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DECOLONIZING HISTORY: HISTORICAL CONSCSIOUNESS, IDENTITY AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT OF NIGERIAN YOUTH

A Dissertation in

Education Theory and Policy and

Comparative and International Education

by

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ABSTRACT

Historical consciousness is the way in which we use knowledge of the past to inform our present and future actions. History and culture tie human societies together and provide them with reference points for understanding the past, present and future. Education systems that strip people from their culture and history are inherently violent as they attempt to alienate the individual from his or her cultural identity, separate them from their past and thus cultivate ruptures in the social fabric. Racism is a tool is used to justify neocolonialism and capitalist hegemony. As such, neocolonial education systems reproduce violence and social instability through the negation of history and culture.

This dissertation examines the neocolonial and racist legacies in education in Africa through the analysis of Nigeria's history education policy and the historical consciousness of Nigerian youth. This study draws upon theoretical frameworks of Fanonian decoloniality, Critical Race Theory and historical materialism to assess the intersections of race, history, and culture in the formation of the historical consciousness of Nigerian youth, and how this informs their identity and civic actions.

This dissertation research includes an in-depth analysis of Nigeria's education policy, tracing the origin and influences of history education and social studies policy from the early 20th century through independence and up to the present day. It finds that radical movements in Africanizing history education were countered by the new Nigerian elite soon after independence. Social studies was promoted by the US government to Nigeria and other African countries as an alternative to history education, citing its

usefulness in the path towards Western styled development. As such, the social studies curriculum encouraged conformity and obedience for Nigerian citizens while advocating for the evasive goal of national unity. Over the next fifty years the Historical Society of Nigeria would struggle to return history back to the curriculum. But, when it was finally returned, it came with concessions.

In the second part of my study, using a Youth Participatory Action Research framework, this study demonstrates that despite widespread youth pessimism, Nigerian youth have a sense of historical consciousness. Due to the lack of historical knowledge, they create a 'pidginized' history, made up of different interpretations of the past from a variety of sources including stories, popular media along with written texts. Youth weave historical narratives into their identity and sense of self. While globalized cultural racism impacts youth identity, collaborative history has the potential to restore cultural identity, repair broken relationships between youth and elders, and increase young people's interest and capacity for civic engagement.

In conclusion, I argue that Nigerian youth have become the inevitable victims of culturally racist neocolonial education policies; the removal of points of cultural reference through the marginalization of history education. As such, they face limitations in developing critical historical consciousness and the possibilities for cultural renewal. This study challenges the conception that familial and ethnic ties and allegiances are antithetical to development but gather further evidence that cultural resistance, rooted in

local struggle, is critical to the broader struggle for racial justice and decolonization even in majority Black nations like Nigeria.

Finally, this dissertation asserts that the new efforts to return history to Nigeria's curriculum must affirm global Black pan-Africanist identity situated in global context. If history education is to be useful to the task of nation building and social and economic development, it must engender critical historical consciousness, and center youth in all efforts towards engaged citizenship and the re-envisioning of a democratic Nigerian state. The new history project must also embrace the importance of all ethnic groups, including minorities, who are all part of the Nigerian development project. Changes through history education will only be relevant when they are rooted in a broader context of social and cultural renewal.

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DEDICATION

To my beloved brother and friend

Timothy Selzin Nafziger (1983-2019)

my darling *Mallam Bush*,

who passed away during the writing of this dissertation.

I would give this all away to have you back here with us on Earth.

Alas it was not to be.

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You bear the brunt of my absence.

You carry the entirety of my love.

To my beloved youth:

of Jenta, Tudun Wada, Gangare, Dadin Kowa, New Karu and Agege.

That you may always remember the deepest roots grow the strongest trees.

Discover your mission.

Fulfil it.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Perhaps we haven't sufficiently demonstrated that colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it. This work of devaluing pre-colonial history takes on a dialectical significance today.
Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth

This dissertation analyzes how Nigerian youth develop historical consciousness in the absence of formal history education in schools and how this relates to their identity and civic engagement. It examines how neo-colonial and racist legacies in education in Africa have played out in Nigeria's history education policies since independence. I draw on theoretical frameworks of historical consciousness, historical trauma, and theories of decolonization and racism to assess the intersections of race, history, and culture in the formation of the historical consciousness of Nigerian youth.

In this study, I find that while Nigerian youth have a sense of historical consciousness and even value the importance of the past in understanding the present, they lack historical knowledge and put together what I refer to as a 'pidginized' history. The young people different sources of history, including oral history and stories from their families and the community and combine this with forms of popular knowledge and information from social media, films, and books to create their individual and collective identity. I find that in line with theories that emerged from colonized Africa on the

psychology of colonialism which asserts that youth are both 'decultured' by trying to assimilate to a foreign culture while at the same time resisting this process and forming a dual-identity which both desires whiteness and clings to elements of blackness which they construct as Nigerian or ethnic culture and tradition. Through the process of a participatory action research project, I find that Nigerian youth can develop a sense of critical historical consciousness in analyzing local history, but that this research is limited in introducing a broader understanding of national and international histories in which local histories are situated.

On the macro level, my research finds that neocolonial policies and discourses impact how education policies are developed, while the policy on the removal of history education affected how Nigerian youth develop historical consciousness. It highlights how developing critical historical consciousness can help youth understand local history, but are limited in scope for understanding broader national and international histories. It calls for further decolonizing and participatory studies to situate history education better to ensure young people have the opportunity to explore their cultural and racial identities in broader historical contexts while developing a sense of responsibility and commitment to civic engagement.

Research questions

The overall driving questions of my research are: 1) how do neocolonial legacies in education reinforce discourses of cultural and racial hierarchies? And, 2) how can we

decolonize education systems working with young people and building on the strength and legacies of resistance and Indigenous knowledge? I seek to answer these broader questions by investigating them in the context of Nigeria and history education. The specific questions this dissertation addresses are:

1) What are the social, political, economic influences on the removal and return of history education in Nigeria over the past sixty years?
2) How do Nigerian youth gain knowledge of and understand local, national and African history?
3) How does Nigerian youth's understanding of history relate to their identity and how they engage with their communities?
4) Can critically reflecting through collaborative history-making transform young people's historical consciousness and how they engage with their communities?

Context and problem statement

Nigerian youth face many social, economic, and political challenges that adversely affect their development as engaged citizens who can build the country and foster the changes necessary to create a more just and equitable society. The material condition of deep poverty strips them of human dignity as millions of young Nigerians are unemployed, underemployed, or working in the informal sector where they etch out their daily living on less than a dollar a day (Ighbobo, 2013). Their political position is

often precarious, as contending political players use and manipulate their youthful exuberance to manipulate elections, after which politicians abandon youth and youth become disengaged from governance (Foluke, 2014). Nigerian youth are often portrayed as a "lost generation" (MacQueen, 2013; Oviawe, 2010; Salami, 2013), a "ticking time bomb" (Ighobo, 2013; Munshi, 2019), disconnected from the traditions of the past, and caught up in Westernized notions of identity and consumerist materialism.

Nigeria has one of the youngest and largest youth populations in the world. With a population of over 206 million people, over 75% of Nigeria's population is under the age of 24. (UNFPA, 2020). These young people face many social, economic, and political challenges that often place them in a prolonged transition to adulthood due to their lack of financial independence. This protracted transition has been described by Alcinda Honwana (2013) as a period of "waithood…a prolonged period of suspension between childhood and adulthood" (para. 2). While national and international agendas for Africa's development focus on accelerating economic growth even as economic inequality deepens, youth improvise their livelihoods as they try to make ends meet.

Nigerian youth, along with their counterparts from across Africa, are often seen to be a problem and a challenge to Africa's development. "Young Africans constitute a disenfranchised majority, largely excluded from major socioeconomic institutions and political processes" (Honwana, 2013, para. 12). Young Nigerians are often drawn into nefarious activities such as internet fraud, sex trafficking, informal and formal sex trade, illegal emigration, electoral violence, exam malpractices, cultism as well as drug abuse

and drug trafficking (Adebanwi, 2005; Brookings Institute, 2014; Mbachu & Alake, 2016; Salami, 2013).

The youthful population is perceived as a threat to Africa's economic growth and development by development partners such as the World Bank and African governments (Okello, 2015). As such, social, educational, and civic programs are designed to help *solve* the youth problem without addressing the need for structural transformation or the problems associated with youth development policies (Assié-Lumumba, 2005). However, a growing community of scholars argues that youth are not the problem of Africa (Argenti, 2002; Kasanda, 2019; Keegan, 2019; Strong, 2015, 2018). Other scholars (Argenti, 2007; Waller, 2005) argue that the negative constructions of youth are historically placed within the pre-colonial and colonial history. African youth have inherited an unstable and underdeveloped nation from their forefathers, who failed to fashion out a viable path to Nigeria's development (Barchiesi, 2020; Ekeocha, O. (2018).

Although Nigeria has one of the largest economies in Africa, it is marked by high poverty levels, corruption, gross inequality, and low rankings on global indices such as the Human Development Index (HDI), with high infant and maternal mortality and low life expectancy (OXFAM, 2019). More than 112 million Nigerians, live in poverty, with 85 million in extreme poverty (United Nations, 2019). Nigeria is often considered a weak or failed state (Oko et al., 2017) and is ranked as one of the world's most fragile nations. In a global index that measures risk indicators such as security, economic decline, state legitimacy, and human rights and assesses the "vulnerability of states to collapse" (Global Voices, 2020, para. 4). Nigeria ranks 14th globally on the fragility index, next to

nations that are amid civil war such as Somalia, Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (Global Voices, 2020; The Fund for Peace, 2020).

The majority of Nigerians live without access to electricity, running water, sanitation facilities, healthcare, or quality schooling. In stark contrast to the poverty of over 112 million Nigerians living in poverty, the Nigerian political and economic elite have stupendous amounts of wealth (OXFAM, 2020; UN, 2020).

Millions of Nigerian youth seek meaning and significance in a world that often does not welcome them. Taken out of the context of structured family life, and deprived of the knowledge of history and their historical role. They see few opportunities to escape lives often filled with hunger and want. As a result, they become willing to venture into dangerous pursuits which may have otherwise been avoided: militancy, terrorism, illegal emigration and being trafficked for sex or slave labor. In this quest, they seek not only the material benefits from economic pursuits but also to find meaning, build their identity, and have some significance in a world that often undermines their value.

At the same time, young people have found various ways to counter their marginalization and become civically engaged at the local, national, and international levels. Young people counter negative stereotypes and engage in cultural, political, and social struggles to reclaim their individual and collective identities (Agbiboa, 2015; Dagona, Karick, & Abubakar, 2013; Obadare, 2010; Strong & Ossei-Owusu, 2014). Youth agency, and youth resistance, are ways in which young people address the precariousness of their material existence and their marginalization by powerful political and economic elites who often use and abuse young people for their selfish gain. Young

people's responses reflect their struggle for "economic, social, and political emancipation" (Honwana, 2013, para 8).

There has been extensive analysis of young people's problems in Africa (Honwana, 2013; Salami, 2012). Yet, less research has been done on ways in which the past legacies of colonial rule, the present realities of neocolonialism impact the way young people perceive their civic identity and effective ways of re-engaging youth in their communities and the task of nation-building from the grassroots. I propose that the "problem" of Nigerian youth's engagement with the state needs to be contextualized within a broader and more in-depth understanding of Nigeria's education system, its neocolonial legacy, and both the content of the curriculum and pedagogical practices of Nigerian teachers that do not engender critical thinking.

In particular, I propose that Nigerian youth are caught up in a national education agenda focused on the elusive goals of development and national unity while disconnecting youth from their culture and history, the grounding that they need to form strong civic identities and engage in social, political and economic life. I argue that the negation of Nigerian and African history and culture in favor of Euro-centric education and Western norms and values has had a detrimental effect on the individual and collective psyche of Nigerian youth. In particular, their ability to develop critical historical consciousness that would enable them develop positive youth identity and engaged civic practices.

Focus of study

This dissertation focuses on: 1) the removal of history from the Nigerian basic education (1-9) public-school curriculum, which has changed the way history is passed down through the formal education system (Ibukun & Aboluwodi, 2010; Osaghae et al., 2005) coupled with the negative depictions and narratives of African history (Dei, 2017); 2; Olaloku-Teriba, 2018).) cultural disconnectedness or deculturation (Fanon, 1967), that results from the legacy of colonialism (Kagwanja, 2006; Nolte, 2004) and the current climate of globalized racism and anti-blackness that negates black identity and, 3) continued social, political and, economic marginalization of youth in Nigerian society as evidenced by involvement in violent extremist groups, skyrocketing levels of high-risk emigration, ethnic nationalism and religious extremism (Cohen, & Ainley, 2000). Figure 1-1 below highlights the three intersecting problems.

