents (Mali 1962 Education Reform). Their reforms were timid in the sense that, even though they reformed much of

the curriculum content, they fail to directly address the educational violence that was part of the history of colonial schools. For example, they did not until recently question corporal punishment in schools; they did not even question the violence and negative impact of French as a medium of instruction at the exclusion of any other local language in postcolonial schools; they kept most of the disciplinary sanctions that were put in place in colonial schools; and lastly they kept many of the textbooks, curriculums and teaching materials, most of which were already in place during the colonial era.

Finally, it is important to remember that the early Malian elites were not monolithic and that some indeed may have had a vested interest in maintaining the educational status quo. Others may have decided not to appear too radical in the eyes of France, especially given that Mali became independent in the historical period of the Cold War. There is a possible strategic resilience in a young nation like Mali breaking up with its former colonial power, France, but still deciding not to go too extreme in order to secure some of France's support in a world clearly divided at that time into two distinct blocs: Capitalism vs. Socialism/Communism. Regardless of the motivations of those early Malian elites, the result remains that higher education institutions in Francophone Africa (including Mali) unfortunately remain closely shaped along the French colonial educational system (Shabani, 2007).

Purpose of the study

In the last 5 decades, authorities in Mali have continued to borrow money in order to fund many educational programs and reforms with the assumption that such programs will help the country reach a goal of "education for all" by 2015 in alignment with UNESCO programs. I argue that such a goal cannot be reached as long as Malian

authorities as well as teachers do not detach themselves from colonial France's continued presence in Malian classrooms through the legacies described above. Thus, this project aims at doing its part in contributing to decolonize Malian teacher training programs by revealing the colonizing technologies inherent within them in order to better understand and address preservice teacher subjectivities.

The main purpose of this study, therefore, is to discover the forms under which and reasons why two Malian teacher training programs at E.N.Sup. continue to shape preservice teachers' subjectivities and make them likely or not to reproduce, alter or challenge those legacies in their future classrooms. The study subsequently provides a critical context as well as suggestions to understand postcolonial preservice teachers' subjectivities in Mali and the philosophical implications of such subjectivities in their future classrooms. In the process of doing this investigation, in addition to insights from participants in my focus groups, I use my own insider perspective (as a graduate of a Malian higher education teacher training program and a high school teacher in that same country) as well as my outsider knowledge (as a graduate student in a US university equipped with a more critical awareness and perhaps a more neutral position) to help collect enough data and to analyze them (Bonner, 2002; Gorashi, 2005; Kottak, 2006; Villenas, 1996). By doing so, I anticipate the findings of this study to contribute to improve teacher training programs and educational policies in Mali as well as provide insights to other international organizations and researchers who are interested in identifying, understanding and challenging colonial education legacies and their implications for postcolonial teachers in French Africa and the rest of the world.

Research questions

When Mali became independent on September 22nd 1960 from French rule, only 7% of school-aged children had the opportunity to attend schools. The entire country had 3 veterinary doctors, about 10 higher education professors, about 8 to 10 medical doctors and about 3 pharmacists. It was therefore necessary for the newly independent country to embark on an educational reform path that would attempt to correct those weaknesses. The major educational reforms which took place in Mali to address that issue in the short, medium and long terms are the 1962 education reform (No 62235 PGRM, October 4th, 1962), the 1968 educational decision makers' conference, the 2nd national seminar on education in 1978, the state of education in 1989, the national debate on education in 1996, the opening of the first university in Mali in 1996, and the launching of PRODEC in 1998.

Thus, given the realities of colonial education we discussed earlier and with the warnings of Fanon (1952) and Cesaire (1955) about colonial education and postcolonial subjectivities, it becomes logical to ask the following guiding questions:

1-What are the main characteristics of French colonial education in Soudan Francais/Mali?

2-What role(s), if any, do E.N. Sup. Departments of History and Geography, and Philosophy and Psycho-Pedagogy play in reproducing or challenging those characteristics today?

3- How do those characteristics impact preservice teachers trained by those two departments?

Significance of the study

Earlier studies of higher education systems in francophone Africa, which include UNESCO and World Bank reports, have mostly been focused on quantities instead of quality, i.e., the number of private or public institutions to be built, the funding policies and amounts to be allocated and finally the role of government in the management of those institutions (Shabani, 2007). Very little space has been given to analyzing what takes place in the classrooms and its impacts on teacher trainees who are those responsible for teaching future generations. Given the central role French colonial schools played in the formation of colonial as well as postcolonial subjects (Conklin, 1997; Loomba, 2005; Moumouni, 1964; Willinski, 1998) through the ways they taught disciplines such as history, geography and math, an investigation like this one is necessary in order to assess how much of that colonial legacy continues to be displayed in teacher training programs in previously colonized countries like Mali, and the degree to which that legacy might interfere with, shape or impact preservice teachers' subjectivities.

For all the above mentioned reasons, this study aims at examining two important higher education teacher training departments (Philosophy & Psycho-Pedagogy, and History & Geography) within the widely popular teacher training school in Mali, which is Ecole Normale Superieure (E.N. Sup.). My hope, by undertaking this examination, was (1) to uncover possible colonial education legacies which might still be alive in those programs, (2) to understand the subjectivities of Malian preservice teachers who recently graduated from those two departments, and (3) to identify instances of resistance, hybridity, or reproduction which might arise while examining the two training programs

and the preservice teacher subjectivities.

I anticipate this study to be of paramount importance in the field of education in Mali because graduates from Ecole Normale Superieure (E.N.Sup.) are the ones who are hired to be teachers in public and private secondary schools (high schools and professional schools). In this sense, in Mali, graduates of E.N. Sup. or their students are the ones who teach the entire K–12 student population, as well professional school students. Because E.N. Sup. graduates are directly or indirectly active at all levels of Mali's education system, any reform or recommendation initiated by the findings of this study will be very instrumental in making a positive impact on the entire education system of the country.

This study will therefore attempt to bring a more critical awareness to Malian higher education teachers, students and policy makers in order to ultimately move toward critically examining the legacies of the colonial era and thereby enable Mali to pursue an educational system that restores Malian people's pride, dignity, and strength. By doing so, this study will finally help the nation of Mali pursue an agenda in tune with the roots of its indigenous practices, beliefs and institutions.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND

LITERATURE REVIEW

Postcolonial theory is an analytical tool, which situates European colonialism at the roots of the challenges and the continuing legacies faced by the previously colonized territories. The theory revolves around a deep and complex examination of the impact, legacies and implications of European conquest, colonization and domination of non-European lands, people and the cultures of those people and lands. Postcolonial theory is therefore about "unpacking the politics of representation" (Hall, 1996) and, in some ways, an attempt to understand how much of the colonial past relates to the present.

Proponents of Postcolonial Theory have described it as a very multidimensional analytical tool which is, regardless of time and space, always useful to examine and challenge any exploitative and discriminatory practices. It is for that reason that the theory has been used on all continents, though at varying degrees, to make sense of colonial encounters and their legacies. Proceeding with notes of caution, some proponents (Cooper, 2002; Loomba, 2005) have offered the theory in combination with other factors (including forms of agency from the colonized) to explain the current realities of the previously colonized countries. For instance, Cooper (2002) uses the combination of legacies of European colonization of sub-Saharan Africa and the aspirations of the pre-independence African elites to explain the state of African countries

today. Cooper (2002) says:

> No word captures the hopes and ambitions of Africa's leaders, its educated populations, and many of its farmers and workers in the post-war decades better than "development." Yet it is a protean word, subject to conflicting interpretations. Its simplest meaning conveys a down-to-earth aspiration: to have clean water, decent schools and health facilities; to produce larger harvests and more manufactured goods; to have access to consumer goods which people elsewhere consider a normal part of life. To colonial elites after the war, bringing European capital and knowledge to Africa reconciled continued rule with calls for universal progress. To nationalists, a development that would serve African interests required African rule. After independence, new rulers could claim a place for themselves as intermediaries between external resources and national aspirations. But African rulers were in turn subject to criticism for sacrificing development for the people to personal greed. (p. 91)

Other proponents of postcolonial theory like Ashcroft (1989), for example, argue that it emerges from the "inability of European theory" to effectively explain postcolonial writings. The theory builds upon an interdisciplinary approach, which encompasses perspectives from literary, political and religious studies (Rukundwa & Aarde, 2007). As Gyan Prakash (1994) describes, postcolonial theory has used diverse disciplines such as history, anthropology and literature to trigger a "radical rethinking of knowledge and social identities authored and authorized by colonialism and western domination" (p. 1475). The interdisciplinary approach of postcolonial theory makes it an important tool for cultural history, which is about using all available sources when analyzing past events.

Postcolonial theory, by its very nature, therefore becomes what Hall (1996) calls "a sign of desire for some, and equally for others a signifier of danger" (p. 242). On the one hand, the emergence of the theory has provided strong lenses for new intellectual groups from previously colonized countries who found the "European Theory" (Ashcroft, 1989) incapable of explaining the colonial context and its implications for the

contemporary world. On the other hand, Postcolonial Theory has been perceived by some critics to be an increasing threat which is nothing else than a part of the overall postmodern thought which has challenged the master narratives defining the traditional Eurocentric paradigms.

The central concepts of the theory are representation, identity/hybridity, subjectivity formation, resistance (as in talking back to the Empire), history, race, cultures, gender, and settler and native (Ashcroft et al. 1989, 1995; Babbha, 1994; Spivak, 1988). As Loomba (2005) asserts, postcolonial approaches utilize both temporal and critical lenses to deconstruct Western master narratives about the rest of the world and those narratives, as Hall (1996) argues, need to be unpacked. Among all those main concepts of interest for the theory, this study concerns itself with the issue of subjectivities which, in my eyes, in a colonial/postcolonial context, might be better understood in relationship to concepts of hybridity, resistance or reproduction. For Bhabha (1994) the colonial encounter has left nothing untouched. It has impacted everything. As a result, communities who experienced colonization can now only claim a hybrid identity. It is from the notion of hybridity developed by Bhabha (1994) that I argue one can see the importance of understanding postcolonial identities in relationship to the subjectivity, which I am interested in investigating in this study. Specifically, based on the insights of postcolonial work, I would like to examine ways in which Malian teachers' postcolonial subjectivities were formed and what this looks like in practice. For instance, do Malian teachers demonstrate aspects of hybridity (Babbha, 1994) and/or how do they embody resistance (Cesaire, 1955; Fanon, 1982; Loomba, 2005)? Do these themes or others that emerge make Malian preservice teachers more likely to continue to

reproduce colonial educational practices (both curricular and disciplinary) or not, more than fifty years after the country's independence, that are inherited from the Colonial French Third Republic? [1] Thus, in this chapter I will weave this interest as a focal point to place relevant postcolonial theories in conversation with the issues I am looking at.

Postcolonial theory is not without its critics. D'Souza (2002) attacks the main assumption made by postcolonial theorists, which is the fundamentally destructive aspect of colonialism. Instead D'Souza (2002) argues that colonial occupation had important benefits and that enlightenment goals were mostly altruistic. Additionally, scholars like Prasad (2003) argue that the inherent political positions and various epistemological perspectives coming from the multiple disciplines which constitute the foundations of Postcolonial Theory, already position it to be filled with "internal debates, tensions and heterogeneities" (p. 7). I find these critiques lacking as I agree with others (Fanon, 1964, 1982; Cesaire, 1955; Nyerere, 1967; Sala-Molins, 1987; Merle, 2004; Baux & Lewandowski, 2009; Deltombe, Domergue & Tatsisa, 2011) that the impact of colonization and the subsequent postcolonial period have not offered benefits. On the contrary, I believe that not only has French colonization been violent under multiple forms, but also many of those forms of violence have continued to take place in the postcolonial period.

French colonial violence under the "regime de l'indigenat" [regime of indigeneity] established under the Third Republic (1870–1940) were similar in many ways to black codes in the US. The "regime de l'indigenat" established a set of legislations, rules and forms of punishment that were specifically designed to apply to indigenous communities

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[1] French Third Republic (1870–1940) refers to the period that covers that country's most violent colonial (thereby educational) expeditions and occupations.

in the colonies. The "regime de l'indigenat" established forms of sanctions like forced labor, taxation, imprisonment and killings. None of those rules or sanctions was to be used in the metropole. Educational historian I. Merle (2004) informs us that the "regime de l'indigenat" not only attests to French colonial violence and difference of rights between colonized indigenous people and French citizens, but also, ironically, shows a profound contradiction between the values of liberty, fraternity and equality that France has been claiming since its 1789 revolution and its practices in its colonies. In the words of Merle (2004): " Le caractere 'monstrueux' de ce montage juridique [le regime de l'indigenat] est denonce de facon recurrente car il ouvre une breche dans la conception meme de la legalite republicaine" [The monstrous aspect of this legal fabrication (the regime of indigeneity) has been recurrently criticized because it creates a flaw in the very concept of the republican legality] (p. 148).

The "regime de l'indigenat," in the eyes of historians cited above, allowed for an official cover up of mass killings to end revolts, a harsh imposition of forced labor needed to support the French economy and mass deportations of local resistant and rebellious leaders. These took place all over French West Africa including Soudan Francais (Mali). For example, with regard to Soudan Francais (Mali), in addition to mass killings of resistant populations and the imposition of forced labor and agricultural products (rice, peanuts, cotton) needed by the French economy, Kidal, one of the northern regions (on the edge of the Sahara Desert) of present day Mali was one of the biggest colonial prisons where rebellious leaders from French Sudan and many other French colonies were sent. However, I am interested in investigating whether or not Malian preservice teachers share D'Souza's (2002) belief of the beneficial aspect of

colonial occupation or offer any other insights that might help me understand why those preservice teachers might be likely to reproduce, alter or challenge the inherited classroom lessons, curriculums, textbooks and other tools discussed above.

Other critics of the theory have labeled it as too jargonistic, fluid, ambivalent and unclear (Rukundwa & Aarde, 2007; Slemon, 1995; Young, 2001). As we learn from Loomba (2005) other critics have described the theory as backward looking and biased against Whiteness and European values. The bias, those critics argue, has resulted in some sort of "colonial schizophrenia" (seeing colonization even where it is not) in the previously colonized world. In Loomba's words, the colonial schizophrenia lies in the fact that postcolonial subjects are prone to link anything that happens in their countries to colonization, so much so that they sometimes see colonization where it is not obvious and fail to see it where it seems obvious. Yet, other scholars (Mignolo, 2007) have situated the major limitations of postcolonial theory in its very origin. For this group, due to the very reasons of being derived from, framed, and heavily influenced by Northern Academics (Derrida, Foucault, and others), the question of the fitness of this theory to address issues in previously colonized countries remains an important one. In their eyes, these inherent components of the theory limit it in serious ways that may make it unfit to appropriately address the issues it claims to address. Despite some of the complexities of postcolonial theories, I find that as a whole postcolonial theory offers important insights when it comes to understanding the complexities of the colonial and postcolonial eras.

Additionally, the position of another group of critics (D'Souza, 2002; Loomba, 2005; Mignolo, 2007; Rukundwa & Aarde, 2007; Slemon, 1995; Young, 2001) reminds us of how important it is to use caution while examining colonial legacies. In many cases,

the colonial encounter has created situations where it becomes harder to dissociate what was not altered and what was. In other cases, colonization by European countries was preceded by other forms of occupations. Despite this invitation to be cautious, based on my own personal experiences in a postcolonial context, I argue that there are many clear and concrete manifestations of these colonial legacies, and I find the education system (more specifically teacher training programs) in Mali to be an excellent site from which to demonstrate this.

While postcolonial theories face increased scrutiny in the political arena, I find that the resurgence of anti-Muslim rhetoric and ignorance about the realities in contexts such as Mali, in the post-9/11 era speak otherwise. For instance, in this post-9/11 era, Stuart Hall's (1996) suggestion of seeing the theory as both a "desire" for some as well as a "danger" for others becomes very useful in understanding how and why this theory is seen as controversial by and within the West. As we learn from Rizvi, Lingard and Lavia (2006), in many parts of Western academia and political discourse, postcolonialism is oftentimes equated with terrorism, anti-Americanism, or simply defined as anti-Western ideology. For example, Stanley Kurtz, in his 2003 testimony to Congress, argued that postcolonial theory has influenced "area studies" in such a way that those areas have become "hotbeds of unpatriotic anti-Americanism" (Rizvi, Lingard, & Lavia, 2006). For me, these criticisms actually point to the need for postcolonial theories as they help unmask the inherent orientalism (Said, 1978) and racism (Cesaire, 1955; Fanon, 1954, 1982; Loomba, 2005) that frame spaces such as Mali strictly as sites that operate in opposition to the West. Such a binary disallows for careful studies of the legacy of colonialism in places such as Mali that are needed for true liberation (Cesaire, 1955;

Fanon, 1954, 1967, 1982).

Finally, both proponents and critics of the theory agree that it is a very complex analytical tool and that one of its biggest complexities lies in the fact that it has been influenced by various schools of thought such as Structuralists and Marxists, poststructuralists, as well as postmodernists. Both groups (critics and proponents) also see that complexity as a strength which makes the theory useful across disciplines and most importantly when it comes to making sense of colonial legacies the world over. I agree and believe that the flexibility of postcolonial theories allows me to capture the different ways postcolonial subjectivities manifest.

Understanding teacher subjectivities during French colonial

education and their implications for today's

Malian preservice teachers

French colonial policies in West Africa, and more specifically those related to education (Conklin, 1997; Moumouni, 1964) aimed at creating new West Africans who would not only be loyal to France, but would also be seen, ironically, as new French men and women not only by the French administration but also by the local West African indigenous communities. This was carefully done through assimilationist policies and purposefully carried out through schools (Conklin, 1997; Moumouni,1964). As a result of such policies, French West Africans found themselves in challenging positions. By attending colonial schools and getting to speak French, they became closer to and thereby loyal to France. At the same time, they were perceived by their indigenous communities of origin as threats to their cultures because of their new status.

Along those lines, the colonial school curriculum was used to teach West

Africans (thereby communities from Soudan Francais [present-day Mali]) that they were French and that their ancestors were French. "*Nos ancetres etaient les Gaulois*" [Our ancestors were French] and similar ideologies were repeatedly taught in many history, geography and social studies textbooks. Consequently, teachers who were trained in that environment through French colonial schools deeply believed in and shared many of the contents they were taught. Many of them, though retired, are still alive today and often, as data analysis reveals below, openly express a certain nostalgia and even regret that those days are long gone. The persistence of this nostalgia with retired teachers signals in my view the limitations of major postcolonial education reforms in Mali and the degree to which those reforms have failed to create a fundamental departure from French colonial education policies.

It would therefore not be surprising that current teachers might have taught some of the contents they themselves were taught before. Given that most Malian teachers who are currently teaching were taught by the generation of the currently retired ones who attended colonial schools, it would not be surprising, either, that they would be teaching some of that content to their current students. It is for those reasons that this study aims at examining the subjectivities of recent preservice teacher graduates from the two E.N. Sup. departments of Philosophy & Psycho-Pedagogy and of History & Geography. The main goal of this examination focuses on attempting to uncover instances of reproduction, resistance and hybridity in the formation of those preservice teacher subjectivities.

In the eyes of Fanon (1952) and Cesaire (1955), the colonial situation and its education have created subjects with "abnormal" psyche in which "the feeling of

inferiority of the colonized is correlative to the European's feeling of superiority" (p. 93).

Cesaire (1955) proceeds further to say that colonization and its education have

transformed colonial subjects into "things" or objects ready to be used. Parris (2011)

better summarizes both of their positions when she says: "The colonial world creates and

perpetuates a collective inferiority complex among its colonized subjects; thus, European

cultural imperialism and internalized subject's lived experience becomes the dualistic

defining characteristic of the colonized subject's lived experience" (p. 7). Along those

lines, Fanon (1952) warns us of some of the dangers of colonial subjects trained in

colonial schools and then becoming teachers in their communities whether it is in a

colonial or postcolonial period. Along those lines, Fanon describes the attitude of a

colonized subject, a black Martinican woman who adhered to the colonial mentality of

blackness as evil and blames her blackness out of that mentality: In addition to many

other things she hates about her blackness, she promised to never marry in her race

because of all the "curses." Finally, Fanon discusses how concerned he was due to the

idea that that woman was about to graduate and go back to teach in her native French

West Indies.

In this incident Fanon (1952) discusses two main aspects. On the one hand he is

concerned about the impact of the colonial situation and its schooling on the minds of the

colonized subjects with regard to the fact that educational policies aimed at assimilating

them. On the other hand, he also points to the impact of such educational policies and

practices on subjects, even long after they finished their training in colonial schools. This

incident also gives us insights on how those subjects view themselves and their

communities in relationship to the colonial context. Finally, the incident of this

Martinican woman, a teacher to be, coupled with Fanon's concerns, gives me some hints on the possible risks of having teachers dangerously reproducing their deposited colonial mentality. I use the implications of this incident and major characteristics of colonial education to investigate ways in which teachers trained during that context have reproduced some of those legacies, as well as instances that might position current Malian preservice teachers to reproduce, alter or reject those legacies in their future classrooms.

The importance of postcolonial theory

As I have discussed above, postcolonial theory is a useful tool which can help researchers critically analyze subtle ways in which the colonial encounter has affected the colonized and the colonizer temporally, spatially as well as critically. While the temporal aspect of this theory enables a chronological analysis, the spatial component alludes to its geographical (global) width. Finally, the critical dimension of postcolonial theory allows space for voices that could not be heard before, in order for us to better grasp all the subtleties of colonial encounters the world over, without excluding the first two aspects. In other words, this theory offers us lenses to help make sense of that encounter in order to better understand the traces or legacies that have been left and how those legacies impact current globalization issues. In today's world which is increasingly becoming interdependent and competitive, it becomes very crucial to address inequalities created in the past. This project aims at addressing part of those inequalities created in the colonial education context in Mali, specifically by providing an understanding of postcolonial preservice teacher subjectivities and their likely implications for their future classrooms.

Additionally, postcolonial theory also offers multiple possibilities to account for

the complexities of globalization and allows previously colonized people to reclaim their voices and a "negotiating space" in the current global arena (Kenyatta, 1968; Spivak, 1988; Ashcroft et al. 1989, 1995; Babbha, 1994; Rukundwa & Aarde, 2007). In the eyes of Hickling-Hudson (2003), postcolonial theory offers us a "hybrid conceptual language, drawing on discourse theory as well as vocabularies of social justice, for analyzing the ambiguities and ambivalence of change" (p. 2). In this regard, postcolonial theory goes beyond the perspective of traditional paradigms that challenge oppressive practices and centers its analysis around neocolonial formations and their impact on the contemporary world. The theory, therefore, offers us a roadmap of understanding that connects the present and the past for a better understanding of our contemporary world. In the following lines, we will examine how the theory can help us connect the past to the present and what that connection means for Malian preservice teachers' subjectivities.

Among the various concepts that postcolonial theory encompasses, in this project, I am interested in the issue of postcolonial subjectivity; even more specifically in the ways in which that concept of subjectivity opens up or not possibilities of reproduction (Bourdieu, 1973; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Willinski, 1998), resistance (Loomba, 2005; Willinsky, 1998) and hybridity (Bhabha, 1994; Singh, 2009) in relationship to preservice teachers trained in postcolonial Malian teachers training programs. After analyzing the implications of this concept, I will examine the reasons why and the ways in which Malian preservice teachers may be likely to continue to use, in their future classrooms, practices under which they themselves were trained and which date back to French colonial education.

As Treacher (2005) points out, in spite of the so-called political independences in

the 1960s, power relations and most of their implications remain fundamentally unchanged between previously colonized countries and their former colonial powers. In addition to the adoption of colonial languages as official languages, as well as a medium of instruction, educational policies continue to be shaped and heavily influenced by former colonial powers. In the case of Mali for example, because France remains the biggest financial donor and economic partner, most funding towards educational programs comes from that former colonial power. These combined factors result in a certain dependency of Mali's education system on France, which is its former colonial power. Instead of engaging in a fundamental departure by rejecting its ties with France and the French education system, which, as I discussed in the previous chapters, have been harmful to the country, Malian educational and political leaders have continuously invited French experts to most educational reforms and seminars that the country has organized from its independence to date. Worse, as predicted by Fanon (1961), we may thus conclude that the "ranks of decked-out profiteers […] will sooner or later be men of straw in the hands of the army, cleverly handled by foreign experts" (p. 174). Here Fanon warns us of one of the additional ways in which postcolonial subjects in previously colonized countries have continued to depend on former colonial powers. After the independences, one of the many ways in which colonial powers have continued to shape and influence policies in their former colonies was through the Army. They have continued to train and equip elite military in all their former colonies. It became, therefore, logical that France, for example, actively encouraged the very elite military it trained to confiscate power through military coups in almost all its former colonies, including in Mali. As a consequence of all those factors, educational policies in countries

like Mali continue, more than 50 years after independence, to reflect donor views and conditions attached, and, consequently, schools (including teacher training programs/departments) continue to be "closely modeled along the French system" (Shabani, 2007; UNESCO, 1998a).

So, in order to recapitulate it has been demonstrated that French colonial education in Soudan Francais (Mali) was harmful. Many teachers, who have now retired, were trained under that same colonial system. Before retiring, those teachers also went on to train generations of teachers in Malian teacher training programs/departments. Because of these statements and the fact that Malian educational and political authorities have not engaged in any fundamental departure from France and its education system, I believe it becomes important to investigate postcolonial Malian preservice teacher subjectivities graduating from training programs. I have become more and more interested in this topic as I have kept thinking back, during my graduate studies here, about teaching and learning practices in the very teacher training program from which I myself graduated.

Moving forward with this type of investigation, the ways in which Fanon (1952) and Cesaire (1955) both from Martinique, inform me about colonial violence and their definition of postcolonial subjectivities have helped me throughout this research. In a sense this study will help me understand what happens when the objects of colonial violence become the postcolonial subjects.

Fanon and Hegel on subjectivity and mutual recognition

Frantz Fanon was born in Martinique in 1925 and died in 1961. After his psychiatric studies in France, he worked for a brief period in colonial Algeria, where he later joined the Algerian fighters in their war for independence from French colonization.

Research suggests that Fanon's background as a Martinican, his experiences in the Algerian war for independence and his readings of Hegel (1807, 1977) fundamentally shaped his main thoughts about colonization, decolonization and their impacts on colonized people and postcolonial subjects.

Fanon (1952) takes up on Hegel's master and slave narrative in his *Phenomenology of the Spirit* (1807, 1977) and reinterprets it in the colonial context with regard to racial violent implications in the relationship between White colonizers and colonized Blacks. In Fanon's adaptation of Hegel, White colonizers are the masters and colonized Blacks are the slaves. Likewise, in Hegel's dialectic (1807, 1977) as we learn from his account of the master–slave relationship, domination plays a central role. In Hegel's view, domination is central in the need for recognition, which therefore becomes a question of life and death. Hegel's master–slave narrative reflects not only his vision of the course of history but also a conflict contemporary to his time which existed between the French masters and their German slaves in his native Prussia (Villet, 2011, p. 40).

Hegel (1807, 1977) analyzes the working of self-consciousness and comes to the conclusion that the self can only become conscious of itself by the presence of and the recognition by another. However, in Hegel's eyes, at the very moment when the self is conscious of itself, the other is negated, transformed or destroyed. This negation and destruction takes place through the fact that as soon as the self declares himself "I" (which is important for the self not to be seen as a thing), he starts seeing the "other" as an object or a thing. (Villet, 2011). As we can see, the Hegelian dialectic here supposes violence, negation, transformation and even destruction from both the self and the other in their process of consciousness. In addition, through this process the self and other are

constantly engaged in an opposing relationship. In Hegel's dialectic, therefore, as Liberman (1999) put it, "each subject objectifies the other, i.e., each subject produces an object" (p. 272).

This Hegelian dialectic has also been taken up by many others in the field of postcolonial theory (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1995; Loomba, 2005; Said, 1978; Young, 2003) to indicate the necessity of the presence of an "other" in order to define who one is. One only exists and is recognized to be so if and only if there is another, therefore making the existence and recognition of one and that of the "other" interrelated. Colonial and postcolonial theories have long discussed ways in which creating an "other" and defining that "other" as anything different from oneself (with as many negatives as possible; thereby violence) became useful for colonizers in order to not only believe in their (colonial) project but also to convince their peers in the colonial power. This state of mind, indeed, gave birth, support and sponsorship to explorers' and travelers' narratives about local indigenous people. State sponsored anthropological projects, travelers' and explorers' narratives and novels also contributed.

To sum up the relationship between Fanon and Hegel with regard to domination and mutual recognition, it is important to mention that while Hegel's slave can recover freedom from the defeat of the other, Fanon's, on the other hand, because of his race, is a slave, an inferior and a subhuman by nature. As we learn from Kebede (2001): "While the Hegelian situation describes the loss of freedom as a result of defeat between two contending individuals, it does not portray a situation where the one partner is considered subhuman. In the colonial context, defeat itself is construed as an expression of that inferiority and not, as Hegel saw it, a lack of courage" (pp. 547-548).

For Fanon (1952, 1964), the colonial context added to the concept of race created a situation which went beyond what Hegel (1807, 1977) described in his dialectic. Race was not an issue in Hegel's context, and race has been one in Fanon's. Because of race, Fanon argues, the colonized subjects were seen by colonizers as subhuman, which added to the degree of violence, destruction and transformation. This degree of violence enacted by colonizers became therefore "deposited" in the colonized, which is why the colonized need to find a collective catharsis and outlets in order to allow the rebirth of the new human in them. These collective catharsis and outlets need to come from the colonized's enactment of some form of violence in order to reach their desired goal. I use Fanon (1952, 1964) to argue that his suggestions of collective catharsis and "outlets" are needed in Mali in order to get rid of lingering French colonial legacies in the education system and also to establish and empower Malians as independent people. I intend to describe what the forms of collective catharsis and outlets might look like after analyzing and discussing the data I collected for this study.

Many critics of Fanon have mostly portrayed him as a radical political activist who is always preaching violence. As Adam (1993) points out, the debate about Fanon's suggestion that violence was necessary for a "collective catharsis" has clouded his other ideas related to democratization, promotion of national cultures and women's emancipation. Additionally, Fanon's suggestion of the necessity for the colonized, in order for a rebirth, to find an outlet for the violence deposited in him or her by the colonizer has been overlooked (Abede, 2001). As we learn from Martin (1970) many of Fanon's critics (Brace, 1965; Denis, 1967; Grohs, 1968: Geismar, 1969; Isaacs, 1965) have used the contents as well as the titles of his books like the *Wretched of the Earth*,

Studies in a Dying Colonialism, to portray him sometimes as a Marxist ideologist, a populist or simply as someone who has been heavily influenced by Mao.

Colonial legacies in schools

Among the many issues Fanon (1952, 1959, 1961, 1964) discusses, his description of colonial violence and its implications for postcolonial subjects are the key aspects I will be interested in throughout this project. In his analyses of the colonial situation, Fanon uses his multiple lenses as a psychiatrist, social philosopher, political activist, diplomat and journalist to inform us about colonial violence and its implications.