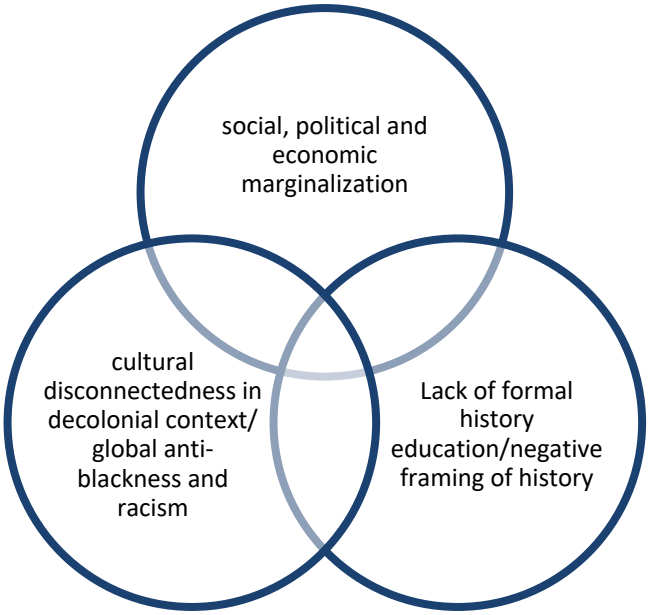

Figure **1-1**: Problems facing Nigerian youth

The problems of an inherited colonial education, the removal of history education from the curriculum and youth marginalization and resistance, highlight the need for this study of historical consciousness, identity, and civic action in Nigerian youth. Historical consciousness is a way for understanding the past and viewing the present to create healing among Indigenous youth with a colonized past (Wexler, 2018). It is critical to understand young Nigerians' historical consciousness, their views of the past, and how they use them to interpret the present and plan for the future. These are essential questions to ask as Nigeria continues to face ethnic and religious conflict and continued social, political, and economic strife.

Lack of knowledge about others is one of the reasons for misunderstanding and conflicts between peoples and nations. If we know more about young people's way of thinking and their attitudes to historical and cultural issues, we will better understand why problems may occur, and thereby create a platform for reflection and thinking which may give possible impulses for positive changes. For that reason, knowledge about historical consciousness among young people is very important. (Angvik, 1997, p, A23).

What do young people understand about history? How is what has happened in the past relevant to the world they inhabit today? How does their existence and actions today inform what the future will be? Do they see themselves are part of history and a continuation of their ancestors? What is their understanding of the challenges their ancestors faced and how they overcame it? How does this inform the actions that they take?

Nigerian youth's social, political, and economic marginalization is their current reality. Their perceptions of history are influenced by a lack of formal history and the negative framing of history. In this dissertation, I present a more holistic understanding of Nigerian youth's identity and civic engagement. In particular, I demonstrate that young people's behaviors reflect their disconnectedness from culture and history, which would enable them to contextualize their current problems better and enable them to engage more effectively with state actors. I assert that public education in Nigeria has been historically used to break the ties between youth and their communities, cultures, and heritage. I show that the Nigerian elite, in concert with international state and non-state actors, have carried on legacies of colonialism through neocolonial practices in the education system.

I find that globalized racism and anti-blackness are tools of the state used to extend white supremacy into the present context of Nigerian education by placing Western forms of knowledge as superior to local knowledge and relegating Nigerian history as irrelevant through its removal from the curriculum. I demonstrate this through the study of history education, and the manifestations of history education policies in the historical consciousness of young people in Nigeria. There is both the process of "omission and commission" in racist history projects. I conclude the while the Nigerian elites have been partially successful in using education as means of suppression of young people, Nigerian youth have the potential to reject the negation of their black African identity through the fostering of critical historical consciousness. I recommend that Nigerian education systems need to shed neocolonial legacies in the curriculum by re-

imagining culture and ethnicity in light of historical knowledge centered on stories of resistance.

Importance of the study

This study is important for several reasons. First, it examines how the legacies of neocolonialism and racism play out in education systems in the largest black nation in the world. Understanding Nigeria provides a lens to understand how neocolonial discourses impact youth identity and engagement in other black nations. While extensive work on anti-blackness, neocolonialism and postcolonial studies exist, these studies are rarely applied to the context of education in Nigeria. This study will build a bridge between theoretical postulations on anti-blackness with the lived realities of Black youth in the largest Black nation in the world.

Understanding how Nigerian youth construct their identity and use historical consciousness to engage civically, also has broader implications for a pan-Africanist framework for engaging black youth globally. This study is critical because it argues for the increased participation of youth in conceptualizing, creating, and evaluating education programs designed for their benefit. The demonstration of the effectiveness of a small participatory study designed by young Nigerians who are yet to have a university education shows the potential for youth engagement in history research and history education.

Nigeria is also a cultural influence across Africa and within the African diaspora. It exports culture through its expansive movie industry, Nollywood, and through music

and artistic collaborations globally (Tobechukwu, 2009). Nigeria is considered a regional hegemonic power that influences not only West Africa but Africans globally through its media and other forms of cultural influence and soft power (Ogunnubi & Isike, 2015).

Nigeria is an interesting case study of the complex identity formation processes encountered by Black African youth. It comprises over 300 ethnic groups and languages and has a complex intermingling of tradition and western religions. Tense inter-ethnic, communal, and religious conflicts have plagued Nigeria since its birth as a nation-state in 1914 (Ajala & Ajala, 2009; Madueke, 2018; Osaghae & Suberu, 2005).

Young people have been at the forefront of the violence, from *youth militancy* in the oil-rich Niger Delta region (Ifeka, 2006), to the emergence of radical Islamist terrorist groups such as *Boko Haram* in the North and other forms of insurgency arising across the nation (Agbiboa, 2015; Ikelegbe, 2006; Nolte, 2004). As such, Nigerian youth are considered a source of instability, nationally, regionally, and globally. However, many Nigerian youth see themselves as responding to the massive corruption in the country, and their activities as only attempting to get their share of the nation's wealth (Odoemene, 2014). As Nigeria has a strong cultural, political and economic influence in Africa, its stability is of growing concern to the continent and the world (Abdullahi et al., 2014).

The marginalization of young people and their lack of integration into civic spaces is an issue that requires immediate attention in order to prevent negative long-term impacts on the social fabric. Youth that are marginalized are easy targets of recruitment

by extremist groups and armed militia (Abdullahi & Issah, 2016; Adebayo, 2017). Nigeria's complex ethnic, religious and political context makes it particularly difficult to address the multi-faceted needs for youth engagement (Dim, 2017). The continued inequality in the society is exacerbated by a political class brought into power on the wings of young people, whom they use to win elections and subsequently abandon them (Aniekwe & Agbiboa, 2014). If youth are unable to engage civically, they will not be able to fight for and obtain their right to quality education, social service, and economic empowerment (Agbiboa, 2015).

Youth civic engagement

It is critical that young people themselves harness their experiences and imaginations, beginning with the process of self-reflection and critical analysis, and claim their generational role as makers of history. Why is it important to understand the historical consciousness of youth? How do youth view the past? How do their views on history inform how they interpret the present and plan for the future? These are essential questions to ask as Nigeria continues to face ethnic and religious conflict and continued social, political, and economic strife. Angvik (1997) notes the importance of historical consciousness globally:

> Lack of knowledge about others is one of the reasons for misunderstanding and conflicts between peoples and nations. If we know more about young people's way of thinking and their attitudes to historical and cultural issues, we will better understand why problems may occur, and thereby create a platform for reflection and thinking which may give possible impulses for positive changes. For that

> reason, knowledge about historical consciousness among young people is very important. (p. A23)

Youth, as all human beings, are historical actors. Their actions and inactions shape the history that is written today. The choices they make have consequences for the future, just as their parents' choices or did not make shape the world they live in today. As historical actors, they have a sense of historical consciousness, an understanding, and interpretation of history. However, in the absence of history education along with the colonial legacies of the destruction of African historical artifacts and the reframing of Africa as the "dark continent" (Brantlinger, 1985, Jarosz, 1982). Africa was originally named the dark continent by British explorer H. M. Stanley (Stanley, 1889) in his travelogue. Other images such as Reade's (1864) "Savage Africa" (Reed, 1864), and the Joseph Conrad's (1996) "Heart of Darkness" highlight the negative depictions of Africa long promoted by the British empire.

While many Nigerians scoff at the continued idea of colonial ideological power, others argue that Nigerians continue to long to imitate the West and see Europe and the US as epitomes of civilization. As such youth may have different understandings of history based on a racialized depictions and globalized racism. It is thus critical to understanding historical consciousness from a different lens. This decolonial lens examines the history of African peoples as one of trauma to ask questions on how the histories of slavery, colonialism, neocolonialism, and postcolonial legacies play out in the minds of youth today.

Decolonizing participatory studies

Decolonizing educational research approaches are vital in shifting how Eurocentric approaches dominate research and the policy and practice that flow from it (Smith, 1999, 2012). The importance of using a decolonizing and participatory approach means that European ways of seeing and knowing are decentered in order to center African, and in this case, Nigerian voices. This study, undertaken by a Nigerian-American researcher who has spent extensive periods working in the context of youth civic engagement, centers youth voices and creates alternate narratives to the negative discourses surrounding youth. Centering youth through participatory research supports their demands for active roles in the creation and implementation of policies and programs that impact them (Caraballo et al., 2017).

Study contributions

The study makes contributions in four areas: 1) deepening knowledge on the role of history education by examining how historical consciousness is developed in the absence of history education and by making connections between historical consciousness and historical trauma in the context of Nigeria; 2) bringing in a new dimension to the field of youth civic engagement through linking historical consciousness to identity and civic engagement; 3) extending theories of decolonization in education to the Nigerian and African context by revealing the continued presence of neocolonialism in shaping Nigerian education today; and 4) creating an intersectional approach to the use of Critical Race Theory in the context of globalized racism by demonstrating that the

construction of race and white supremacy is relevant in the context of education and youth historical consciousness and identity in a majority Black African nation.

This study is critical because it highlights how the politics of globalization and capitalism impact education policy. It demonstrates how in Nigeria's curriculum was influenced by Western-styled notions of the nation-state models of neoliberal development. Secondly, this study brings to the fore that the cultural hierarchies inherent in neocolonialism are situated in ideas of racial superiority and white supremacy. These play out in the context of education and how young people are taught. Globalized racism determines whose knowledge is valued and whose history is important and relevant. Finally, the study highlights how complex nation-states, such as Nigeria, need to reconsider the content of their educational systems towards critical and engaged citizenship.

At the practice level the study provides fresh insight into the problems of youth civic engagement and civic education, to provide recommendations for current education policies and curriculum frameworks aimed at fostering civic and democratic values in students, and to build a bridge between the rich traditions and research in Africana studies within the social sciences, humanities and the practice of civic engagement of African youth globally. The study sheds light on the personal experiences of black African youth and their struggles with identity in a world that often frames both being Black and being African as unfavorable. It describes more deeply how knowledge about the past and presents global world order affects the way youth understand their role in society and their feelings of resiliency or helplessness. Finally, the study provides insight

into how identity formation can be contextualized within a community, group identity, and historical affirmation of collective identity.

Background to analytical approach

I approach this dissertation's research questions from a critical, Marxist analytical lens. In this section, I clarify the fundamental propositions on which this dissertation rests, while the theoretical framework will be further elaborated in Chapter Two. I critically analyze the development of Nigerian education and the problems facing Nigerian youth based on the following assumptions, which I briefly describe using relevant literature.

The assumptions are: 1) Nigeria is an *underdeveloped* nation and a peripheral economy in the global capitalist world system and is both fragile and unstable; 2) that Nigerian suffers from the appendages of colonialism in the form of neocolonialism which impact education; 3) that education is a terrain of struggle and knowledge creation and dissemination is a political act; 4) that Nigerian youth have individual and collective agency; and 5) that racism and anti-blackness remain relevant to black people across the globe, regardless of whether they live in a majority or minority black nation.

Nigeria's underdevelopment

The theory of "underdevelopment" is based on the economic and political classification of the idea of "development" (Frank, 1966). Development is a discourse

that was developed in the 1970s and consolidated in the 1980s and has become an undeniable part of the language of what nations should be working towards in order to catch up (Escobar, 2003). Theorist such as Andre Gunder Frank (1966, 1970) explain that colonial countries are “underdeveloped” and are not on the path to development. Nigeria, like other parts of Africa was underdeveloped by Europeans, starting from the slave trade, which decimated African populations and took its best and brightest (Rodney, 1989). Nigerian socialists argue that Nigeria is underdeveloped as a peripheral economy that exports raw material and imports processed goods (Nnoli, 1981). Nigeria is also underdeveloped because its national bourgeoise elite have continue the same practices as their colonial forbearers (Madunagu, 2003).

Nigeria's development was thwarted by a forced amalgamation of peoples and collapsed empires, a project so haphazard it was destined to fail. The twists and turns forced the various empires, city-states, and smaller ethnic groups into a single entity that began in the 15th century with the advent of the global slave trade. In 1914, the British colonial government amalgamated the Southern and Northern protectorates into the single entity, which is now Nigeria (Isichei & Uche, 1983). From the early onset, the British exploited ethnic, religious, and class differences, ensuring the rise of a corrupt and self-serving national elite. It has a complex intermingling of traditional and Western religions. Tense inter-ethnic, communal, and religious conflicts, with youth at the forefront, have plagued Nigeria since its birth in 1914 (Ajala & Ajala, 2009; Madueke, 2018; Osaghae & Suberu, 2005). The elite have presided over the destruction of their

economic base of production and the movement from self-reliance to total dependency (Nnoli, 1981).

Neocolonial legacies in education

The idea of neocolonialism is that formerly colonized states such as Nigeria are influenced by external countries or multi-national bodies long after the formal colonial rule has ended (Nkrumah, 1967). There are not only economic and political aspects of neocolonialism but ideological aspects of development. Nigerian education systems carry colonial and neocolonial legacies that adversely affect the social, economic, political, and cultural development of every child that passes through the system and the society. A class of elites has underdeveloped Nigeria. To stabilize and foster economic growth and development, Nigerian education planners have been appropriately concerned about the contribution of education towards economic development, democracy, and nation-building. They have also been concerned about the ongoing civil strife since its independence in 1960.

Nigeria's current formal education system has its roots in the missionary activities of the later part of the 19th century, then by the British system, first implemented when Britain gained full control of Nigeria in 1914 and later by the British colonial administration, after it annexed vast territories in Western Africa and amalgamated them into a country in 1914. The hegemony of US culture and thought in Africa was stronger after World War II and even stronger after independence (Fafunwa, 1971).