For Fanon (1952, 1959, 1961, and 1967) colonial violence has occurred to such painful, humiliating and degrading degrees that independences of previously colonized countries should not have been negotiated. For him, colonized countries should have fought for their independence instead of negotiating dates with their colonial powers. In Fanon's eyes, colonized subjects, by engaging in violent actions to get their freedom or independence, would receive a collective catharsis and a rebirth of their new humanity, which is necessary to re-establish the colonized's sense of self and pride. This notion of the necessity for the previously colonized to enact violence against the colonizer in order to become free and independent and in order to get a collective catharsis (some sort of healing and rebirth) is very important to this project. This idea, as I will discuss later, is an important one given that Fanon comes from a place that experienced French colonization almost the same way Mali did. For Fanon, enacting violence would have, in addition to the catharsis and pride, created a fundamental departure from French colonial policies including, therefore, its educational policies, which is necessary in the postcolonial era. So, in other words, in the eyes of Fanon, a country like Mali, by

negotiating its independence with France, has failed to enact any form of violence or fundamental departure from French policies which is a necessary step for the collective Malians as postcolonial subjects. Because Mali negotiated its independence with France and was not engaged in that fundamental departure from its colonial power, its education system still, unfortunately, remains under the influence of many French colonial policies. The same analysis will, therefore, be true for Malian schools and teachers. This calls for a critical analysis of Malian teachers' subjectivities, especially those teaching in teacher training programs and the teachers they train.

As Willinsky (1998) warns us, educational legacies of colonialism and imperialism continue to live with us strongly within our institutions. In many cases, we may not be aware of their existence because we have already been conditioned to see them as normal. As an example, Willinsky points out that we continue to define human groups around the notion of "culture" which, from its 19th-century roots, connotes some idea of race. Willinsky (1998) adds that most people do not see themselves as racist even though they continue to believe in the unsupported idea that human beings are biologically divided into "races." Along with these lines from Willinsky, Hudson-Hickling (2003) reminds us that we continue to organize our "schools along the 19th century line of grade-aging and psychological manipulation and give them little or no opportunity to explore alternative epistemologies" (p. 1).

The warnings we get from Willinsky are more likely to display at a larger degree in colonized places like Soudan Francais (Mali), where the colonial encounter has taken place with much violence and cultural depravation. In contexts like Soudan Francais, the educational system has purposefully been shaped to adjust to European (France's) needs.

For example, as discussed by many educational researchers and historians (Alidou, 2004, 2009; Kamara, 2007; Moumouni, 1964; Mouralis, 1984; Wyrod, 2003), educational policies in French colonial West Africa were built along assimilation and exploitation. The main goals of colonial schools were to train groups of disciplined local subjects into becoming administrative auxiliaries who would mostly reinforce the purposes of colonial administration. In that sense, colonial school organization followed the factory model of industrial capital. Those researchers also inform us that colonial schools taught a dumbed down curriculum, which was totally different from what was taught in schools in France. Also, given the fact that the colonial encounter has lasted for about a century, it is imperative to have critical look at what its educational legacies are and what they mean for contemporary Mali. For these reasons, many critics have posited that the colonial (especially French) civilizing mission (Conklin, 1997) and its assimilationist practices in schools as well as in other social contexts (Moumouni, 1964) are to be blamed for the creation of colonial subjects (and later on, postcolonial subjects) who in most cases have internalized those "civilizing" norms and have continued to reproduce them even in the postcolonial era.

Postcolonial critics like Fanon (1952, 1959, 1961, and 1964) and Cesaire (1955) argued that colonial violence transformed colonized subjects in ways that continue to be displayed by the colonized long after the colonizer's official departure. For them, colonial violence was enacted to such a degree that colonized subjects reproduce it with one another. They also argue that the reproduction of colonial violence is done in many subtle ways, consciously in some cases and unconsciously in others. Finally, they contend that the only way previously colonized subjects could stop reproducing colonial violence in

the postindependence/postcolonial era was to enact violence, rather than negotiating independences with the previous colonial masters. In the eyes of Cesaire (1955) and mostly Fanon (1952), violence enacted by previously colonized subjects in the process of gaining their freedom (here their independences) would have provided a collective (therefore national) catharsis, which in turn is necessary for the postcolonial subjects.

One subject on which both groups of critics agree is the crucial role colonial schools played in the formation of colonial subjects and later on the formation of the postcolonial subjects. As we learn from Moumouni (1964) as well as from Pai, Adler and Shadiow (2006), colonial schools have mostly used disciplines like history, geography and math to perpetuate violence, humiliate, assimilate, dehumanize, and deculturalize colonized communities.

In this project my contention is that given the violence at the root of colonial education as discussed earlier and because early postcolonial Malian teachers were trained mostly by colonial teachers pursuing the colonial agenda described above, and because Mali negotiated its independence with France, instead of fighting for it (Fanon,1952 1959, 1961, 1964), teachers in teacher training programs have continued, in most cases, to reproduce many of the violent colonial curriculum practices by and under which they themselves were trained. I believe in their experience as colonized (and in many cases assimilated) students, colonial culture had become normalized in their eyes in such as a way that they may have become oblivious to its reproduction or to any other form in which it has survived. (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Thus, it is critical that Malian teachers' subjectivities be examined for the influences of these colonial legacies in order to better understand how to pursue educational reforms that break from Mali's

colonial past.

In this sense, I agree with Rukundwa and Aarde (2007) in their defense of the usefulness of postcolonial theory when they argue that the "philosophy underlying [this] theory is not one of declaring war on the past, but declaring war against the present realities which, implicitly or explicitly, are the consequences of that past." In the case of Malian teacher training programs, a "war" like that is necessary if that country is to reach its goals of increasing literacy rates and training students capable of critical thinking and initiative, which, among many other things, are necessary for the country's rebirth and economic growth.

Teacher subjectivities within postcolonial contexts

In this section, I will be reviewing two types of literature on subjectivities. First I examine literature that uses two main competing lenses that frame and discuss teacher subjectivities; and second I examine literature that draws from or extends Fanon's notion of colonial subjectivities. Finally, I will put the two types of literature in conversation in order to build an understanding of teacher subjectivities and their implications for teacher training programs within the postcolonial context of Mali.

Research suggests that earlier studies of human subjectivity were mostly carried out in the field of sociology (Elis & Flaherty, 1992; Weber, 1947). According to Weber (1947) this has been so because that field was the one which, early on, defined itself as the "science which attempts the interpretive understanding of social action" (p. 88). Along those lines, Ellis and Flaherty (1992) define subjectivity as "human lived experience and the physical, political, and historical context of that experience." In other words, human "lived experience," the "physical," socio-political and "historical"

environment in which people grow up not only shape their views of the world, but it also is very likely to influence or impact their interaction with that world.

Danish philosopher, Søren Kierkegaard, building on the Socratic tradition of the maeutics and inward decision making, in his journals and notebooks of 1837 about subjectivity and subjective truth, understands the notion of subjectivity as the point at which one can answer the following questions: "What I really need is to be clear about what I am to do, not what I must do, except in the way knowledge must precede all […], the thing is to find a truth which is true for me, to find the idea for which I am willing to live and die" (p. 19). For Kierkegaard (1837), one can only claim subjectivity or a subjective truth when one is clear about what one needs to do. This involves the knowledge of what to do and the conviction of the usefulness of doing it.

Along those same lines, many educational researchers (De Lauretis, 1986; Kondo, 1990; Weedon, 1997) define "subjectivity" and "teacher subjectivity" in multiple ways. For example, Weedon (1997) defines subjectivity as "the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself, and her ways of understanding her relation to the world" (p. 32). For Weedon, therefore, one can see how an individual's subjectivity formation, whether consciously or unconsciously, is affected by the environment. De Lauretius (1984) on her part sees experience and subjectivity as interchangeable and defines it:

> Subjectivity is an ongoing construction, not a fixed point of departure or arrival from which one then interacts with the world. On the contrary, [subjectivity] is the effect of that interaction which I call experience . . . and thus it is produced by . . . practices and discourses that lend significance to the events of the world. (p. 159)

Beyond what research suggests about the concept of subjectivity in general,

specific literature on teacher subjectivities moves along two main, competing views (Weber & Mitchell, 1995; Ryan & Grieshaber, 2005): the humanist/modernist notion which implies fixed and stable learners vs. the poststructuralist and postmodern notion of flexible learners whose positions vary from one circumstance to another. The humanist notion is built around the idea of a fixed and stable individual/learner, who automatically becomes a good teacher once she or he completes the training program, while the poststructuralist/postmodernist notion is an acknowledgement of the learner shifting positionalities based on circumstances. Here the word "learners" must be understood as referring to the preservice teachers who are being trained to become teacher practitioners.

Moreover, within each understanding of teacher subjectivities, the ideas of environment and circumstances have been developed. Because of the emphasis on environment and circumstances in the formation of subjectivity, the term "subjectivity" has been oftentimes used interchangeably with "identity," "experience." "personality" and the concept of "self." For humanists, the environment and the circumstances not only shape but also determine who the teacher in training will be. Such logic results in thinking along the notion that once the training program is in place, one can determine the kind of teachers it will train. This format implies teacher training programs that become more prescriptive and deterministic. Those programs tend to "present teacher identity as singular in nature" (Ryan & Grieshaber, 2005, p. 13).

In contrast, even though the poststructuralists see the importance of the contexts and positionality (therefore the environment), they do not see it necessarily as a determining factor of the outcome. Poststructuralists/postmodernists rather argue that in the process of formation of teacher subjectivities there is a constant shift between

positions and that those shifts cannot be accounted for in a simplistic binary way. As we

learn from Ryan and Grieshaber (2005):

> [From a] postmodern perspective, teachers do not have a static function devoid of context, history, or biography. Instead, identity is produced through discourse and consequently, teachers have multiple subjectivities depending on the discourse and social context in which they are located at a particular point in time. This means that teachers can be located simultaneously in multiple positions. (p. 14)

Additionally, the concept of teacher subjectivity and identity construction and its

relationship with the context (or environment) in which teachers have grown up and have

been trained has also been taken up at a much broader level to include the historical

period, issues of gender, race, class and administrative policies in place as well as the

classroom conditions in which they themselves were trained as preservice teachers

(Klein, 1998; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Thornton, 2006;).

For example, in a now well-quoted account in her book, Ladson-Billings (1994)

informs us of how her "own experiences" indicated that her "white teachers, both

preservice and veteran" were uncomfortable acknowledging any difference between

students and particularly racial differences, because of those teachers adopting colorblind

perspectives. Ladson-Billings' teachers' color blindness may be understood as symptoms

of the environment they grew up in and those teachers' belief in the liberal humanistic

understanding of the universal child. As Klein (1998) sums it up, liberal humanistic

understanding views any child as being naturally capable of being competent.

It also appears that the real life environment and classroom conditions in which

teachers (both preservice and in-service) receive their training have important

implications with regard to their beliefs about themselves and about their students. Many

teachers have been trained to believe that when students fail, it's their [students'] fault.

Some have also been trained to believe that if students do not succeed, it is because their communities or "their parents have not encouraged them enough, or [because] they have been lazy or unmotivated" (Klein, 1998, p. 3). These beliefs are synonymous with deficit thinking ideologies which, in the eyes of Epstein (1986, 2004), framed an important amount of discourses on parental involvement and student achievement. The similarity between such beliefs lies in that both teachers who hold them and the deficit thinking ideologists blame students and their communities for any failure in school rather than engaging a critical look at how internal school practices oftentimes impede students' learning.

The implications here are that teachers, as suggested by Niesz (2006), may get some of these negative beliefs toward students and their communities from historical and contextual environments they grew up in as well as from the training programs they attended. Both their training programs and the environment around them have the potential of making them oblivious or unaware of the negativity of their teaching philosophies.

An analysis of this concept of subjectivity also reveals the complexity of the teachers' position as subjects. As we learn from Klein (1998) the term brings into question issues of student empowerment. What the teacher believes in terms of the process of knowledge transmission and even what counts as knowledge impacts the ways in which he or she empowers or gives voice to students. The term also reminds us of the interaction of power and knowledge and how they constantly shift from one agent to the other and vice versa.

The aspects, tensions and contradictions suggested by research and discussed

above inform us about the complexity of defining the notion of subjectivity in general

and more specifically in the context of education and teaching. Indeed, from the views of

sociologists, to the humanists, to the postmodernists, up to the deficit thinking ideologies,

one can have a full picture of that complexity. I argue that the combination of all these

factors makes it important to engage in in-depth analyses of teacher subjectivities.

Furthermore, I argue that the extra layer that the colonial context has added to that

complexity makes it relevant to question teacher subjectivities in previously colonized

countries like Mali. This project hopes to contribute to the understanding of that

complexity by looking at the subjectivities of Malian preservice teachers who graduate

from two departments of E.N. Sup. In doing so, I hope to analyze and understand the

ways and forms in which French colonial educational practices continue to be reproduced

in Malian teacher training programs.

Poststructuralists versus humanists (modernists) on

teacher subjectivities

Poststructuralism is an umbrella term used to refer to many methods of analysis,

which include deconstruction and some psychoanalytic theories, to speak against

structuralism. As we learn from Flax (1990), Kondo (1990), Britzman (1994), Wendon

(1997), St. Pierre (2000), and Jackson (2001), poststructuralism goes along the main

notion that ideas or people are sites of instability, not fixed and therefore constantly

shifting. Key figures of poststructuralist thought are Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault,

Gilles Deleuze, Judith Butler, Jaques Lacan, and Julia Kristeva. Structuralism, on the

other hand, encompasses modernist/humanist theories which mostly view the world in

terms of fixed binary oppositions (i.e., good vs. evil, civilized vs. uncivilized, center vs.

margin). Its major proponents are De Saussure and Levi-Strauss. The boundary between these two schools of thought is, however, often blurred as some key figures of poststructuralist thought (Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida) are also oftentimes listed among structuralists.

In relation to subjectivities, poststructuralists reject the humanist idea of the stable and fixed individual to posit that the "self is always a site of disunity and conflict that is always in process and constructed within power relations" (Jackson, 2001, p. 386). Likewise, a group of researchers (Britzman, 1994; Flax,1990; Kondo,1990; St. Pierre, 2000; Weedon,1997) argue that the question of subjectivity remains very muddy and flexible. Individuals are framed and influenced by the circumstances and the period of time, in other words the environment they grow up in or are trained in. In the same logic, poststructuralist feminists take the issue even further by positing that subjectivities are not only formed within but also shift between discursive fields. Poststructuralist feminists also argue that the self is "always the site of conflicting forms of subjectivity" (Weedon, 1997, p. 32).

Similar to the humanist views on the impact of environment on subjectivity, poststructuralists also argue that environment is key in the formation of subjectivities. However, unlike humanists who see environment as a fixed, conditioning and determining factor in subjectivity formation, poststructuralists argue that environment, though important, does not determine all of the subjectivity. Poststructuralists believe that in addition to environment, other factors come in because the individual/self is in a process that constantly allows shifts between multiple positions. Poststructuralists argue, for example, that in a colonized context, while the colonizer imposes power, surveillance

and control, the colonized also oftentimes happens to enact power. Finally, it is also important to add that one of the limitations of poststructuralists is that they come short of informing us of the specific amount of power that was or could be enacted by subjugated indigenous communities under violent colonial ruling. Critics of poststructuralism (William, 2005) argue that the movement's positions are marginal, inconsistent and difficult to maintain.

To summarize, a close analysis of teacher subjectivities reveals that the notion of flexibility of teacher subjectivity and its correlation with the environment (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Thornton, 2006; Klein, 1998) and the concept of teachers' belief (Epstein, 1986, 2004; Klein, 1998) complete and influence one another. Teachers form their subjectivities based on the environment (broader meaning) they grew up in. That environment in great part determines what they believe in. Their beliefs can also shape part of the environment they decide to be part of.

Additionally, poststructuralists/postmodernists argue that the self is constantly a site of disunity and conflict (Britzman, 1994; Flax, 1990; Kondo, 1990; St. Pierre, 2000; Weedon, 1997). In other words, poststructuralists contend that as structures and the environment enact power, the self also enacts some either through resistance or resilience. As Foucault (1995) informs us: "[Power relations] are not univocal; they define innumerable points of confrontation, focuses of instability, each of which has its own risks of conflict, of struggles, and of an at least temporary inversion of the power relations" (p. 27). Given their position, poststructuralists offer us an amount of caution when analyzing structures (French colonial schools in this case) and their consequences (or legacies in the context of this study). They would argue that colonial subjects were

not just always victims, but that they oftentimes were actors too by enacting some sort of power.

Similarly, Fanon argues that the colonial environment has definitely shaped teachers who were trained in it. He describes that environment as a violent one. He goes further to argue that because teachers trained in that environment have in their turn trained other teachers in the postcolonial era and that the independence from colonial power (in this case, France) has not been done through violence, postcolonial teachers in countries like Mali may have continued to reproduce many of the colonial educational phenomena.

Specifically linked to this issue of postcolonial teacher subjectivity is Fanon's (1952) description of the Martinican woman who was on her way back to Martinique to become a teacher. I see that incident described by Fanon about that woman as an allusion to the challenges of understanding postcolonial teacher subjectivities in countries like Mali which experienced French colonization similar to Martinique. I also see that incident and many others described by data sources in this study as testaments to the fact that French colonial educators relied upon the modernist conception of identity (identity as relatively stable/fixed) in their efforts to create and assimilated Malian (and colonized) elites who would support their colonial project. I also relied on the postmodern/poststructural conception of identity (identity as flexible, depending on the environment) to account for instances of resisting and hybrid identities of Malian teachers and to call for new teacher training environment rid of colonial legacies.

Fanon and teacher subjectivities

Postcolonial critics like Fanon (1952, 1959, 1961, and 1964) and Cesaire (1955) argued that colonial violence transformed colonized subjects in ways that continue to be displayed by the colonized long after the colonizer's official departure. For them, colonial violence was enacted to such a degree that colonized subjects reproduce it on one another. They also argue that the reproduction of colonial violence is done in many subtle ways, consciously in some cases and unconsciously in others. Finally, they contend that the only way previously colonized subjects could stop reproducing colonial violence in the postindependence/postcolonial era was to enact violence, rather than negotiating independences with the previous colonial powers.

As Kennedy (2008) put it, "Fanon was concerned with the question of black subjectivity in a postcolonial context and its implications for the future" (p. 9). This concern discussed by Kennedy (2008) is seen through Fanon's discussion of the incident about the Martinican woman about whom he worried as a future teacher in Martinique. Through this incident, Fanon discusses that the way the Martinican woman behaved and what she thought about her race, which were both due to French colonization, make her a potentially dangerous future teacher in Martinique (the woman's own community).

Likewise, in his analysis of the 1994 Rwandan genocide, Njoroge (2007) takes Fanon's idea of postcolonial teacher subjectivity to another level by suggesting that the colonial encounter (in that case Belgium and France) probably has something to do with the fact that Rwandan teachers as a group were among groups that committed the most genocidal acts during that country's unfortunate events in 1994. Kennedy (2008), while discussing Fanon, argued that Fanon, by positing that the colonized had some violence deposited in them which needed an outlet, foresaw the danger of postcolonial subjects

engaging in more wars and even genocides.

Furthermore, Dangaremba (1988, 2004, 2006) while agreeing with Fanon on the dangers and "nervousness" (as in her novel, *Nervous Conditions*) of postcolonial subjectivities purposefully brings gender issues (through her feminist voice) into the postcolonial subjectivities debate. In fact, Fanon has been described by some of his critics as misogynist.

Along with other critics, Homi Bhabha (1994) authoritatively asserts that one of Fanon's limitations is that he speaks from an "area of ambivalence between race and sexuality […] and between psychic representation and social reality" (p. 113). Here Bhabha alludes to the blurred paradigms that Fanon uses, which sometimes make him difficult to understand.

In their study of teacher education programs of postapartheid South Africa, Robinson and McMillan (2006) argue that "understanding the identities that teacher educators construct for themselves is central to affecting innovation in a changing policy environment" (p. 327). Robinson and McMillan (2006) also inform us that any form of restructuration of the "work of teacher educators will have little lasting impact if it is not interwoven with teacher educator's existing strands of identity" (p. 328). My contention in this project is that this remains to be done in the context of Mali, and this study aims at contributing to fill in that gap.

In the eyes of Cesaire (1955) and mostly Fanon (1952), violence enacted by previously colonized subjects in the process of gaining their freedom (here, their independences) would have provided a collective (therefore national) catharsis, which in turn is necessary for the postcolonial subjects.

One subject on which both groups of critics agree is the crucial role colonial schools played in the formation of colonial subjects and, later on, the formation of the postcolonial subjects. As we learn from Moumouni (1964) as well as from Pai, Adler and Shadiow (2006), colonial schools have mostly used disciplines like history, geography and math to humiliate, perpetuate violence, assimilate, dehumanize, and deculturalize colonized communities.

In this project my contention is that given the violence at the root of colonial education documented by Fanon (1952, 1959, 1961, and 1964) and others, and because early postcolonial Malian teachers were trained mostly by colonial teachers pursuing the colonial agenda described above, and because Mali negotiated its independence with France instead of fighting for it (Fanon,1952 1959, 1961, 1964), teachers graduating from teacher training programs have continued, in most cases, to reproduce many of the violent colonial curricular practices by and under which they themselves were trained. I believe that because of their experience as colonized (and in many cases, assimilated) students, colonial culture had become normalized in their eyes in such as a way that they have become oblivious to that reproduction (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Because of the oblivion and normalization that those teachers experienced, in spite of multiple educational reforms, Malian school leaders and teachers have failed to decolonize teacher training programs of the country. As a result, more than half a century after the country's political independence, higher education teacher training programs of that country continue to display violent curricular practices that can be traced back to French Third Republic (1895–1940) colonial ruling of West Africa.

Revisiting teacher education literature in

some postcolonial countries

Among many other challenges, educators in teacher training programs remain caught between the pressures of keeping up with developments in their disciplines and the need to adjust to constant curricular and policy changes (Robinson & McMillan, 2006). The pressures become even more complex when it comes to countries like Mali, which, beyond a web of complex internal challenges, must rebuild an education system on tricky grounds inherited from earlier oppressive forms of ruling like colonization.

In their study of some teacher education programs in postapartheid South Africa, Robinson and McMillan (2006) argue that "the identities that teacher educators construct for themselves is central to effecting innovation within a changing policy environment" (p. 328). Throughout their discussion of the importance of knowing more about teacher subjectivities in a changing policy environment, Robinson and McMillan (2006) also describe a study of Namibian teachers conducted by O'Sullivan (2002), which emphasizes the importance of teacher subjectivity in policy changes as well as their implementation. This might also be helpful in analyzing and understanding preservice teacher identity in a previously colonized context. Even though Mali did not experience a context like Apartheid in South Africa, its postcolonial context put it in a relatively similar situation in terms of constant curriculum and policy changes.

Likewise, in a study of teachers in Benin, a former French West African colony, Welmond (2002) described "teacher identity as dynamic and contested, shaped by and constructed within potentially contradictory interests and ideologies, competing conceptions of rights and responsibilities of teachers, and differing ways of understanding

success and effectiveness" (quoted by Robinson & McMillan, 2006, p. 330). Welmond's

(2002) description of teacher identities in Benin reveals the multiple complexities one

could come across in attempting to understand teacher subjectivities in previously

colonized countries. As a matter of fact, Benin, like Mali, was colonized by France and

therefore had a colonial education system similar to the one in Mali. During colonial

times there, France enacted educational legislation and policies similar to the ones in

French Sudan (Mali). Therefore, the amount and degree of complexities described here

by Welmond (2002) might offer me potential insights useful to understand Malian

teacher identities.

     In spite of such studies, research on teacher education has been limited when it

comes to informing us about the formation of teacher subjectivities in relationship to

colonial oppressive contexts. Studies like Robinson and McMillan (2006), for example,

only inform us about teacher subjectivity in relationship to a changing policy

environment (i.e., from apartheid to postapartheid eras) without providing an analysis of

how the oppressive context of apartheid has impacted or shaped South African teacher

subjectivity formation.

     On another note, studies of Zambian (O'Sullivan, 2002) and Beninese teachers

(Welmond, 2002) have described teacher subjectivity formation as a site of multiple

types of conflicts and how it is important to be aware of them in any context of policy

change. This project aims at doing those kinds of assessment in the context of Mali in

order to better understand teacher subjectivities and provide more information about what

role(s) they can or should play in the context of the numerous upcoming educational

reforms in the country. Interestingly, all these studies point to the importance of the

environment or context where teachers are trained and the influence it plays in the formation of their subjectivity. Teachers' subjectivity and identity are influenced by the communities they grew up in, the historical period they lived in and the education or training system they attended.

In spite of the central role teachers play in education systems, there is a lack of research previously done in order to better understand how their subjectivities are formed. Instead, most theories and approaches that research teacher education relate to teaching quality (a set of boxed teaching approaches and pedagogical practices that teachers should use) instead of attempting to understand teacher subjectivities/identities, let alone preservice teacher subjectivities. As Wang, Odell, Klecka, Spading and Lin (2010) put it:

> Underlying these reforms [in Teacher Education] are the assumptions that the quality of teaching is the most important, if not the only factor that contributes to changes in student learning […]. Central to the quality of teaching are teachers' deep understanding of what they need to teach and the pedagogical practices that can be used to represent such understanding to students. (p. 1)

My current study attempts to fill in this gap in that it intends to look at how, given the importance of the environment teachers are trained in, educational legacies from the 19th-century French colonial era have continued to influence the subjectivity of Malian preservice teachers. I will also be examining the role(s) of two of the country's higher education teacher training departments in reproducing, altering or challenging those legacies. In the end I anticipate making recommendations related to what needs to be done.

Implications for teacher training programs

in a postcolonial world

As we become more and more aware of the decisive correlation between teacher quality and student outcomes, research on teacher training programs (both pre- as well as in-service) continues to make us aware of the numerous inconsistencies and wide range of educational policies around the world (Harris & Sass, 2006).

Improving teacher training programs plays a key role in the success of any educational reform. As discussed in the OECD Report (2005), any education reform that does not take this aspect into consideration will likely be inefficient. The improvement of teacher training programs must go beyond issues of curriculum content and structures to address issues of teacher subjectivities. The way teachers are trained and the circumstances under which that training takes place are important not only for the subjectivity formation but also for the quality of the teacher. An improvement of teacher training that takes these factors into consideration is an important way of acknowledging the complexity of teaching and of the necessity of an appropriate preparation of teachers (OECD, 2005).

I argue throughout this study that an account of all these factors is even more important in teacher training programs of previously colonized countries like Mali. The French colonial encounter has altered local conditions and created new ones in order to reach France's goals. Schools were used as key tools to alter and create those conditions. Teachers were trained through those colonial schools, and those teachers in their turn trained other teachers who also trained others in a more or less recent era. These facts pose an urgent necessity to address the subjectivities of teachers in the teacher training

programs in Mali in order for future teachers to help Mali have schools and students more in tune with Mali's cultural and social values. As we learn from Coulibaly (2003), despite major educational reforms in postcolonial Mali, "most of the school reforms that followed the 1962 School Reforms were intended to maintain a social order established by the military in order to help further the interests of French government" (p. 10). Along those lines, I argue in this project that this phenomenon, beyond the timeframe of the Malian military regime, is still going on and more specifically in Malian higher education teacher training programs.

Given the impact of environment on subjectivity as discussed above in relationship with the French colonial context (Cesaire, 1955; Conklin, 1997; Fanon, 1952, 1959, 1961, 1964; Foucault, 1995; Hall, 1996), I also argue, all along this project, that because of the ways in which Mali negotiated its independence with its former colonial power, France, it remains likely that its higher education teacher training programs continue to display remnants of French colonial education in ways that may affect the subjectivities of preservice teachers trained through those programs.

Finally, due to the complexities of the colonial encounter (Foucault, 1995) in terms of its educational legacies in a colonized country which this study aims to unpack (Hall, 1996; Moumouni, 1964), both the humanist and the poststructuralist/postmodernist views will be necessary to make sense of the upcoming findings. While the colonial project itself was framed as a modernist/humanist endeavor, the encounter between colonizer and colonized has resulted in complicated power relations (Conklin, 1997; Foucault, 1995; Hall, 1996) that only a poststructuralist/postmodernist perspective can help better understand. This justifies my use of a postcolonial theoretical framework

throughout this study.

Definition of key concepts

The followings are definitions of the main concepts used in this study. The definitions are informed by the postcolonial theoretical framework used in this study.

Resistance

From Marx, Gramsci and Foucault to date, resistance has mostly been defined in anthropological literature (Fordham, 1996; MacLeod, 1987, 1995; McGrew, 2008, 2011; Morrow & Torres, 1995) as a reaction to power relations. In other words, resistance is perceived to be the ways and forms in which an individual or a group of individuals react (or express a form of agency) to a situation or a context which has either been imposed on them or one to which they have not given consent. Such a definition has led to various categorizations of the concept of resistance, e.g., symbolic vs. material (violent) resistance, individual vs. group resistance, and direct vs. indirect resistance.

In this project, I am attempting to move beyond that anthropological definition of resistance and in order to consider Foucault's (1982) definition of the term as a "chemical catalyst so as to bring light to power relations" (p. 780) as well as Loomba's (2005) and Willinsky's (1998) notions of resistance as talking back to the empire. In other words, the term "resistance" will be used throughout this work based on how it has been defined by postcolonial theorists. More concretely, in this project, I am interested in seeing the degree to which, if at all, Malian preservice teachers, graduates of E.N. Sup. History & Geography and Philosophy & Psycho-Pedagogy departments display any form of resistance (or rejection) in the formation of their subjectivities as teachers with regard to

legacies of French colonial education, which may have been reproduced in the departments they have attended.

Hybridity

Bhabha (1994, 1996) defines "hybridity" as a way of describing the "in-between" position or "third space" that is automatically created when two opposing cultures collide or come in contact. Postcolonial critics (Mitchell, 1997; Werbner, 1997; Young, 1995) have considered the concept to be a problematic and offensive one as it can be linked to the 19th-century eugenics and scientific racist thinking. Nevertheless, the concept of hybridity remains an important one in postcolonial discourse.

In my own view and for the purpose of this project, Bhabha's definition of the hybrid's position opens up a space where new possibilities or "sites" emerge for re-articulation, "contestation" and "negotiation" when it comes to the formation of postcolonial subjectivities (Bhabha, 1994, 1996). In that sense, the concept remains an important one for me throughout this project, which looks at Malian preservice teacher subjectivities in relationship to French colonial education.

Reproduction

Originally, the concept of "cultural capital," which refers to language use, social skills, attitudes and perceptions, which, all together, are also called "habitus," were used by Bourdieu (1973, 1977, 1991) and Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) to explain how the process of cultural and social reproduction takes place. According to Bourdieu (1973, 1977, 1991), because of their position in society and that of their parents in the decision making process, children from elite classes or communities receive the right kind and

amount of cultural capital for success in schools. As a consequence of this phenomenon, Bourdieu argues that children from disadvantaged (nonelite) social groups who, therefore, have incompatible cultural norms compared to their fellows from elite social groups, are already positioned to be at a disadvantage in schools. These two phenomena, therefore, in Bourdieu's eyes, result in the reproduction of social stratifications.

Moving along those lines, many education researchers (Delpit, 1988; Luke, 1996) used these concepts to describe the unfavorable position of cultural and linguistic minorities in schools and to challenge the notions of equality and fairness of public education. Additionally, other researchers and teachers (Coulibaly, 2003; Kaomea, 2003; Loomba, 2005; Willinsky, 1998) have taken up the concept of social and cultural reproduction to postcolonial grounds. In the eyes of this latest group, educational practices dating back to colonial occupation (used by colonial administration and the elites it trained) have continued to be reproduced and unquestioned in schools, even in this postcolonial era.

As I undertake this research project, I am inclined to share the position of this latest group. I, therefore, define reproduction throughout this project as the continuous use, repetition and perpetuation of legislation, textbook contents, teaching and disciplinary practices enacted during French colonization, which, unfortunately, continue to exist in Malian teacher training programs of E.N. Sup. Philosophy & Psycho-Pedagogy and History & Geography departments to date. While looking for instances of reproduction, I will also examine ways in which their ongoing reproduction contributes to position preservice teacher graduates to be likely to reproduce them again in their future classrooms or not.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH AND DATA COLLECTION METHODS
AND METHODOLOGIES

Statement of the problem and research questions

Legacies from the French colonial encounter still continue to impact and shape preservice teacher subjectivities in ways that make them likely to reproduce colonial education practices in their future classrooms more than 50 years after the country's political independence. Unfortunately, in spite of many educational reforms, I argue those legacies continue to be reproduced through teacher training programs, which have failed to critically reconsider Malian teachers' position as postcolonial subjects, nor have they engaged in making the necessary changes one would expect in a postindependence situation.

Like French colonial schools, Malian teacher training programs, to this date, continue to display practices that educational historians, philosophers, and researchers (Freire, 1972; Moumouni, 1964; Pai, Adler, & Shadiow, 2006; Sabatier, 1978) describe as oppressive, humiliating, dehumanizing and deculturalizing. For example, still today, in a Malian teacher training program, the following are common: Students can be expelled from school for challenging a teacher's viewpoint; teachers teach/talk and students listen; teachers decide on one or two exam questions for the entire class: In many cases, teachers have predetermined (or boxed) answers which they want students to provide on exam

tests. Students rarely have the option of working on class projects of their choice; students' behavior in school continues to be graded; students are frequently expelled for getting certain low grades with no chance of repeating the class. In many schools, Malian students continue to go through harsh and humiliating disciplinary procedures that were first introduced by French colonial teachers. These practices and many others, unfortunately, continue to be displayed across grade levels as well as geographic areas throughout the entire education system in Mali.

Indeed, as some observers would argue, many of these types of educational practices are not exclusive to the Malian context. Similar practices have taken places in religious (Catholic for example) schools as well as in boarding schools for Native Americans (Pai, Adler, & Shadiow, 2006; Qoyawayma, 1964). However, in the context of Mali, as we can see through the historical background offered earlier in this study as well as in the data analysis section below, French colonial education is the one to blame for introducing such practices in that West African land. It is also noticeable that among those dehumanizing practices, there are some that were never used anywhere before. I also argue that the fact that those practices were never used in French metropolitan schools is indicative of not only the intended and deliberate violence of the colonial project specifically targeting the colonized communities of French Sudan/Mali, but also points to the so-called "civilizing mission" that French colonial officials were supposedly meant to be conducting.

As a consequence of what is mentioned above, preservice teachers who attend Malian teacher training programs, I argue, remain likely to reproduce those same negative practices later on in the elementary or high schools where they are hired to

teach. In these grade levels, teachers very frequently use and display corporal

punishment, humiliation, the use of a specific and derogatory symbol with a donkey head,

degrading curriculum and textbook contents, mimicry of French colonial behaviors and a

violent hostility to native languages to the list of their practices, as my findings will

describe below. These practices and the rigorous disciplinary intent which shaped them,

are, in my view, not only reflective of the very ontology of the French colonial project,

but also are representative of the legacies of the schooling policies of that project

(Alidou, 2004, 2009; Conklin, 1997; Kamara, 2007; Mouralis, 1984). Beyond the fact

that these practices constitute substantial parts of what Freire (1972) would call a banking

approach to education, they also appear to be in total alignment with the concepts of a

"civilizing mission" and "exploitation" which Conklin (1997) describes as the defining

points of the French colonial project in West Africa, which includes Soudan Francais

(Mali). These include educational practices that aimed at molding local communities and

territories in ways that fit the goals of the French colonial project.

Furthermore, because funds to support education reforms at all levels (elementary,

secondary, vocational and higher education) continue to come from Western donors

(including France) or institutions therein, Malians engaged in earlier educational reforms

have been either unable or unwilling to challenge the real roots of educational problems

their country has been experiencing (Shabani, 2007). The first problem is the lesser funds

allocated to higher education, which makes most stakeholders ready to maintain the

status quo, as making real changes would mean more financial implications (Shabani,

2007; UNESCO, 1998). Also based on the donors' views and by the terms and conditions

attached to funds, most parts of the funds should be allocated to elementary education in

order to secure "basic education for all" (UNESCO, 1998a).

Nevertheless, it is important to note that right after Mali's independence on September 22, 1960, the new elite decision makers who were themselves trained through colonial schools engaged in timid reforms (maybe purposefully so) which, in my view, reflected more of a national pride in becoming "independent" rather than an engagement in a much more needed critical look at curriculum contents (Mali 1962 Education Reform). Their reforms were timid in the sense that they only involved a partial and selective look at the curriculum contents, which in some cases they infused with socialist ideology. They also did not gear curriculums, textbooks and school legislation towards Malian and African realities, and they failed to directly address the educational violence that was part of the history of colonial schools. For example, they did not question corporal punishment and humiliation of students in schools; they did not even question the violence in the use of the donkey head symbol, nor did they challenge the negative impact of French as a medium of instruction at the price of the violent exclusion of any other local language in postcolonial schools, and lastly, they kept all of the disciplinary sanctions that were put in place in colonial schools.

Finally, it is important to remember that the early Malian elites were not monolithic and that some indeed may have had a vested interest in maintaining the educational status quo. Most of the diverse nature and interests of preindependence African leaders came to light when, in anticipation of struggles for independence in West and Central Africa, France put in place a system to violently challenge any postcolonial African leader who would not remain under its tutelage. Testaments to those promised challenges were the violent cases of those who voted yes to independence like Ahmed

Sekou Toure's Guinea in 1958, or the fate of Mali's first government with President

Modibo Keita, or even the fights between the "Upecist" and "Aujoulatist" movements in

Cameroon (Mbembe, 2016). In the light of that promised violence, other African and

Malian leaders may have decided not to appear too radical in the eyes of France,

especially given that Mali became independent in the historical period of the Cold War.

In such an environment, the failure or unwillingness to make the needed changes in the

education system may signal a possible strategic resilience in a young nation like Mali

breaking up with its former colonial power, France, but still deciding not to go too

extreme in order to secure some of France's support in a world clearly divided at that

time in two distinct blocks: Capitalism vs. Socialism/Communism. Regardless of the

motivations of those early Malian elites, the result remains that, higher education

institutions (including teacher training departments) in French West Africa (including

Mali) unfortunately remain closely shaped along the French colonial educational system

and in that sense continue to reproduce a great deal of French colonial education legacies

(Shabani, 2007).

So, in other words, more than half a decade after political independence and in

spite of numerous reforms and forums, educational practices deeply rooted in the French

colonial era (mostly during French Third Republic, 1870–1940) continue to be

reproduced in current higher education classrooms of many francophone West African

countries with implications for other lower levels of education. With all that has been

published and known about French colonial education in that part of the world, it is, in

my eyes, troubling that attempting to know whether its legacies might still be around or

not has been of limited interest to scholars and researchers. This study, by looking at

preservice teachers graduating from two E.N. Sup. departments, attempts to fill in that blank and hopes to contribute to a better understanding of the mechanisms through and by which those legacies continue to remain alive in the Malian education system. The following research questions have guided the attempt to understand the issues discussed above:

1-What are the main characteristics of French colonial education in Sudan Francais/Mali?

2-What role(s), if any, do E.N. Sup. departments of History & Geography and Philosophy & Psycho-Pedagogy play in reproducing or challenging those characteristics?

3- How do those characteristics impact preservice teachers trained by those two departments?

Site of research study: Ecole Normale Superieure of

Bamako, Mali (E.N. Sup.)

For the purpose of this study, I have limited the scope of this research to Ecole Normale Superieure de Bamako (E.N. Sup.), the only higher Education teacher training program in Mali. E.N. Sup. was created in 1961 by Decree No 121 / PG-RM, but opened in 1962. The school was more recently reorganized by Ordinance No 10-026/PRM of August 4th, 2010. It was originally named after *Ecole Normale Superieure de Paris*, France, and initially organized based on major recommendations of the 1962 Malian Education Reform. Ecole Normale Superieure's main mission is to train teachers who would then go and teach in the country's high schools, professional schools, elementary and middle school teacher training schools (Institut Pedagogique d'Enseignement General, I.P.E.G. and Ecole Normale Secondaire, E.N.Sec.), as well as medersa teachers

teacher training schools. Later education reforms in Mali in the mid-1990s changed the names of I.P.E.G., E.N.Sec. and of medersas teacher training schools into Institut de Formation de Maitres (I.F.M.) [Institute for Teacher Training] and Institut de Formation de Maitres-Hegire (I.F.M-Hegire) [Institute for Teacher Training-Hegire]. As such, Ecole Normale Superieure has 10 departments which, listed in alphabetical order, are: Arabic; Biology; English; French; History and Geography; German; Mathematics; Philosophy, Psychology and Pedagogy; Physics and Chemistry; and Russian. Graduates from Ecole Normale Superieure, like myself, provided that they pass the national hiring contest called "Fonction Publique" [public service], fulfill the requirements to teach in Malian high schools as well as in other schools or programs that train elementary and junior high school teachers, and in other professional schools (Reforme de l'Enseignement au Mali de 1962 [Education Reform in Mali in 1962]). So, in a sense and based on one of the main goals of the 1962 education reform, graduates of Ecole Normale Superieure have an important and direct impact on the entire Malian education at a national level. It is one of the reasons why I anticipate this project of study to be of paramount significance, in the sense that it will contribute to the understanding of the subjectivities of preservice teachers who graduate from Ecole Normale Superieure, and the potential implications of such subjectivities for Malian classrooms.

Furthermore, based on my earlier discussions of colonial education (Calderon, 2008; Moumouni, 1964; Pai, Adler, & Shadiow, 2006; Qoyawayma, 1964), given what we know of the specific intent of the colonial project to use disciplines like history, geography, philosophy, math and science to reach its goals of control of the colonial subjects' thought, their assimilation, French domination and the perpetuation of such

goals (Calderon, 2008; Moumouni, 1964; Willinsky, 1998), it appears necessary to investigate Malian preservice teachers subjectivities right after they graduate from teacher training departments of E.N.Sup. in disciplines that are known historically, as research above suggests, to have served as vehicles of perpetration of colonial ideology and project. Given the width of the range of disciplines used by the colonial ideology to perpetuate and maintain itself and for the purpose of this study, I specifically look at two departments of E.N.Sup.: The Department of History and Geography and the Department of Philosophy, Psychology and Pedagogy. Table 1 summarizes the wide impact of graduates of Ecole Normale Superieure (E.N.Sup) on all levels of postcolonial Malian education system.

Methods, sampling, and data collection procedures

Thus, in this study, I am using a qualitative design together with a postcolonial theory lens in order to assess what French colonial education looked like in Soudan Francais (present-day Mali) and also to better understand the subjectivities of postcolonial Malian preservice teachers who recently graduated from two E.N. Sup. departments: The Department of Philosophy and Psycho-Pedagogy and the Department of History and Geography that I describe above. Data were collected through various documents related to colonial education (decrees, circulars, reports, textbooks, curriculums, and pictures); focus group interviews; field note observations; screenshots; Facebook, Skype, and email messages; as well as from participants' responses to questionnaires. Data collected were entirely in French, which was not only participants' language of preference, but also the language in which all other sources (i.e., colonial and postcolonial textbooks, reports, legislation, and curriculums) were written. After the

collection step, I translated all data into English and reported versions in both languages in separate spreadsheets and data tables (see Appendices). Finally, I used content analysis and narrative analysis methodologies guided by a postcolonial theoretical lens to analyze and make sense of the collected data.

In order to do so, there were 2 groups of participants: 13 retired teachers and 12 preservice teachers. Each group answered two sets of questionnaires. Following Gast and Peak (2010), Krueger (1988), Morgen (1997), and Peek and Fotherhill (2009), in addition to responding to questionnaires, 6 of the preservice teacher participants were selected as a focus group with whom I followed up with two additional Skype interviews. Finally, I used the methodology of virtual ethnography to collect my data.

A case for virtual ethnography

I collected an important amount of data for this research through virtual ethnography (Adams Parham, 2004; Bernal, 2005, 2006; Horst, 2004, 2006; Menkhaus & Prendergast, as cited in Griffith, 2000; Whitaker, 2004; Wittel, 2000). This method of data collection, in opposition to traditional or fieldwork ethnography (Boas, 1928; Levi-Strauss, 1955; Malinowski, 1922; Mead, 1928), even though not widely used to date, is becoming more and more employed to collect research data in cases where researchers and participants are situated in different geographical localities. Virtual ethnography has also been described as offering multiple possibilities for researchers when working with participants active in online communities. Proponents of this method of data collection have also termed it "virtual dialogue" (Horst, 2001, 2004, 2006), "online ethnography," "netnography" (Kozinets, 2010) or even "ethnography on the move" (Wittel, 2000). Wittel (2000) contextualizes this new trend best when she says:

Traditional ethnographies have been based on the idea of locality. But with the rise of globalization processes this concept has been increasingly questioned on a theoretical level. In the last decade, US-American anthropologists called for multi-sited ethnographies. [. . .] Now, with the internet and different kinds of virtual interaction patterns, ethnographic work faces a new challenge. (p. 1)

Internet technologies and the World Wide Web (www) are becoming increasingly pervasive in our world today. For various reasons, more and more communities or groups of people have found them to be trustworthy sites or spaces where they can share aspects of their daily lives or activities as well as get information necessary to them. As we learn from Cappelli (2003), Garrison and Anderson (2003), Irvine (2003), Levine (2003), Spicer (2003), and Twigg (2003), the fields of internet technologies and the world wide web have been both "transformational and even revolutionary" (Crichton & Kinash, 2003, p. 2).

In that sense, internet technologies and the World Wide Web offer new alternatives of interacting with people regardless of time, space and with limited costs, which factors have been major impediments in human interactions. For many years, these technologies have been used by social media, at individual levels or at the workplace in numerous contexts of one-on-one communication with families and friends, conference calls for office assignments (virtual office), file sharing and obtaining information from web pages (Fetterman, 1988).

Whereas internet technologies and the world wide web have been extensively used in the social arena to perform special functions (Fetterman, 1988), the vast opportunities they offer as data collecting methods in relation to conducting research remain very scarcely explored. This research attempts to tap into those opportunities by building on the existing dimensions and expanding them.

Crichton and Kinash (2003) along the understanding of Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (1995), Fetterman (1998), and Spradley (1979) define ethnography as "a qualitative field of research intended to construct in-depth depictions of everyday life events of people, through active researcher participation and engagement" (p. 2). Miller and Slater (2000) understand the term "virtuality" to suggest "that media can provide both the means of interaction and modes of representation that add to 'spaces' or 'places' that participants can treat as if they were real" (p. 4). Crishton and Kinash (2003) combine these two perspectives when they argue that "virtual ethnography, then, suggests a method in which one actively engages with people in online spaces to write the stories of their situated context, informed by social interaction." The type of interaction here refers to a context in which both the researcher and participants engage "in a conversation and meaning making through repeated, revisited and jointly interpreted conversations that support reflection and revision" (Crichton & Kinash, 2003, p. 2).

As most of its proponents put it, virtual ethnography allows more flexibility both for the researcher as well as for participants. While remaining true to the "long and honored tradition of ethnography that situates the research directly in the actual field being studied" (Crichton & Kinash, 2003, p. 2), virtual ethnography broadens research perspectives in the sense that it acknowledges the existence of new forms of cultures (i.e., the internet and the world wide web) where both researchers and participants might discover new, more flexible and comfortable spaces. Another strength of virtual ethnography is that it provides to researchers and participants a "secure space for communication" where "class, race, gender or age remain unclear and thus interfere less in the discussion" (Horst, 2006).

In the context of this study, the security of the communication space offered by virtual ethnography (Horst, 2004, 2006) is an important and useful aspect for me as a researcher as well as for my participants. I have conducted this study while living in the United States, so, in order to collect data, I am not in a position to meet my study participants who are also geographically scattered all over the country of Mali, a country where security concerns have been widely discussed these recent years. In such an environment, attempting to meet participants for data collection using traditional ethnographic methods might raise serious security concerns. Additionally, informed by postcolonial theory literature and the current situation in Mali, I anticipated that the use of online ethnography might mitigate some security issues, the painful memories attached to recollection of past events, which were major concerns for myself and many other participants. Hence the usefulness of online ethnography for this study.

Clarke (2000), in a review of five studies worldwide, found two categories of benefits and three major limitations of virtual ethnography for researchers. For her the benefits are a "communication facilitation" side and a "practical and economic" one. She argues that virtual ethnography can help researchers overcome the challenges of time zones and geography, that the method allows for more space to document communication. She also found out that virtual ethnography enables more "active participation and involvement," more honesty and finally allows time for participants to review their inputs before submission.

With regard to the "practical economic" side, Clarke notes that recruitment of participants can be quickly done through email. Cost and time related to travel and transcription can be significantly reduced while at the same time storage of data is easily

done. She also notes the ease of sharing any interpretation with participants for feedback and in the end, the ease of publication of results or updates online.

The practicality of virtual ethnography also lies in the fact that it offers a lot more flexibility than field ethnography. Because virtual ethnography is conducted through the internet, researchers and study participants can interact regardless of the geographical areas they might be in at different times. Horst (2006), in her study of online communities of the Somali diaspora, discusses how a participant may travel from Kenya (where most Somalis first settled in refugee camps) to the United Arab Emirates, then to Europe and even to the United States while at the same time remaining able to participate in her study.

Challenges and limitations of virtual ethnography

However, virtual ethnography also has many challenges (Horst, 2004, 2006; Wittel, 2000). Most of those challenges relate to how to ensure the trustworthiness of the data collected from participants through the internet. Given that internet mailing lists, chat boxes and websites offer many "playful possibilities" (Wittel, 2000), it becomes a big challenge for the researcher to know the accuracy of information provided by the participant about his or her age, nationality, gender, and many other categories.

Another problem for researchers conducting virtual ethnographies is the lack of the context or participant observation, which is a key aspect in traditional ethnographies. Through a virtual ethnography, the researcher loses his or her contact with the real people as well as the context (clothing, mimics, body language, race, class, gender, age, etc.) which are oftentimes important in an ethnographic study even if they should not always be "mystified" (Wittel, 2000).

Clarke (2000) warns us of three major limitations that researchers should be aware of when conducting virtual ethnography: technological problems, absence of sensory cues during interactions and the risk of collecting skewed data. Technological problems can arise at any time during the process of interaction with study participants. For example, some messages from participants may not be received and some participants in some online groups may only be available temporarily. She also discusses that online interactions with participants miss sensory cues (for example: loudness of voice and facial expressions) that are oftentimes key for good communication. Finally, Clarke argues that the very fact of collecting data online can be skewed because of regional and gender biases inherent to internet connection. As an example, she mentions the fact that the majority of internet connection is in the United States and that more men than women tend to be those who have access to the limited internet connection in other countries.

Indeed, while conducting this study, I experienced at varying degrees all the three circumstances Clarke (2000) described above. Due to the limited internet access and the cost of connection, technological problems occurred during every Skype interview, which led to some rescheduling of the interviews. On those occasions, while attempting to reschedule, some participants became temporarily unavailable, which led to other delays and rescheduling. The temporal unavailability of some participants due to technical/technological problems made participants and myself, in conformity with my IRB research protocol, agree on the submission by them, through a Skype message, of any response they wish to share during the Skype interview.

Additionally, in order to address the problem of lack of sensory cues during

online ethnographies (Clarke, 2000), as I mentioned in my IRB research protocol, I took screenshots and field notes to capture key moments of my interactions with participants. Those captured moments include body language and emotions which might help make sense of some of the issues participants discussed during the Skype interviews. Clarke (2000) suggests that among the challenges faced by online ethnography, the risk of collecting skewed data is a serious problem given the unequal access to internet across countries, across gender and across socioeconomic status as well as in many other aspects. Internet access in Mali is one of the issues that goes along the lines prescribed by Clarke (2000). In order to address this challenge, in the process of recruiting participants, I have used multiple tools (phone calls, email, Facebook and Skype messages) to reach out to as many participants as possible, across geographic area, socioeconomic status and gender in order to recruit at least 30% of women participants in this study.

The specific aspects of virtual ethnography I used to conduct this research were email messages and questionnaires, mailing lists, Facebook wall postings and messages as well as Skype focus group interviews and messages. In addition to emailing questionnaires to participants, I used Skype technology to address the challenges and limitations of virtual ethnography discussed above. Given those challenges and criticism of virtual ethnography, I see an addition of Skype technology as one useful way to improve it. Skype technology enabled the use of cameras on both sides. That way I was able to capture input about race and gender, body language, mimics, emotions and gestures, which later on offered me helpful insights while analyzing data. In addition to seeing participants through the Skype camera and taking observation notes, I took screenshots to document all possible visual cues in order to provide some context for my

interactions with participants. The use of Skype technology with cameras on both sides enabled me to create a context in which I could observe body language, mimics, gender and race, which constitute useful cues that critics of virtual ethnography have found to be missing in earlier studies using this method.

Finally, even though I knew some of the retired teachers, none of the preservice teachers were known to me. Therefore, in order to make sure the participants I was talking to were the ones I invited, before starting Skype conversations, I assigned a code to each participant. The code was the last four digits of the phone number through which I reached the participant to invite him or her to the study. Before starting every Skype interview, right after the formal introduction and greetings, I would ask each participant to read or show me his or her code. Doing this helped me make sure the participants in the Skype interviews were the ones who were invited to the study, and I am confident that helped me avoid negative "playful possibilities" (Horst, 2004, 2006; Wittel, 2000).

I also used Skype technology that allowed space for a written message box to invite each participant to post any comment or document attachment that he or she wanted to share with me as a supplement to his or her other responses. In addition to the Skype message box, participants were also invited to email me any confidential comment or document related to our conversations that they wanted to share or add. All data collected in this research were kept safe and confidential. In order to protect participants, they were given pseudonyms instead of their real names. In terms of security, it is important to know that Skype technology offers some built-in security, which ensures the protection of the data I collected. I used my personal laptop computer to record Skype interviews through a program called Audacity. Data collected were also stored on that

same laptop computer. I am the only who has access to that laptop, which also has a password. The computer itself is also kept in a safe location.

As we learn from Fetterman (1998), Clarke (2000), and Crichton and Kinash (2003), earlier studies using virtual ethnography as a method of data collection have mostly focused on emails and written messages in chat boxes or rooms and on internet websites. I anticipate the addition of Skype (with its audio and visual aspects) to virtual ethnography to be my own contribution to the field. Adding Skype with these two aspects (audio and visual) will revolutionize the method and make it stronger in the sense that it will supplement virtual ethnography with context and participant observation, which are two important aspects missing in earlier studies conducted in the field.

Virtual ethnography as used in this study

This study was conducted using the following specific components of virtual ethnography in the order that follows:

Malian mailing lists and Facebook walls/groups

The mailing lists and Facebook walls helped me recruit participants. I published two different invitations to take part to the study on two popular Malian mailing lists (Malilink.net and Maliwatch.org) and on my Facebook wall: The first invitation was directed at preservice teachers from E.N. Sup. departments of History and Geography and of Philosophy and Psychology-Pedagogy. The second one aimed at inviting retired teachers who have received their training (partial or entire) during French colonial times. Both invitations asked other members of the mailing lists and Facebook friends to forward to me the contacts of anyone they knew who fits those criteria and who might

want to take part. The invitations also mentioned that once I got the contacts, I would formally call the people whose contacts were sent to me in order to invite them to take part in the study. While I anticipated receiving only referrals to the retired teachers from the mailing lists and Facebook posts, I did expect to hear directly from many preservice teachers through these online media given the likelihood of the latter group to be more connected to the internet. The final goal of the recruitment process was to get random samples of two groups with 12 to 13 participants each, one group of retired teachers and another one of preservice teachers from the two departments mentioned above.

Email addresses of participants

Emails addresses were used to establish preliminary contacts with participants who had access to them. Using email, mailing lists and Facebook messages enabled me reach out to a larger pool and to establish contacts with potential participants. It also helped establish preliminary schedules as well as negotiating time frames that were convenient for participants, especially given the time zone difference (currently MT+7). I also used emails to send my questionnaires to the two groups of recruited participants: the retired teachers group and preservice teachers. Many participants also used their emails to scan and send me their responses to my questionnaires and any documents they wanted to share. In order to remove any burden of the participants, I had negotiated with the internet café in Mali and paid for the participants' internet connection time and the scanning of documents so that the process would not incur a financial burden on the participants. Finally, in order to protect study participants and ensure their anonymity, I assigned a pseudonym to each of them.

Skype audio, cameras and messages

In the context of this study, my interviews with focus group participants took place through Skype technology. Skype group interviews were guided by Kruger (1988), Krueger and Casey (2009), and Fontana and Frey (2005). Only half of preservice teachers were randomly chosen to be part of the focus group. The first set of Skype interviews aimed at assessing preservice teachers' family and socioeconomic backgrounds. The second set of Skype interviews explored preservice teachers' educational experiences. Here I hoped to assess preservice teachers' recollections of instances of reproduction that might be related to French colonial educational practices and also how the preservice teachers intend to react to those instances in terms of resistance or hybridity in their future classrooms.

More specifically, the second set of Skype focus group interviews with preservice teachers was aimed at accounts of what had been taught to them, whether or not what was taught to them emphasized Malian values or French or European values; for instance, the number of times the curriculum mentioned Mali, Malian culture, France or French culture, history, accomplishments, French industrial/economic power, French or European philosophers, the number of times that curriculum mentioned Malian values, Malian history, and Malian or African thinkers; the number of times the curriculum mentioned French/European models of development, whether or not there was any space in the curriculum which discussed Malian views of development (or model of development); whether or not there was any recognition or emphasis on Malian or African philosophy (or thought); the number of times those thoughts or philosophies were mentioned in the curriculum; whether or not the curriculum said anything about local indigenous epistemologies; whether or not they themselves, as graduates, felt they were

empowered by their E.N. Sup. departments and if they plan to reproduce, alter or challenge anything they disagreed with in their future classes; and whether or not they thought they will be left with no or limited agency in their future classes. In the end, through the Skype interviews I generated recordings of all interactions by audio taping them through Audacity. I also created collections of images, documents, screenshots and additional Skype messages that participants shared on the Skype message board.

While going through all the steps above, I remained open to many challenges (related, but not limited to, technology and time zone differences) and consequently, I anticipated the possibility of conducting more follow-up interviews should it be necessary in order to capture more aspects or perspectives that might arise.

Questionnaires

Once I went through the step of initial contacts, I sent my questionnaires to both groups of preservice and retired teachers. This enabled participants to have my questions in writing with them. Having the questions in front of them and reading them gave them a clearer idea of what my research is about and it also offered them the opportunity to answer at an appropriate pace for them given the time zone differences. The questionnaires mostly consisted of open ended questions and were accompanied with some of the historical documents and references I mentioned above (pictures, paintings, pages from colonial textbooks, colonial decrees, copies of postcolonial Malian education reforms, etc.) in order to encourage and trigger participants' thoughts and reactions. Along with responding to the questionnaires, participants had the opportunity to share any other input they wished to add, which they might not have wanted to share (or may have forgotten) during Skype group conversations. Here too, I anticipated having to

follow up with some participants for clarification and double checking.

Data sources and methods of data collection

In order to conduct this study, I have collected data through document reviews and virtual ethnography as defined above. The methods of virtual ethnography I used were Skype focus group interviews; emailed questionnaires; Facebook, Skype and email messages; screenshots; and field notes (Adams Parham, 2004; Bernal, 2005, 2006; Horst, 2004, 2006; Menkhaus & Prendergast, as cited in Griffith, 2000; Whitaker, 2004; Wittel, 2000).

Document reviews

I have reviewed two groups of documents for the purpose of this project: The historical documents of interest in this study were those enacted during colonial legislation in Mali with regard to education, teacher training, and some major educational reforms and curriculums throughout Mali's journey as a postcolonial nation. I have also collected historical documents related to both colonial and postcolonial Mali. The second group of documents included, but were not limited to, French colonial diaries, decrees, laws related to education, pictures of items, paintings, pages from colonial textbooks in Mali vs. in France, pictures of colonial as well as postcolonial classrooms, and copies of current curriculum of the two teacher training programs targeted in this study as well as copies of recommendations from major educational reforms in postcolonial Mali.

Colonial times documents

Colonial-era documents include colonial education legislation in Mali and/or in French West Africa, official letters, diaries of colonial rulers, pictures or images of items

used and curriculums taught in schools. The review of these documents was conducted at the same time as my interactions with retired teachers so that, all together, they could help me assess what colonial education looked like in Soudan Francais (present-day Mali).

Documents from postindependence Mali

Major education reform and school law documents as well as curriculum taught in the two E.N. Sup. departments mentioned above were analyzed. I combined the review of this later group of documents with preservice teachers' perspectives in order to understand the degree to which (if at all) the E.N. Sup. departments of History and Geography and Philosophy and Psycho-Pedagogy challenge or reproduce coloniality while training their preservice teachers.

Data from these sources offered an assessment of what colonial education in Mali looked like, how that education model compared with grade-level education in France and the types of insights that can be offered on what has or has not changed in postcolonial Malian education. The document review provided data about ways in which the identified characteristics of colonial education continue to be reproduced (or not) in the two teacher training programs under examination, and finally the implications of those possibly ongoing characteristics for the subjectivities of preservice teachers graduating from the two departments.

Some of these data sources reviewed (pictures, paintings, pages from colonial textbooks, colonial decrees, copies of postcolonial Malian education reforms, etc.) were also used by me to encourage and trigger thoughts during Skype conversations and participants' responses to questionnaires.

Skype interviews: Focus groups

To conduct the focus groups through Skype interviews, I relied on virtual ethnography as described above (Clarke, 2000; Crishton & Kinash, 2003; Horst, 2004, 2006; Miller & Slater, 2000; Wittel, 2000). Because virtual ethnography is defined as a set of data collection methods in which "one actively engages with people in online spaces to write the stories of their situated context, informed by social interaction" (Crishton & Kinash, 2003, p. 2), it is central to how I created and collected focus group data. Specifically, I used virtual ethnography because of its appropriateness to me as researcher who is not currently in a position to travel to Mali in order to interact with my study participants in person. Also because I could not travel to Mali, given the time differences (Greenwich Meridian Time [GMT] in Mali and Mountain Time [MT] in Utah, which is GMT- 6 or -7), online ethnography methods mitigated the challenges related to those time differences. As shared above, an important strength of virtual ethnography is that it offers a "secure for communication between the researcher and the [participants]" (Horst, 2006, p. 55). Furthermore, in the eyes of Horst (2006), that safe space makes less interference possible with regard to issues of race, class and gender. Virtual ethnography in that sense is particularly suited for "focus group discussions amongst people in different locations" (Horst, 2006, p. 55).

Skype interviews were scheduled at times convenient for all members of the group. Throughout those interviews, guided by guidelines from Clarke (2000) and Wittel (2000) in their discussions of the main limitations of virtual ethnography in comparison with traditional ethnography, I generated recordings of all interactions by audiotaping them. Following the suggestions of Clarke (2000) and Wittel (2000), I also created

collections of images and field notes, documents, screenshots and additional messages that participants shared on the Skype message board.