Nigeria's education system suffers not just from a colonial legacy (Fafunwa, 1971; Fajana, 1978; Rodney, 1989; Tibenderana, 2003), but also from the current state of neocolonialism (Nkrumah, 1967). While history is critical to the development and continuity of societies through the passing down of norms, culture, and values (Rüsen, 2010; Seixas, 2010). Disruptions such as colonial conquest change the nature of collective memory and what can be passed down to generations that follow (Wexler, 2018) exacerbating cultural identity issues (Fafunwa, 1989; Fanon, 1967, 1969; Rodney, 1986). Education served as a source of disempowerment:

> Education, far from giving people the confidence in their reality and capacities to overcome obstacles…tends to make them feel their inadequacies, their weakness and their incapacities in the face of reality; and their inability to do anything about the conditions governing their lives. (Wa'Thiongo, 1986, p. 56)

Western education had a detrimental effect on many African populations. It produced an inherent contradiction; on the one hand, training was sought as a form of liberation and national unification. On the other hand, education systems focused on the Euro-Western knowledge system's superiority and relegated African traditions and culture as inferior (Shizva, 2015; Tibenderana, 2003; Zachernuch, 2000).

Anti-blackness and the psychology of neocolonialism

Historical Africana literature documents the psychological consequences of racism globally on African peoples, beginning from the slave trade in the 15th century and extending deep into the present day (Amin, 2010; Biko, 1967; Diop, 1978; Fanon, 1979; Mazuri, 1983; wa Thiong' o, 2016). They argue that colonialism impacted both the

individual and collective psyche of the colonized. This disruption led to the breakdown of social structures, the unraveling of the social fabric, and the negative internalizations of blackness and black consciousness. Though there is a lack of literature on African youth's historical knowledge, reference can be made to other societies that have suffered from colonization and de-historicization.

Before and during colonialism, Africa was depicted by European thinkers and writers as the 'dark continent,' and its peoples have been portrayed as 'uncivilized' for centuries (Bates, 2012; Brantlinger, 1985; Jarosa, 1985; Stanley, 1989). Frantz Fanon highlights these racialized depictions in The Wretched of the Earth (1979). These racist attitudes provided the justifications for slavery and colonialization, and invariably, the ugly side of global racism against the black Africans has remained mostly intact. The negation of blackness has adversely affected Africans' mental and social well-being across the world (Egar, 2008; MacQueen, 2013; Parlevliet, 2016; Singh, 2004, Ture & Gualtieri, 2017).

In direct opposition, Africans around the world have historically responded with a resounding affirmation of blackness and Africanity. Africanist responses to anti-blackness are embodied in movements such as Pan-Africanism, the Harlem Renaissance, the Negritude, Black Power, Black Consciousness, Afrocentrism, Black Internationalism, and Afrocentricity (Gordon, 2009) as well as intellectual thought revolutions such as Critical Race Theory (Delgado, 2009), decoloniality, postcolonial and ethnic studies. These movements stemmed out of the need for solidarity in black liberation movements

and draw attention to the distinctness of Black Africa's culture and politics as well as the need to form and maintain uniquely black institutions (Gordon, 2009).

Anti-blackness in predominantly black nations in Africa has been understudied. While anti-colonial struggles brought pan-Africanism to the forefront in its call to form unity amongst black nations and to make Africa a home for black people globally, its goals were never fully realized (Uzoigwe, 2019). However, there is an emerging trend in black internationalism, and movements such as Black Lives Matter and Rhodes must Fall have highlighted the intersections of race and place in the African diaspora (Strong, 2016). Protests across Africa have challenged the neocoloniality of anti-blackness; its direct manifestations on citizenship, civic engagement, and even self-respect lack widespread support. The recent Black Lives Matter protests have sparked solidarity for Black Lives and renewed global attention to anti-Blackness and racism (Kirby, 2020, Reuters, 2020).

Black and Africanists scholars continue to raise the alarm on the debilitating effects of anti-blackness on the collective black psyche. Anti-blackness and institutionalized racism manifests in structures and systems including the legal system and the school system. have been highlighted mainly in the US in the form of Critical Race Theory (Delgado, . However, little attention is often applied to predominantly Black countries, although more recent studies, (Leonardo, 2016, Bledsoe & Wright, 2019) have recognized the need for increased attention to globalized racism and its impact on African countries.

Nowhere is anti-blackness more demonstrated than in the popular imagery and imaginary of Black Africa. Its poverty, destitution, and deep pain have been prostituted by global development agencies, journalists, charities, and even governments, in such a way that Africans worldwide face continued discrimination and outright disregard for the sanctity of black life. Western and Eastern media outlets continue to portray Africa as the uncivilized, dark continent, with callous imagery of impoverished villages and starving children. Racist images appear around the world that relate black people to monkeys and baboons. These racist images bear a shocking familiarity with the grotesqueness of anti-black sentiment, which devalued black humanity during the enslavement of Africans.

Youth and collective agency

Nigerian youth have ways of determining their relevance in the society, constructing their own identities, and overcoming personal and collective challenges to forge their own generational identity. Nigerian students and youth find alternate means of forming and embracing their political identity through student politics (Strong, 2016). Young people's civic engagement needs to be viewed through a youth lens (Webster et al., 2018), as young people are unlikely to be involved in traditional forms of political participation or follow defined rules and terms of engagement (Flanagan, 2008). Music and other art forms also encompass forms of resistance in youth (Omoniyi, 2009).

Framing the study

This dissertation analyzes the neocolonial and racist legacies in education in Africa through an analysis of Nigeria's history education policy and the historical consciousness of Nigerian youth. In studying Nigeria, this dissertation draws upon theoretical frameworks of decolonialization and Critical Race Theory (CRT) to assess the intersections of race, history, and culture in the formation of the historical consciousness of Nigerian youth. It analyzes knowledge of history, historical consciousness in relation to identity civic engagement. It highlights the impact of education policies on the individual and the collective consciousness of young people and calls for further decolonizing and participatory studies to emancipate the curriculum and the minds of young Black Africans. These young people bear multiple burdens that impact their social, economic, political, and cultural potential. At the same time, they possess the hope and the capacity for their own emancipation and for a greater role in transforming their communities and countries.

Through this research, I find that while Nigerian youth have a sense of historical consciousness and even value the importance of the past in understanding the present. While they may lack historical knowledge, they put together what I refer to as a *"*pidginized*"* history. The young people employ different sources of history, including oral history and stories from their families and the community and combine this with forms of popular knowledge and information from social media, films, and books to create their individual and collective identity.

My findings are in line with Fanonian (1961, 1967) interpretations of the psychology of colonialism and its impact on culture. This research asserts that youth are decultured, stripped from their own cultures, and acculturated into a foreign culture. At the same time, many youths resist these processes by embracing their Blackness, despite being ignorant of their history. Within this dual-identity, youth may desire whiteness and while clinging to elements of blackness (Fanon, 1967), which they construct as Nigerian or ethnic culture and tradition. Through the process of a Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR) project, Nigerian youth can develop a sense of critical historical consciousness in analyzing local history. However, collaborative history projects on local issues may be limited in introducing a broader understanding of national and international contexts in which local histories are situated.

On the macro level, my research finds that neocolonial policies and discourses impact how education policies are developed and how history was removed from the curriculum. It calls for further decolonizing and participatory studies to better understand the role of history education, and in the case of Nigeria, the absence of history education. Decolonizing approaches to history education, both within and outside the classroom, can help to ensure that young people have the opportunity to explore their cultural and racial identities in broader historical contexts while developing a sense of responsibility and commitment to civic engagement.

In this dissertation, I present a more holistic understanding of Nigerian youth's identity and civic engagement. In particular, I demonstrate that young people’s behaviors reflect their disconnectedness from knowledge of culture and history, which would

enable them to contextualize their current problems better and engage more effectively with state actors. I assert that public education in Nigeria has been historically used to sever ties between youth and their communities, culture, and heritage. I show that the Nigerian elite, in concert with international state and non-state actors, have carried on legacies of colonialism through neocolonial practices in the education system.

I find that globalized racism is a tool of the state used to extend white supremacy into the present context of Nigerian education by placing Western forms of knowledge as superior to local knowledge and relegating Nigerian history as irrelevant through its removal from the curriculum. I demonstrate this through the study of history education, and the manifestations of history education policies in the historical consciousness of young people in Nigeria.

I conclude that while the Nigerian elites have been partially successful in using education as means of suppression of young people, Nigerian youth have the potential to reject the negation of their black African identity through the fostering of critical historical consciousness. I recommend that Nigerian education systems need to shed neocolonial legacies in the curriculum by re-imagining culture and ethnicity in light of historical knowledge centered on stories of resistance.

Chapter outlines

Chapter One provides a background to the research and gives an overview of the research framework and research questions, the importance of the research and its relevance.

Chapter Two provides the theoretical framing of the arguments of this dissertation, providing an interdisciplinary, intersectional approach using Fanonian analysis of decolonization, Critical Race Theory (CRT) and theories of historical consciousness and historical trauma.

Chapter Three presents the research methodology used in this dissertation. I highlight the data collection and analytical methods, limitations of the research, my positionality, and how my experiences and knowledge influence the research project.

Chapter Four provides an analysis of Nigeria's education policy, tracing the origin and influences of history education and social studies policy from the early 20th century through independence and up to the present day. I argue for a more critical approach to education policy analysis in Nigeria, situated in historical context.

Chapter Five presents the findings and analysis of the first part of the Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR) project. It shows that youth have a sense of historical consciousness. Due to the lack of historical knowledge, they create a “pidginized” history, made up of different facts and interpretations which they have been able to garner.

Chapter Six presents findings from the second section of the Youth Participatory Action Research study. I find that youth in the study weave historical narratives into their identity and sense of self. In particular, this chapter highlights how globalized cultural racism impacts young people's identity in Jos, Nigeria.

Chapter Seven describes the collaborative history projects the youth co-researchers created and implemented with and the observed impact of the project on the youth co-researchers. It highlights the role of storytelling in community narratives, including narratives of storied violence across generations. I discuss how intergenerational learning brings the necessary connections to the community for both youth co-researchers and elders. The process of creating counter-stories and narratives assists youth in understanding local history. However, collaborative history-making at the community level is less useful in helping youth situate local histories within the broader national and global context

Chapter Eight discusses the broader themes emerging from the dissertation and returns to the arguments asserted in the first chapter. It discusses implications for policy, practice, and theory as well as recommendations. integrating national and international policy contexts into local community work.

Chapter 2

Overview of Literature and Theoretical Framework

Understanding Nigerian youths' historical consciousness, identity, and civic engagement requires an interdisciplinary focus. I draw from education, sociology, history, psychology, social psychology, philosophy, political science, and anthropology. This chapter is divided into two parts: first, I discuss the theory and literature of historical consciousness, historical memory and historical trauma, drawing out a conceptual framework for the relationship between historical consciousness, identity and civic engagement. Secondly, I present a case for application of a decolonizing anti-racist framework in the Nigerian context. I create the context for a decolonizing, materialist and ant-racist approach to understanding both history education in Nigerian and the development of historical consciousness of Nigerian youth.

I discuss the concept of historical consciousness and ways in which it has been used in various studies, with a focus on studies of youth. I highlight the European, African and Indigenous studies approaches, further elaborating on studies of young people's historical consciousness within the African context. I draw on the concept of historical trauma and discuss how connecting historical consciousness to historical trauma is critical in analyzing postcolonial contexts. In the second part of this chapter, I discuss Critical Race Theory and a Fanonian analysis of decolonization its relevance to

historical consciousness. In the last part of the chapter, I foreground the use of theory in analyzing the findings of this study.

European conceptualizations of historical consciousness

The concept of historical consciousness stems from the concept of 'collective memory,' traced to French sociologist Maruchic Halbwach (Siexas, 2010). Rüsen (1983, 1986, 1999) conceptualizes historical consciousness as a connection between the past, present, and future. Rüsen offers several frameworks to analyze historical consciousness:

> In its temporal orientation, historical consciousness ties the past to the present in a manner that bestows a future perspective on present actuality. The implied reference to future time is contained in the historical interpretation of the present… stated succinctly, history is the mirror of past actuality into which the present peers in order to learn something about its future. Historical consciousness should be conceptualized as an operation of human intellection, rendering present actuality intelligible while fashioning its future perspectives. (Rüsen, 2010, p. 67)

Rusen discusses how the past is used as a reference point in which to examine and understand the future. Studies in historical consciousness (Angvik & von Borries, 1997; LeTourneau, 2006; Rüsen, 2006; Seixas, 2006;) have shown the importance of history and historical learning for the development of democratic values and civic awareness in children and youth. Historical consciousness as a concept has been both highly celebrated and critiqued since its emergence in the 1980s.

In line with various definitions of historical consciousness within Europe, a research team in Hamburg, Germany, led by Magne Angvik and Bodo von Borries,

conducted a large-scale survey study of more than 32,000 youth in 27 countries in Europe, Israel and Palestine, (Angvik and Borries, 1997). The *Youth and History Study* was conducted between 1995 and 1996 and defines historical consciousness in this way:

> There is a complex correlation between the interpretation of the past, on the one hand, perception of the present reality and future expectations on the other hand-constantly changing and not controlled by technocracy. The term historical consciousness covers a complex concept that is difficult to define… It is sufficient to state that historical consciousness is an important factor in many contexts: it is central as part of our individual and collective identity, it has a bearing on our values and interests, and it influences our attitudes and actions. (Angvik and Borries, 1997, p. A20)

The study investigates "the connection between young people's conception of the past, the evaluation of the present, and their expectation of the future" (Angvik & von Borries, p. A22). Country specific studies linked students' prior knowledge with their perception of the present and expectations for the future. However, historical consciousness among youth differed significantly by country and historical context, thereby leading to the research team's suggestion to investigate minority and marginalized populations further.