Field notes

Field notes were collected during the Skype (individual and focus group) interviews. Field notes included any information (messages, images, or documents) a participant wanted to mention or shared by typing it or sending it through the Skype chat box during our communications. Given that the Skype interviews (both individual and focus groups') involved the use of cameras on the computers, field notes also included screenshots of key moments during my interactions with participants, notes of any meaningful body language (e.g., a participant's willingness or unwillingness to talk or mention specific issues, emotions). The use of cameras on both sides during the Skype interviews allowed me some context and cues (clothing, mimics, body language, race, class, gender, age, etc.) which critics of virtual ethnography have found missing in it (Clarke, 2000; Wittel, 2000).

Questionnaires

Guided by Trochim (2000), there were two questionnaires with different questions emailed to each group of selected participants: Two questionnaires were sent to retired teachers and two others were sent to preservice teachers from the two selected departments. Questionnaires sent to the retired teachers were mostly short and open ended questions. This was done out of respect for their time and also in order to allow time and space flexibility for the participants to be able to share their recollections of colonial education and any information they felt necessary to provide. Questionnaires

sent to retired teachers aimed at collecting data to assess the characteristics of colonial

education while those sent to preservice teachers aimed at collecting data related to the

reproduction, resistance, and hybridity or not of the characteristics of colonial education

in the two departments and how that reproduction, resistance and hybridity or lack

thereof has impacted the subjectivities of the preservice teachers graduating from the two

target departments. Finally, for each group of participants (retired and preservice) the

questionnaires were administered in two phases. While the first phase of questionnaires

mostly related to participants' backgrounds, the second phase covered participants'

learning experiences and recollections in the colonial context (for retired teachers) or in

their departments today (for preservice teachers).

Sampling and recruitment of participants

Following Gall, Gall and Borg's (2005) suggestions, participants in this study

were selected based on a voluntary and a proportional random sampling basis. An

invitation to take part to the study was posted on Facebook walls and mailing lists

accessible to many Malians. Additionally, because many of the retired teachers did not

have access to those social media venues and mailing lists, I used personal connections

and emails to get access to some of them whom I called and invited to take part in the

study. Within the pool of those who were interested in participating, the researcher

selected a random sample of 13 retired teachers who received their training (totally or

partially) during French colonial times and 12 preservice teachers (who are either

currently attending in their last year or who just graduated) from E.N. Sup. History and

Geography, and Philosophy and Psycho-Pedagogy departments. The study was open to

participants of all ages, and I actively encouraged the selection of an equal number of

male and female participants or at least 30% of female participants.

Trustworthiness

My background as a former graduate from another E.N. Sup. teacher training program, my immersion in Malian culture and my acquaintances among the administration of Malian teacher training programs were useful for me to ensure the trustworthiness of the data I collected in this study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Such proximity with the target population allowed me to build up an atmosphere of trust with the participants and increased my chances of getting more reliable data. As research suggests, trust between the participants and the researcher is important in the sense that it prevents the researcher from committing multiple errors in the process of data collection and analysis (Marshall & Rossman, 1999; Morrow & Smith, 2000).

Given that I used multiple sources in order to triangulate the data, I conducted and recorded in-depth focus group interviews, a narrative analysis and a content analysis of the available archives related to French colonial education. Finally, at every level of this study, in addition to member checks, I asked some of my peers in department, graduate students from Mali on other campuses and my dissertation committee to examine, edit and challenge my work to ensure trustworthiness (Morrow & Smith, 2000).

Administrative responsibilities

I am the only person having administrative responsibilities with regard to this study. All data collected in the context of this study were and will be handled following the regulations set forth by University of Utah IRB. I do not anticipate any particular risk for participants of this project, and the participants have received full information about

the study at every level of the research process (Fine, 1995; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). I

asked for and documented participants' informed consent for any extensive use of any

recording or interview I conducted with them.

Furthermore, I informed participants that their participation was voluntary and

that they could interrupt their participation or leave the study any time without having to

provide any explanation. All participants were given pseudonyms to ensure their

anonymity and all data collected were stored in a secure and locked location.

Finally, any report, presentation or publication that derives from this study will

ensure participants' anonymity. I offered school supplies (pens, pencils and notebooks) as

incentives for participation. I also arranged for collective meals and tea (which are

culturally appropriate) on days of focus group meetings in the cyber café.

Steps in data analysis

In order to understand how colonial legacies play out in the context of teaching

(including teacher training programs) in Mali today through multiple data sources and to

ensure rigor, I conducted my research in two phases.

First, I undertook a document review and content analysis of curriculums of

teacher training programs and education laws from French colonial times in Mali (Hsieh

& Shannon, 2005; Neuendorf, 2002; Smith, 2000). In addition to this step, I proceeded

with administering my questionnaires to retired teachers trained during this period in

order to document how these colonial educational models are recollected by those retired

teachers. Together, I used the documents and the retired teachers' responses to

questionnaires to construct an understanding of colonial educational legacies and how

they can inform us in terms of identifying preservice teacher subjectivities in relationship

to concepts of reproduction, hybridity and resistance.

Next, I assessed whether these colonial educational legacies continue to play out in the two E.N. Sup. departments of History and Geography and of Philosophy and Psycho-Pedagogy today. While my contention is that colonial legacies are deeply embedded in current educational models in Mali because of the totalizing, epistemological and ontological projects of colonialism, it is equally important for me to be open to encounter other possibilities. To explore this, I looked at current teacher training curriculums and compared them to the colonial period curriculums. I also conducted Skype focus group interviews of six preservice teachers. Participants in the focus groups were recent graduates from the two teacher training departments identified above. The focus group interviews aimed to document how participants narrate their educational experiences and philosophies. My goal through this data collection process was to use a variety of sources and perspectives in order not only to ensure rigor but also to concur with the idea that "[…] each practice makes the world visible in a different way" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 5).

Through these interviews I identified where participants' narratives reproduce the colonial educational schematic I identified in the first phase of my research. The interviews also gave me leads with regard to Malian preservice teachers' accounts and perspectives on ongoing colonial legacies in the training they received while attending teacher preparation programs.

Guided by a postcolonial framework and content and narrative analyses (Adams Parham, 2004; Bernal, 2005, 2006; Horst, 2004, 2006; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Menkhaus & Prendergast, as cited in Griffith, 2000; Neuendorf, 2002; Ochs, 1979,1999,

2001; Smith, 2000; Whitaker, 2004; Wittel, 2000), I was also interested in examining how these narratives, while informing me about preservice teacher subjectivities, might also provide instances of reproduction (Cesaire, 1955; Fanon, 1952, 1982; Loomba, 2005; Rodney, 1982; Willinsky, 1998), hybridity (Bhabha, 1994; Singh, 2009), resistance (Fordham, 1996; Loomba, 2005; McLeod,1987; Willis, 1976), and other examples that challenge or problematize coloniality.

During the first phase, I sought to answer to the following questions:

1-What did the colonial educational model look like in Mali?

2-How did teacher training programs reflect coloniality?

3-How do retired teachers (trained in the colonial period) recollect colonial education (training, practices, and philosophies)?

The following questions guided the second phase of this research:

1-What do teacher training curriculum models influencing Malian preservice teachers look like in Mali?

2-How have teacher training curriculums reproduced and/or altered or moved away from colonial education influences in Mali?

3-How do the narratives of current preservice teachers from the two E.N. Sup. departments mentioned above reproduce, alter or move away from the retired colonial times teacher narratives?

This two-phase approach has not only helped me collect useful preliminary data, but also identify issues and instances in which a more in-depth follow up was needed, either by reframing my questions or becoming open to more possibilities.

Access and feasibility

I graduated from the English Department of E.N. Sup. in Mali and taught high school there for more than a decade before coming to the United States for my graduate studies. During all my years as a pre- and in-service teacher in Mali as well as the more recent years as a graduate student in the United States, I have had and maintained a good relationship and contact with both my former colleagues in schools as well as in the Malian Department of Education. As a matter of fact, many of my former colleagues and friends are now holding leadership positions in schools and in structures at the Malian Department of Education level. Those friends and colleagues have constituted important connections in my data collection process in terms of accessing archives, curriculums and other important historical documents.

However, among the challenges I anticipated at the initial stage of this research, though I encountered many, others either did not arise in the ways I thought or were mitigated by other helpful factors. For example, because Dakar, Senegal used to be the capital of French West Africa, I thought I might have to travel there or to Paris, France. It turned out, most historical documents of interest to this study were available at Bibliotheque Nationale de France (BNF), with the option of creating an online account and receiving the documents thereby. Other data sources like copies of colonial and postcolonial textbooks and diaries were either available online with no copyright for academic use or were sent to me through emails, Facebook and Skype messages or with the questionnaire responses.

Nevertheless, the French language challenge I anticipated at the beginning of this research project came up exactly as I thought. All participants, retired as well as

preservice teachers, responded in French, which is the language they did most of their schooling and or professional life in. As a result, in addition to colonial education textbooks, diaries, legislation and curriculums, all data collected from participants were in French. Finally, this meant an important amount of data sources to translate from French into English, and my background knowledge in French and English as well as my personal training as an interpreter and translator helped mitigate this issue.

Lastly, I anticipated the data collection step to take about 2 to 3 weeks. It took 6 months instead, from May to November, 2015. I did not anticipate how scattered participants would be and, while sending in their responses to questionnaires had with no major hurdles, gathering participants for Skype focus group interviews turned out to be a big challenge.

Ethical considerations

All data collected in the context of this study were handled following the regulations set forth by University of Utah IRB. I did not see any particular risk for participants to this project and all participants received full information about the study at every level of the research process (Fine, 1995; Guba & Lincoln, 1994). I asked for and documented participants' informed consent for any extensive use of any recording or interview I conducted with them.

Furthermore, I informed participants that their participation was voluntary and that they could interrupt their participation or leave the study any time without having to provide any further explanation. All participants were given pseudonyms to ensure their anonymity and all data collected were stored in a secure and locked location in the basement of my house on a personal computer with a password known only by me.

Finally, participants were also told that any report, presentation or publication that derives from this study will ensure their anonymity. I offered school supplies (pens, pencils and notebooks) as incentives for participation. I also arranged for collective meals and tea (which are culturally appropriate) on days of focus group meetings in the cyber café.

Data collection procedures

On May 29, 2015, after many exchanges with my participants and negotiations with two internet cafes in Mali, I sent my questionnaires to participants. I emailed the questionnaires to a total of 31 participants (retired and preservice teachers) who had agreed to take part in the study. In addition to posting the IRB Waiver of documentation disclosure for social media on my Facebook wall and below each email message during my conversations with participants as required by IRB, each questionnaire was accompanied by a copy of the consent form. Seventeen of the participants already had access to email and/or Facebook accounts. I had arranged earlier with the cyber cafes to help open email accounts for those of the remaining 14 who would like to do so, which they did. Out of those 14 participants who were supposed to have email accounts with the help of the cyber cafés, 4 never showed up to the café, nor did they give me any reason for not doing so. This left me with a total of 27 participants whom I could start data collection with. However, 2 of them ended up not responding to the right questionnaire, which rendered their responses void.

Consequently, a total of 25 participants (13 retired teachers and 12 preservice teachers) took part to this study. Each participant was invited to print a copy of the two questionnaires and a copy of the consent form, and fill the questionnaire in. Filling each

questionnaire was expected to take about 20 to 25 minutes. Depending on the participant's time and schedule, she or he could fill it in the same day or go home with it. In any case, all participants were invited to submit their responses in a 3-week period. In order to submit their responses, participants had the options of scanning and emailing them to me in the same cyber cafés (fees covered by the researcher through direct negotiation with the café owners) or putting them in sealed envelopes. Envelopes were made available at the cyber cafés for that purpose. Participants who chose to seal their responses in the envelopes handed them in to the café owners whom I had instructed to put all the sealed envelopes in a bigger one and give them to two high school exchange students coming to the United States for a summer program. Once the students arrived in the United States, I traveled to meet them and pick up the sealed envelopes.

Submission of responses to questionnaires by participants, as mentioned in the consent form, is an expression of their consent to participate to the study. In spite of all my attempts to encourage the participation of women in order to have at least 30% of them, only three 3 women (23% of retired teachers) and 3 women (25% of preservice teachers) accepted to take part in this study.

A preliminary look at backgrounds revealed that participants were representative of various sociocultural and geographical areas of Mali (Kayes, Bamako [capital city], Gao, and Tombouctou[2]). Three of the retired teacher participants moved across different levels of teaching from elementary to secondary, and one moved from secondary to higher education. Three of the retired teacher participants taught higher education their entire careers while ten taught in secondary and elementary schools throughout Mali.

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[2] Geographic regions of Mali

Finally, four retired teacher participants were children of French colonial administration auxiliaries. As such, they spent their childhood and schooling years between Soudan Francais/Mali, Haute Volta/Burkina Faso and Senegal**.**

Likewise, the backgrounds of preservice teachers move along those lines of representation. Preservice teachers who took part in this study were from Koutiala (Sikasso), Bamako, Tombouctou, Gao and Kayes. Their ages vary mostly between 24 and 30 years old, with only one 50-year-old participant. While the trajectory of the 50-year-old preservice teacher makes total sense given that she taught elementary school for decades before pursuing her higher education training, the age range of the other preservice teachers does not seem to reflect the typical age frame of most E.N.Sup. graduates of previous classes/generations, including mine. Typically, preservice teachers graduate from E.N. Sup. at ages 22 and 23. Is this aging phenomenon due to an increase in teachers' and students' political activism? Or is it possible to read it as an allusion to much deeper issues occurring with teacher training departments? Indeed, based upon Coulibaly's (2003) discussion of rising levels of student and teacher dissatisfaction with the school system, it seems legitimate to identify in continuous strikes and walkouts a major reason for later graduation rates. In any case, an in-depth look at these questions and many others might offer useful insights to E.N. Sup. authorities and officials of the Malian Department of Education. Figures 1 and 2 describe participants' backgrounds in terms of their gender, age and levels of education on which they provided data.

Data collection successes and challenges

After receiving participants' initial responses to questionnaires and reading through them, I scheduled the Skype interviews with about half of the preservice

teachers' group. Following Gast and Peak (2010), Krueger (1988), Morgen (1997), and Peek and Fotherhill (2009), this group of participants was randomly chosen as a focus group based on their time availability and willingness to participate in this next step. The main purpose for following up with the focus group of preservice teachers was to identify ways in which their responses would confirm or contrast with preliminary tendencies which came up in the first set of collected data. I followed up with the focus group while remaining attentive that other possibilities might open up.

In order to proceed with Skype interviews, I had arranged through the cyber cafe in Mali to have one computer available for the group of preservice teacher participants. The computer had to be connected to both Skype and Facebook, so that written messages or attachments could be shared between both sides in case it was needed. I recorded the conversation on my laptop using a program called Audacity, which allows the conversation to be exported as an MP2 audio document which, in turn, is easily saved on the desktop of the laptop.

Furthermore, for the sake of efficiency in data collection, and in anticipation of possible technical glitches, participants were advised to write down either as Skype and Facebook messages or on the questionnaire forms (sent to them earlier) any response that they would like to share and mostly the ones during which technical glitches would occur. Participants agreed to that and, in addition to their oral responses to my questions through Skype, used all three options (Skype, Facebook messages and writing on questionnaires) to communicate with the researcher.

Our first Skype interview started at 1:50 AM MST (7:50 AM GMT, local time in Mali). Even though the signal appeared to be unstable at times (going up and down from

time to time), both the researcher's questions and participants' responses remained

audible. After about 15 minutes of conversation, technology glitches made it impossible

to carry on the exchange. When technology glitches created the interruption of the

conversation, I exchanged Skype and Facebook messages with participants, through

which both sides understood that the glitches may have been due to technical issues

related to internet connectivity, which the cyber cafe owner promised to address as soon

as possible and let us know. I then sent Skype and Facebook messages thanking the

participants for their time and telling them that I would take care of the issue in

coordination with the cyber cafe owner and get back to them the following day or once

the issue was solved. Both Skype interviews with this focus group almost followed the

same pattern.

Techniques of content analysis used in this study

Content analysis is a research method that has been widely used in qualitative

research in order to analyze text data. A study using content analysis focuses on the ways

in which language is used in a communication with specific attention to the content or the

contextual meaning of the text (Budd, Thorp, & Donohew, 1967; Hsieh & Shannon,

2005; Linkvist, 1981; McTavish & Pirro, 1990; Tesch, 1990; Weber, 1990). The method

has a long history, which dates back to the 18th century in Scandinavia (Rosengren,

1981). In the United States, content analysis has mostly emerged as a research technique

around the beginning of the 20th century (Barcus, 1959). At its beginning, content

analysis was used by researchers as either a qualitative or a quantitative method,

sometimes with text data coded into categories and described with the use of statistics. In

that sense, it has often been referred to as a quantitative analysis of qualitative data

(Berelson, 1952; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Morgan, 1993). Currently, the method has justified its full potential and popularity for qualitative analysis mostly in health studies (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Nandy & Sarvela, 1997).

The method has been used to conduct several kinds of studies, both qualitative and quantitative. For instance, Walker (1975) used its techniques to analyze the differences and similarities between the lyrics of Black and White popular songs in the US. The study covered the period of time of 1962–1973. In another study, Aries (1973) also used computer aided content analysis to study the differences in female, male and mixed-sex small groups in terms of their social interactions and themes they discussed. In this study, she found out that different sex role socialization and sex role stereotyping impact the content of the themes they discussed as well as their social interactions. The analysis of the lyrics of popular songs (Walker, 1975) and of the differences of themes and social interaction based on gender (Aries, 1973) using content analysis techniques points to the multiple possibilities the method offers in terms of understanding data collected in a written format. I anticipated those possibilities to help understand part of the data collected throughout this research.

To summarize, as we learn from Weber (1990), Hsieh and Shannon (2005), Hickey and Kipping (1996), and Potter and Levine-Donnerstein (1999), there are three approaches to content analysis: the conventional content analysis, the directed content analysis and the summative content analysis. Conventional content analysis allows coding categories to come directly from data. Directed content analysis starts with a theory that lays the foundation and serves as a guide for initial codes. Summative content analysis involves counting and comparing keywords and content before interpreting them

based on an underlying context. These three approaches to content analysis follow the

naturalistic paradigm and could be useful in analyzing data under many forms:

interviews, verbal information, print or electronic documents, narrative responses,

articles, books, manuals and diaries. Consequently, the fact that content analysis lends

itself to an in-depth examination of a broad array of data sources makes it particularly

suitable for this project. Weber (1990) captures the pragmatic essence of content analysis

as follows:

> Content analysis classifies textual material, reducing it to more relevant,
> manageable bits of data. Social scientists who must make sense of historical
> documents, newspaper stories, political speeches, open ended interviews,
> diplomatic messages, psychological diaries or official publications-to name a few-
> will find the technique indispensable. (p. 5)

More specifically, because this study is guided by a postcolonial theoretical

framework and has collected data through methods similar to those suggested above by

the proponents of content analysis, it appears that a directed content analysis (Hickey &

Kipping, 1996; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Potter & Levine-Donnerstein, 1999; Weber,

1990), might offer more possibilities in terms of understanding the characteristics of

French colonial education in Sudan Francais/Mali; the French educational legacy in

postindependence Mali; the roles (if any) that the two E.N.Sup. departments of

Philosophy and Psycho-Pedagogy and of History and Geography under investigation play

in reproducing, mixing or challenging colonial education and its premises; and the ways

in which the colonial educational policies still impact (often in unconscious ways)

preservice teachers graduating from the two departments.

When doing directed content analysis, it is important to have a theory, which will

guide the analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). In the case of this study, a postcolonial

theoretical framework will be used. The theory is important at many levels, including

identifying emerging initial coding categories or the relationship between the codes.

Coding is done by reading and highlighting coding categories and concepts. The next step

will consist in creating operational definitions for each category using the theory.

Techniques of narrative analysis used in this study

Following Ochs and Capps (2001), participants' responses collected through

questionnaires and Skype interviews have been analyzed like narratives. According to

Ochs and Capps (2001):

> When people think of narrative, they think of stories or other tellings of past
> events that contain a setting, complicating action and resolution. We can think of
> such narratives as prototypical narratives or narratives with a big "N": Narratives.
> There are, however, other kinds of narratives that pervade social life that do not
> necessarily display all these elements. Such narratives can take the form of
> reports, plans, agenda, news, or sports broadcasts, scientific presentations, and
> certain prayers. We can think of such narrative forms and activity as narrative
> with little 'n': narratives. (p. 22)

It appears in this definition of "Narratives" and "narratives" that Ochs and Capps

(2001) view a narrative as a social construction with its own internal structure based on

the kinds of recipients or purposes it is meant to serve. In Ochs and Capps' (2001) eyes,

when combined, "Narratives" and "narratives" include all forms of oral or written

accounts of any forms of stories. Based on this definition, there are many ways in which

responses provided by participants in this study can be seen as Narratives or narratives

("N" or "n"). In the context of this study, I use the format suggested by Ochs (1979), and

Ochs and Capps (2001) in order to understand the narratives of my preservice teacher

participants. For example, if a participant responded to only written questionnaires, then

those questionnaires were used as his or her narrative. Additionally, preservice teacher

participants who responded to written questionnaires and took part in Skype interviews would have both their questionnaire and Skype interview responses analyzed as their narratives.

Ochs (1979), and Ochs and Capps (2001) list the main components which are key in understanding or analyzing any narrative. Those main components include the setting (S), the past event (PE) and the psychological response (PR). They may occasionally contain additional components like clarification (CL), reason (R) and general response that develops the narrative (GD). In relationship to this project, during my analysis, and using a postcolonial lens, I have examined how these components were displayed in the narratives of the participants as well as the ways in which they might inform about characteristics of colonial education or signal instances of reproduction, resistance or hybridity with regard to the formation of Malian preservice teachers' subjectivities.

Coding conventions and process

For the purpose of this project, coding has been done following Budd, Thorp, and Donohew (1967), Linkvist (1981), McTavish and Pirro (1990), Tesch (1990), Weber (1990), Hickey and Kipping (1996), Ochs and Capps (2001), and Hsieh and Shannon (2005). Coding strategies suggested by the above-mentioned scholars in the fields of content and narrative analyses were used to code data sources used in this study. Content analysis strategies (Hickey & Kipping, 1996; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Weber, 1990) were used to code the contents of historical documents, colonial diaries, legislation and reports as well as curriculums, textbook contents and participants' responses to questionnaires. Narrative analysis techniques (Ochs, 1999; Ochs & Capps, 2001) were used in the coding of screenshots and Skype interviews of preservice teachers. Since the

screenshots were taken in the context of Skype interviews, I have analyzed them in relationship with the narratives of the focus group of preservice teachers who took part to the Skype interviews.

Because this study is interested in uncovering possible instances of reproduction, hybridity and resistance with regard to the subjectivity formation of Malian preservice teachers, my coding process began with highlighting all participants' experiences that relate to the predetermined categories of *reproduction*, *hybridity* and *resistance* as initially targeted in my research questions. This was similarly done in colonial and postcolonial documents, reports and textbooks, in questionnaire responses, as well as in transcripts of participants' narratives on Skype. Following Hsieh and Shannon (2005) in their suggestion of using operational definitions of categories, given the possible broadness of the predetermined categories of *reproduction*, *hybridity* and *resistance*, I have used operational definitions of the categories based on the postcolonial theoretical framework which guides this study (Table 2). In the process of this highlighting, participants' experiences that related to the "reproduction" category were highlighted in green; those related to the "hybridity" category were highlighted in yellow; the ones that related to the "resistance" category, in red. The following step was to look into each of those categories and determine themes (or subcategories) that emerged. At the end of the coding process, any experiences that could not be coded or categorized under the initial categories were highlighted in orange and given a new category. The new category contained important themes discussed by participants that were not directly related to the three major ones identified above. These techniques also allow space, where needed, for the identification of subcategories by the researcher if he or she thinks an initial category

may be too broad. Finally, as Hsieh and Shannon (2005) discussed, using such coding techniques appears to be useful in studies like this one where the researcher is using his analysis to "validate or extend conceptually a theoretical framework or theory." (p. 1281)

Summary

Guided by my three original research questions, I collected data through questionnaires to Malian retired teachers (RT) and preservice teachers (PT); French colonial school legislation, reports and textbooks; current curriculums and textbooks of the two E.N. Sup. departments under investigation; transcriptions and screenshots of Skype interviews of the PT focus group; and email, Skype and Facebook messages from participants.

Data were coded following Hsieh and Shannon's (2005) suggested model of conducting content analysis (more specifically their suggestions related to directed content analysis) and Ochs' (1999, 2001) suggestions related to what to look for when conducting narrative analysis. In conformity with Hsieh and Shannon (2005), both the coding process and the definition of categories and themes were informed by my theoretical lens, which in this study is postcolonial theory.

Additionally, following the suggestions of Labov (1972), Ricoueur (1981, 1988), Bruner (1991), Ochs (1999, 2001), Hyvarinen (2007) and Pavlenko (2008) on how to transcribe and analyze narratives, I have transcribed Skype interviews with the preservice teachers' focus group and analyzed each participant's narrative as story. Research cited above identifies the major types of narratives as being the *story*, the *report* and *the plan*. Based on that research, the accounts of preservice teacher participants in my focus group appeared to be matching the components the *report* type of narrative. Narratives

categorized as reports (Bruner, 1991; Hyvarinen, 2007; Labov, 1972; Ochs, 1999, 2001;

Pavlenko, 2008; Ricoueur, 1981, 1988) contain the following central components: The

setting (S), the past event (PE) and the psychological response (PR). They may

occasionally contain additional components like clarification (CL), reason (R) and

general response that develops the narrative (GD).

The transcription and analysis of Skype interviews of my focus groups revealed

that they all contained the three central components of narratives as reports, which are a

setting (S), a past event (PE) and a psychological response (PR). The next step was to

look at the transcriptions with my research questions and my three main categories in

mind, which are reproduction, hybridity and resistance, in order to proceed with coding.

During my data coding process, each instance relating to a category identified above was

highlighted either in green if it related to the category of reproduction, in yellow if it

related to the category of hybridity and in red if it related to the category of resistance.

After initially highlighting the coded data in an Excel spreadsheet, all of them were

reported in a table detailing the number of times, and percentages of each category, theme

or subtheme has been discussed by different data sources.

In the end, the coding process of the collected data for both content analysis and

narrative analysis revealed many emerging categories and themes. In the process, I

named the main categories based on my three research questions (R. Qs). All themes,

(sub)themes (T) and (sub)categories (C) that relate to the characteristics of colonial

education (R. Q1) were put under the category of "characteristics of colonial education."

In relationship to R. Q2, themes, subthemes and subcategories that directly relate to

issues of reproduction were put under the category of "reproduction," those related to

resistance under "resistance," and finally themes, subthemes and subcategories related to instances of hybridity were put under "hybridity." With regard to R. Q3, all themes, subthemes and subcategories that relate to ways in which the two departments under investigation have positioned their recent graduates (PTs) to be likely to reproduce, resist or alter the discussed issues in their future classrooms are put under the previous categories or under a new category I named "colonial vs. postcolonial." In the coding process, many of these issues, categories, subcategories, themes and subthemes appeared to be deeply intertwined both in the ways they connected and in the ways they were discussed by participants and other data sources. As a result, the process of putting them under those categories was not a clear cut one. In many ways, this might be a testament to the muddiness and blurriness inherent to colonial vs. postcolonial ontologies whose analyses call for a more complex and in-depth look (Ashcroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1989; Bhabha, 1994; Cesaire, 1955; Conklin, 1997; Fanon, 1961, 1967; Loomba, 2005; Rodney, 1982; Willinsky, 1998; Young, 2003). Nevertheless, the main categories that came up through data are summarized in Table 2. The numbers and percentages in each section of Table 2 indicate the number of times and percentages the coded category or theme has been discussed by data sources (both participants and documents). While the numbers in the table explain how many times the documents discuss the categories or themes, the percentages refer to the percentages of participants who have discussed each given categories or themes in their responses. N/A was used where the question was not found applicable to that data source.
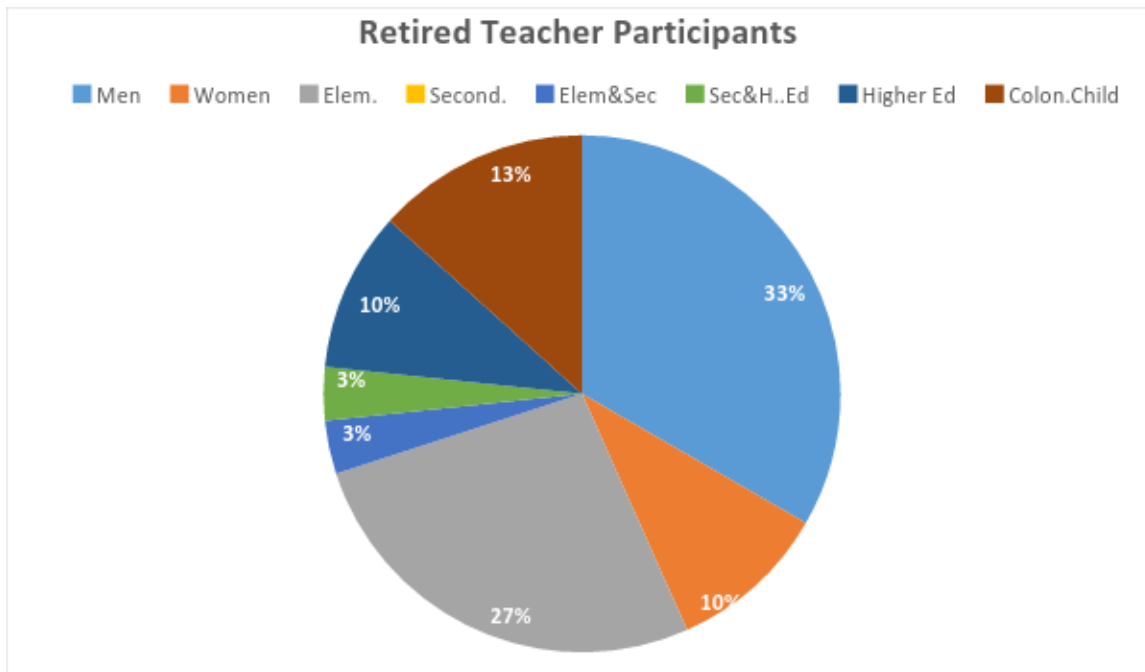
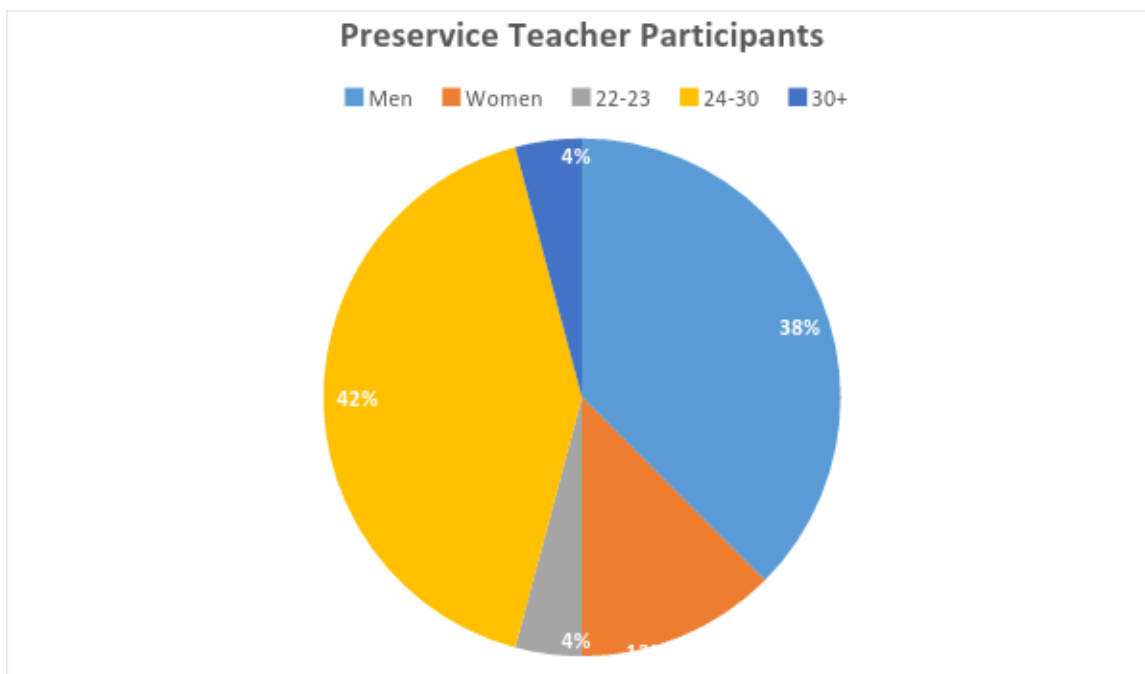Figure 1: Retired teachers' backgrounds and levels of education discussed