In a separate European study, van Straaten and colleagues (2018) explore the role of history in teaching students their future role as citizens in society. Numerous studies in Europe show that the high school students do not see the importance of history (Angvik & Von Borries, 1997) and do not see any link between the past and 'real-life' (Brophy,1999; Pintrich, 2003). Students may view the past as a closed entity. The study

found that youth link historical knowledge to current affairs only if they are taught to do so as subject matters in history lessons are often not tied to current events. The authors conclude that there is a need to review current history education to make connections for students between these concepts better (Brophy, 1999).

The study found that Czech teachers can encourage the understanding of pluralism by training students in history, which can affirm and intensify public awareness (Angvik & von Borries, 1997). Dragonas and Frangoudaki (1997) also found that Lithuanian adolescents constructed their national identity as outcomes through social origins and shared beliefs and representations.

The European studies make critical linkages between historical consciousness, national identity, and the social behaviours of ethnic minorities in Europe. However, the European context and purpose of history education are different from the African context. While fostering national identity has been a goal of history education in European nations, there is a vested interest in forgetting some of their histories, in particular, their role in colonialism. This may differ from Nigeria's context, where evoking the history of struggle could be a point of national pride, rather than shame.

History education does not treat the histories of different peoples, such as minority groups in Europe, equally (Frangoudak & Dragonas 1997). Minority youth felt their history was left out while the traditions of Europe were promoted as superior. Eurocentrism in the history curriculum devalued other nations and cultures, and in response, youth acted in ways that protected their own cultural identity and thus had different perceptions of the past and hope for the future. The idea that minority youth are marginalized in history education is relevant in the social analysis of the Nigerian

context. The minority question has been a source of contention and destabilization as various minority ethnic groups have agitated for increased recognition and self-determination.

However, history classes do not necessarily translate into historical orientations or political identity. While history education may be oriented to national identity, ethnic and national identity were less valued by teenagers than expected. Although youth held stereotypes, they did not precisely translate what they learned in history classes to develop historical orientations around political identity. This finding is important as history education is often seen as a way of promoting specific kinds of political identity, whether national or ethnic.

Building on the work of European scholars such as Rüsen (1997, 1998), Canadian scholars have focused on relating the ideas of historical consciousness to history teaching and history education. History education can be used to foster political beliefs and influence civic actions. The idea of history having these practical values for everyday life is the idea of a "usable history" (Lee, 2005). It is the idea that teaching history can engender historical consciousness that is useful for engendering civic values and democratic citizenship (Seixas, 2010). Part of history education in countries in North America and Europe includes examining institutions that preserve memory such as museums, monuments, and archives but also in the family, community, and social and political movements. There is a focus on the moral imperative of history. Siexas (2010) notes:

> A common past, preserved through institutions, traditions, symbols, is a crucial element – perhaps the crucial instrument – in the construction of collective

> identities in the present…. *Belief in a shared past opens the possibility for commitments to collective missions in the future*… The narratives provide actors roles with a *moral valence*, in accordance with belief in an enduring set of ideals or common character threats. Its telling potentially *invokes debts* of the current generation to collective forbears while *marking injustices* perpetrated by or on others outside of the group. In this way, the narrative provides a *larger justificatory context* for collective actions to be taken in response to current challenges. (Siexas, 2010, p. 10, author's emphasis)

In the passage above, understanding history is linked to the construction of collective identity. This is very important because understanding the shared past makes the possibility of a shared future possible. I find this particular interpretation most relevant to the Nigerian context because, as noted in Chapter One, Nigeria's national identity is nascent in its development and often contested. The idea that Nigeria is an artificially constructed state, created by Europeans, is widely held by Nigerian laymen and scholars and contests the viability of sustained national unity. Seixas (2010) notes a debt to forbears, and I discuss this intergenerational context in Chapters Five and Six. If Nigerian youth can understand a collective past, it can expand their idea of a collective future. I discuss this in Chapter Nine as part of the conclusions of this study.

These studies of historical consciousness argue that there is a need for increased relevance of history education in the context of a changing world, and the case of the European studies, concerning a changing Europe. They examine the applicability of the history curriculum and its utility value for citizenship and civic values such as tolerance and patriotism. These studies outlined above are concerned with how students can learn

and apply history as a tool for social cohesion and social change. The studies provide a framework for understanding historical consciousness and its connections to civic life. There is a need for further studies to investigate the nuanced complexities of culture and the different conceptualizations of history by minority groups and marginalized peoples in their respective contexts.

Historical memory and historical consciousness in the African context

Most of the work on historical memory in African contexts has been ethnographic work. Argenti's (2007) study of the *Oku* in the Cameron Grassfields highlights the silence around painful historical memories.

> Despite young people's ongoing history of struggles against marginal- ization and of resistance to oppression in the Grassfields, not a word was ever spoken to me about slavery or forced labor for the duration of my stays in the region. So complete was the silence on this issue, despite the fact that other aspects of the past are regularly recounted in myths and stories, that it was conspicuous by its obstinate discursive absence (Argenti, 2007, p. 7).

Argenti's study of historical memory reveals that while painful parts of the past are not spoken out loud, they reveal themselves in other forms in the society, and in particular, the masked artform of the Oku people. Jansen (2000) examines how post-genocide history is made in Rwanda, and the role of the government in retelling historical narratives.

In Nigeria, Ajala (2009) provides insight into the historical consciousness of the Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria and Ibukun and Abodluwodi (2010), discuss in general

terms the lack of historical consciousness as a result of Nigeria's history curriculum policy. However, the studies on historical consciousness in Nigeria are not adequately theorized and lack the perspective of children and youth.

In South Africa, Van Beek (2000) examined the complexities of historical consciousness in the post-apartheid era, highlighting the peculiarities race and ethnicity play in youth's understanding of history. There was very little resentment among young South Africans about their history, but rather more of a sober reflection on what occurred and how things could be done differently. Even through formal apartheid was over, racism continued and exacerbated deep cleavages among young people of different cultural identities. Van Beek (2000) concludes that any effort to foster national identity without paying attention to the cultural division was doomed to fail. In this interpretation, national identity is highly valued, and thus a goal that policymakers seek to achieve through history education.

Van Beek (2000) makes linkages between historical consciousness and personal and collective identity. She argues that historical consciousness helps in the understanding of the social and political behavior of groups:

> The linking of historical consciousness to specific social and behavioral patterns expands the concept of historical consciousness; it creates a nexus between the past and the present. In this context, consciousness is not perceived merely as a repository of a historical past of the individual or social group, but as a product of appropriation and interpretation of those areas of the history that are of practical use to the individual or the group… the role historical consciousness plays in both

individual and human actions, in other words its motivational structure (Van Beek, 2000, p. 343).

Historical consciousness can be linked to behaviours and create a bridge between how one understands the past and their behaviours in present actions. The creation of historical consciousness can thus be used to cultivate civic actions and behaviours that help promote civic behaviours.

Similarly, Angier (2017) found at least three separate national histories presented by different ethnic groups in her study of members of the 'born free' generation of South Africa. South African students rarely positioned themselves explicitly in their narrative accounts, and black students continued to feel excluded from South Africa's history. Interestingly, the study context was within a new history curriculum intended “to promote social justice and inculcate disciplinary thinking and multi-perspectivity rather than the memorization of a single story of the nation” (p. 166).

The studies of South Africa can be used to explain the Nigerian context where history education has been re-introduced to the curriculum for grades 1-9 with one of the primary goals being fostering national unity and stability, which will be discussed further in Chapter Four. They also provide insight into the idea that different ethnic groups present different versions of history, which I discuss in Chapter Five as the youth respondents give their interpretations of history and national and ethnic identity.

While the literature on historical consciousness points to some of the weaknesses in history education being a tool for political consciousness, the existing literature does not adequately address the problems of histories of marginalized or oppressed people whose

histories have either been omitted entirely or manipulated for political purposes as a political tool and weapon (Rolph-Touillot, 2004).

This politicization has not been studied extensively within youth civic identity development and youth civic engagement. To understand more fully historical consciousness in this context, I look to the literature and theories on Indigenous youth in North America. I find some parallels between Indigenous youth in North America and Nigeria, including the legacy of colonialism, and the erasure of history and education as a tool that divides generations. However, the Indigenous youth of North America suffered from both settler colonialism and genocide, which is not the case in Nigeria.

Indigenous and cultural studies approach

Research on historical consciousness within Indigenous and cultural studies provides the framing of historical consciousness within the context of the trauma of formerly colonized people. The work of Maria Yellow Horse Braveheart (1998, 1999, 2003) on her Indigenous Lakota community highlights the importance of seeing history as a source of trauma and turning this around to position history as a source of healing and rebuilding:

> Historical trauma is defined as cumulative trauma over both the life span and across generations that results from massive cataclysmic events… An important element of the theory of the historical trauma response is its intergenerational transmission (Braveheart, 1999, p. 111).

Braveheart describes how trauma is passed on from generation to generation, and also provides clinical research on intervention to bring about intergenerational healing.

Some of the examples are working with parents and youth to form curriculum. In Chapter Five, I apply this framing to storied intergenerational violence in Jos, Nigeria. Research on Indigenous youth in North America (Canada and the US) has shown that young people who have experienced historical trauma have *acculturation stress* and identity conflicts, which have been linked to health problems (Wexler, 2010). Historical consciousness is useful in fostering positive ethnic identity development and resilience among Indigenous youth. Wexler (2010), defines historical trauma as "a combination of acculturative stress, cultural bereavement, genocide, and racism that has been generalized, internalized, and institutionalized. Such trauma is cumulative and unresolved, as well as both historic and ongoing" (p. 267).

For example, social constructions of "the noble savage" and "the drunken Indian" make it difficult for Indigenous Canadian youth to "construct salient identities" without "a strong sense of group history" (p. 269). She notes the importance of understanding history and culture in the formation of a strong cultural identity and how this is particularly important among young people that are marginalized and experience discrimination.

A positive ethnic identity is important for Indigenous young people who may have experienced discrimination and prejudice based on their ethnic group affiliation. A strong sense of cultural identity has also been correlated with higher levels of psychological health and provides a basis for youth to engage meaningfully with broader societal issues:

> Cultural identification includes recognizing one's cultural attributes, beliefs, values, practices, norms, traditions, and heritage, and understanding how they are

> (and are not) reflected in oneself... As Indigenous young people negotiate these different (sometimes contradicting) notions of selfhood, they are engaged in a creative endeavor. They are constrained by ideas of the past and the present—those found in their traditional culture as well as those embedded in the dominant society…. crafting a strong cultural identity is a particularly important developmental task for Indigenous and other ethnic minority young people who experience discrimination, racism, and prejudice (Wexler, 2009, p. 269).

The example of negotiating between traditional culture and ideas in the dominant society are relevant to this study of Nigerian youth. I examine the connection between historical consciousness and the cultural identity of youth to understand if they too are cognizant of prejudice against their cultures. Collectively, youth can make meaning out of historical experiences which introduces social value and contributes to mental health:

> The ways in which people understand their collective, cultural history can have profound effects on an individual's sense of identity... Collective/cultural memory helps individuals find their place in larger temporal and social contexts and situates them as actors in their community and the world… Within the context of historical trauma and ongoing discrimination, culture and its historical context can provide individuals with stabilizing resources to draw on when seeking to frame a coherent sense of self. In this way, affiliation with one's Indigenous culture can provide a framework in which individuals can locate themselves concerning others, to a larger shared context and history…. This cultural orientation and historical foundation can provide a sense of grounding, self-worth, social

connectedness, and purpose to Indigenous young people (Wexler, 2009, p. 270-271).

Wexler's study represents a critical shift in the understanding of how cultural identity in populations that have collectively experienced trauma. It is premised on the relationship between historical consciousness and identity. Like the South African studies, Wexler found that the younger generation often did not attribute social problems to the collective but rather to individual failure. She attributes this to the how current structures “often make historical trauma invisible” (p. 272).

Conceptual framework for historical consciousness

We know very little about how young people interpret images from the past, how they come to understand the history and what they know (Wineburg, 2000). It is important not to pre-empt conclusions on what young people know or do not know about history or believe that they do not have a sense of historical knowledge. Young people have multiple sources of history outside of the formal context of the classroom or the school. They hear stories from their parents; they travel to landmarks and celebrate historical holidays; all these are a part of what informs their knowledge of culture and history. Since the past is used to build their identity, there is a need to examine 'how young people become historical" (Wineburg, 2000, p. 310).

The conceptual framework that emerges out of the literature review and theoretical framework relies on the following assumptions:

1. Youth have an understanding of history that they use to interpret the past, present and future.
2. The complexity of youth identity is informed by their social, political and cultural group identity which places them in a specific socio-historical context.
3. Youth are historical actors, and therefore, historical consciousness informs their present actions or inactions.

However, the process is not necessarily linear, but rather mutually reinforcing, as shown in Figure **2-1**.