Figure 2: Preservice teachers by gender and age

Table 1

E.N. Sup graduates in postcolonial Malian education system

Public and private High School [Lycees] teachers	IFMs teachers (Junior High & Elementary teacher training schools)	Professional/vocational school teachers	Medersa teachers (medersas are schools which use Arabic as a medium of instruction)	School Administration: Principals, counselors, and superintendents

Table 2

Coding process, data sources, categories, themes and subthemes

(Sub)categories & Themes	1923 Circular on Education	Colonial reports, textbooks & Curriculums	Postcolonial textbooks & Curriculums	Questionnaires to RTs	Questionnaires to PTs	Screen shots and additional visuals	Skype Focus Group interviews
Research Q # 1 Category: Characteristics of Colonial Education							
T/Colonial schools as grounds for elitism/assimilation /discrimination in the interest of colonizer, # of times and %	21	33	22	100%	90%	100%	83%
T/Colonial schools as extensions of the colonial project, ideologies and tensions, # of times and %	21	26	53	100%	93%	100%	N/A
T/Colonial schools as sites of oppressive pedagogies and practices. #times and %	21	17	42	100%	100%	100%	80%

Table 2, continued

(Sub)categories & Themes	1923 Circular on Education	Colonial reports, textbooks & Curriculums	Postcolonial textbooks & Curriculums	Questionnaires to RTs	Questionnaires to PTs	Screen shots and additional visuals	Skype Focus Group interviews
T/ Colonial schools as tools of divide and conquer, # of times and %	21	26	53	92.30%	91.66%	N/A	N/A
Research Q #1, 2, 3 Categories: Characteristics & reproduction							
T/Symbol as a tool for strengthening the learning of French in colonial schools, #of times and %	N/A	3/5	3/5	100%	100%	100%	100%
T/Symbol as a tool of humiliation and denigration of native students in colonial schools, "symbol bearer= donkey" # of times and %	N/A	3/5	3/5	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 2, continued

(Sub)categories & Themes	1923 Circular on Education	Colonial reports, textbooks & Curriculums	Postcolonial textbooks & Curriculums	Questionnaires to RTs	Questionnaires to PTs	Screen shots and additional visuals	Skype Focus Group interviews
T/Symbol as a sign of colonial hostility toward native languages. # of times and %	N/A	3/5	3/5	100%	91.66%	100%	80%
T/Symbol as a tool of humiliation and punishment that continue to be used today. # of times and %	N/A	3/5	3/5	100%	100%	100%	80%
T/Corporal punishment: The whip as a tool for classroom discipline. # of times and %	N/A	N/A	00	100%	100%	80%	100%
T/The whip as a tool of humiliation. # of times and %	N/A	N/A	00	92.30%	91.66%	80%	80%

Table 2, continued

(Sub)categories & Themes	1923 Circular on Education	Colonial reports, textbooks & Curriculums	Postcolonial textbooks & Curriculums	Question-naires to RTs	Questionnaires to PTs	Screenshots and additional visuals	Skype Focus Group interviews
T/The whip as a sign of hostility toward native languages, #of times and %	N/A	8	00	100%	100%	100%	100%
Research Q 2 & 3							
Category: Hybridity							
T/Hybrid teaching materials, textbooks (colon. & postcolon. used today. # of times and %	N/A	N/A	40+ # of hrs of Eurocentric materials in ENSup Dpts	90%	87%	67%	93%

Table 2, continued

(Sub)categories & Themes	1923 Circular on Education	Colonial reports, textbooks & Curriculums	Postcolonial textbooks & Curriculums	Questionnaires to RTs	Questionnaires to PTs	Screen shots and additional visuals	Skype Focus Group interviews
T/Improving colon. lessons/comparing and provoking critical thinking in PPP & HG Dpts. # of times and %	N/A	N/A	40+ # of hrs of Eurocentric materials in ENSup Dpts	47%	51%	50%	60%
T/Mimicry in ENSup PPP & HG Dpts' teachers behavior. # of times and %	N/A	N/A	40+ # of hrs of Eurocentric materials in ENSup Dpts	N/A	60%	67%	55%
Research Q 1, 2 & 3							
Category: Resistance							

Table 2, continued

(Sub)categories & Themes	1923 Circular on Education	Colonial reports, textbooks & Curriculums	Postcolonial textbooks & Curriculums	Questionnaires to RTs	Questionnaires to PTs	Screen shots and additional visuals	Skype Focus Group interviews
T/Resistance to colonial schooling (also relates to Category 1, characteristics of colonial education). # of times and %	8	10	N/A	70%	N/A	N/A	N/A
T/Resistance in colonial classrooms. # of times and %	00	10	5+ # of hrs of Eurocentric materials in the 2 ENSup Dpts	47%	43%	40%	45%
T/Resistance in postcolonial classrooms. # of times and %	N/A	N/A	40+ # of hrs of Eurocentric materials in the 2 ENSup Dpts	57%	60%	55%	55%
T/PTs looking back at 2 ENSup Dpts and planning for future classrooms (instances of resistance, hybridity & reproduction). # of times and %	N/A	N/A	32	N/A	58.33% likes + 41.66% dislikes	100%	100%

Table 2, continued

(Sub)categories & Themes	1923 Circular on Education	Colonial reports, textbooks & Curriculums	Postcolonial textbooks & Curriculums	Questionnaires to RTs	Questionnaires to PTs	Screen shots and additional visuals	Skype Focus Group interviews
Others							
Category: Native language/mother tongue							
T/Pride/Usefulness of mother tongue. # of times and %	N/A	N/A	N/A	49%	57%	N/A	60%
Category: Comparisons Colonial vs. Postcolonial schools.							

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Table 2, continued

(Sub)categories & Themes	1923 Circular on Education	Colonial reports, textbooks & Curriculums	Postcolonial textbooks & Curriculums	Questionnaires to RTs	Questionnaires to PTs	Screen shots and additional visuals	Skype Focus Group interviews
T/Nostalgia, bigger size classrooms, unqualified teachers, failure of edu. reforms, blaming democratic system, lack of parental involvement, bad quality of training (intertwined) # of times and %	N/A	N/A	N/A	80%	87%	100%	85%

CHAPTER 4

CHARACTERISTICS OF COLONIAL EDUCATION IN

FRENCH SUDAN (MALI)

Analysis of data was done in the following ways: First, I looked at the primary

and secondary texts, which include the 1923 circular on Education, Reffenel and

Sanderval's French government commissioned reports, *Mamadou et Bineta* series

textbooks and the spreadsheet of participant responses to my questionnaires. I applied

directed content analysis techniques (Budd, Thorp, & Donohew, 1967; Hsieh & Shannon,

2005; Linkvist, 1981; McTavish & Pirro, 1990; Tesch, 1990; Weber, 1990) that allowed

me to generate a better grasp of the major characteristics of colonial education. Using this

foundation, I then analyzed participants' followup responses to my questionnaires,

transcripts of my Skype focus group interviews, screenshots taken during those

interviews, and current curriculum and teaching materials from the two E.N. Sup.

departments under investigation. Finally, I applied narrative analysis techniques (Ochs,

1999; Ochs & Capps, 2001) to triangulate the first set of findings generated from the

primary and secondary sources. As a result of this process, I found many common

categories and themes and a few other ones that emerged separately. Themes vary from

assimilation, elitism, classroom violence through corporal punishment and symbol, to

instances of reproduction, resistance and hybridity and to other postcolonial issues

directly connected to colonial ontologies. I then analyzed and discussed those categories

and themes in relationship with my research questions. Each chapter of my next three analysis chapters is titled based on the research question that it attempts to answer. All of the themes and categories that were discussed simultaneously by data sources have been grouped and discussed under the same subtitle or subheading.

In this chapter, my analysis and discussion focus on categories and themes or subthemes that help provide answers to my first research question, which aims at understanding the characteristics of colonial education in French Sudan/Mali. In order to do so, the data sources I have examined are historical documents like the 1923 circular on education, the French government commissioned reports of A. Raffenel and O. Sanderval, colonial textbooks and curriculums, retired teachers' responses to questionnaires and their accounts of the use of the symbol and corporal punishment in colonial classrooms. I first start with a discussion of the 1923 circular on education and, later on, proceed with using data from French government commissioned reports, colonial textbooks and retired teachers accounts to triangulate instances of colonial education characteristics that came up.

Data collected through those historical documents, colonial education legislation, government commissioned reports, textbook contents as well as participants' responses to questionnaires revealed a vast and complex array of categories, subcategories, topics and themes, including instances of assimilation; discrimination; elitism; violent classroom and disciplinary practices; unique teacher vs. student roles in colonial classrooms; negative views and silencing of local languages; denigration of local indigenous cultures and history; and instances of reproduction, hybridity and resistance, which all frequently came up. All these instances were revealed in sometimes very complex and intertwined

ways.

The 1923 Circular on Education as the most defining

legislation organizing and framing colonial schools

in French Sudan (Mali) and West Africa

The very first historical document I analyzed in the context of this study was the 1923 Circular on Education. Because the 1923 Circular is one of the most important laws which framed all other educational policies in French West Africa during almost half of the duration the French Third Republic (1870–1940) (the scope of this circular outlived the Third Republic and continued officially up to the 1960s and even beyond), I believe it is important for any researcher in French West African educational history to analyze and understand it on its own before delving into other data sources. In this sense, understanding this circular might help better establish a helpful roadmap in order to understand themes that might come up later from other sources. Such an approach might also allow readers to not only understand its importance, but also to better grasp ways in which that key legislation has fundamentally influenced educational policies, classroom practices, curriculums and textbook contents of colonial schools and even beyond.

Another reason why the 1923 Circular on Education must be analyzed on its own is that from its enactment until political independences of French West African countries (including Soudan Francais/Mali), there has not been any other major educational legislation revoking it or even changing it fundamentally. All other colonial education legislations or policies that followed it were either meant to help it reach its major goals or make political twists to adjust it to some local interests. So, in a sense, the 1923 education circular fundamentally defined and shaped colonial schools from its enactment

until the political independence era in the 1960s and even beyond. Knowing that before

1923, colonial education was not really uniform and was regulated by locally initiated

decisions oftentimes made by missionaries and, later on by French government officials,

one can argue that the 1923 Circular on Education (based on its scope and duration) was

the most consequential colonial legislation the French Third Republic has enacted toward

schooling in its West African colonies.

The Circular on Education was signed and published on December 31, 1923. It is

one of the most quoted documents in studies related to postcolonial research on education

in French West Africa (Merle, 2004; Moumouni, 1964; Sabatier, 1978). Unfortunately,

the document has been, on many occasions, erroneously called "Decret de 1924" [Decree

of 1924]. Through this section, I would like to, first, correct this historical fallacy before

moving on with my analysis. The "Circulaire sur l'enseignement" was not a decree; nor

was it signed in 1924. It was a Circulaire [Circular] and it was signed on December 31,

1923. (See Figure 3.)

As its name suggests, it was an official document meant to bring key changes in

the ways education was conducted in French West African territories of "Soudan

Francais" (Mali), Senegal, Haute Volta, Niger, Mauritania, Dahomey, Togo and Guinea.

The changes introduced by this circular concerned in no way schools in the colonial

power, i.e., in France. An in-depth reading of the *Circulaire sur l'Enseignement*, beyond

its rich insights about the nature of the times often called an "era of limits" full of

tensions, intentions and contradictions (Cesaire, 1955; Fanon, 1961, 1967; Moumouni,

1964; Sabatier, 1978), sheds light on its intent to gear education in the colonies toward

producing lower (and potentially less challenging) trained auxiliaries who would help

support the overall colonial project. The circular also provides useful information and background about other smaller colonial educational legislations, their contexts and their revisions in 1903, 1908, 1913 and 1918 (Journal Officiel de l'Afrique Occidentale Francaise, 1924. No 1008, pp. 69–71).

In the three-page document, the circular of 1923, discussed 21 times items that were coded under the category of the characteristics of colonial education included the themes of (1) colonial schools as grounds for elitism, assimilation, and discrimination in the interest of the colonizer; (2) colonial schools as extensions of the colonial project, ideologies and tensions; (3) colonial schools as sites of oppressive pedagogies and practices; and (4) colonial schools as tools of dividing and conquering. All these themes, which appeared to be key characteristics of colonial education, were later on triangulated by other data sources such as the contents of colonial and postcolonial textbooks and government commissioned reports, participants' responses to questionnaires, focus group interviews and screenshots taken during Skype focus group interviews.

On its lines 11 through 14 for example, the circular states **" . . .** if your colonies can train *public servants* at a local level in a *sufficient number* I would be willing to reorganize the current organic decisions in order to allow you to use them in your secondary and local contexts**.**"

Here, one can see that the spirit of these lines is to allow a certain flexibility of the legislation at local levels, provided that those local levels can train a *sufficient number* of public servants. But how many public servants would be a sufficient number? It appears here that in the colonial mentality and legislation, education was not meant to be in the interest of local communities, but rather, it was fundamentally and purposefully designed

to be in the sole interest of the colonial power (Conklin, 1997; Loomba, 2005; Moumouni, 1964; Willinsky, 1998). Therefore, "public servants in a sufficient number" in the spirit of the 1923 circular was meant to suggest that colonial schools should only train the number of locals the colonial project needed for its own expansion.

Furthermore, lines 34 through 41 of the same circular seem to provide an answer to this question:

> It should always be clear that school, in principle, is open to all, but since our current means, limited, do not allow us to educate, it is impossible not to proceed by selection since the beginning. That selection must mainly attract children of chiefs and local leaders. I mean by this that attending school must be, for this category of children, mandatory.

These lines reveal how colonial schooling was not only selective and elitist, but it was also divisive. It emphasized the mandatory enrollment of children of chiefs and local leaders to divide local families and communities, with the hope of finding allies in order to carry the colonial project. The colonial power's focus on granting access to schooling to a restricted population (i.e., the children of the chiefs and local leaders) also shows some of the contradictions and tensions running through the "civilizing mission" allegedly taken on by the colonial power, France. It clearly appears here that local schools were being molded by colonial administrators in ways that would transform them into instruments of control with the ultimate goal of divide, conquer and rule (Conklin, 1997; Loomba, 2005; Moumouni, 1964; Willinsky, 1998).

By alluding to specific targets with regard to both enrollment and graduation of the children of the chiefs and local leaders, the 1923 circular, through its lines 34 through 41 and beyond, also revealed other forms of contradictions and tensions with regard to "governmentality" in colonized territories (Conklin, 1997; Foucault, 1977, 1978, 1979;

Lemke, 2012; Loomba, 2005). These theorists have defined the concept of "governmentality" as the ways, techniques and strategies in which modern states exercise control over or govern their populations. In the views of these theorists, those ways, techniques and strategies help states direct and control the conduct of individuals or groups within their populations. In other words, "public servants in sufficient number" is left to mean what is "sufficient" in the eyes of the local colonial administrator. To conclude this section, I would like to argue that an in-depth look at the "Circulaire sur l'Enseignement du 31 Decembre 1923" and at the French government commissioned reports of Reffenel and Sanderval which later on framed textbooks taught in colonial schools, and the accounts of Malian retired teachers, all together, give us a description of what French colonial education looked like at its time in what was called "Soudan Francais" (postcolonial Mali).

Schools in French Sudan as tools of colonial project thereby
extensions of colonial ideologies and tensions

French government commissioned reports and diaries, contents of colonial curriculums and textbooks as well as retired teachers' responses to questionnaires were also analyzed following the same model described above. These sources also revealed patterns of the characteristics of the colonial education in French Sudan that went along the lines indicated in the 1923 Circular on Education. All the themes discussed in the 1923 Circular on Education appeared, later on, to have been triangulated by the other data sources for this study. Throughout these latest data sources, under the category of characteristics of colonial education, the theme of *colonial schools as grounds for elitism, assimilation, discrimination in the interest of the colonizer* was discussed 55 times by

colonial and postcolonial reports and textbooks, 100% of retired teachers, 90% of

preservice teachers and 83% of focus group participants. Also, the theme of *colonial*

schools as extensions of the colonial project, ideologies and tensions was discussed 79

times by colonial and postcolonial reports, textbooks and curriculums, 100% of retired

teachers and 93% of preservice teachers, while the theme of *colonial schools as sites of*

oppressive pedagogies and practices was mentioned 59 times by colonial and

postcolonial reports, textbooks and curriculums, 100% of retired teachers, 100% of

preservice teachers and 80% of Skype focus group participants. Finally, the theme of

colonial schools as tools of divide and conquer was discussed 79 times by colonial and

postcolonial reports, textbooks and curriculums, 92.30% of retired teachers and 91.66%

of preservice teachers.

Retired teacher, OES, gives his perspectives on what colonial education was all

about when he shares his position, which summarizes the accounts of most participants:

> Colonial education system was very far from being in the interest of students,
> parents or the community. Nothing was taught to them to enable them to be
> independent one day, or to be free and proud men, and to help them build a strong
> and independent nation. Everything that was put in the heads of young people,
> was solely in the interest of France, to serve it [France], to become good
> auxiliaries, good and obeying soldiers or brave farmers ready to offer their
> products and other things exported in the benefit of French industries. The
> contents of lessons were generally about the superiority of the colonizer compared
> to the colonized, i.e, that scientific and technological progress were made by
> colonizers in order to improve our [colonized] lives, the fight against diseases is
> the job of the colonizer, there is no other civilization than that of the colonizer.
> The colonized was not far from the animal.

For retired teacher, ASA, colonial education was

> In the interest of France. It [colonial education] trained interpreters, administrative
> staff for its needs. The system enabled contact with its auxiliaries (guards, police,
> military, etc). What was unfortunate was the too big publicity around France, and
> we were made to believe that we did not have a history, and even that the
> *"Gaullois"* [French] were our ancestors, and that we were a people without a

history.

To which retired teacher, ABW, added what he saw as benefits for France and

French culture, with many negative aspects to the colonized indigenous:

> Yes, by the spreading of the French language and the fact of widening French
> culture. The brightness and power of France were the main goals. Yes, the
> stigmatization of the black, of his culture. Sonni Ali Ber [a local hero] was
> considered a criminal, whereas he undertook, at his time, many important public
> works in the interest of the community (digging canals, levees, regulation of
> commerce, security on the roads, etc).

Thinking critically and retrospectively about colonial days, retired teacher, ABK,

commented: "With a critical eye on the past, today, there is no doubt colonial education

was in the interest of the metropole [France]. However, the acquired knowledge is a

source of income in the current context." His other colleague, retired teacher, DHM,

asserted: "Colonial education in French Sudan was a rigorous education, it trained

obeying subjects who were favorable to the mother country, France. It did not take into

account the local sociocultural realities." Finally, retired teacher, HWT, gave his overall

judgement of colonial education while hinting at some of its specific negative aspects

when he says: "Negative. Some were brought farther from their own values (assimilation,

complexes, etc)."

Additionally, I would like to provide below a detailed discussion of these findings

as they relate to other data sources. In the process of doing so, I have found it useful to

start with French government commissioned reports before discussing the contents of

textbooks and curriculums that systematically derived from those reports. I then proceed

with discussing data from participants' responses to questionnaires and during Skype

focus group interviews.

In 1845, Anne-Jean Baptiste Raffenel was charged by the French government

with exploring the interior of Africa, starting with Dakar. In his letter of mission, the French government offered him support and urged him to find specific information about local communities, including their ways of life, customs, food and religions, etc. In his letter of acceptance of the mission, Raffenel promised to collect as much information as possible, building on what earlier explorers Mungo Park, Gordon Laing and Rene Caille had uncovered and the challenges they faced.

A close look at Raffenel's travel accounts, *Nouveau Voyage dans le Pays des Negres suivi d'etudes sur la colonie du Senegal, et de documents historiques, geographiques et scientifiques,* revealed how they aimed at filling the then existing lack of anthropological and ethnographic information about West Africa. The timing of that mission and the expectations set by the French government as well as their offer of full support stripped Raffenel's mission of any form of neutrality. As Said (1993) observed, European explorers' missions and the documents that they generated ultimately contributed to create certain "structures of feeling" among European audiences and citizens. This concept, as Said put it, refers to arguments, justifications and descriptions about the non-Europeans made to metropolitan audiences by European travel writers, explorers, missionaries and colonial administrators to convince their fellow European citizens (in this case, French citizens) of the usefulness of the colonial project and the opportunities it might open for them. In order to create those "structures of feeling" the descriptions must show fundamental differences between those non-European and European groups. The created and imagined differences had to emphasize not only difference but also inferiority as described by such words and phrases as "savage," "primitive," and "barbarian" aspects of those non-Western people, thereby justifying the

Europeans' teleological mission to colonize and civilize them: "mission civilisatrice" [civilizing mission] as French authorities then called it (Conklin,1997). In the specific case of French Sudan (Mali), the contents of those travel narratives, logs and reports served to set up the racial boundaries between Malians and French people and were also used by French to define both groups as separate, thereby justifying their colonizing behavior in that territory.

For example, in his report Raffenel wrote:

The negro is consumed by his barbarian attitude; he seems to be condemned to reprobation; he is a slave and doesn't believe in himself; he does not understand that in his unskillful hands there is an invaluable richness; he is proud and defiant, the defiance and pride of a savage that always stops his first step towards us. (p. 8)

Keeping in mind that he was commissioned by the French government, one can see through these lines that Raffenel not only described the local African people as savages and barbarians, but also suggested that until France colonizes them they would remain so; and that it was his country's duty to occupy those lands and certainly civilize the communities therein. The deliberate use of words like "negro," "barbarian," "slave," "does not understand," and "savage" was meant not only to create, depict and emphasize fundamental differences between Europeans and Africans (i.e., the Manichean dichotomy "us" vs. "them"), but also to suggest that European people should, in their entirety, support the colonial project for many reasons, including a moral one, thus the White man's (in this case, the French) teleological "burden."

Raffenel also added, talking about Malinke people of Kour,

Without doubt, their physical appearance is hard, their shapes are gross and angular, their large face with bulging cheekbones, their dark skin color, their extraordinary large lips, all of this is an unfortunate whole, which I agree, does not equate to anything favorable in the future. (p. 103)

This description has physical and anthropological components. It emphasizes body shapes of local Malinke people: "their physical appearance is hard," "their large face" and "their extraordinary large lips." The implications of these kinds of descriptions emphasizing physical traits were born during that period and had been largely used by European travelers, colonial administrators and some early anthropologists to describe people from Africa. Such racist undertones also widely informed the description of communities of African descent in other continents like the Americas. This phenomenon has been widely seen for example in the US during minstrelsy and Eugenics (or scientific racism) movements. These descriptions made in Raffenel's (and later on Sanderval's) French government commissioned reports are important in two ways: first, they appeal to the European (in this case French) mission to civilize (Conklin, 1997) and second, they constitute the fundamental resources around which many colonial education textbooks, curriculums and classroom practices were built.

In addition to Raffenel's mission, between 1880 and 1916, Olivier de Sanderval went five times to Fouta Djallon (current Guinea/French West Africa). His accounts in his reports, *Soudan Francais: Kahel Carnet de Voyage,* were more interested in local communities around the areas he visited. Though he portrayed himself as an individual explorer (and was portrayed so by many others), his descriptions of local people followed the same patterns as Raffenel's. He was interested at distances between villages, maps (geography) and the habits of local people, their customs, their food and their physical appearances.

The accounts given by both Raffenel and Sanderval showed an interest through their projects in describing local African communities as others by putting an emphasis

on the way they looked, their manners, what they ate (for example, elephant and crocodiles, which gave an idea of a disproportionate and abnormal diet) and their closeness to nature (characterized as being savage) (Hegel, 1892). Those descriptions have resulted in a new type of ethnographic and anthropological knowledge and have therefore contributed to the creation of the African other as explained in the Hegelian dialectics. They have contributed to perpetuate and reinforce in the minds of Europeans negative images of the Africans (or Blacks for that matter) as "inferior," "sub-human," "savages" and "uncivilized." Moreover, those descriptions had shaped for a long time (and continue to do so) Europeans' (and the West's) vision of non-Western people as Said (1978) put it in the case of the oriental subjects.

Though Raffenel was on a French government mission, whereas Sanderval was not, the similarity between their intents in terms of the ways in which they described local people seemed very stunning, which for me attest to the fact that, as some authors (Loomba, 2005; Moumouni, 1964; Willinsky, 1998) have argued, it has always been very difficult to put a separate line between explorers, colonizers, missionaries and anthropologists. All of those groups, even though some of them claim the opposite, have, in some way or another, taken part in the colonial project (Loomba, 2005; Moumouni, 1964; Willinsky, 1998). The frequent and deliberate use of the present tense in their descriptions seems to suggest that the cultures thus represented were intended to remain primitive and frozen in time. The systematic use of a third person perspective further suggested that their analyses constituted universal truths.

In their travel accounts, both Sanderval and Raffenel provided some geographical information too about the localities they visited. They mention number of days and nights

from one place to another as well as the direction (West, East, North or South) from a given place. Those details, as it has been revealed later, were very central to the development of colonial maps. Added to the contents of other travel narratives I discussed earlier, one can see how the directions offered in Sanderval and Reffenel's reports position these writings, all together, as invitations to occupy the described lands and communities.

The emphasis and simultaneous distortion of Africans' physical traits also reminds the readers of Eugenics, and pseudoscientific racism that were going on at that same time, especially in France where Arthur de Gobineau was a leading figure of those racist movements. During that period, pseudoscientists whose primary goal was to "prove" the supremacy of the "white race" became very active. Through multiple anthropological explorations in the conquered lands as well as in the colonial powers, human body measurements and dissections were conducted as shown above all by the case of Sara Baartman (Qureshi, 2004).

Given all discussed above, it has become easier for many historians and education researchers (Moumouni, 1964; Sabatier, 1978; Said, 1978; Willinsky, 1998) to demonstrate that the descriptions made by Raffenel and Sanderval during their 1845, 1880 and 1916 French government sponsored missions as well as accounts provided by major French missionaries and explorers like Rene Caille profoundly influenced, informed and shaped the contents of textbooks (*Mamadou et Bineta* series, *Massa Kokari*, *Pages Africaines, Tomes 1,2,3,4* and *La famille Diavara)* which were used later on to teach children in Sudan Francais (Mali) and all over French colonial West Africa. The fact that many of these textbooks have remained taught in postcolonial Malian

schools and departments to date remains highly problematic for, as data have revealed, it positions current preservice Malian teachers to be very likely to keep reproducing their use in their future classrooms. The contents of the reports produced by Reffenel and Sanderval were also undoubtedly used by the French government to justify its so-called "civilizing mission" (Conklin, 1997), which in turn, offered justification for the use of harsh disciplinary practices and degrading textbook contents which were only used in colonial French West African schools. It is, indeed, important to understand that textbooks reflecting such contents were only used in classrooms in Soudan Francais (Mali) and the larger French West Africa and that they were never used in other grade levels in metropolitan France.

The lines below are meant to provide concrete examples of the characteristics of colonial education discussed above in the ways they appeared in contents of textbooks informed and shaped by Reffenel and Sanderval's reports. To do so, I have examined texts from a textbook like *Mamadou et Bineta sont devenus grands*, which is part of the broader *Mamadou et Bineta* series. Those series and *La famille Diavara, Les Aventures de Massa Kokari* were the main textbooks used in French colonial schools in West Africa. I have focused on *Mamadou et Bineta* series, not because they are the only textbooks used, but because they have been the most accessible for me. Copies of them were easily available on the internet, and ordering them proved to be convenient. Another reason why I decided to focus on these series is, as indicated by most participants to this study, *Mamadou et Bineta* textbooks are known to be one of the most widely used textbooks in both colonial and postcolonial Malian classrooms. Other colonial and postcolonial textbooks like *La famille Diavara, les Aventures de Massa Kokari, Pages*

Africaines series have been out of reach for me and the few pages of them I could get on the internet could not easily be authenticated due to lack of any reference on them. Nevertheless, gathering from retired and preservice teacher participants' recollections, the contents of these textbooks are also very similar to those of the *Mamadou et Bineta* series.

The textbook, *Mamadou et Bineta sont devenus grands* contains 34 chapters ranging from *l'habitation* [housing] (Chapter 1) to *les contes, les legendes, les fables* [stories, legends, tales] (Chapter 34). Every chapter is somehow connected to the lives, the habits, the manners, the food, the environment, the difference and strangeness of local indigenous communities under the prism of the French gaze. The descriptions of local indigenous communities made in the textbook are usually offered in comparison to French manners and habits. By doing so, a reader with a critical eye will easily capture the emphasis on strangeness, savagery, a deliberate portrayal of closeness of those communities to a wild nature surrounded by lions, reptiles, forests, and so forth (Hegel, 1807, 1977), in other words, a savage place that calls for civilization, taming and colonization.

> English translation of text from *Mamadou et Bineta sont devenus grands* p. 115.
> Title: Agriculture in the forest.
> Blacks in the forest practice little agriculture, but do we realize the obstacles they face? Before planting the slightest grain, they have to cut part of the forest - a monstrous forest which grows back at an incredible speed. In such conditions what they found out best, is some form of nomadic agriculture, which goes like this: One burns a certain part of the forest, then in the most cleared part, one plants some millet, some cassava and some bananas. After the harvest which is always very limited, one burns another part of the forest, and so on, and so on. The black from the forest is a man who is constantly running after his farm. One can guess the care he takes of it when working it and the results he obtains. Just enough for him not to starve, during the best years. George Hardy (Geographie). p. 115
> English translation of text from *Mamadou et Bineta sont devenus grands* p. 237

Title: The couscous of the Sahara
    1.[…]
    2. [I have seen women, said Rene caille, who were cooking round butter with their hands, wiping their fingers on their hair, then putting that same hand in the calabash containing the butter and milk. This lack of hygiene was revolting to me to a degree that I sometimes preferred to remain hungry than having a drink that was so badly prepared].
    3. The way of eating clearly excludes any of our expectations, compared to us eating at a table. There was no table: it is true that the dish itself is as big as a table, with four legs down set on the ground. They eat with their hands, but it has a style and know how: The European can't, on the first time, roll his hand in a meal of grains and meat. They dip it in the sauce and let it fall in their mouths through a large movement of their hands (M. Briault in *La Prestigieuse vie de Rene Caille*).

Similarly, another excerpt from the textbook *Mamadou et Bineta sont devenus grands,* p. 201 shows a text I remember reading myself in grade school and which is still, unfortunately, being taught in many Malian classrooms:

Title: The walking tour of Samba Diouf
    4. [They gave her a childish look, even though her white and blue striped dress could show her already shaped breasts. Her short sleeves ending right under her shoulders allowed the sight of admirable arms which an antelope would have admired. A panther in its second year wouldn't have showed whiter teeth that this girl while she was chewing kola nuts that her friend had just brought her. And under her dress, a triple line of invisible ornaments made her hips round].

 Reading these lines revealed how at the center of this passage was the undertone of Africans being associated with nature, savagery, animals, hence the use of words like "antelope," "panther," and the so-called display of childish attitudes by Africans regardless of their age (Hegel, 1892; Loomba, 2005; Said, 1978). These types of portrayals have, indeed, been problematized by postcolonial theorists and understood as suggesting some forms of appeal to the teleological and civilizing missions of the white European (Conklin, 1997; Hegel, 1892; Loomba, 2005; Said, 1978).

Additionally, data collected from both retired teacher as well as preservice teacher participants triangulated two main aspects about these textbooks derived from colonial

reports: First it appeared they were key teaching and learning materials in colonial era, and second, postcolonial Malian teachers have continued to resort to them not only because they were the first classroom materials in their hands after independence, but also because they themselves were trained through those textbooks. In other words, many of these textbooks and teaching materials have continued to be used by postcolonial Malian teachers in spite of the country's major educational reforms. As illustrated in the following teachers' comments:

DHM is a retired teacher. When asked about the kinds of textbooks and curriculums he used, he said: "Our first years of teaching were before the changes of curriculums, hence the use of lessons and books that were taught to ourselves during colonial education." DHM also added that: "Even after the curriculums were changed, since adequate teaching materials were not available, we were obliged to use the teaching materials available in schools" [i.e., teaching materials inherited from colonial education classrooms]. In the same line of thought, MAB, Preservice teacher, remembered being taught the *Mamadou et Bineta* textbook when he says: "The textbooks that are used are *Mamadou et Bineta*, *Pages Africaines 1,2,3*; *Geography of Africa*; the *book of calculus J. Auriol*." Likewise, generations of teachers (including mine) trained by those early postcolonial Malian teachers have continued to use many of those textbooks over and over again, even though, as data gathered from participants suggested, some of them might have supplemented them with other materials or added a more critical side to the way they used to teach textbook contents. Along those same lines, questions around French colonial education and the implications of its legacies for postcolonial Malians teachers and schools appeared to have been best problematized in the words of retired

teacher, OES, when he said the following:

> Throughout almost the entire curriculum/program the colonized were denigrated by insulting their customs and traditions, as well as their traditional medicines. Heroes like Elhadj Omar Tall, Mamadou Lamine Drame, Ngounna, Chabboune, Firhoun Ag Alansar [local heroes] are portrayed in the curriculum/program as bloodthirsty criminals, but the bloodthirsty criminals like Archinard, Bonnier [French military officials during the colonial conquest of French Sudan/Mali] were portrayed as heroes.

For all these reasons, I contend in this study that the continuous use of textbooks which contain these sorts of depictions of Africans and Malians in Malian classrooms needs to be addressed and challenged for the betterment of Malian education system. These kinds of teaching materials, I argue, are not only dehumanizing, devaluing and violent, but they also contribute to maintaining Malians, Malian students and teachers in neocolonial ties with France. Those such ties, as long as they exist this way, will remain in the interest of the country previous colonial power.

Furthermore, as we learn from Merle (2004) and Said (1993) the then ongoing laws of "indigenat" [Indigeneity] between 1880-1940, offered circumstantially useful grounds for authorities of the French Third Republic and their colonial project to legally teach contents like those described above in classrooms within colonized territories, while teaching completely different curricula in grade levels within France. This deliberately ambivalent position of French colonial authorities was meant not only to create and reinforce what Said (1993) termed the "structures of feelings" in the colonial power, but also to justify the alleged importance of French Third Republic "civilizing mission." (Conklin, 1997).

To conclude this section, I argue that the findings in the contents of the colonial legislation, reports, diaries, and textbooks discussed above and the fact that these

materials have continued to be used, directly and indirectly, in Malian schools, more than 50 years after independence, speak to the significance of this study. It is equally worth noting that this has continued to be so in spite of many educational and curricular reforms in Mali. Due to the failure of those reforms to address these key issues in a more critical way, many Malian teachers still continue to use textbooks and other teaching materials whose contents reproduce most of the notions described above in the Raffenel and Sanderval's reports. Furthermore, the fact that many retired teachers felt somehow nostalgic about those textbooks revealed the degree to which many of them may have bought into the French colonial ideologies and also the degree to which they might have deeply contributed to perpetuate those ideologies in the subjectivities of many classroom and preservice teachers they trained in their years of service.

Grounding my propositions on all the above as well as on what follows, I argue throughout this project that the French government commissioned descriptions of local West African (thereby Malian) communities offered by Raffenel and Sanderval were meant not only to position those communities as savages, but also to justify their occupation and colonization both in the eyes of French people and History (Conklin, 1997; Said, 1978, 1993). The fact that educational policies and textbook contents were designed and framed along the lines of the provided descriptions appears to be a logical outcome given the overall goal of the colonial project.

Finally, as it appeared throughout the discussion and analysis provided in this chapter, the data sources I have examined have helped me answer my first research question related to the characteristics of colonial education in French Sudan. Due to my interaction with data sources examined in this chapter, I now know that colonial

education was characterized by assimilation; discrimination, elitism, violent classroom and disciplinary practices; unique teacher vs. student roles in colonial classrooms; negative views and silencing of local languages; denigration of local indigenous cultures and history; humiliating textbook contents and teaching materials. The examined data sources have revealed to me that colonial education was a type of education specifically designed in the interest of the French colonizer, and also that colonial schools were not only tools of the colonial project, but they also were sites of colonial ideologies and tensions.
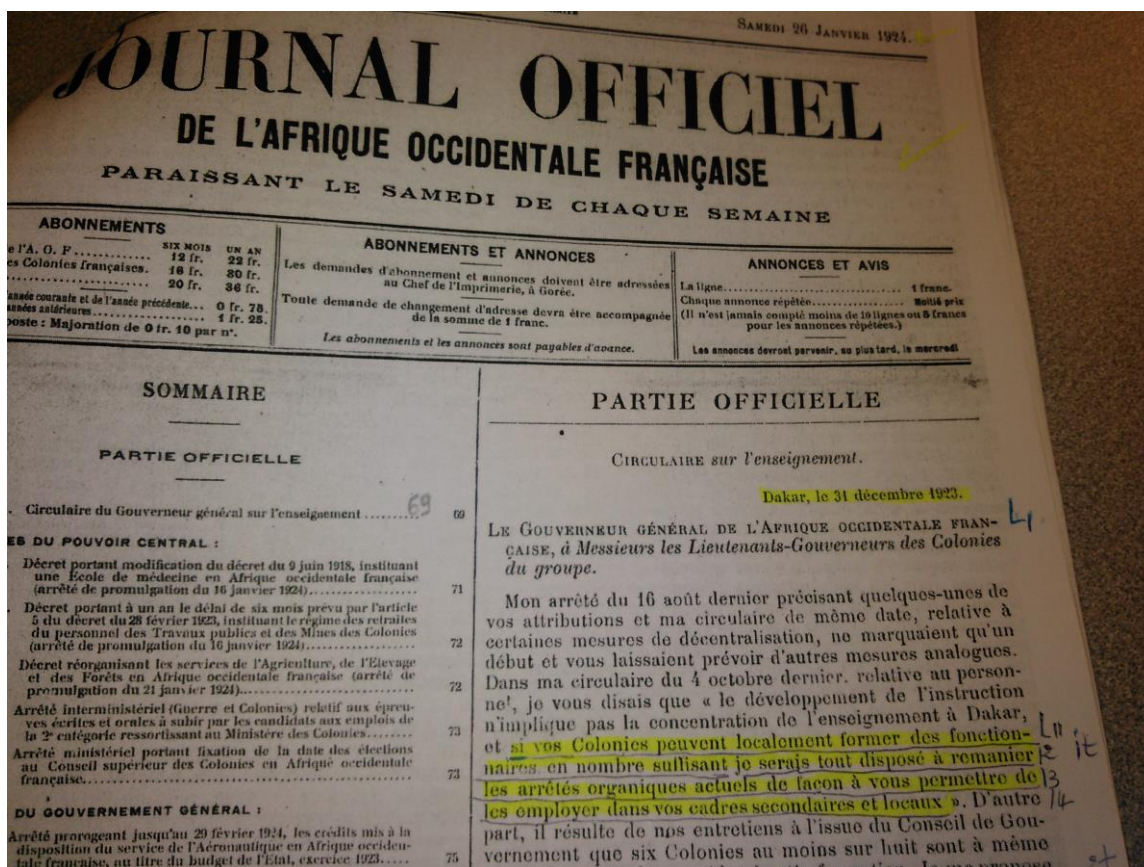
Figure 3: The 1923 Circular on Education

CHAPTER 5

COLONIAL EDUCATION TOOLS AND PRACTICES

REPRODUCED, ALTERED OR CHALLENGED:

POSITIONING MALIAN PRESERVICE

TEACHERS

After understanding what colonial education looked like in French Sudan by

examining its characteristics using historical documents as data sources in my previous

chapter, in this chapter, I examine retired and preservice teachers' questionnaire

responses, Skype focus group interviews, messages and screenshots, email and Facebook

messages, as well as colonial and postcolonial textbooks and curriculums of the two E.N.

Sup departments. My goal here is to identify instances of colonial education

characteristics that might have been reproduced, altered, or challenged in the ways these

data sources discuss them. While looking for those such instances, I also examine ways in

which Malian preservice teachers graduating from the two departments under

investigation are positioned to reproduce, alter or challenge the characteristics of colonial

education identified above. Finally, I answer research questions 2 and 3 which are about

the role(s), if any, played by the two E.N. Sup departments in reproducing, altering or

challenging colonial education characteristics and the impact of those characteristics on

preservice teachers graduating from those departments. I use the major themes generated

through coding process as subtitles throughout the chapter and combine in my discussion

those of the themes that were discussed together by participants.

Le symbolier est un ane, Je suis un ane and La cravache etait toujours la

[The symbol bearer is a donkey, I am a donkey and

The whip was always around]

Here, I discuss instances in which the symbol and corporal punishment are discussed by data sources. I also analyze the reasons why they were used in colonial times, what current legislation in Mali says (or does not say) about them, and the ways in which they have continued to be used up to date in the Malian educational system. I also analyze the use of French as the official language of Mali, its implications for local languages and how those play out in relationship to the use of the symbol and corporal punishment in Malian classrooms. Finally, I analyzed postcolonial Malian in-service and preservice teachers' multiple subjectivities in relationship to the symbol and the whip.

All participants in this study unanimously discussed these two themes of "symbol" and "corporal punishment" [whip]. They described the "symbol" [sometimes with high emotions] as the head of a donkey carved in a piece of wood or metal that would be given to any student caught speaking any native language. According to most participants, all or some of the following sentences were written on it in French: "Le symbolier est un ane" [The symbol bearer is a donkey], "Le symbolier = 1 ane" [The symbol bearer = 1 donkey], "25 F CFA" [25F local currency], "Au village des anes" [In the village of donkeys] and the name of the school. Depending on schools, a fee was also written on it and the bearer was usually required to keep it hanging on her/his neck. Once a student gets it, s/he was supposed to watch out for any other fellow and pass it on to her/him as soon as that fellow speaks a local language. The student, who happened to

spend the night with the symbol, would face serious humiliations: She or he would be hardly whipped, asked to go from classroom to classroom and say "Je suis un ane" [I am a donkey]. Participants also suggested that, depending on the school, there might be a fee attached to having the symbol overnight. As a matter of fact, many participants shared with me pictures of the symbol which showed an amount of 25 F CFA [local currency] on it. This fee, they discussed, oftentimes, appeared to be an embarrassment for families who might not be able to afford it. I personally remember my experience with the symbol in the ways it was described above by all participants. I also personally remember the pain and humiliation attached to getting the symbol, keeping it on my neck, as well as being in fights with other students who were either trying to give it to me or refusing to take it from me.

Interestingly, while the 1923 Circular on Education makes no mention of the symbol, three out of five colonial as well as postcolonial reports, documents, textbooks and curriculums discuss it. Most of these reports, documents, textbooks and curriculums emphasize the central and unique role French language should play not only on school grounds, but also as the only official language of the country. For instance, the current Malian constitution which dates only back to February 27th, 1992 clearly states in its article 25 that: "Le Francais est la langue d'expression officielle." [French is the official language]. This statement from the constitution, in the light of another statement that follows it in the same article, "La loi fixe les modalites de promotion et d'officialisation des langues nationales" [the law is in charge of specifying conditions of promotion and officialization of national/local languages] is intended to suggest that specific measures should be encouraged or taken so that French remains the official language of the

country. Historically, the argument of French as exceptionally well positioned to be the official language for nation building in newly independent colonies like Mali has been used by both the first leaders of new African nations and French officials. This was, in their views, in order to avoid conflicts between various ethnic groups who while speaking different languages have to live together and build one common nation. The use of French language in this capacity ironically positions those countries to remain tied to France, culturally, economically and politically while they still claim to be independent nations. This ironic position appears to be officially sealed in an organization called "Francophonie," which is defined as the community of French speaking countries around the globe. The increasingly obvious implications of a cultural, political and military nature of the "Francophonie" seem to, however, speak to its colonial/neocolonial inclinations.

So, as one can see, Article 25 of the current Malian constitution also implies some forms of regulation of the use, "promotion" and "officialization" of the national/local languages. While these constitutional measures cannot be blamed for the origins of the symbol and corporal punishment in Malian schools, the very fact that they exist in the constitution strongly contributes to the continuous reproduction of these colonial disciplinary measures in postcolonial Malian schools. On the other hand, the existence of those constitutional and regulatory measures in Article 25 added to Mali's membership in the "Francophonie" organization constitute major impediments not only to the promotion and officialization of local/national languages, but also an important barrier to the exploration of educational possibilities within those languages. For all these reasons and in light of analyzed data, in the interest of Malian identity, culture and education system,

I call for the country's departure from the "Francophonie" organization.

Additionally, among the themes that came up during my coding process, the symbol was discussed as *a tool for strengthening the learning of French in colonial schools* by 100% of retired teachers, 100% of preservice teachers and by 100% of Skype focus group participants. Also, all the screenshots taken during Skype focus group interviews documented some aspect attached to the use of the symbol in colonial and postcolonial classrooms in Mali, whether it was in terms of emotions, body language or pictures of the symbol itself. The symbol was also discussed as *a tool of humiliation and denigration of native students in colonial schools <<I am a donkey>>* by 100% of retired teachers, 100% of preservice teachers and 100% of Skype focus group participants, with all the screenshots taken referring to it. The symbol also came up *a sign of colonial hostility toward native languages* discussed by 100% of retired teachers, 91.66% of preservice teachers, 80% of Skype focus group participants and with most screenshots taken referring to it. Finally, coded and reported data also suggested that the symbol was used as *a tool of humiliation and punishment that continue to be used today*. This latest theme was discussed by 100% of retired teachers, 100% of preservice teachers, and 80% of Skype focus group participants, with most screenshots referring to that.

In almost all these instances described above, the Symbol and corporal punishment were discussed together by participants. Retired and preservice teacher participants discussed them both as characteristics of colonial education as well as instances of reproduction and hybridity. Most retired teachers described instances of symbol and corporal punishment as tools of classroom discipline that they first

experienced as students in French colonial schools and that they also used during their

careers as teachers in postcolonial Malian classrooms. Given that those retired teachers

discussed their use of the symbol and corporal punishment during their teaching careers

in postcolonial Mali, it is, therefore, not surprising that all preservice teachers in this

study discussed their painful encounters with those two disciplinary tools as students in

postcolonial Malian classrooms. This may certainly be due to the fact that they were first

used in colonial schools and have continued to be used even in today's classrooms in

Mali, more than 50 years after the country's independence and after many educational

reforms. As retired teacher, OES put it: "In order to better speak only French. Whoever

speaks his mother tongue has the symbol on his neck. He was called 'donkey.' He will

give it to anyone who speaks another language than French. If he comes to class with the

symbol, the teacher punishes him." For retired teacher, SRK: "It was a dictatorship.

Corporal punishment. The teacher risked traumatizing students." To which other retired

teachers added their own recollections. For retired teacher, BAD:

> The teacher was strict. Class worked with the whip. Corporal punishment. The
> teacher had his class under control. He represents God for his students. Discipline
> was maintained. There weren't many students. The teacher had an eye on the
> entire class. Students were punished under teacher's surveillance.

For retired teacher, RAM: "In case of bad behavior, the problem was solved in

class by corporal punishment." and for retired teacher, HWT: "The harshness (corporal

punishment, the symbol, deadly whipping) the personality of the child was not

respected." To which retired teacher, OTG concluded: "We were condemned by the

mockery of our classmates and condemned to wear the symbol until you get rid of it by

passing it on to another student who speaks his mother tongue."

Retired teacher DHM explained how the symbol was given to a student and what

happens next when he says: "In order to compel students to make efforts to learn French. To that end a 'symbol' was used; starting in elementary school, it was given to any student found speaking his mother tongue in the school yard." and "The student caught is punished when s/he comes to school in possession of the 'symbol.'"

Preservice teacher ALT, also remembered his experiences with both the symbol and corporal punishment when he said,

> Very hard with a rigorous method. I didn't like the whip and the symbol. We were made to believe that we didn't have any culture, any moral values, as if our traditions had no meaning. We were told that our ancestors were French.

The recollection of these thoughts about the symbol and corporal punishment triggered a strong stance of resistance to such practices from PT, ALT. The thoughts also offered him an opportunity to elaborate more on the negative aspects of those practices as he sees them:

> Absolutely, they [students] must express themselves in the language of their choice. The imposition of the French language aimed at [inaudible] assimilation, dehumanization, and self-rejection of children. Language is so important that he who wants to prevent you from progressing prevents you from using your language. A French philosopher, Rousseau, loudly said, "A defeated people can still hope to win as long as they have not lost their language."

Also preservice teacher MAB remembered how harsh both the symbol and corporal punishment were, but said he might still use them in his future classrooms. He suggests that, because of the high importance of French proficiency for students' future, despite the harshness of the symbol and corporal punishment, their use might still be in the interest of postcolonial Malian students:

> I think they help students improve, especially because, once school day is over, many of them [students] don't have any other opportunity to speak French until the following day when they come back to school. If they don't practice spoken French, they will fail their exams and won't be ready for their professional life [##...unintelligible].

With my own statements in italics, here is preservice teacher, MAB, in his own words when responding to a question about the school he attended and his experiences with the symbol and corporal punishment:

> The elementary school of *A**. It was a very good school. Teachers attended regularly and they were courageous. Most of them were from the geographic region of *G**. French and Songhoy languages were the most spoken languages in the area, but only French was authorized in school, and you were given the symbol with severe punishments [sanctions] if you were found to be speaking any other language than French. [...] Yes, when I was in elementary school, the symbol was mandatory. It was a flat piece of wood that everyone avoided keeping. That helped us better speak the French language, which we were studying in class. Yes, it is possible that I use it [*symbol*] in my future classes.
>
> *I asked why and PT, MAB responded*:
>
> Well, I find sometimes that it [*symbol*] helps students improve, especially because, once school day is over, many of them don't have any other opportunity to speak French until the following day when they come back to school. If they don't practice spoken French, they will fail their exams and won't be ready for their professional life [##...unintelligible]. Also I know many teachers who use it [*symbol*] as well as the whip even today, but they hide them when the inspector is visiting their schools.

Retired teachers, SRK and OTG agreed with preservice teacher, MAB, both on the harsh and the potential usefulness of corporal punishment and the symbol when they said: SRK: "In order for students to have a good training and so that they become fluent. All this is colonization." OTG: "Shocking [symbol and corporal punishment] but acceptable in order to better understand French language which still remains the medium of instruction and work."

In the end of his quote above, preservice teacher, MAB, alluded to a point several other preservice teachers discussed, which is that many postcolonial Malian teachers use in their current classrooms both the symbol and corporal punishment, even though the latter is banned by current legislation in Mali. That legislation, however does not say

anything about the symbol, nor does it mention any form of sanction that might be taken against teachers who continue to use corporal punishment. Consequently, as preservice teachers discussed, many postcolonial Malian teachers still continue to use both in their classrooms today, but may hide or stop using them once the school superintendent and his/her advisors are visiting their schools. On this aspect, preservice teacher, ALT too mentioned:

> Indeed, we not only heard about it, but we lived it when we were students in schools; but curiously any time the inspector was visiting, the whip would disappear and there was no harsh or disrespectful words from teachers. When the inspectors [superintendents] or their advisers were visiting, you don't feel the pressure, the punishments when officials were around. This means that it [corporal punishment] was banned, but teachers continued to use it.

These lines and excerpts from retired and preservice teacher participants, Skype focus group and screenshots are testaments to the very complex and blurry ways in which colonial legacies like the symbol and corporal punishment could be both analyzed or perceived by some as fundamentally harmful while at the same time seen by others as opportunities to increase educational and real life opportunities for Malian students. This dual positionality of those legacies added to Malian teachers' apparent conservationism may offer some explanations as to why they continue to be reproduced in this postcolonial era (Loomba, 2005; Moumouni, 1964; Willinski, 1998). Consequently, this continuous reproduction of those legacies creates an environment which positions many preservice teachers to keep reproducing them in their future classrooms as did the currently retired teachers who trained them.

Along with their discussion of the symbol and corporal punishment together, participants also indicated the whip being used in the classroom as *a tool for maintaining discipline,* which is one of the themes I identified above. The whip was discussed as such

by 100% of retired teachers, 100% of preservice teachers, 100% of Skype focus group

participants and finally by 80% of screenshots taken during Skype interviews. Retired

teacher, DHM remembered:

> A designated student leader was in charge of documenting the violations of school
> policies and of writing down the names of culprits and, then to give those to the
> teacher who, based on the case, decides which sanctions to apply, whip, pillory or
> else. A class service is established daily in order to take care of cleaning the
> classroom, taking care of the board and to supply class water in the drinking pot.
> [canary].

> Another retired teacher, OES explained:

> In the classroom, discipline was strict. All students fold their arms and look
> at/listen to the teacher. Everyone must listen. School policies posted on the class
> wall, were very rigorous. There was absolute silence unless if it was to answer a
> question from the teacher. The latter [teacher] has his whip which he uses
> sometimes to impose discipline.

> Likewise, preservice teacher, MAB also seemed to be more supportive of the use

of corporal punishment to discipline students when he made the case that, "Yes, I will use

it when corporal punishment allows the student to be more interested in his studies, but

the teacher should not overuse it, that is not injuring the student." Preservice teacher,

DIM moves in a similar direction when he mentioned the following: "It's good with

moderation. No. The advantage is that children put more efforts in studies when they

know that corporal punishment may be used."

To conclude, in this section, I have examined ways in which various themes

related to the use of the symbol and corporal punishment were discussed throughout my

data sources. I have also discussed ways in which they may be perceived both as

fundamentally harmful legacies by some as well as opportunities for mass education and

better training of students by others. I have linked the discussion to the overall blurriness

and ambivalence of the colonial versus postcolonial terrains in order to explain why some

of those legacies might still be around.

The older textbooks have been used for a long time. We the older generation

really appreciate them because they matched the curriculum.

Retired teacher, MWT

So far, in earlier sections, I described the textbooks, reports, and legislation used in the French colonial era, highlighting some of their racist undertones, their elitism, their substandard contents, and their problematic goals (civilizing mission). I also described how they came to exist due to French government commissioned reports, travel writings and diaries and what they were meant to achieve which is the portrayal of the Africans [French Sudanese in this case] as savages, uncivilized and subhuman to justify colonial occupation. I now analyze teachers' narratives in order to better understand the characteristics of French colonial education and to assess its legacies today. Furthermore, I have discussed in this section the limitations of postcolonial education reforms in Mali with regard to school legislation, curriculum and textbook contents across the entire education system with a more specific look at the two teacher training departments of E.N. Sup under investigation. To conclude, I discuss the implications of those limitations to preservice teachers graduating from those two departments.

First, as Coulibaly (2003) discussed, the French colonial project introduced in the Malian schools a "tradition of elitism and differentiation [in order to] simultaneously restrict access to education and to divert a sizable portion of the student population towards vocational education and away from the liberal education trend" (p. 124). While there has been a considerable improvement with regard to the restriction of "access to education" by successive governments, there have continued to be serious challenges to

"liberal education" and critical thinking in the Malian educational system with many of those rooted in the French colonial education.

Earlier attempts to reform curriculum contents, teaching practices, classroom textbooks, legislation and disciplinary procedures in schools nationwide and in teacher training programs (including E.N.Sup. departments of Philosophy Psycho-Pedagogy and of History and Geography) came up short of addressing those colonial legacies. In many cases, as noted by Coulibaly (2003), those earlier reforms were motivated more by a political orientation than a real intent to improve the education system. As a matter of fact, teachers training departments of ENSup Philosophy and Psycho-Pedagogy and History and Geography have been seen and portrayed by successive Malian governments as highly contentious campuses, therefore as existential threats to them. On many occasions, teachers who were known to be knowledgeable of educational reform issues have been excluded due to their so-called opposition to the regime. Others were excluded because they were found to be too critical. For those reasons, as we learn from Coulibaly (2003) most earlier reform attempts were done in ways that would look at the curriculums, textbooks, and legislations in order to remove from them parts that may allow a window for critical classroom discussions of governmental actions.

Consequently, to date, more than half a century after Mali's independence from colonial rule, even though successive Malian governments can be credited for having built many more schools and hired many more teachers throughout the country, Eurocentric curriculums, out-of-date legislation, humiliating disciplinary practices and textbook contents and insufficient attention to students' development of critical thinking skills continue, in many ways, to frame the subjectivities of teacher trainees graduating

from the E.N. Sup departments of Philosophy and Psycho-Pedagogy and of History and Geography.

My discussion in this section is therefore guided by three themes. First, I discuss the theme of *hybrid teaching materials in both colonial and postcolonial classrooms* discussed 40 times by postcolonial textbooks and curriculums, 90% of retired teachers, 87% of preservice teachers and 93% of focus group participants. Next, I analyze the theme of *improving colonial lessons/comparing and provoking critical thinking in the departments of PPP and HG* discussed 40 times by postcolonial textbooks and curriculums, 47% of retired teachers, 51% of preservice teachers, 60% of focus group participants and 50% of screenshots and other visuals taken. Finally, the theme of *mimicry in the two E.N. Sup departments' teachers' behavior* is also examined in this section. This last theme was discussed 40 times by postcolonial textbooks and curriculums, 60% of preservice teachers, 55% of focus group participants, and 67% of screenshots and other visuals taken during Skype interviews. As reminded by Loomba (2005) and Willinski (1998) in their characterizations of the blurriness and muddiness of colonial vs. postcolonial ontologies, it appears that these three themes, even though discussed by all data sources, were nevertheless touched upon in more complex ways that seemed to depict, at the same time, instances of reproduction (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977), hybridity (Bhabha, 1994; Singh, 2009), and resistance (Cesaire, 1955; Fanon 1962, 1982). The blurriness resulting in the complexity of delineating boundaries between the instances discussed in this section reinforces the intertwined aspects of the categories and themes as they were generated throughout data. My discussion of the three themes identified above, therefore, takes into consideration this blurriness and

complexity.

For instance, discussions with retired teachers have helped identify textbooks like *La famille Diavara*, *Mamadou et Bineta* series, *Les Aventures de Massa Kokari* whose contents were mostly designed (as we discussed earlier) based on the French government commissioned Raffenel and Sanderval reports. Retired teachers' responses and content analysis of the 2 E.N. Sup department current curriculums have also helped identify the fact that out of the 6,240 hours required to complete the 4 years of E.N. Sup Philosophy Psycho-Pedagogy, only about 700 hours relate to Malian and or African thought. By the same token it was revealed that in the Department of History and Geography out of a total of 4,800 hours required to complete its 4-year training, about 4,000 hours relate to Malian and or African realities. Here, one can see that while there has been an important degree of positive changes and adjustments in the department of History and Geography, there still remains a lot more to be done in the Philosophy Psycho-Pedagogy department.

Interestingly, many of the recollections of retired teachers also came up in preservice teachers' accounts of their schooling experiences at elementary, junior high, secondary and also during their training as teachers at the E.N. Sup Philosophy Psycho-Pedagogy, and History and Geography departments. This suggests that many retired Malian teachers, during their entire teaching careers, continued to teach the same colonial textbooks that they inherited from their French colonial teachers and classrooms despite the multiple postcolonial education reforms, seminars and workshops in Mali. In this sense, those retired teachers were reproducing the same colonial teaching tools and practices in their postcolonial classrooms. The retired teachers' continued use of those materials at all levels of the Malian education system (elementary, secondary and higher

education) goes hand in hand with the current preservice teachers' experiences with such materials and tools. I therefore argue that this positions preservice teachers to be likely to, on their turn, continue to reproduce those colonial materials and tools. According to preservice teacher, ALT: "They were old books from French editions, interesting programs, textbooks written mostly by French. For example, *Mamadou et Bineta*, the entire series; and also history and geography books and lessons that magnified colonization. In Philosophy, concepts mostly from Hegel and in [pause] that put Europe as the center of the world and its burden of civilizing mission of the rest of the world."

Another preservice teacher, DIM, described the nature and contents of the "outdated" textbooks he came across during his years of schooling when he said: "Outdated, because many of them were books used since colonial time containing descriptions far away from the reality." This statement from preservice teacher, DIM, informs us about how colonial time textbooks whose contents were designed from French government commissioned reports, were not only used in classrooms during colonial times, but also have continued to be used in classrooms at all levels (1st grade - 16) long after Mali's independence from French colonization. Undoubtedly, their continued use influence the country's preservice teachers' subjectivities by the time they get ready to start teaching their own classrooms. As I discussed earlier, research (De Lauretis, 1986; Klein, 1998; Kondo, 1990; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Thornton, 2006; Weedon, 1997) suggests that the environment in which the individual (in this case Malian preservice teachers) gets trained influences the subjectivity of that trainee. In other words, because retired Malian teachers or their students trained current preservice teachers in an environment where colonial tools (textbooks and other teaching materials) and practices

(symbol and corporal punishment) were used extensively, preservice teachers remain likely to reproduce those same tools and practices in their future classrooms

Hybridity and mimicry present and future

Under this subheading, I examine ways in which the themes I mentioned and discussed in the previous heading which are 1) *hybrid teaching materials in both colonial and postcolonial classrooms*, 2) *improving colonial lessons/comparing and provoking critical thinking in the departments of PPP and HG* and 3) *mimicry in the two E.N. Sup departments' teachers' behavior* demonstrate hybridity and mimicry with regard to the two departments under investigation. I analyze those instances with regard to the quality of teaching materials and training provided to preservice teachers. Finally, I discuss the potential implications that those instances of hybridity and mimicry might have for Malian preservice teachers in their future classrooms.