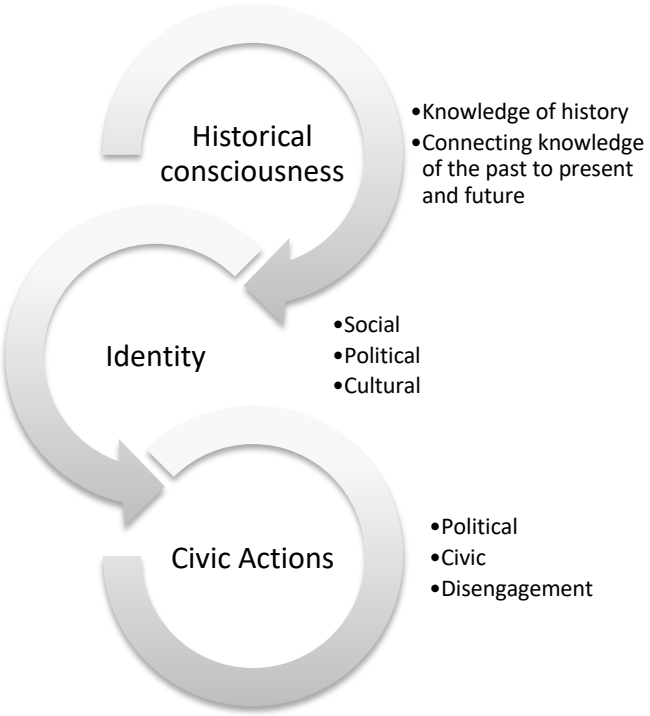

Figure **2-1**: Historical consciousness, identity, and civic actions

The conceptual framework in Figure 2-1 above emerges out of relevant theory and literature, and shows the connections between consciousness, identity and civic actions. This is the framework that I subsequently apply to the YPAR part of this study.

Historical consciousness studies on youth in Europe and North America provide insight into the translation of historical knowledge into civic actions and attitudes. These studies highlight the need for further investigations into the different experiences of minority youth as well as the kinds of values historical consciousness imbibes in pluralistic societies and an ethnocentric world. While these studies provide a useful basis for study of historical consciousness in Nigeria, there is a need to proceed with caution when applying these frameworks to the African context generally and the Nigerian context specifically (Chakrabarty, 2000).

Moreover, many of the empirical studies are based primarily on historical learning and historical consciousness within the context of history-learning within the context of schooling. A broader perspective is needed to examine historical learning outside of this context. Finally, these studies highlight the additional need to address historical trauma, historical deletion, and distortions of history in marginalized populations.

Historical consciousness studies that fail to take into consideration intergenerational historical trauma and the emerging research on the experience of youth who have experienced history as a form of trauma, including living in the context of settler colonialism, occupation, and apartheid are relevant to the Nigerian context. For marginalized youth, historical consciousness takes on a different form than in those youths who have experienced history from a position of power (Braveheart, 1999). I use

Wexler's (2009) findings with Indigenous youths and studies from South Africa to create useful frameworks for my research study. The highlighting of historical trauma and the need to forge a robust cultural identity may be useful to the analysis of the Nigerian context. Out of the literature on historical consciousness emerges several key assertions that are relevant to this study:

1) *History learning serves as a cultural and political act:* the research highlights the idea that history is not value-free but is a cultural and political act. Stearns and colleagues (2010) summarize the idea that history is a cultural act that conveys the ideas of those who teach history. Thus, there is a need for multiple perspectives that are interdisciplinary and understand students' cognitive perceptions not only of the past but also the process of knowledge-making.
2) *History serves as a mediator between values and actions:* there is a connection between history, values, and action that requires further explanation. They describe historical consciousness as the combination of knowledge and values is an indispensable condition for all human actions (van Beek, 2000). Therefore, actions taken without a historical component are less effective than those carried out with historical thinking. Historical consciousness is thus a mediator between values and action that informs social action and historical identity formation.
3) *Historical consciousness requires attention to historical trauma and decolonial perspectives:* the studies highlight the need for further research into how historical consciousness plays out in different populations, especially those who have experienced collective historical trauma. Their documented history was written within the context of colonialism.

4) *Difficulties of empirical work on historical consciousness:* the array of definitions of historical consciousness and varying measurements highlight the difficulty in measuring historical consciousness. Is historical consciousness individual or collective? Is it absent or present in individuals, or does it run on a spectrum? These are some of the questions that remain largely unanswered within the literature. The connection of historical knowledge to historical consciousness is also contentious. Different understandings of historical knowledge may impact how people understand and operationalize their history (Van Beek, 2000). As I reveal in Chapters Five, Six, and Seven, my data suggest that historical consciousness is both individual and collective. I find that there is not the same focus on individualism in Nigeria as there is in Euro-America. People are constituted through their relations with others; as such, the binary between individual or collective is a false one.

A Fanonian decolonizing and anti-racist theoretical framework

The limitations above point to the need for alternative framework in understanding historical consciousness, how it is formed and shaped, and how it relates to the identity of young people and how they engage with the world through civic actions. I propose an alternative framework to understand Nigerian youths' historical consciousness, identity, and action. To do this, I base the study within three theoretical frameworks: Fanon's theory of racism and deculturation (Fanon, 1967), historical

materialism (Nnoli, 1988), and Critical Race Theory (CRT) as it is applied in education (Ladson-Billings, 1998, Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

The framing of historical processes and historical consciousness in Nigeria must be examined in the context of postcolonial and cultural studies. I use a Fanonian framework to analyze cultural developments that are pertinent to this study. I argue that in the generation of young people who have not directly experienced colonialism, they experience a form of neocolonialism (Nkrumah, 1967) and globalization, which places value on European and American society's material culture. I build on Critical Race Theory (Delgado, 1988, Ladson-Billings, 2007), work on racism in Africa (Ojo-Ade, 2001) and work on global racism (Bledsoe and Wright, 2019) to examine how the ideology of race plays out in Nigeria's educational policies in history and civic education. Finally, I use Nigerian socialist interpretations of Marxist historical dialectics (Nnoli, 1977, Madunagu, 1982) to understand youths' conception of their role as historical actors. I situate my research in decolonizing research (Smith, 2013). The decolonizing anti-racist framework used in this study is shown in Figure 2-2 below.

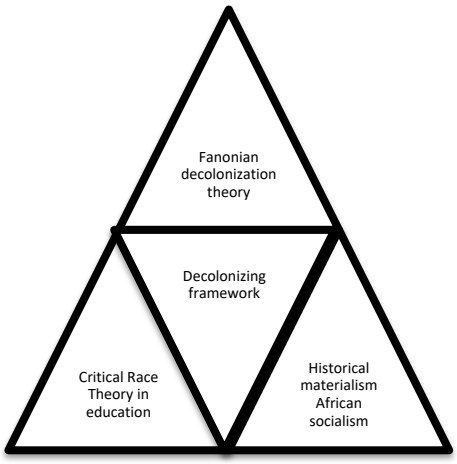

Figure **2-2**. Decolonizing and anti-racist framework

The decolonizing anti-racist framework acknowledges the intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989, 2003) of racism, neocolonialism and capitalism in Nigeria's education system. I use this decolonizing framework to parse out these intersecting dimensions that impact both the ways in which education policies are conceptualized and implemented and the impact that these policies have, over time, on the consciousness of young people.

Like many postcolonial education systems, Nigeria's education system suffers from a colonial legacy (Fafunwa, 1971; Fajana, 1978; Rodney, 1989; Tibenderana, 2003). While history is critical to the development and continuity of societies through the passing down of norms, culture, and values (Rüsen, 2010; Seixas, 2010), disruptions such as colonial conquest change the nature of collective memory and what can be passed down to generations that follow (Wexler, 2018). Several authors (Fafunwa, 1989; Fanon, 1967, 1969; Rodney, 1986; Wa Thiong'o, 1986) argue that Western education in Africa exacerbated cultural identity issues:

> Education, far from giving people the confidence in their reality and capacities to overcome obstacles…tends to make them feel their inadequacies, their weakness and their incapacities in the face of reality; and their inability to do anything about the conditions governing their lives (Wa Thiong'o, 1986 p. 56).

Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986) argues that Western education had a detrimental effect on many African populations. It produced an inherent contradiction: On the one hand, training was sought as a form of liberation and national unification. On the other hand, education systems focused on the Euro-Western knowledge system's superiority and

relegated African traditions and culture as inferior (Shizva, 2015; Tibenderana, 2003; Zachernuch, 2000).

Historical Africana literature documents the psychological consequences of racism globally on African peoples, beginning with the slave trade in the 15th century and extending deep into the present day (Amin, 2010; Biko, 1967; Diop, 1978; Fanon, 1979; Mazuri, 1972; wa Thiong'o, 2016). Colonialism impacted both the individual and collective psyche of the colonized. This disruption led to the breakdown of social structures, the unraveling of the social fabric, and the negative internalizations of blackness and black consciousness (Fanon, 1961). Though there is a lack of literature on African youth's historical knowledge, reference can be made to other societies that have suffered from colonization and de-historicization (Trommer, 2014).

Fanon's cultural racism, deculturation, and cultural mummification

Frantz Fanon (1967, 1976, 1979) articulates a theory of cultural racism relevant to this study. Fanon (1967) describes racism as the outward manifestation of the systematic exploitation of Africans within colonialism. He discusses the ideas promoted by cultural anthropology that assert that African people have no culture, or there is a hierarchy in cultures, and finally, the concept of cultural relativity. He points to the foundations of racism in biology and religion and notes that racism is often preceded by economic and political imperialism. The transformation of racism has moved from the biological arguments and religious arguments of inferiority and superiority to cultural racism (Giroux, 1993; Singh, 2007). Fanon writes: "Racism, as we have seen, is only one

element of a vaster whole; that of systematized oppression of a people" (Fanon, 1967, p 33).

Chapter Four discusses the contentions of culture racism in missionary schools and later in colonial schools. Eurocentric schooling continued after formal colonialism ended in the form of neocolonialism and the romanticizing of European and American values (Nkrumah, 1967) as well as in the content of the curriculum. Nigerian elite leaders after independence were victims and perpetrators of cultural racism, which devalued African-centered history and made possible its removal in basic (Grades 1-9) education.

Fanon (1967) discusses the enterprise of deculturation in enslaving Black Africans. His work is in line with that of Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1967), who describes the black man as wanting to become white, and the brutality of the separation of Africans from their cultures, traditions, and languages under colonial education policies. Fanon (1979) and wa Thiong'o (1967) analyze the "colonized mind," a depiction of colonialism's mental repercussions at the individual and the collective level. Fanon (1979) describes the process of the colonized African wanting to become white, and thereby negating his blackness. I discuss the ideas of alienation and deculturation in Chapters Five and Six. I analyze how young people are divided between their culture and the Western world, which they see in the media and read about in books.

While racism takes over cultural values and ways of life: "the social panorama is destructed; values are flaunted, crushed and emptied" (Fanon, 1969, p. 33), culture is never completely destroyed. Instead, it goes through a process of "mummification and becomes frozen in time and patterned like a caricature of formerly fertile institutions" (p. 34). In this process, cultures are made to harden and are no longer be flexible or

welcoming to new ideas. I discuss the idea of cultural mummification in Chapter Four, where I argue that the Social Studies curriculum freezes a Western-style Eurocentric view of Nigerian culture. I also discuss how community leaders who hold traditional titles are caricatures of former institutions, which yield little power but represent mores and norms that the youth are expected to accept and internalize.

Interestingly, a study within the "*Youth and History*" project" (Dragonas & Frangoudaki, 1997) found that ideology, even ideologies of past centuries, plays a role in how youth classify other youth according to "real or alleged characteristics through arbitrary criteria" (p. A.423). They go on to explain the origin of these ideologies which create these classifications:

> These ideologies are inventions of the past century. At the time, the people were seeking to legitimize dominance over others and exploitation. The survival of those ideologies has a very negative effect on those who identify with the devalued groups such as the countries of the South, as well as the 'southern' areas of the countries of the North and all the various minority groups. Nevertheless, such ideologies have just as much negative effect on those who identify with groups classified as more worthy or 'superior' than others. (p. A 423).

While the *Youth and History* study acknowledges the negative impact of dominant ideologies on European youth, Fanon's examination of racism is quite pertinent to the study of Nigeria today, because it highlights the invisible hand of racism, which often disguises racialized discourses within the language of development. I assert that race in the Nigerian context is inseparable from development discourse and practice, which presents societies on an evolutionary timeline where the end goal is a society that

looks like Europe, which is white, capitalist, and developed. I use Fanon's work by honing in on his descriptions of the removal of culture and historical references, which is the subject of this study. In his collection of writings, Fanon describes how racism impacts culture under colonization

> Racism, as we have seen, is only one element of a vaster whole: that of systematized oppression of a people… we witness the destruction of cultural values, of ways of life… language, dress, techniques are devalorized…. In reality, the nations that undertake a colonial war *have no concern for the confrontation of cultures*… the enslavement, in the strictest sense, of the native population, is the prime necessity. For this, its *systems of reference have to be broken*. Expropriation, spoliation, raids, objective murder, are matched by the sacking of cultural patterns, or at least condition such sacking. The social panorama is destructured values are flaunted, crushed, emptied… the lines of force, having crumbled, *no longer give direction* (Fanon, 1969, p. 3, author's emphasis).

The colonial situation was involved in the "destructuring" of cultural patterns in the breaking of systems of reference. Postcolonial theories explain how the wish for European style development is predicated on the inferiorization of African culture (Ferguson, 2003). Many young Africans see Europe and the United States as centers of knowledge and civilization, while Africa remains backward and uncivilized (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2012). Singh (2007) interprets Fanon's views of colonial rule in this way:

> Fanon understood the colonial world as a Manichean world. In addition to the physical coercion by the police, paramilitary, and the military, the colonialist represents the native as quintessence of evil. The native does not only lack in

> values; he is insensible to ethics; he is the negation of values; he is absolute evil. Dehumanizing the culture of the colonized is essential to the process of colonization. The customs of the colonized people, their traditions, their myths signify the spiritual poverty and depravity. Hence, the need to cleanse the Indigenous tradition by a dose of Christian values. (p. 346)

I use the term *cultural racism* to describe Fanon's understanding of racism, because the racism that he describes is firmly rooted in the superiority and inferiority of culture. This is not a biological argument, but rather a systematized political agenda to justify the colonial rule, and I argue in my final chapter, neocolonialism under the idea of development (Giroux, 1993).