Postcolonial theorists (Bhabha, 1994; Fanon, 1961, 1967; Singh, 2009) have defined hybridity using the concepts of combination and "third space," which presuppose the encounter between two initially distinct entities. Singh (2009) identifies five subcategories of "hybridities," ranging from racial, linguistic, literary, cultural to religious hybridities. Among these subcategories, "cultural hybridity" seems to be the one that relates to public school spaces at a wider level (Bhabha, 1994; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Singh, 2009). This may be due to the fact that schools and school systems are places that remain highly characterized by a display of cultures, with "culture" being defined here in its broader meaning. Given that this study relates to preservice teacher subjectivities and the school system in Mali, the subcategory of "cultural hybridity" is (among the five listed above) the one of interest in this study.

Additionally, in the eyes of Fanon (1961, 1967), Bhabha (1994) and Singh (2009) the occurrence of hybrid or third spaces always seems to go hand in hand with mimicry, which they see as a component of hybridity. Mimicry is the imitation of the language, the dressing codes, the politics and the cultural attitudes of the colonizers by the colonized. While it has often been seen as a shameful and confusing behavior in many communities (Dangaremba, 2004; Fanon, 1961, 1967, 1982), mimicry can also be attributed to a symbolic or strategic expression of power (Bhabha, 1994; Coulibaly, 2003). In the case of Mali, for example, an earlier study uncovered instances whereby students overtly followed French scripts as a means of gaining maximum freedom for themselves outside the French gaze (Coulibaly, 2003).

However, in the context of this study I concur with Singh (2009) when he says:

Under colonialism and in the context of immigration, mimicry is seen as an opportunistic pattern of behavior: One copies the person in power, because one hopes to have access to that same power oneself. Presumably, while copying the master, one has to intentionally suppress one's own cultural identity, though in some cases immigrants and colonial subjects are left so confused by their cultural encounter with a dominant foreign culture that there may not be a clear preexisting identity to suppress. (p. 1)

Along the lines defined here by Singh, I would add that colonial schools have also been used as both tools and spaces for hybridity and mimicry. This study has uncovered some similar instances among the characteristics of colonial schooling in French Sudan as well as in the two teacher training departments of postcolonial Mali under investigation: E.N. Sup Departments of Philosophy Psycho-Pedagogy and History and Geography. In light of those instances, I argue, contrary to Coulibaly (2003), that the type of mimicry Malians teachers engaged in seemed to be justified by their belief in the superiority of French values and behavior. Malians teachers who engaged in mimicry

wanted to be like the French and thereby have the benefits associated with such a status. I

contend this is not only a testament to the ways in which colonial education was

destructive of cultural identities of the colonized people of French Sudan, but also an

indication of the current postcolonial challenges faced by the entire Malian education

system and more specifically the two E.N. Sup departments under investigation.

Content analysis of data collected from retired Malian teachers revealed some

major instances of hybrid practices during their years of classroom teaching. Those

instances consist of a combined use of teaching practices and textbooks inherited from

their own colonial teachers and some items they received from post-independence

educational reforms. Retired teacher, MWT, discussed that: "The older textbooks have

been used for a long time. We, the older generation, really appreciate them because they

matched the curriculum."

Along those same lines, retired teacher, OES, added: "We continued to teach the

same colonial lessons until the 1962 Education Reform"; to which retired teacher, OTG,

also added: "No, because teaching philosophy has to do with critical thinking,

independent thought, open mindedness. But, some elementary school teachers happen to

use some methods and textbooks which date back to colonial times, due to their

efficiency in learning the French language." Instances discussed here by all these retired

teachers, MWT, OES, OTG and many other participants, pointed to retired Malian

teachers engaging in hybrid practices during their years of teaching. Given that some of

them have taught until recently, it may be logical to deduce that they have kept

reproducing those practices until recently.

Likewise, data collected from preservice teachers and their pairs in the Skype

focus group indicated such occurrence. Preservice teacher, DT, identified the main areas where she saw hybridity and mimicry taking place during her years at E.N. Sup when she said: "During classes, some professors do not hide their pride of being trained in Europe. France is always cited as the example. Foreign authors are frequently quoted." Preservice teacher, HS, on her turn, noticed many such instances in the ways her teachers behaved: "Some professors display the behavior of Europeans."

As Singh (2009) mentioned, some colonized communities engage in mimicry and hybridity with the belief that by doing so they will receive some of the privileges or power associated with the dominant group. Indeed, in many colonized contexts, teachers that have attended colonial schools and mastered the colonial language and culture (clothing and other manners) were perceived as a class of elites with many more privileges than the rest of the communities. This has certainly been the case in Soudan Francais, French West Africa and almost everywhere French colonization was encountered (Cesaire, 1955; Fanon, 1952, 1961, 1967, 1982). In that sense, teachers in French West Africa, have in many ways engaged in hybrid practices and mimicry of French cultural patterns. As we discussed above, they have displayed many of those practices in their postindependence classrooms and by virtue of having trained the current generation of teachers and preservice teachers, many of the preservice teachers who took part to this study have indicated their likelihood of carrying on some of those practices.

For example, when asked about their likelihood of displaying mimicry and hybrid practices in their future classrooms, preservice teacher, SK, responded: "I will stick to the general rule, but I will put more emphasis on our education, say our culture." When SK was asked how he will do so, he added: "I will use my own strategies, but will also

incorporate positive aspects of the previous system." In addition to data collected and discussed above, my own personal experiences a 1st grade -16 student and a teacher in the Malian education system added to conversations I had with former colleagues and extended family members who currently have their children in Malian classrooms, guided how I gathered many accounts of current teachers mixing other teaching materials with textbooks from colonial schools like *Mamadou et Bineta* series, les *Aventures de Massa Kokari*, *La Famille Diavara* et *Pages Africaines*, *Geographie de l'Afrique*, and *La Raison dans l'Histoire*, even though some of these textbooks might no longer be parts of official curriculums and textbooks. It is equally interesting to note that those official curriculums and textbooks say almost nothing about some of these textbooks either. So, in a sense, the choice of which textbooks or curriculum materials to use may have been left to postcolonial Malian teachers, who, in most cases, as data revealed have so far tended to be conservative in their willingness to keep "older textbooks" [to quote retired teacher, MWT] at the center of their curriculums and teaching materials.

Likewise, responses from preservice teachers in the focus group confirmed these recollections and provided information about the ways in which they encountered them. They too listed names of textbooks like *Mamadou et Bineta* series, *Pages Africaines*, *La Famille Diavara, La Raison dans l'Histoire* and *Geographie de l'Afrique*, which they respectively came across from elementary school to the ENSup departments of Philosophy, Psycho-Pedagogy and History & Geography. This suggests that current teachers/professors in the two E.N. Sup departments under investigation continue to use textbooks, documents and curriculum contents which date back to French colonial times. The recollections also discussed how some of those colonial time materials might have

been used in addition to other postcolonial teaching materials. Most data sources have also indicated that this mixture of colonial and postcolonial teaching materials [thereby hybrid materials] in the two E.N. Sup departments under investigation might have been done either critically or uncritically. In any case, whether it has been done critically or uncritically, the mixtures of both colonial and postcolonial teaching materials, in addition to their reproductive nature, also represent characteristics of both hybridity and mimicry. These characteristics in the eyes of many preservice teachers are likely to continue to occur. Also, while many preservice teachers identify major problems with some colonial teaching materials which have been used, their reactions, however, seem to suggest a mere replacement of some of the teaching items which appear problematic for them. None of them suggests a critical departure from those materials.

For instance, preservice teacher MAB offers: "The textbooks that have been used are Mamadou et Bineta, Page Africaines 1, 2, 3, 4, Geographie de l'Afrique, the book of calculus J. Auriol." For preservice teacher, ALT, "The Philosophy program uses essentially a European literature, namely Greek and French. There are many things like Hegel and a part of Marxism that need to be removed and replaced by Malian and African thoughts before going elsewhere." Preservice teacher, KIT on his side believes: "There are History and Philosophy books that I won't teach because they are bad. There are also others like Mamadou et Bineta and Pages Africaines of which I will improve the content and use." Additionally, moving along similar lines, for preservice teacher, HAM:

> Yes, I think that the contents of lessons must not be frozen. In our classes I will adjust my lessons based on the levels and needs of students. The program/curriculum wastes a lot of time on Greek philosophy, German Philosophy, Hegel, Marx, etc. I will be able to reduce that time and teach more and teach more about local Malian or Bantu thought, African thought in general.

Finally, to a question about how similar his lessons in his future classrooms will be compared to the ones in his E.N. Sup department, preservice teacher, KIT answers:

> Not necessarily for me, my lessons won't be necessarily similar because we have IFMs, [elementary and junior high school teacher training programs in Mali] which are teacher training schools, the same way as ENSup trains teachers. As you know mostly in LMP [School legislation and professional ethics], students of IF-Hegire [school name] have a low proficiency in French. I try to match the content of my lessons to their proficiency levels. I don't directly teach the official program. I even go out of my way and use sometimes the *Mamadou et Bineta syllabaire* in order to start them with the basics and as soon as everyone is back to the same level I start teaching the official program, then I continue.

Answering the same question, preservice teacher, DIM, responded: "I will use my own strategies, but at the same time, take positive aspects of the older/previous system."

The quotes above discuss how Malian preservice teachers, while remaining aware of the colonial materials that continue to shape their current training environment [the two E.N. Sup departments under investigation] also acknowledge possessing some form of agency in their hands in order to take some corrective actions in their future classrooms (De Lauretis, 1986; Foucault, 1982; Kondo, 1990; Loomba, 2005; Weedon, 1997; Willinski, 1998). I argue that this awareness and acknowledgment reflect both instances of reproduction (through the continued use of colonial materials in the two departments) and resistance (through the preservice teachers' decision to change or alter those materials wholly or partly). In the next section, I analyze ways in which teachers use their awareness of the colonial materials around them and their acknowledgement of their power (Foucault, 1982) to engage in specific instances of resistance.

Rejecting and mixing as instances of resistance in

colonial and postcolonial classrooms

Postcolonial theorists (Ashcroft, 1989; 1995; Cesaire, 1955; Fanon, 1952, 1964; Lomba, 2005; Willinsky, 1998; Young, 2003) have defined resistance in terms of instances of questioning, protesting, refusing and rejecting forms of colonial occupation and domination as well as anything related to such forms. Those instances represented in many ways forms of talking back to the colonial empire.

In the multiple contexts of French colonization and more specifically in Sudan Francais, local resistance was displayed under many formats including the forms listed above. Resistance, indeed, took place through wars carried out by local chiefs and kings like Samory Toure, ElHadj Omar Tall, Chabboune, and Firhoun Ag Alinsar. It also occurred through novels (Achebe,1958; Wa Thiongo,1981, 1987). In addition to those, this study aims at uncovering possible instances of resistance in schools during colonial time, but more specifically during postcolonial times in Mali. The study is also interested in unpacking the implications of those possible instances of resistance for the subjectivities of Malian preservice teachers graduating from the two E.N. Sup departments under investigation.

Given the depth of colonial violence and how schools were used as tools of perpetuation of that violence and of subjugation of the colonized communities (Ashcroft, 1989, 1995; Cesaire, 1955; Fanon, 1952, 1964; Kebede, 2001; Lomba, 2005; Willinsky, 1998; Young, 2003), different postcolonial theorists have discussed various definitions of resistance in the colonial/postcolonial contexts. Those theorists also suggested multiple (both covert and overt) ways of understanding resistance enacted by the colonized

communities. For theorists like Cesaire (1955) and Fanon (1952, 1961, 1967, 1982),

because of the specific damages of colonization, any act of useful resistance by the

colonized should contain some form of violence. For Fanon (1961, 1967, 1982)

resistance by violence is a cleansing force which not only allows a rebirth of the

colonized, but also contains therapy: "Violence alone, violence committed by the people,

violence organized and educated by its leaders, makes it possible for the masses to

understand social truths and gives the key to them." (p. 147). In the words of Jean Paul

Sartre (1982) summarizing Fanon on violence: " Violence is neither sound and fury, nor

the resurrection of savage instincts, nor even the effect of resentment: it is man recreating

himself."(p. 21). In awareness of all these implications, I have found it necessary to

assess how much resistance has been taking place in postcolonial Malian schools and

most importantly the role, if any, that current preservice teachers graduating from E.N.

Sup departments of Philosophy Psycho-Pedagogy, and History and Geography might

likely play in their future classrooms.

That said, it is well known that Mali (previously called French Sudan) did not get

its independence through Fanon's suggested model for ending colonial ties, which ideally

would be a violent rupture. The country did not engage in a war against France, its

colonial power, for independence. Some critics even argue that Mali, as well as all other

French West African countries, has never been completely independent from France. On

the contrary, the so called independence era has established new types of relationship,

which some have described as neocolonial and others a second form of French hegemony

(Fanon, 1961, 1967; Loomba, 2005). Whether the relationship has been of a neocolonial

or hegemonic nature, many observers have argued that recent security developments

inside Mali have not only increased those ties, but also made them more obvious.

This study looks at some educational aspects of that relationship between France and Mali. In order to do so, I started by analyzing colonial education textbooks, curricula, diaries, and legislations as well as retired teachers' recollections in order to understand what French colonial education in Soudan Francais looked like. Then, I looked at preservice teachers who recently graduated from the two E.N. Sup departments of Philosophy and Psycho-Pedagogy and History and Geography as well teaching materials, curriculums and legislations from these two departments.

In the process of doing so, the analysis of the data collected revealed an important number of instances that displayed resistance. Throughout the collected data, instances of resistance have been discussed in terms of *resistance to colonial schooling* (18 times by the 1923 circular and by 70% of retired teachers) and *resistance in colonial classrooms* (15 times by colonial and postcolonial reports, textbooks and curriculums, 47% of retired teachers, 43% of preservice teachers, 45% of focus group participants and 40% of screenshots and other visuals). Additionally, *resistance in postcolonial classrooms* was discussed 40 times by postcolonial textbooks and curriculums, 57% of retired teachers, 60% of preservice teachers, 55% of focus group participants and 55% of screenshots and other visuals. Even though attending colonial school was made mandatory in many places (Moumouni, 1964; 1923 Circular on Education), data sources triangulated by retired teachers in this study discussed multiple instances of families' resistance to the very fact of attending colonial schools. For example, retired teacher, DHM, mentioned: "At that time parents opposed school because they were suspicious of it." Retired teacher, MWT, also discussed his parents' attitude toward colonial schooling when he said: "My parents

never attended school. They were hostile to schooling. They were good Muslims and at that time school was considered to be the school of Christians." Retired teacher, OES, similarly stated: "My parents did not attend school. They didn't like it. Also, there were only two schools in the entire county of T*[city name]: The regional school and the medersa. They attended koranic school." As one can see, the parents of these participants strongly resisted colonial schools, even though the reasons for doing so were different from one family to another.

Additionally, among instances of resistance to colonial schooling, many other participants discussed that their parents were forced to attend colonial schools. Retired teacher, SRK mentioned: "Yes, it [schooling] was mandatory in colonial times. Parents were compelled to send their children to schools, mostly girls." Lines 34 through 41 of the 1923 circular on education, which I quoted earlier, emphasize how schooling must not only be mandatory, but above all, must specifically target the "children of local chiefs and leaders." I argue that this may indicate another form of resistance, since those parents did not choose to attend, but were rather forced to. They did not have any other option in the face of colonial power. The mandatory aspect of colonial schooling for some families has been discussed in postcolonial literature by many educational historians both as a form of strategy of the colonial project (Achebe, 1958; Moumouni, 1964; Qoyawayma, 1964) and as a form of governmentality (Foucault, 1980, 1982, 1995). As a form of strategy of the colonial project, mandatory schooling was meant to destroy the cultures of the colonized, to "civilize" them, and therefore to shape and use them and their lands in ways that benefit the colonial project (Achebe, 1958; Loomba, 2005; Moumouni, 1964; Nyerere, 1967; Quijano, 2007; Qoyawayma, 1964; Willinsky, 1998). As a form of

governmentality, forced colonial schooling aimed at putting in place in the colonized

minds and places conditions ripe for a colonial governance in the interest of the

colonizing power (Foucault, 1980, 1982, 1995). Under both forms, instances of resistance

have been accounted for.

Similarly, when asked if he had ever used in his classrooms a lesson or textbook

taught to him in colonial schools, retired teacher, OTG, responded: "No, in my teaching

years, I am rather critical of the characteristics of colonial education by showing its

negative aspects. However, on the methodological side, this practice of combining occurs

fairly regularly, mostly in elementary schools despite the insistence of authorities on the

use of new methods. This happens in the teaching of Reading and Writing." So here one

can see that while retired teacher, OTG, affirms his resistance to colonial educational

practices, he also recognizes that many teachers still continue to use them in Mali.

Retired teacher, OES, also makes a similar statement when he says:

> I did not like History lessons because they only taught lies about the colonized.
> Worse, this colonized by diploma who happened to be trained and who, instead of
> researching the wrongs of colonial schools, teaches them. He has the same vision
> as his white master. Fortunately, Cheick Anta Diop, this famous Senegalese man
> demonstrated the truth in his well-known book *Nation Negre et Culture*.

In this sequence, one can see how retired teacher, OES, not only discusses an

instance of resistance in both colonial and postcolonial schools, but also instances of

reproduction indexing ways in which many postcolonial Malian teachers engage in the

reproduction of colonial curriculums and practices.

Likewise, analyzing data collected from preservice teachers, through

questionnaires and Skype interviews, also revealed some instances of resistance.

Preservice teachers did this while looking back at their departments of Philosophy and

Psycho-Pedagogy, and History and Geography. In 117 instances preservice teachers

discussed what they thought about their two departments under investigation, what they

liked (58.33%) and what they did not like (41.66%), what they would change, what they

would keep and what that might mean for their own future classrooms. Preservice

teacher, MAB explains: "Yes, we hope to strengthen a schooling based on our own

values, that is, the strengths and weaknesses of our country, our continent, etc. After that

we will learn about others." Preservice teacher, DIM added: "Yes, there are many things

that I will change; for example, studying more the history and geography, customs,

values and realities of our country and our local villages."

For preservice teacher, HAM, contents of lessons and teaching materials must be

adjusted and in some cases reduced. He says he intends to do that and sees such a move

as an opportunity to resist and alter some useless materials and replace them by new

Malian or African related contents:

> Yes. I think that the contents of lessons must not be frozen. In our classes I will
> adjust my lessons based on the levels and needs of students. The
> program/curriculum wastes a lot of time on ancient Greek Philosophy, German
> Philosophy, Hegel, Marx, etc. I will be able to reduce that time and teach more
> about local Malian or Bantu thought, or African thought in general.

> Preservice teacher, SK sees changes in his future classrooms as purely logical. For

him, it is possible to mix old and new teaching materials and still move ahead because he

sees something fundamentally wrong with the "old program":

> No, there won't be much difference in our ways of teaching; I will speak about
> modern authors, a little change from the old program/curriculum because we must
> change some things a little bit or depart from old programs/curriculums. Why
> not? We cannot continue to teach this old program.

> Finally, preservice teacher, ALT, strongly rejects how things have been in his

high school and E.N. Sup department classrooms. He left no doubt as to what his future

classes will look like when he said:

> Well, it is not the same thing for me, it is a little bit different because in my case, I have students who have been learning French since kindergarten, they are better in French; in my case students have, during their entire schooling, gone through French as medium of teaching and learning. To be more technical, I can't do things like in the past. My vision is very different from the way our high school teachers and E.N. Sup professors saw things. Since I was in high school and during my years at E.N. Sup, my vision has been different from theirs. At E.N. Sup, for instance, I was taught that Philosophy was born in Greece, whereas Philosophy was actually born with man, contrary to what I was made to believe, which was that it was born in Greece. Many other complex things they mentioned are no longer true today. We are proud of our culture, and we don't have anything to hide about it. We are not renegades, people who have an inferiority complex about their culture. We are not people who have an inferiority complex, people who were made to believe that their culture was bad or wrong; it's really a new approach, a new way of doing.

Preservice teacher ALT, as one can see throughout all his quotes in this study including the one above, is one of the most independent participants in this study. He has offered a complex understanding of the issues he discussed and has also indicated on many occasions his willingness to resist and change many things in his future high school classes. He also advocated for resistance and change within his E.N. Sup department of Philosophy and Psycho-Pedagogy and gave specific examples of things he would change or confront if he were in a position to do so. In many ways he and other preservice teacher participants constitute lights of hope in postcolonial Malian education system.

Additionally, an important part of instances of resistance discussed by preservice teachers as well as retired teachers seemed to relate to the issue of native language with regard to pride and its usefulness. This point was discussed by 49% of retired teachers, 57% of preservice teachers and 60% of focus group participants. Even though some wanted to be cautious about the degree to which local languages will be used in their classrooms, many preservice teachers appeared committed to accepting all local

languages as media of communication between students and they have no major problem with them being used. For instance, preservice teacher, LT contends: "I think we should work in a way that allows students to communicate in the classroom language, French. The use of mother tongue is good because it allows a quicker understanding of the lessons." Preservice teacher, HS, similarly argued: "Language is an important aspect of culture. So, it should not only be accepted in school yard, but it should also most importantly be incorporated in school curriculum."

On this note of pride and usefulness of native/local languages, preservice teacher, ALT, whom I quoted earlier was very adamant in stating the necessity of letting students "express themselves in the language of their choice." He even quoted Rousseau who in ALT's terms mentioned that a defeated people can still hope to win one day provided that they do not lose their language. Also, for preservice teacher, KIT, finds it natural to let students use their native languages because those languages are not only needed in schools, but also because students must know themselves before knowing about others. As KIT put it: "In this period when the curriculum method [a name for a set of postcolonial teaching practices in Mali] is heavily going on, it would be difficult not to let students use their mother tongues for fear of acculturation, because we must know ourselves before knowing others."

However, other preservice teachers like MAB argue that French should be the only language taught in schools. They also mention that its mastery is key for their students' future. Their statements move along the idea that the colonial language plays the role of an equalizer in a country with about 16 local languages. This group of preservice teachers see a high proficiency in French as a good thing for their Malian

students. For example, they discussed that such a proficiency will make them "more competitive in job interviews," and therefore have a better future. Some of them also argued that using French will help their Malian students from various ethnic groups to interact and know one another. Along those lines, when asked whether or not students should be allowed to use their native/local languages in schools, preservice teacher, MAB, states: "No. Once in the school yard, students must speak French in order to master the language." To the same question, preservice teacher, KIT, responded: "No. In order to know one another better and for integration, we must only speak French or Bambara [the most spoken local language in Mali] that we have in common."

The two main positions discussed by Malian preservice teachers in terms of whether to use a French only approach or to make more space for native languages in Malian schools remind me of the competing positions that arise in almost all colonial/postcolonial contexts with regard to language related issues (Loomba, 2005; Qoyawayma, 1964; Singh, 2009). The perceptions of the colonial language as an equalizer, as a language which confers higher status and as the official and unifying language always result in multiple anxieties and tensions within previously colonized communities. Those anxieties and tensions were deepened more or less recently with the push for bilingual education or language revitalization programs (Nieto & Bode, 2007; Ovando, Combs, & Collier, 2006; Warschauer & Donaghy, 1997) around the world. I contend that in the case of Mali, those tensions and anxieties have created grounds for both negotiation and resistance (Loomba, 2005; Qoyawayma, 1964; Singh, 2009), which are reflected in the positions of preservice teachers quoted above. While 67.5% of them anticipate giving more space to native languages in their future classrooms, 32.5% of

them say they will not do so in the interest of the students. Malian preservice teachers who said they will give space to native languages mentioned that they will do so because of their "pride in [their] cultures" and what native languages represent for those cultures. They also added that using native languages will help them get the classroom message across and it will allow students to "know each other better" therefore encourage their "integration" for national unity. Preservice teachers who said they will not allow native languages argued that, if they were to do so, it would weaken their students' proficiency in French. They also added that, because of the large importance of French language in Mali, their students need a high proficiency in that language to be "more competitive in job interviews" or get a better future.

In summary, I add that data analyzed in this chapter have revealed instances which in themselves ambivalently discuss, at the same time, categories of reproduction, hybridity and resistance, depending on the ways they are examined. That is the main reason why I have found it useful to discuss them together and in relation with one another. For instance, when, in the two departments under investigation, Malian retired and preservice teachers discuss their use of the symbol and corporal punishment in the past and in the future, their current use of colonial and Eurocentric textbooks, curriculums and authors like *Mamadou et Bineta Series, Pages Africaines, Hegel and Geographie de l'Afrique*, with some teachers mixing them with other materials; whether that was done "with critical thinking, independent thought, open mind" (as retired Philosophy teacher, OTG put it), or not, an observer can see how such state of affairs might be testament to instances of reproduction, hybridity and resistance. Instances of reproduction were perceived through the fact that the same colonial textbook contents

and Eurocentric views continue to be taught and reproduced in the two departments though at a higher degree in Philosophy and Psycho-Pedagogy than in History and Geography. Hybridity is perceived through the fact that some retired and preservice teachers have, for various reasons, combined old [colonial] and new materials, whether it was done in a critical way or not. Finally, the use of new materials by the teachers [though most of the time combined with the old colonial materials] signaled some form of acknowledgement of the limitations or the quality of the old [colonial] materials, which could count as a form of resistance. Additionally, for each of these instances, there have been many retired and preservice teacher participants who were very vocal in identifying with or discussing the issue.

Finally, themes and subtitles I have discussed in this chapter have helped me answer my research questions 2 and 3. They have helped identify instances through which characteristics of French colonial education identified in my first analysis chapter have continued to be either reproduced, altered or challenged through the two E.N. Sup departments under investigation in this study. Additionally, the themes and subtitles analyzed here have provided answers to ways in which Malian preservice teachers graduating from those two departments are positioned to be likely to reproduce, alter, or challenge in their future classrooms those characteristics inherited from colonial education.

CHAPTER 6

MALIAN PRESERVICE TEACHERS ON THE

CONTINUUM OF COLONIAL

TO POSTCOLONIAL

Data sources in this study have provided eloquently useful information across my three initial research questions and even beyond. This, in my understanding, may be a testament to the difficulty of putting boundaries between the precolonial, the colonial and the postcolonial (Achebe, 1958; Loomba, 2005; Willinsky, 1998). However, as this study has attempted to shed light on, in the case of French Sudan, there are identifiable colonial practices and subjectivities that not only outlived the colonial era, but also shaped the postcolonial realities in the Malian education system. That, as a result, creates tensions which I define in this chapter in terms of nostalgia, hesitation, and questions. I engage in this part of my analysis and discussion mostly using data sources like retired and preservice teachers' responses to questionnaires, Skype focus group interviews, messages and screenshots, email and Facebook messages, as well as colonial and postcolonial textbooks and curriculum materials from the two E.N. Sup departments under investigation.

My goal in this chapter is to provide potentially additional and extraneous answers to my research questions 1, 2 and 3 while examining issues which might not directly relate to instances of reproduction, hybridity or resistance in the ways they were

discussed in the previous chapters. In order to do so, I combine all the subthemes

discussed by data sources that were not addressed in earlier chapters under a subtitle

colonial versus postcolonial: Nostalgia, hesitation, and questions. I call in postcolonial

theory to problematize the complexities of putting boundaries between the subthemes

while at the same time establishing a relationship between them and the instances I

discussed in the two previous chapters.

Colonial versus postcolonial tensions:

Nostalgia, hesitation, and questions

As I mentioned earlier, under this subtitle, I have combined all themes that were

discussed by data sources that relate to colonial vs. postcolonial ontologies in the ways

they were revealed by data sources. I have decided to analyze them together because they

appeared very intertwined in the ways they were discussed across data sources. The

themes of *nostalgia, bigger sizes of postcolonial Malian classrooms, unqualified*

teachers, failure of education reforms, blaming democratic system, lack of parental

involvement, bad quality training have been discussed 139 times across coded data. This

number of times includes 80% of retired teachers, 87% of preservice teachers and 85% of

focus group participants.

However, while retired teacher participants showed more forms of *nostalgia* and

seemed more concerned with today's "democratization," "permissiveness," and the "low

quality of training and schools" compared to their experiences in the colonial era,

preservice teacher participants appeared to blame Malian "authorities" for the current

state of affairs in schools. The apparent nostalgia expressed by almost all retired teachers

may be in reaction to the current state of schools in Mali characterized by multiple

unrests due to frequent strikes and activism of students and teachers. These are all things that retired teachers could not even imagine doing either as students in colonial schools or as teachers under the first two postcolonial republics during which most of their teaching years took place. This apparent nostalgia may therefore be reflexive of a generational conflict whereby previous generations of teachers (in this case retired teachers) feel a certain form of unease because of the current realities that highly conflict with their own experiences as students or teachers in colonial schools. Such sentiment can come from the fact that retired teachers see today's Malian teachers and students do things they could not even imagine doing in their own colonial and early postcolonial classrooms. Retired teachers in this study seem to express their nostalgia of the past by deploring many current things related to what they perceive as a loss of control of both classrooms and the overall education system itself. Participant RAM best summarized the nostalgia expressed by retired teachers when she said: "Since the end of colonial education, there has been a total degradation / collapse of Malian education. That is not in the interest of Malians."

Additionally, coded data showed that retired teachers seemed to like colonial education disciplinary measures, that they seemed to like more colonial school practices, which in the eyes of many preservice teachers were so oppressive that they are resolved to challenge them (though sometimes under conditions) in their future classrooms. Perhaps, this might explain why retired teachers used those colonial era characteristics, curriculums, textbooks and practices (corporal punishment, symbol and others included) in their own classrooms before retirement. That, in its turn, explains why those characteristics of French colonial education have continued to be reproduced at varying

degrees in postcolonial Malian classrooms. Preservice teachers, in their turn, seemed to agree with retired teachers about students' low levels in today's classrooms, but seemed to disagree with retired teachers about going back to some colonial era classroom disciplinary measures. Also, contrary to retired teachers, preservice teachers tended to blame current students' low levels and bad training quality more on unassessed and incomplete postcolonial educational reforms and on other governmental policies. For instance, retired teacher, DHM stated: "Democratization and permissiveness have created anarchy in today's Malian school administration and have thereby put it at the antipode of colonial administration." To which, retired teacher, MWT added: "The difference is big. Today, school has become a place where children are kept without any quality training. Classes of 150 children for a badly trained teacher who has no professional conscience." For retired teacher, OES: "The training of the teacher is sometimes insufficient and lacking. Sometimes, the principal too has no control over teachers. Students and some teachers come late to school. There is a lot of anarchy in schools today." These latest statements from retired teacher participants offer useful insights on how most retired teachers who took part to this study almost always used colonial schools as a frame of reference in ways that not only exhibit some forms of nostalgia, but also seem to indicate their confidence in and esteem of colonial education in French Sudan.

On another note, preservice teacher, KIT, while extending the blame to governmental policies, agrees with retired teachers when he says: "In reality these [retired] teachers have not exaggerated, the current low level of students is due to some teachers who did not receive a good teacher training, hired not because they were trained to be teachers, but out of necessity. In other terms, the government itself is lowering

down the expectations for the teaching profession." For preservice teacher, DIM: "The

older generation is right. Students as well as teachers are below standard levels. This has

been noticed since the March 1991,[3] with strikes and bigger class sizes, etc." Preservice

teacher, HAM also added: "I don't think they [retired teachers] are exaggerating at all. I

think the level of Malian schools is decreasing more and more below standards and many

people share the blame." Finally, preservice teacher, ALT, a Skype focus group

participant, agreed with his other pairs and even extended part of the blame on the

country's various postcolonial educational reforms when he, after a big pause, said:

> Changing course for a better awareness and consciousness of all actors in the
> education system. Everyone knows that for more than 2 decades we have tried to
> apply ill-thought educational policies. They started by closing teacher training
> schools [pause]. As if that was not enough, they experimented programs like
> NEM [New Malian School], NEF [New Fundamental School], even school
> administrators were lost in those changes, results did not reflect anything, nothing
> about the students' competencies, but they were rather quotas imposed by the
> school administration, without criteria like average GPA, well beyond criteria
> known to everyone. It was clearly stated that school should let 90% of students
> pass to higher grade regardless of GPA. Parents must refuse this, unions must do
> more than negotiating pays and improvement of work conditions, but they should
> also require the betterment of Malian schooling. So, a collective rise of
> consciousness is needed in order to recognize that today we do not need any more
> illiterates, but instead we need schools that aim at excellence, schools that train
> people capable of analyzing the world's current geopolitics.