In Chapters Five and Six, I demonstrate that despite attacks, culture remains vital to the Nigerian society. For this dissertation, I simplify the concept of culture and do not go into detailed anthropological or sociological arguments of the meaning of culture. In Chapter Five, I discuss my findings that even though the youth who participated in my study did not necessarily have historical knowledge, cultural knowledge remained as part of their upbringing. I give examples of cultural knowledge, such as respect for the family structure and respect for the elders

In Chapter Five I also argue that history education is part of the "systems of reference" (Fanon, 1969, p. 3) which Fanon describes. It is a place from which the youth and the society could draw upon, and therefore it was something that needed to be undermined by colonizers. History was further undermined in Nigeria through the deliberate process of its slow and steady removal from the curriculum. However, even though the elders claim that the youth are wholly removed from culture and history, the

youth have brought in culture in their own ways and through their own practices. However, these practices often focus on a Western typology of culture and cultural norms. My research with the youth confirms some of Fanon's (1967) assertions that: "The social panorama is destructured… the lines of force, having crumbled, no longer give direction…In their stead, a new system of values is imposed" (p. 34).

The important reference here is not just that there is destructuring, but that a new system of values is imposed. In the case of neocolonialism in Nigeria, introduced through the social studies curriculum which I discuss in Chapter Five. The colonial era is characterized by the use of physical force and violence against colonized people. However, while the political and economic elite in Nigeria's neocolonial era governed through military dictatorships, they also used psychological and cultural violence, a violence that destroys the values of culture through minimization and cultural racism. It is not the colonial system itself that is destructive, but rather a slow and agonizing disappearance of pre-existing culture:

> Historical observation reveals, on the contrary, that the aim sought is a continued agony than a total disappearance of the pre-existing culture. This culture, once living and open to the future, *becomes closed, fixed in the colonial status, caught in the yoke of oppression. Both present and mummified*, it testifies against its members. The cultural mummification leads to a mummification of individual thinking. The apathy so universally noted among colonial people is but the logical consequence of this operation" (Fanon, 1967, p. 34).

Under cultural mummification, culture does not disappear completely, but it remains in a shell-like form without any foundation in history or any existing structure.

Since culture is a framework which evolves, without this living culture, without the social institutions that are part of the society, there is a replacement of the living forms of social order and institutions with “archaic, inert institutions” which are “patterned like a caricature”: of formerly fertile institutions (Fanon, p. 34). These institutions are supposed to present the culture, but they do not. Fanon criticizes respect for this culture as “pseudo-respect” (p. 34). He defines cultural characteristics “the characteristic of culture is to be open, permeated by spontaneous, generous, fertile lines of force” (p. 34).

I demonstrate this "hardening of culture" show in the stories told by the youth. Respect and obedience are often flaunted as being a cultural norm in Nigeria, and dissidence is often questioned. My study will show that the replacement of history with social studies education, the mummification of culture is concretized. The removal of historical references is critical in this understanding. History is a reference which can be used to understand and even question today's events. Without historical references, cultural institutions became devoid of meaning and life.

The establishment of the superiority of the colonizer dehumanizes via what Fanon calls a "poly dimensional method:" (Fanon, 1967, p. 37) different forms and levels of racist actions which break down the native. However, he also talks about how racism has to change, has to camouflage its techniques and turn to more subtle forms. Racism is essential to undermining culture in the process of colonialization. Racism is a destructuring force which deeply modifies cultural and social structures. It affects sociability and comes out in terms of popular culture such as folktale, children's stories, and “disfigure the face of culture” (p. 37). Military and economic domination precede racism and make it possible while often legitimizing it.

The racialized group tries to “imitate the oppressor” (Fanon, 1967, p. 38) while the “liquidation of its systems of reference, the collapse of its cultural patterns” (p. 38) leads to alienation. However, “alienation is never wholly successful” (p. 38). While some of the youth described in Chapter Five and Six want to be white, they are still very much contending with their blackness and skin color, a reality they must live with every day even while trying to 'become white.' The black man “flings himself upon the imposed culture with the desperation of a drowning man” (Fanon, 1967, p. 39). This flinging is not wholeness, as Fanon describes, but a necessity of the weakness of some part of the population.

Racism is not just about skin color; it is about systems of oppression. The black man continues to find racism everywhere. Yet black people are “acculturized” and deculturized at the same time (Fanon, 1967). He is attempting to cling to another culture that does not accept him while at the same time removing his own culture and allowing it to be used against him by racists.

This dissertation finds that stages of acculturation and deculturation exist simultaneously. They are also continuously reinvented and reimagined. In Chapter Five, many youths did not mention Nigerian Nollywood movies but rather mentioned foreign films and books which they have read and watched. In popular media, they see foreign cultures which they may imagine to be superior to their own culture.

Cultural racism is a defining form of inferiorization necessary to bring forth the subjugation of a people. It is not possible to enslave men without logically making them inferior through and through. Furthermore, racism is only the emotional, affective,

sometimes intellectual explanation of this inferiorization. Racism is a tool used for the purpose of manifestation of inferiorization and not its cause.

People in power can use racism as a tool and a disguise for overt subjugation. The normalization of racism is necessary for economic exploitation: “race prejudice obeys a flawless logic-a country that lives draws its substance from the exploitation of other people's make those peoples inferior. Race prejudice applied to those peoples is normal” (Fanon, 1967, p. 41). The arguments of developmentalism have normalized racism by disguising subjugation and exploitation in the language of which oppressed people are not oppressed; they are merely "developing" or trying to "catch up" with superior races.

Class struggle and historical materialism in Nigerian contexts

Historical materialism is a Marxist understanding which asserts that the masses make history and not individuals (Marx, 1971). Historical materialism is primarily a theory of what drives history and historical change. In opposition to Hegel’s idealism and his notion of consciousness as the driver of history, Marx looked to the material conditions that produced consciousness in the first place. I use the idea that people are the makers of history to create collaborative history projects with the youth, as described in Chapter Seven. The importance of this is noted by Nigerian Marxist scholar Okwudiba Nnoli (1977):

> History is not made by isolated political heroes and military leaders but by the masses, particularly the working people… the masses, as the producers of all material and spiritual values available in society, *are the makers of history*… (the role of history) is vitally important for understanding and changing reality. Human society is continually changing, to divorce this process of change from the

> social analysis is to isolate the past from the present and the present from the future, or to explain with little reference to the present and the future, or to predict or visualize the future without using the experiences of the past and the present (Nnoli, 1977, p 11).

Historical materialism thus gives us insight into two critical components of this work; 1) people and not individuals are makers of history. Thus, the making of history is a collective enterprise that ideally should not be separated or analyzed outside of the social context, and 2) the understanding of the role of history is critical in constructing both the present and the future. Nnoli further highlights man's role as a history maker:

> Therefore, history is entirely the product of human activity. History is made by men, but they have to make it in accordance with the objective circumstances prevailing during the lifetime of each generation… therefore, human activity is the primary condition necessary for the laws of history to operate. Human activity varies from society to society and from generation to generation. Thus, the history of one society or generation cannot be transposed to another (Nnoli, 1977, p 13).

Historical materialism focuses on how the new emerges out of the old and social life as a dialectical phenomenon "in which the new is conceived in the womb of the old, is given birth by the latter, and nurtured into maturity by it" (Nnoli, 1977, p. 14). In this dialectical relationship, the new and old affirm and confirm each other, and thus history and history-making by extension are dialectical processes that take place between generations and over time.

I use the Marxist materialist theoretical framework to explain how youth navigate this process of history-making through their actions and inactions. The collective nature of history-making to situate youth learning about history as both an individual and a collective process. Marxist analysis is useful in understanding the structure of classes and class struggle in Nigeria. Historical materialism is also integral to understanding Nigeria's path to development, especially in looking at the emergence of the hegemony of capitalism during independence.

> Historical materialism enables a conception of development as a dialectical phenomenon in which the masses interact with their physical, biological, and human environments, transforming them for their betterment and humanity. Development becomes the unending improvement in the *actualization of the inherent capacity* of the masses to live better and more rewarding lives. This concept of development enables us to examine all our relationships, internal and external, to see if they constitute an asset or an obstacle in the march of the masses toward self-emancipation from the shackles of their human and non-human environments… (Nnoli, 1977, p. 18).

Several scholars point to ethnic divisions, which were exacerbated by colonial rule, as the cause of the constant crisis of the Nigerian state (Davis & Kalu-Nwiwu, 2014, Falola, 2006, Ikime, 1998, Crowder, 1976). However, another school of thought (Nnoli, 1977; Fanon, 1979; Ake, 1986; Onimode, 1997 and Mayegun, 1999) argues that ethnic divisions were overemphasized and further exacerbated by class conflict. The argument against class analysis based on the premise of ethnic relations is a colonial position:

> In application to Nigeria and other African countries, class analysis encounters the bogus assertation that we have ethnic, and not class, relations. …*while ethnic consciousness is not denied, it has to be recognized rightly as part of the ideological rationalization that reinforces and, in turn, reflects in the relations of production.* Thus, while ambitious petty-bourgeois politicians and others are busy preaching the deadly parochialism of ethnic chauvinism, they actively form alliances with other petty bourgeoise elements in various ethnic groups to consolidate their repressive domination of the masses (Onimode, 1977, p. 168, author's emphasis).

Onimode (1977) goes further to describe the classes in colonial modes of pre-capitalist and capitalist production as 1) Imperialist ruling class – Nigerians representatives of the British national bourgeoisie or ruling class – colonial governors, resident officers, administrators, military and police officers, merchants and financiers – assisted by foreign merchants, 2) Nigerian petty bourgeoise – clerks, teachers, local government administrators, small merchants, go-betweens, later joined by lawyers, doctors, engineers, and big farmers and students – leadership of nationalist movement emerged from this class, and 3) Working class – workers, peasants, petty artisans, petty market women, and jobless primary school leavers and the mass base of the nationalist movement in Nigeria. I use some of these classifications in Chapter Four to explain the players involved in removing and restoring history education to primary education in Nigeria.

After WWII, petty bourgeoise numbers grew, and the strength of working-class grew; the petty-bourgeois class gained at the expense of the masses, and the regional

administrations consolidated this class economically and politically (Onimode, 1977). After 1960 independence Nigeria “was transformed from a classical economy into a neocolonial capitalist system” (Onimode, 1977, p. 171). State power came to reside in the hands of “nationalist” leaders and who continued Nigeria’s peripheral status in the international capitalist system. However, the neocolonial economy was the same as the colonial economy. It was characterized by export orientation, the domination of surplus by British and other imperialists, including American capital, German and French capital.

Another key group that is not captured by Onimode is what Fanon (1967) would refer to as the leftist intellectuals and Gramsci (1971) as the "organic intellectuals." In the 1940s and 1950s the politics of the Cold War filtered into Nigeria. Nigerian socialist, often the under the influence of the Soviet Union directly but also in collaboration with socialists in other African and European countries, promoted a socialist vision for Nigeria (Tijani, 2016). For example, the Zikist movement, in the 1940s, called for a socialist revolution in Nigeria. In the 1950s socialist groups and political parties such as the Nigeria Conventions People's Party, the United Worker's People's Party, the People's Committee for Independence promoted socialist solutions and an end to British imperial rule. In 1960, a Nigerian youth group, mostly from the Nigerian Youth Congress, formed the Communist Party in Nigeria. In 1962, Samuel Ikoku founded the Socialist movement's intellectual engine room, *the Nigerian Socialist Review* (Tijani, 2016).

These alternative programs for a socialist Nigeria were severely suppressed. The Nigerian government, with the active support of the British government, American foundations as well as Nigerian and international companies such as the United African

Company, ensured that members and leaders of these organized were regularly harassed, arrested and killed: (Tijani, 2016).

Marxism and leftist ideology generally were seen as a threat to the sustenance of a 'nurtured capitalism' in Nigeria and the survival of worldwide capitalism. In Nigeria… some of the labor leaders, particularly the younger elements, imbibed the leftist ideology. The ideology of the left assumed a potent force within the labor and trade unions... With the Zikist Movement's banning in April 1950, efforts to rejuvenate Marxist ideas within the nationalist and labor groups were met with counter-measures the central and regional governments. Hence, Marxist organizations that emerged afterward enjoyed, at best, a suspended animation as they found it difficult to co-exist with stiff government measures (Tijani, 2016, p. 48).

The suppression of the left was clearly aligned with global efforts to entrench capitalism and anti-communist actions globally further. There were economic interests to be exploited, and these movements were a direct threat to the furtherance of capitalist exploitation in Nigeria (Tijani, 2006).

Racism, anti-blackness and Critical Race Theory (CRT)

Before and during colonialism, Africa was depicted by European thinkers and writers as the “dark continent,” and its peoples have been portrayed as “uncivilized” for centuries (Bates, 2012; Brantlinger, 1985; Jarosa, 1985; Stanley, 1989). Frantz Fanon highlights these racialized depictions in *The Wretched of the Earth* (1979). These racist attitudes provided the justifications for slavery and colonialization, the ugly side of global racism against the black Africans has remained mostly intact. The negation of blackness has

adversely affected Africans' mental and social well-being across the world (Egar, 2008; MacQueen, 2013; Parlevliet, 2016; Singh, 2004, Ture & Gualtieri, 2017).

Critical theory seeks to connect the ideas young people have about history and their cultural identity and their actions in the world. Critical theory, as generally conceived, focuses on the concepts of reflexivity and *conscientizmo*, or coming into consciousness and reflecting on one's state of being, and praxis, acting in response to this consciousness (Freire, 1978). Critical theory emphasizes the need for education as an intervention in the fight against oppression and imperialism. Therefore, history does not just give information on the past; it also lends itself to understanding the present and asserts possibilities or impossibilities of what the future can be (Kratochwil, 2006; Levstik & Barton, 2018; Prodromou, 2000).

Critical Race Theory (CRT) (Bell, 1988; Delgado, 1989) has its roots in African American, Latino/Latina, and Native American critical social thought; it moves the conversation away from individual responsibility to the social, political, and economic conditions of institutionalized racism within a White supremacist society. CRT asserts that racism is embedded within the framework of American society (Omi & Winant, 1994) and was generated by legal scholars to understand how race was integrated into the legal system of US society (Crenshaw et al., 1995; Delgado & Stefanick, 2000; Matsuda, 1987). CRT challenges dominant racial ideology and has three main goals as outlined by Parker and Lynn (2002, p. 7):

1) to present storytelling and narratives as valid approaches through which to examine race and racism in the law and in society;

2) to argue for the eradication of racial subjugation while simultaneously recognizing that race is a social construct; and
3) draw meaningful relationships between race and other axes of domination

CRT has also been used within the field of education. While CRT has been used extensively in the US context, I demonstrate its usefulness with the Fanonian theory of cultural racism and provides a useful framework for this study. Critical Race theory is premised on the goal social change, exposing racial injustice and fighting for social justice (Dickson, 1. It examines how public education systems fail children.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed how historical consciousness is theorized and its linkages to learning history, identity, and civic action. I assert that while there is much to be learned from these frameworks, there is a need to examine Nigerian youth's historical consciousness using a more holistic analytical framework. I draw on Fanon's theories on deculturation and alienation, Marxist dialectics and Critical Race Theory (CRT) to theorize both the policy process in which history education is challenged and also in the formation of historical consciousness among Nigerian youth who have developed their sense of history in the absence of history education. Finally, I draw on this literature to develop a theoretical framework of entailing historical consciousness, identity, and civic action.

Chapter 3

Decolonizing Methodology

The research design that emerges from the literature, theoretical foundations, and conceptual framework detailed in Chapter 2 is inevitably a decolonial and critical methodological approach. In Chapter 3, I ground the research design in the literature and theoretical framing of decolonizing methodologies (Smith, 2013). I do so to create a more holistic understanding of my research design and the tradition in which it is grounded. I begin by explaining two of the decolonizing methodological traditions that I use in my research: Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR), which comes out of the broader community-based research field, and the counter-storytelling tradition (Soloranzo & Yosso, 2002), which emerges out of the field of Critical Race Theory.

The research design embraces and builds on empirical studies of historical consciousness. It seeks to engage an alternate framework to deepen knowledge of historical consciousness and youth civic engagement in the context of race, power, and decoloniality. Stanton (2005) frames epistemological differences used in qualitative approaches in his work with Community-Based Participatory Research by describing the differences in ways of making meaning, understanding experiences, and sharing information that is found during a study.

Research has its roots in Western imperialism and self-interested adventurism to provide primarily western audiences with information about "native" or "primitive," non-White, cultures (Owosu, 1996; Smith, 2013;). The negative portrayals of these cultures

have led to various misinterpretations, misrepresentations, even fetishization of African and other Indigenous people's cultures and social structures (Smith, 2013). Therefore, it is imperative for social research in Africa to critically assess methodological traditions and engage new ways to further knowledge and understanding of complex issues facing the continent today.

The differences between Western epistemologies and community-based research approaches are often stunning to community researchers, who have been first-hand witnesses to the colonial nature of research. Figure **3-1** below highlights the difference between Indigenous and mainstream academic epistemologies.

Indigenous/community epistemologies	Mainstream academic epistemologies
Native peoples have unique histories and potential as demonstrated through oral histories, ceremonies, visual art, and so on	Native communities are deficient according to mainstream measures such as large scale studies, written accounts, and tests
Experiences are best shared in a dynamic, interactive, and face-to-face context	Experiences are best shared in professional contexts through written form
Stories are complex, lengthy, and circular in order to connect to multiple experiences and to promote deeper understanding	Stories are clear, concise, and chronological in order to promote basic understanding by linear thinkers
Meaning making is collaborative and all participants can contribute	Credentialed experts are best prepared to make meaning of experiences/stories
Subjectivity, emotion, personal and collective experience, and multiple perspectives are valued	Reliability, validity, and trustworthiness depend upon researcher objectivity and/or participant-to-participant consistency
Stories are powerful and, in some cases, cannot be told in certain contexts	To promote education, stories should be shared with the broadest possible audience

Note. These findings were determined by members of the specific community involved in the example CBPR study; they are not generalizable to all Native communities. CBPR = Community-Based Participatory Research.

Figure **3-1**: Epistemological differences (Source: Stanton, 2005, p. 285).

While this dissertation is in line with indigenous and community epistemologies, the tension between exists within this research. The institutional requirements for this research are in line with the mainstream academics epistemologies noted above. In addition, as a researcher, it requires some de-programming and reorientation to truly move away from methodologies in which we have been trained and engaged.

Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR) approaches

Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR) involves training young people to identify issues of concern, conduct research, and take leadership to improve their communities. It is a specialized form of community research (Ozer, 1993) that promotes the power and voice of young men and women. YPAR has some of the same goals of youth organizing. It focuses on systematic research conducted by young people themselves. YPAR studies build on the understanding that young people are experts and can create knowledge, empower themselves, and fight for social justice through research (Caraballo et al, 2017). YPAR has several key components: 1) iterative engagement in research and action, 2) training and practice of research skills, 3) practice of strategic thinking and strategies to influence change, and 4) adults sharing power (Ozer, 1993, p. 264). Other processes are group work, expanding social networks, and developing communication skills. YPAR draws on elements of both academic and Indigenous epistemologies and thus gives a deeper understanding of how the two may have some places of convergence and divergence as outlined in Table 3-1.

One of the focuses of YPAR is power-sharing and young people exercising power with adults playing a supportive role. YPAR can be viewed as an intervention and a form of psychological empowerment that can positively influence both communities and the youth engaged in the research by providing them with decision-making skills and an increased sense of purpose. It can also help youth see themselves as school and community leaders, promote critical consciousness, and the ability to move beyond individual explanations to a broader focus (Watts & Flanagan, 2007).

The use of YPAR can also improve the quality, relevance, rigor, and reach of research as well as its trustworthiness. It also enhances the validity of interpretation. In YPAR, youth may be insiders that can access and study things that adults may not access. Thereby, adult researchers gain from the expertise of youth, especially those youths who are economically and politically marginalized (Caraballo et al, 2017).

This study uses qualitative research tools within the framework of a Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR). It draws on the methodological traditions of Critical Race Theory (CRT), which include counter storytelling, as well as the research tradition of decolonizing narrative inquiry. These approaches are aligned with decolonizing research methodologies used by Indigenous and Black researchers (Drame & Irby, 2016), to ensure that research is beneficial for those taking part in the study and that their representation is empowering for them. The theoretical framework of CRT and decoloniality require alternative research methodologies that challenge Western-styled research practices in studying non-Western populations (Smith, 2013).

YPAR is an approach embedded within the broader framework of Participatory Action Research (PAR) (Ozer, 2017). PAR is part of the tradition of transformative participatory action research, also known as an activist participatory research approach (Chambers, 1994), or participatory action research (PAR). I build on the Freirean (1970) concept of *conscientization* and liberation education. Freire complicates distinctions between Indigenous and mainstream methodologies by breaking down the boundaries between academic and Indigenous in a way similar to Gramsci (1996). Gramsci problematizes dichotomous definitions and distinctions in power relations. This has also

been applied to work in education (Tarlau, 2020). Participatory research has been used as a framework (Guevara, 1996); a method (Finn, 1994; Guevara, 1996; McTaggart, 1991), an approach (Sims & Bentley, 2002) and as a specific way to view the world (Reason & Bradbury, 2001). The PAR approach is designed to resist oppression and domination by working with those who have been disenfranchised to reclaim their voices and fight for social justice and social change (Hall, 2016). PAR also seeks to transform existing social structures, push back against fear and paranoia, challenge capitalism and its byproducts and serve as a form of resistance (Pyrch, 2007), while employing democratic practices for knowledge creation (Williams, 2005).

YPAR engages youth both as co-investigators in the research process as well as beneficiaries of the research. It aims not only to create knowledge but also to transform the world of participants through collective action. This decolonizing methodology (Elder & Odoyo, 2018) focuses on 'de-centering' knowledge and engaging in decolonizing acts that focus on social justice to minimize the colonizing effects of the research. Decentering means that while knowledge is seen as being objective, knowledge-making is a political and cultural act. The problem with situating or centering knowledge is that it rests on the assumption that knowledge is produced from somewhere by someone in a particular context that it cannot be divorced from (Harawy, 1973). As European and US-based researchers, White researchers, in particular, have dominated social research, their knowledge paradigms have become the 'center.' In order to shift knowledge, it is, therefore, important to 'de-center' knowledge.

Smith (1999) suggests that researchers ask questions about who owns the research, whom the research serves, and who will benefit from it. The work on decolonizing research methods points to the use of research for the continued subjugation of marginalized peoples and the need to transform research methodologies to ensure that they are useful to those that are being researched.

Seeing that the voices of Nigerian youth are often not heard, YPAR is an appropriate framework for this study to engage African youth in telling their own stories and creating action projects that will give these stories meaning. YPAR research is the research of resistance and transformation that teaches young people that injustice is a social creation, and thus it can be challenged and changed. In the investigation process, young people analyze power through critical inquiry, thereby enabling young people to engage in "transformational resistance." This means that young people can resist ways that they are often marginalized in research and program planning by transforming their role in processes that affect them. Through the action research process, young people realize their potential to create social change through discovery and action.

Within the context of YPAR, I used counter storytelling and decolonizing narrative inquiry. Decolonizing narrative inquiry (Hamden, 2009) can be used in contexts where stories and narratives are yet to be captured and told. I trained youth as co-researchers to tell their own stories and stories of their communities. This process allowed youth to develop counter stories to the negative constructions of youth identity, youth knowledge of history, and youth agency in co-constructing a world that is better suited to their dreams and hopes. This methodological transition is made rich by placing

youth as co-investigators and producing an "action," a tangible outcome which the youth have at the end of the study. These actions can take different forms, including community projects, activism, and advocacy.

In this study, I refer to the youth participants in the study as "youth co-researchers," This is a term that they were proud to use to describe themselves to the community. I use this name that they have embraced to describe their work throughout this dissertation. I maintain the use of the term "youth" to discuss youth generally throughout this study.

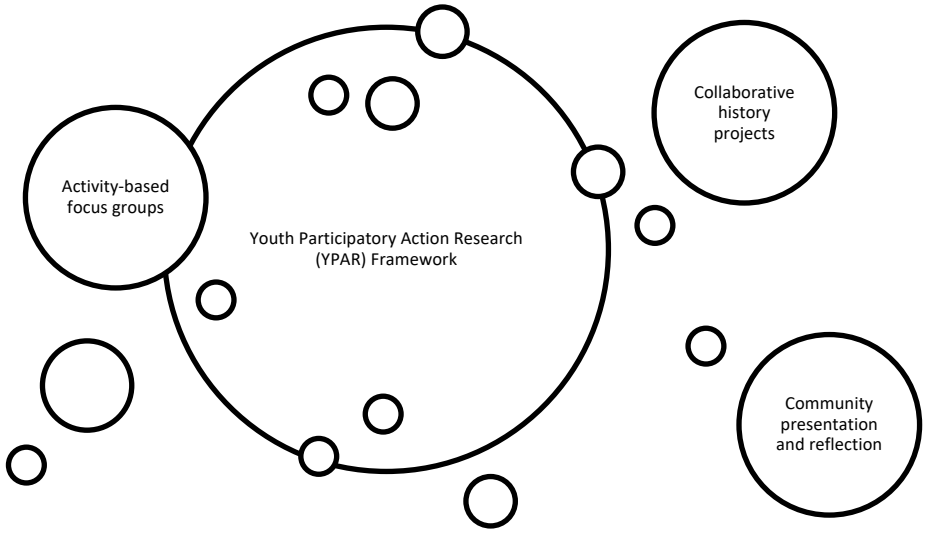

Figure **3-2**: Youth Participatory Action Research activities

Figure **3-2** shows the framework for YPAR loosely generates its activities out of interactions and the research that is being conducted with youth as co-researchers. The activities in the YPAR for this study are:

1) *Activity-based focus group discussions:* Activity-based discussions may or may not answer the specific research questions, but they give room for the youth to be comfortable with the researcher, the research topic, and each other. There are

often multiple activities within a single focus group discussion, including warm-ups, name games, introduction games, small group discussions, reflections, and group sharing. Each activity-based focus group discussion builds a foundation for the next discussion and offers continuity in learning towards the research goals. These discussions also include self-reflection and journaling, as well as take-home assignments. The activity-based focus groups are built around Freirean dialogic circles (2016), which foster critical thinking and reflections and attempt to equalize power relationships that are often inherent between the researcher and the researched. While activity-based focus group discussions can be used for any subject matter, in this study, they focused on youth's knowledge of history and identity.