To summarize, in the light of all that precedes, despite their discussions of various

categories and themes representing instances of reproduction, hybridity, resistance which

have been occurring in their two departments of E.N. Sup Philosophy and Psycho-

Pedagogy, and History and Geography, Malian preservice teachers (both through their

responses to questionnaires and in their Skype focus group interviews) also mentioned

their appreciation of their departments' teachers and shared their eagerness to start

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[3] This is the year when mass protests led by student organizations and other political
groups erupted to overthrow the dictatorial military regime of General Moussa Traore.

teaching. For instance, when they were asked about things or aspects they were most proud of in their departments, for preservice teacher, AD the "pedagogy of teachers and their knowledge of how to do things" was the most important. IAT discussed appreciating the "teachers' rigor, control and discipline," while LT appreciated the "commitment of [his] professors, the punctuality of students, the quality of the training." MK discussed liking some methods used by his teachers and professors, methods like "group projects, research projects, presentations, textual analyses, etc" while his classmate, DT, on her side, liked the "quality of the training, the memoir defense, the rigorous work." SK enjoyed "interdisciplinary courses, teacher training practicum and the memoir defense" while his other fellow, HS, liked her "department classes, the teacher training practicum and the memoir defense."

Nevertheless, preservice teachers' responses became more complex, muddy and blurred when they were asked to "list 3 things or aspects they would wish to end, alter, change or improve in their E.N. Sup departments." For example, AD who mentioned earlier that he liked "the pedagogy of teachers and their knowledge of how to do things" responded that he would still change "some subject matters." For IAT, not only there are "too many subject matters and not enough professors," but he would also wish for "the improvement of learning environment. [He] would like the access to E.N. Sup Philosophy department to be only available to those who have a previous background in Philosophy, [and finally] the increase of scholarships and stipends as well as their payment on time."

Finally, this last chapter of analysis and discussion has provided me with additional answers to my research questions 1, 2 and 3 while looking at themes and

subthemes that transgress temporal boundaries of precolonial, colonial and postcolonial

ontologies (Achebe, 1958; Loomba, 2005; Willinsky, 1998). I have discussed the

subjectivities of preservice teachers graduating from the two E.N. Sup departments under

investigation. I have also used postcolonial theory to connect identified instances of

reproduction, hybridity and resistance to the characteristics of colonial education, which I

discussed earlier.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

One of the main goals of this study was to identify ways in which the training environment of Malian preservice teachers graduating from E.N. Sup. departments of Philosophy and Psycho-Pedagogy, and History and Geography positions them or not, as future teachers, to reproduce, adapt, or resist colonial education tools and practices in their future classrooms. Before doing that, it was necessary to, first, attempt to understand what the characteristics of French colonial education in Soudan Francais [Mali] looked like by analyzing narratives and responses from Malian retired teachers who experienced colonial times first hand, and by reviewing curriculums, legislation and textbook contents of grades 1-12 as well as the two departments of Ecole Normale Superieure de Bamako namely Philosophy and Psycho-Pedagogy, and History and Geography). After going through these steps, I finally examined the ways in which the training provided in the two departments under investigation positions or not their graduate preservice teachers to reproduce, alter or resist legacies of French colonial education in their future classrooms.

Throughout this study, I have learned that issues that are codes for broader categories of reproduction, hybridity and resistance remain very intertwined in the lives of postcolonial countries like Mali and more specifically in their education systems. School systems in countries like Mali previously colonized by France were born out of (and framed by) the necessities of the colonial project. They were in no way designed in

the interest of the colonized communities, but rather to support the French colonial project. They were therefore important tools for the creation and expansion of a colonial governmentality which aimed at transforming local subjects and lands into auxiliaries and properties available for the use of France (Foucault, 1977, 1978, 1979; Loomba, 2005; Moumouni, 1964; Nyerere, 1967; Quijano, 2007; Willinsky, 1998). In order to get rid of such deep rooted and negative characteristics inherent to the birth conditions of colonial schooling as discussed above, Mali (and broader French West Africa) need more than a mere political statement of independence from France (Cesaire, 1955; Fanon, 1961, 1967, 1982). This is somehow a testament of the complexity and muddiness of the colonial and postcolonial contexts themselves. Because postcolonial school systems in countries like Mali have, without any critical discontinuity, in spite of multiple education reforms, inherited the roots of colonial education described above, I argue that there are many ways in which practices of the colonial era, perhaps to a different degree, continue to inform their current lives and environment. That has even been more so in schools as data from this study suggested. As Maldonado-Torres (2007) argues:

> [Coloniality] is maintained alive in books, in the criteria for academic performance, in cultural patterns, in common sense, in the self-image of peoples, in aspirations of self, and so many other aspects of our modern experience. In a way, as modern subjects we breathe coloniality all the time and every day. (p. 243)

In the case of the Malian educational system, conversations with participants to this study have revealed, as I discussed earlier, that instances that reflect reproduction of colonial education tools and practices have been adjusted (though in some cases not) to new ways. In other cases, some participants mentioned still being likely to use a colonial education practice or tool, even though they disagreed with the practice. The recurring

reason for doing so seemed to be that the practice (or textbook in some cases) was just simple to use. Furthermore, some participants suggested their likelihood of using examples of colonial education tools and practices as long as there was no close administrative supervision. Finally, many instances of resistance discussed by participants were positioned right before or right after other instances of reproduction and hybridity, which does not clearly indicate where they placed the boundaries if there were any boundaries at all.

In many ways the findings of this study brought things close to home for me. As a grade 1-16 student in the postcolonial Malian education system, as a graduate of E.N. Sup, as a secondary school teacher in a Malian public high school, I have, on multiple occasions, come across most of the textbooks, diaries, colonial legislations mentioned here by many participants. During my previous years in the Malian education system, I have also come across instances of reproduction, hybridity and resistance as discussed in this study both by retired and preservice teacher participants.

On another note, some responses from participants seemed to suggest that this study might have implications for many other French West African countries. Those are participants who spent parts of their schooling years in different countries all over French west Africa (Haute Volta [present day Burkina Faso] and Senegal, both neighboring countries of Mali, were mentioned by participants). Knowing that Dakar, Senegal was the capital city of French West Africa, a follow up study examining the scope of those implications might be necessary to shed more light on the issues discussed. I would, therefore, invite other researchers to possibly conduct followup studies, especially given that there did not seem to be much work written on the specific philosophical, historical

and geographical areas covered by this study. This dissertation work has attempted to fill in that gap.

Even though this study was informative in many ways, I would like to mention that, in addition to instances of reproduction, hybridity and resistance that were uncovered here, many other aspects came up in my interactions with study participants and other data sources. It will be highly useful for the betterment of postcolonial Malian (and perhaps French West African) education system and all its stakeholders if other researchers would tackle those additional aspects. As a matter of fact, I encourage interested researchers from any of the mentioned French West African countries (or elsewhere) to do so. I hope this work will help provide some useful conceptual road maps to them.

However, in light of the challenges I encountered while conducting this study, I would encourage those researchers, in case they decide to do so, to be aware of the sensitivity of their methods of data collection and analysis. This remains an important issue because of the trauma, the oppression, the memories, the erasures and suppressions, in other words the violence associated with colonialism. As we learn from Kaomea (2003), investigating the ways in which colonialist and oppressive legacies remain alive in current educational systems of previously colonized places and communities may be done more efficiently through new "defamiliarizing methods" (p. 24). She suggests being cautious with the traditional research methods when dealing with such communities and defines "defamiliarizing methods" as a set of eclectic methods of data collection and analysis informed by literary and critical theories. For Kaomea (2003):

> With the aid of defamiliarizing tools, anti-oppressive researchers working in historically marginalized communities can begin to ask different kinds of

questions that will enable us to excavate layers of silences and erasures and peel back familiar hegemonic maskings. (p. 24)

Finally, in spite of my use of postcolonial theoretical lenses throughout this study, I have remained open to their possible limitations in terms of uncovering the fullest extent of the complexities of colonial and postcolonial conditions in French Sudan and Mali. In the meantime, based on the entirety of my data sources and analyses in earlier chapters, findings in this study suggest the need for a fundamental departure of Mali and the broader French West African countries from France in order to get rid of colonial legacies which have shaped their education systems thereby their teacher training programs (Cesaire, 1955; Fanon, 1961, 1967). This departure could be in the form of shifting the official language and medium of classroom instruction from French to English, with the ultimate goal of progressively moving toward the use of national/local languages (like Bambara, Sonrhai and others) in these capacities. This will also suggest Mali leaving an organization like the "Francophonie," which, as I discussed earlier, appears to signify French imperialism in the eyes of many Malians. Such moves will have the benefits of recreating new generation of Malians who will be truly independent from France and prouder of their Malian identity, heritage and culture.

I envision these findings to guide my future professional agenda. More specifically, in my upcoming professional capacities, I intend to conduct a more in-depth work around the following insights gained through this study:

1-Raising Malian preservice teachers' awareness (through a more critical training) about the history of their country and the history of education in their country in relationship to French colonial history. This critical training should be widened, at some point, to include French West Africa, Africa and the World and should be conducted in

the two teacher training departments of E.N. Sup of Philosophy Psycho-Pedagogy, and History and Geography, with a bigger emphasis on the department of Philosophy, Psycho and Pedagogy, as data suggest. Such a training should also aim at sharing with preservice teachers more critical perspectives, less oppressive and humiliating ways of teaching and assessment. Evaluations should be less elitist and open to students conducting their own projects, either individually or in groups, if they wish to do so. The overall goal here is to train preservice teachers in order to provide them with more useful tools for deconstructing inherited textbooks, curriculum materials as well as oppressive practices. Finally, the training should offer them tools that they could use across the curriculum and across disciplines so that they could use them regardless of the discipline or subject matter they will be assigned to teach in their future classrooms.

2-Data collected and analyzed in this study call for more critical trainings of the current faculty in the two departments under investigation. I suggest such faculty trainings be conducted under a professional development format to mitigate resistance. Given the lack or limited number of faculty in some disciplines, as some participants discussed, it may be necessary for the Malian government to create more opportunities for graduate studies, so that people trained in disciplines (or areas of specialization) where there is a lack or limited number would come back and teach in the departments. This will most likely increase and encourage intellectually useful challenges and professional growth.

3- In the eyes of many participants to this study, mostly preservice teachers, splitting up the department of Philosophy and Psycho-Pedagogy into two departments seemed to be a recommendation that would strengthen scholarship within each entity.

The same recommendation of splitting was suggested for the department of History and Geography.

4-Improving work conditions for both students and teachers in order to reduce frustrations leading to more and more activism and strikes on the E.N. Sup (Philosophy, Psycho-Pedagogy, and History and Geography) Campus. Beyond other material aspects (like more scholarships, better stipends and salaries) discussed by participants, this could be done by offering more and better internet access to students and faculty so they could use libraries and other didactic tools available online.

5-The necessity of getting rid of the Eurocentric inclinations of the curriculum and textbook contents and the need to gear those contents more towards Malian and African thought and realities before including thought from the rest of the world. To this point, an analysis of curriculum contents and participants' responses revealed that this needs to be done more for the Philosophy and Psycho-Pedagogy department than for the History and Geography one. In doing so, it is very important that more critical minded faculty and students (teachers in training) be at the center of these curriculum and textbook reforms so they can own them and identify more with them. Participants in those reforms should also include in-service high school and elementary school teachers who have displayed in their classrooms their willingness to critically venture out of the status quo created and maintained by the current curriculums and textbooks. The reforms should result in writing and publishing better textbooks for E.N.Sup departments and grade level classroom use. The contents of those textbooks should be guided by the necessity to get rid of the Eurocentric inclinations of curriculum. Teaching in the two E.N.Sup departments should go beyond written texts to incorporate oral materials (oral

histories, tales, legends, guest speakers from older generations) in order to strengthen that move beyond Eurocentric textbooks. This is an important move given the fact that oral history is documented to play a big role in Malian and African epistemologies.

6-Methods of evaluation appear to be heavily failing students. This may be a legacy of the elitist characteristic of colonial education I discussed earlier. Many participants suggested that changes are necessary in the ways evaluations are currently conducted in the two departments with regard to their integrity and morality. This recommendation could be addressed through the training and awareness raising that I discussed earlier.

7- Data revealed that more administrative supervision is needed, especially in remote areas from Bamako, the capital city. It appeared that the absence of administrative supervision is, in the eyes of many participants, one of the possible reasons why some of French colonial educational legacies continue to be reproduced by teachers (preservice and retired) in remote areas. Likewise, data also revealed that the absence of administrative supervision might make many preservice teachers likely to reproduce those colonial legacies in their future classrooms.

8- A better application and followup of major reform decisions is needed. Educational reforms must be assessed in terms of their expected goals, their successes and failures, their limitations and ways to improve them. These processes should be conducted before any other reform is initiated.

9- Disciplinary practices must be reviewed in order to get rid of harsh and humiliating practices like the symbol and corporal punishment, some of which, though banned by current laws, not only continue to be used by teachers, but also are viewed

favorably by many preservice teachers. To this point, it appeared that Malian teachers

(retired and preservice) appear to be very conservative. A mere change of law, or reform

recommendation is not enough to get teachers to start applying that change, reform or

recommendation.

APPENDIX A

GUIDE FOR DATA COLLECTION STEPS AND PROCEDURES

Research Questions   Data collection methods   Data Sources/sets
Analysis methods   Notes

1.   What are the main characteristics of French colonial education in Sudan

Francais/Mali?

Data collection methods: Emailed questionnaires to retired teachers; email,
Facebook or Skype messages

Data Sources/sets: Retired teachers' responses to questionnaires, historical
documents, colonial education administration letters, circulars, decrees, reports, diaries,
curriculums, textbook contents and any document(s) study participants would want to
share with me.

Analysis Methods: content analysis

Notes: My own observations in the process of contacting, emailing and sending
questionnaires, any notes or additional message(s) sent to me by participants by email,
through Facebook or Skype message.

2.   What role(s), if any, do E.N.Sup Departments of History and
Geography and Philosophy and Psycho-Pedagogy play in reproducing or
challenging those characteristics?

Data collection methods: Skype interviews with preservice teachers, emailed
questionnaires to preservice teachers; email, Facebook or Skype messages.

Data Sources/sets: Preservice teachers' responses to questionnaires, Skype
interviews (and transcripts) with preservice teachers, current curriculums and textbooks
of the 2 ENSup departments, postcolonial Mali education reform documents, screenshots
during Skype interviews, any document(s) study participants would want to share with
me.

Analysis Methods: narrative analysis and content analysis

Notes: My own observations during Skype interviews, any notes or additional

message(s) sent to me by participants by email, through Facebook or Skype message as

well as screenshots.

    3.   **How do those characteristics impact preservice teachers trained by those two departments?**

    <u>Data collection methods</u>: Skype interviews with preservice teachers, emailed questionnaires to preservice teachers; email, Facebook or Skype messages.
    <u>Data Sources/sets:</u> Preservice teachers' responses to questionnaires, Skype interviews (and transcripts) with preservice teachers, screenshots during Skype interviews, curriculums, textbooks of the 2 ENSup departments, any document(s) study participants would want to share with me.
    <u>Analysis Methods:</u> narrative analysis and content analysis

    <u>Notes:</u> My own observations during Skype interviews, any notes or additional

message(s) sent to me by participants by email, through Facebook or Skype message and

screenshots.

APPENDIX B

LETTRE DE CONSENTEMENT [LETTER OF CONSENT]

Remise en cause du legs colonial français dans l'enseignement supérieur malien:
Une analyse des subjectivités des enseignants en pré-service, dans deux principaux
programmes de formation des enseignants.

Le but de cette étude est de découvrir d'éventuels legs de l'éducation coloniale
française dans certains départements de l'enseignement supérieur Malien qui forment les
enseignants, et de comprendre les moyens selon lesquels ces legs influencent les
subjectivités des enseignants en pré-service. Nous faisons cette étude parce que ses
résultats pourraient informer les décideurs éducatifs, ce qui contribuerait à l'amélioration
du système éducatif malien.

Je voudrais vous demander de remplir le questionnaire ci-joint, le scanner et
l'envoyer en pièce jointe à mon adresse e-mail mtalatou@gmail.com. L'envoi du
questionnaire rempli ou l'accord oral donné pour prendre part à cette étude constituera un
consentement à participer. Il n'y a pas de risques ou d'avantages à votre participation à
cette étude.

Votre participation à cette étude est confidentielle. Toutes les données recueillies
auprès de vous dans cette étude seront gardées anonymement sous un pseudonyme qui
vous est attribué. Seul le chercheur aura accès aux données et aux pseudonymes, qui
seront enregistrés sur l'ordinateur personnel du chercheur avec un mot de passe.

Certaines séances seront enregistrées et quelques captures d'écran seront prises
par le chercheur. Dans tous les cas, le traitement de ces enregistrements et captures
d'écran suivra les mêmes procédures et les règles de confidentialité, l'anonymat et le
stockage décrits ci-dessus. Pour une protection supplémentaire, le chercheur brouillera les
visages des participants lors de la prise des captures d'écran. Un participant peut choisir
de cesser de participer à cette étude à tout moment sans aucune forme de pénalité.

Si vous avez des plaintes ou des questions, ou si vous pensez que vous avez été
lésé par cette recherche, nous vous prions de contacter le Dr Dolores Calderon,

professeure adjointe, Département de l'Education, Culture et Société, Université de l'Utah, au 801-587-7814.

Veuillez contacter la Commission de Révision Institutionnelle ou CISR (Institutional Review Board ou IRB) si vous avez des questions concernant vos droits en tant que participant à cette recherche. Veuillez également contacter la CISR si vous avez des questions, des plaintes ou des préoccupations que vous pensez ne pas être en mesure de discuter avec l'enquêteur. La CISR de l'Université de l'Utah peut être jointe par téléphone au (801) 581-3655 ou par e-mail à irb@hsc.utah.edu.

Il faut prévoir 10 à 15 minutes pour remplir le questionnaire. La participation à cette étude est volontaire. Vous pouvez choisir de ne pas participer. Vous pouvez choisir de ne pas finir le questionnaire ou d'omettre toute question à laquelle vous préférez ne pas répondre, et cela sans pénalité ou perte d'avantages.

En retournant ce questionnaire, vous donnez votre consentement à participer.

Je voudrais vous remercier pour votre participation à cette étude.

APPENDIX C

MESSAGE POSTED IN MALIAN MAILING LISTS AND

ON FACEBOOK WALLS FOR RECRUITMENT

OF RETIRED TEACHERS

Cher(e)s ami(e)s membres du reseau,

Dans le cadre d'une recherche que je me prepare a conduire pour ma dissertation,

il me plait de vous demander un service:

Si vous connaissez un(e) educateur/ educatrice, un(e) enseignant(e) qui a recu sa

formation pendant la periode coloniale au Soudan Francais/Mali, je vous prie de bien

vouloir m'envoyer (a <mtalatou@gmail.com>) son contact si possible. Je voudrais inviter

certains d'entre eux a participer a la dite recherche. Apres avoir recu le contact de votre

part, je joindrai directement l'interesse(e) pour l'inviter a y participer. Je compte beaucoup

sur votre comprehension et vous remercie d'avance!

Le 29 Mars 2015
Talatou Abdoulaye
PhD Candidate ECS

The information posted on this site is consistent with the research reviewed and
approved by the University of Utah Institutional Review Board (IRB). However, the IRB
has not reviewed all material posted on this site. Contact the IRB if you have questions
regarding your rights as a research participant. Also contact the IRB if you have
questions, complaint, or concerns, which you do not feel you can discuss with the
investigator. The University of
Utah IRB may be reached by phone at (801)5813655 or by email at
irb@hsc.utah.edu

Translation into English

Dear friends and members of this network,

In the context of a research project I am conducting for my dissertation, it is a pleasure for me to be asking for your help:

If you know any educator, any teacher who received his or her training during the colonial period in French Sudan/Mali, I would like you to send me, if possible, his/her contact at <mtalatou@gmail.com>. I intend to invite some of them to take part to the study. Once I receive their contacts from you, I will directly call the persons and invite them to participate. I appreciate your cooperation and thank you in anticipation!

March 29th, 2015
Talatou Abdoulaye
PhD Candidate ECS

APPENDIX D

MESSAGE POSTED IN MALIAN MAILING LISTS AND

ON FACEBOOK WALLS FOR RECRUITMENT

OF PRESERVICE TEACHERS

Cher(e)s ami(e)s membres du reseau,

Dans le cadre d'une recherche que je me prepare a conduire pour ma dissertation,

il me plait de vous demander un service:

Si vous etes un sortant de l'Ecole Normale Superieure (Departement d'Histoire-

Geographie ou Department de Philosophie, Psycho-Pedagogie) qui venez de finir votre

formation et si vous souhaitez prendre part a cette recherche, je vous prie de bien vouloir

m'envoyer (a <mtalatou@gmail.com>) votre contact si possible. Apres avoir recu votre

contact, je vous joindrai directement pour vous inviter a y participer. Je compte beaucoup

sur votre comprehension et vous remercie d'avance!

Le 29 Mars 2015
Talatou Abdoulaye
PhD Candidate ECS

The information posted on this site is consistent with the research reviewed and
approved by the University of Utah Institutional Review Board (IRB). However, the IRB
has not reviewed all material posted on this site. Contact the IRB if you have questions
regarding your rights as a research participant. Also contact the IRB if you have
questions, complaint, or concerns, which you do not feel you can discuss with the
investigator. The University of
Utah IRB may be reached by phone at (801)5813655 or by email at

irb@hsc.utah.edu

Translation into English

Dear friends and members of this network,

In the context of a research project I am conducting for my dissertation, it is a pleasure for me to be asking for your help:

If you just recently graduated from Ecole Normale Superieure (Department of History & Geography or Department of Philosophy, Psycho-Pedagogy) and would like to take part to this study, please send me your contact at <mtalatou@gmail.com> if possible. Once I receive your contact, I will join you directly in order to invite you to participate. I appreciate your cooperation and thank you in anticipation!

March 29th, 2015
Talatou Abdoulaye
PhD Candidate ECS

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APPENDIX E

"MAMADOU ET BINETA SONT DEVENUS GRANDS" TEXTBOOK
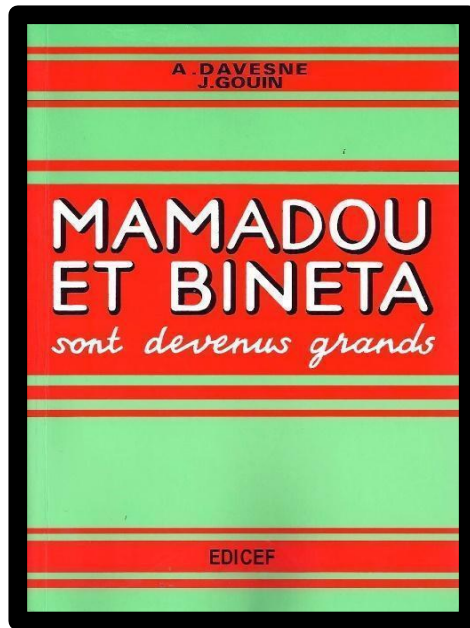
APPENDIX F

"LA RAISON DANS L'HISTOIRE" TEXTBOOK

Georg W. F. Hegel
La raison dans
l'Histoire
bibliothèques

10/18
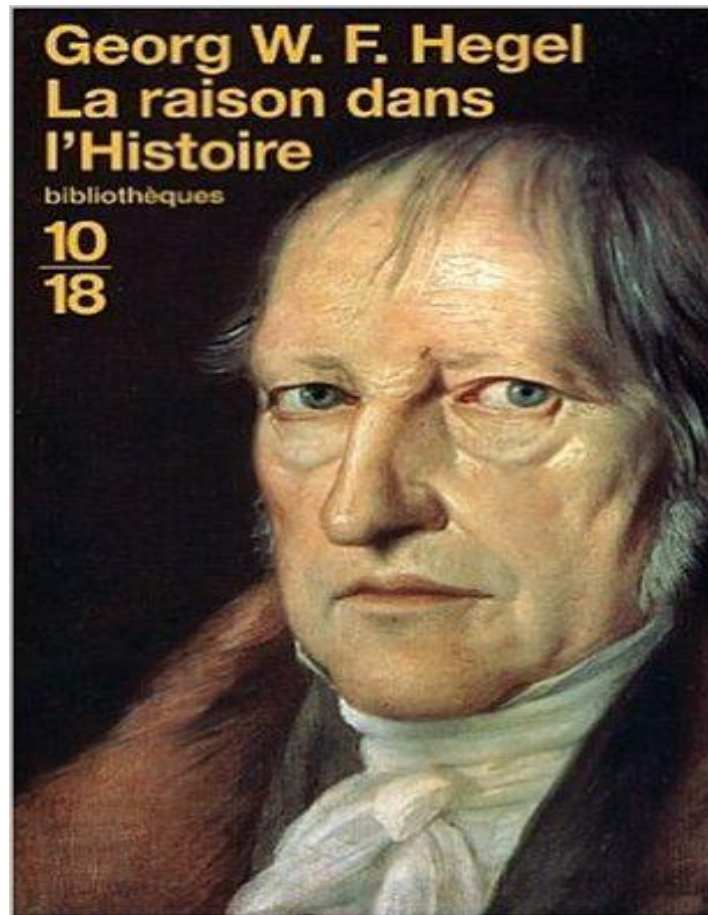
APPENDIX G

"PAGES AFRICAINES" TEXTBOOK
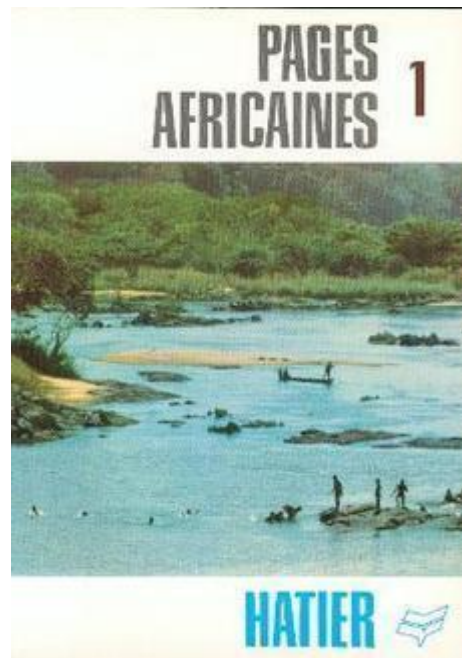
APPENDIX H

"LA FAMILLE DIAVARA" TEXTBOOK
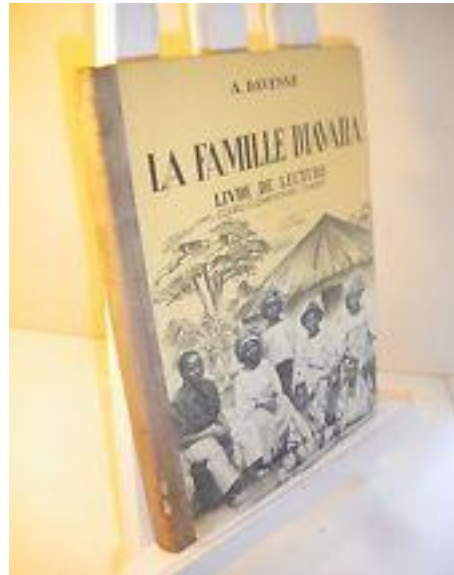
APPENDIX I

"MASSA KOKARI, LIEVRE D'AFRIQUE" TEXTBOOK

APPENDIX J

"ATLAS COLONIAL ILLUSTRE" GEOGRAPHY TEXTBOOK
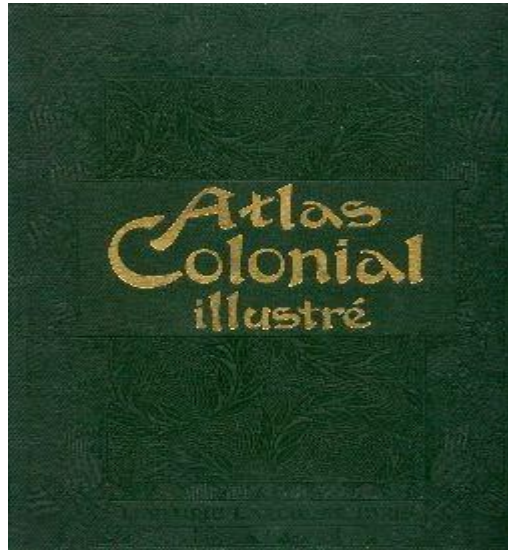
APPENDIX K

"GEOGRAPHIE UNIVERSELLE" TEXTBOOK

GÉOGRAPHIE

UNIVERSELLE

LA TERRE ET LES HOMMES

PAR

ÉLISÉE RECLUS

Géographie de l'Afrique

XII

L'AFRIQUE OCCIDENTALE

ARCHIPELS ATLANTIQUES, SÉNÉGAMBIE ET SOUDAN OCCIDENTAL

3 CARTES EN COULEUR TIRÉES A PART
133 CARTES INTERCALÉES DANS LE TEXTE
ET 65 VUES OU TYPES GRAVÉS SUR BOIS

PARIS

LIBRAIRIE HACHETTE ET Cᵉ

79, BOULEVARD SAINT-GERMAIN, 79

1887
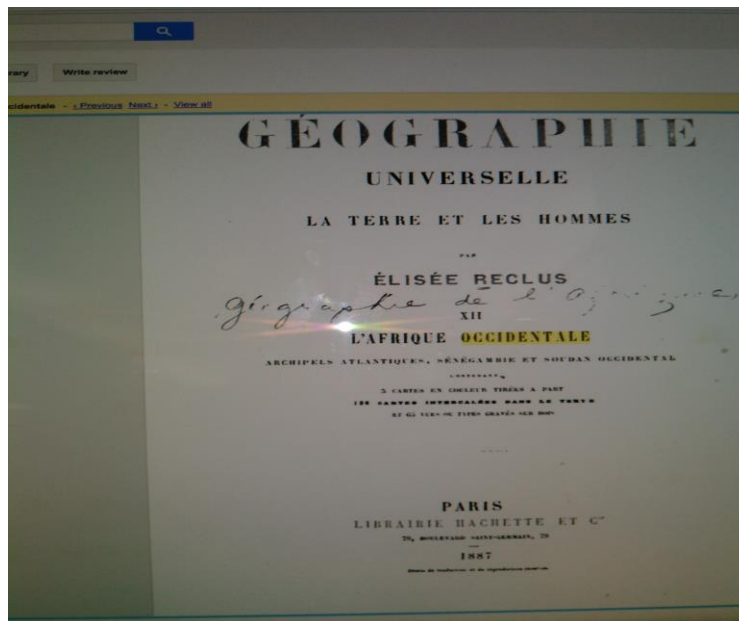
APPENDIX L

1923 CIRCULAR ON EDUCATION

APPENDIX M

THE SYMBOL

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