2) *Collaborative history projects:* As part of the activity-based focus group discussion, the youths engaged in collaborative historical research in the community. Following this, they designed collaborative history projects. They decided on an area of interest for the research, the people they would interview, and the questions that they would ask during the interviews. The process of creating the projects is a youth-led, but the collaboration is between the youth, the community, and the researcher. The research project is part of the action that the youth are engaging in and is both a process and a product of their research. I use collaborative history projects entailing oral tradition and storytelling, which gives the co-researchers "shared authority" in understanding the subject matter and telling the story (Thomson, 2003). The idea is to question accepted narratives in the community and create counter-stories of critical issues affecting young people

and their communities. Each of the four groups in the study with a starting number of 12 youths, and a total of 48 youths across the communities, conducted their research project. Following this, the youth-produced reports of their collaborative history project. Each of the groups recorded the interviews using audio and video recorders.

3) *Community presentation and reflection:* The final part of the YPAR is a mini-conference and community presentation. On the first day of the conference, the youths had suggested topics of interest in the history of Nigeria, and we invited speakers to speak on the subjects. Following the interactive lectures, the youths prepared for the presentation of their research. They invited community members to the community presentation, including all the people they had engaged in the project. On the second day, the youths presented their research to the community. They had also created a video with a local videographer that showed the work they had done in their collaborative research. Community members were invited to respond to the youth presentations, and a small celebration of their work followed it. Youth also engaged in collective and individual reflections and responded to the summary of findings that I presented to them from the activity-based focus group discussions.

Counter-storytelling and Critical Race Theory (CRT)

Critical Race Theory (CRT) (Bell, 1992) asserts that racism is a permanent feature of US society. In examining Nigerian society, I hope to extend the work of CRT

theorists by arguing that racism is a permanent feature of global society. Since racial formation is an ongoing process, it is best to capture marginalized peoples' stories through counter-narrative accounts. Solórzano and Yosso (2002) assert that the counter-narrative approach "compels researchers to rethink historical accounts by critiquing the credibility, integrity, and biases from which historical accounts and dominant narratives emerge" (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 11). CRT is useful for critiquing policy and understanding historical events. It is less useful in analyzing engagement and actions for change. Participatory research methodologies help to disrupt racism and provide alternative frameworks for research.

Solórzano and Yosso (2002) expand the work of Critical Race Theory by defining critical race methodology that foregrounds race and racism in the research process, challenges traditional research paradigms, offers liberatory solutions, focuses on the racialized experiences of students of color and uses interdisciplinary knowledge (p.24). They argue that dominant racial groups seek to justify their position through an ideology of superiority over others. In challenging dominant ideologies, CRT recognizes the importance of the experiential knowledge of people of color, which includes family histories, stories, parables, and other narratives that empower participants. They argue that White majoritarian master narratives distort the experiences of people of color. I extend Solórzano and Yosso's arguments to the African context by arguing that African narratives and stories are still dominated by master narratives of White superiority. Solórzano and Yosso (2002) argue that the manifestation of these majoritarian narratives is a cultural deficit model that offers the solution of cultural assimilation for academic success. In the same way, a Nigerian child who is more European, speaks better English,

and behaves in ways which are seen to be culturally acceptable in the Western tradition, is considered a successful student. In a world of globalized racism and White supremacism, acknowledging the central place of race in the discourse of education and knowledge generation becomes essential, not just in the US but in Nigeria and other black-majority contexts:

> The counter-story is a tool for exposing, analyzing, and challenging the majoritarian stories of racial privilege. *Counter-stories can shatter complacency, challenge the dominant discourse on race, and further the struggle for racial reform*. Storytelling and counter-storytelling these experiences (of unheard counter stories) can help strengthen traditions of social, political, and cultural survival and resistance (Soloranzo & Yosso, 2002, p. 32).

Counter storytelling is both a tool for challenging master narratives while at the same time strengthening those who tell the stories (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002). Africa has a rich tradition of storytelling that has been used historically for teaching and sharing information across generations (Asante, 1987; Gbadegesin, 1984; wa Thiong'o, 1964, 1982). In Nigeria, storytelling has been a rich tradition across many cultures (Achebe, 1958). The oral tradition has been a critical element of African societies in preserving historical narratives. Storytelling is both communal and participatory, and the oral tradition has also been critical to preserving Nigeria's history over 13,000 years (Garner, 1990). However, with modernization, much of the oral tradition has been lost, and folktales and storytelling have become less frequent (Abah et al., 2018; Ezeigbo, 2013).

I use Solórzano and Yosso's counter storytelling framework to counter the master narratives of developmentalism and modernity in Nigerian spaces, which position White

America and Europe as civilized and “developed" and Nigeria as uncivilized and developing. Counter storytelling in the Nigerian context means countering Eurocentric narratives about Western culture's superiority and centering black African lives and stories, including fewer known stories of resistance.

Pilot study

A pilot study of this project was completed from July to August 2018. The pilot study involved two groups of out of school youth (24 youth) who were active in youth organizations in their communities in New Karu, Nasarawa State and Agege, Lagos. The pilot project employed a Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR) approach, which included activity-based focus groups where the youth co-researchers and I investigated youth knowledge and understanding of history. As part of the focus group sessions, the youth co-researchers went out to interview members of their community to gain more insight into their communities' history. A sample of activity is in Figure 3-2 below, while a full guide to all activities is located in Appendix A.

Topic: Introduction to the Project and Participatory Research
Warm-Up (Duration: 15 minutes)
The group will be asked to walk around the room dancing to music. When the music stops, they will ask the person who is closest to them a question that tells something about themselves. They should ask each person a question. After the activity, they will introduce someone and tell them the exciting thing they learned about the person.
Introduction (Duration: 5 minutes)
The researcher will explain that the subjects are part of a Participatory Action Research Project. She will explain that this is a different way of doing research in which the research subjects are also co-researchers and co-collaborators on the project.
Activity 1 (Duration 20 minutes) – What is Participatory Action Research (PAR)?
The respondents will be given cards with different words/phrases that represent the different ideas of participatory action research. They will be asked to place the cards under the word that is related to it. They will then try to make sentences that describe PAR.

Figure **3-3**: Youth Culture and History Study

The sample activities contained in Figure **3-3** show the first activities conducted on the first day. A typical day can have several activities. The pilot study revealed some key insights which informed the final study design.

1) *Youth co-researchers' knowledge of local, national, and global history*: Among the pilot group, many youths lacked knowledge of history. While the youth co-researchers knew a few anecdotal stories of local history, mostly told by their parents and elderly relatives, they had limited knowledge of national history. None of the youth co-researchers who were involved in the study had taken a formal history class, and their knowledge was limited to stories that had been told to them by their parents and other relatives. This finding informed the final study design in which I would work with the youth to build up local history knowledge and have speakers and teachers come in to teach about history. Understanding that the youth had a limited repertoire of historical knowledge, I wanted to ensure that the youth did not feel they had a deficit but rather join them as storytellers of histories that we could jointly uncover, namely untold stories of their communities.
2) *The importance of storytelling and oral history:* It is also important to note that for the little history that they did know, written historical sources were not a common source of knowledge. The pilot revealed that oral history remains a source of history in communities where there is no written or recorded history. Youth co-researchers noted their keen interest in learning more history and in following up on the project to learn more about their history. This finding informed the design of the study by creating a strong focus on oral history and

storytelling as the primary source of information for youth research. It also informed the design of the collaborative history project.

3) *Importance of family, ethnic, and religious identity*: Ethnicity and family identity were more relevant to the youth than racial or national identity. There were substantial differences in the youth co-researchers in the South and those in the North. The youth co-researchers in the major metropolitan city of Lagos were more national and cosmopolitan in their outlook on history; they cited historical events such as independence and spoke highly of national heroes. This was different from the site in the North, where the youth co-researchers focused on local history. This finding helped me select activities that could best capture what was relevant to youth. I noticed that when in a group, the youth would have answers that were alike, so the design of the project allowed for more personal reflections to answer the questions about family, ethnic and religious identity. I also added individual and group questions and activities.

4) *Group dynamics within the YPAR framework:* The pilot study provided useful information on group dynamics within activity-based focus groups. The dynamics of the two-group studied were very different. It was important to provide guidelines for the interactions between youth co-researchers. The youth co-researchers needed further research skills to conduct the work in the community, and this realization informed the research design of the full project. The use of activities was also important because the general English literacy skills of this group of youth co-researchers were quite low. While all but two of the 24 respondents had completed high school, their participation

in writing and reading as part of the activities revealed gaps in basic literacy skills. Because of this, group members with higher literacy levels were able to support those with lower levels of literacy. Through discussions, all members of the group could participate in ways that they otherwise would not have. The community's work also opened up a new dimension to the research, which involved creating intergenerational linkages that can be important long after the research study is complete.

I further developed the activities that worked best and put more details into them and removed activities that did not work as well. For example, I removed the films that I had shown in the pilot but were difficult for the youths to interpret and understand. I also made sure that each of the activities had both a personal and a group component. For example, the youth would first reflect on their views of history in their journals before joining a small group discussion. I also continued much of the small group discussion. The small groups created a safe space for the youths to interact and build knowledge and confidence.

5) *Limitations of media-based activities and technology:* I had planned some activities to show videos and to share audio records, but with limited electricity and technology, these activities were not successful. I also noticed a cultural disconnect between some of the items I had chosen, as well as a generational gap in some of the music I selected.

Due to constraints on electricity and also the relevance of media content, I removed activities that were media based. The media component of the youth

being involved in the filming and audio recorded was then added as a way to build power among the youth in taking control of the technology that was being used to research their views. I also ensured that there were three sources of records for each of the sessions: written, audio, and video. I purchased back up batteries and power packs to ensure that I was able to obtain audio and video where there was no electricity.

6) *Community ties are important:* In the community where I had stronger community ties, the pilot was more successful. In that community, I had access to a larger pool of youth, churches, mosques and schools where I could conduct the study, and access to community members for interviews. Working with a strong youth leader in the community helped organize the day-to-day administration of the research, including snacks made by local women and providing transportation stipends to the co-researchers.

Being grounded in the community of research assisted me for the pilot study. I am a graduate student with limited funding, and staying to form community ties was beyond the scope of the finances I was able to raise. Working with communities where I had strong ties lent itself so much more to the YPAR work that I was engaging in and would build upon the work that I have been doing with communities over the years. From experience with the pilot, I decided to use Jos as my community site. Jos is my hometown and an area where I have extensive community ties from the work I have done with youth in the past. It was also a more secure site for me as I travelled to Nigeria

with my family and needed a safe place for them to stay while I was in the field, including a known child caregiver for my young daughter.

The pilot study was useful in designing the research study. Key takeaways from the pilot informed the study design. It gave indications of the types of activities that were useful and the areas to focus on the content of the study. It also gave me insight into the ways youth were thinking about and understanding history and the kinds of dynamics that could be expected during collaborative history research. Also, it prioritized the selection of a community location for me. I conducted my research with two children in tow, a toddler, and a teenager. The pilot study also assisted in learning what was possible and what would be needed logistically in working as a researcher and mother in the field.

Study design

Using the decolonizing methodological approaches described above and the insights from the pilot, I conducted a study that examines education policy focused on the inclusion, removal and return of history from the curriculum. I investigated how young people who have grown up under such policies come to understand history. Figure 3-4 shows the overall structure of the study design.

The study employs qualitative tools, including interactive, activity-based focus groups, in-depth semi-structured interviews, and youth co-researchers led community projects within a Youth Participatory Action Framework (YPAR) as shown in Figure **3-4.**

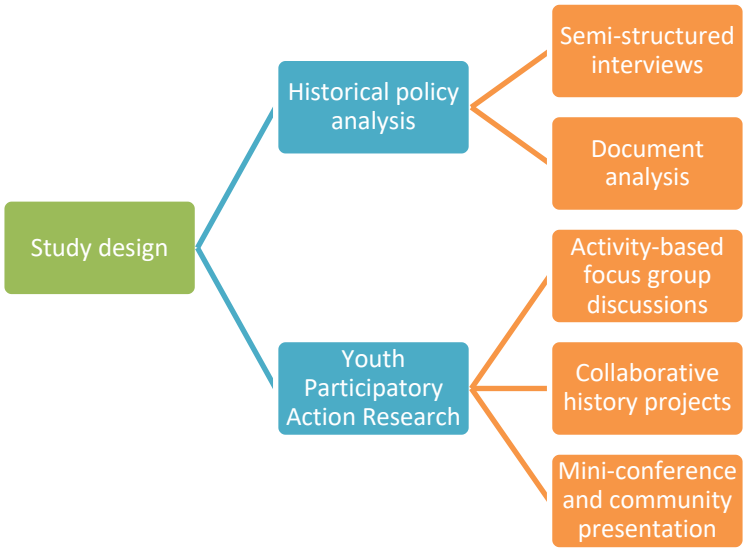

Figure **3-4**: Study design structure

Data Collection

To collect data, I visited Nigeria three times and spent four weeks for each visit, a total of 12 weeks of fieldwork. This was spread out over 18 months. The tools used for data collection are included in Appendix A and B. All of the work was recorded via audio and video recorder. The study incorporated the use of video as a participatory methodology, and I kept writing daily memos on the process. The data collection took place in three phases:

Phase I. Process Tracing of History Curriculum (RQ1) (July 2019 – March 2020)
- Interviews with relevant policy informants
- Interviews with the teachers and members of academic community

Phase II. Youth and Community Narratives and Projects (RQ2& 3) (July 2019-February 2020)
- Activity-based focus groups to identify knowledge and understanding of history
- Youth-led research to develop personal and community narratives
- Youth-led collaborative history projects based on their research

Phase III. Post Project Assessments (RQ4) (February - March 2020)
-Youth community presentations
-Post project interviews with youth

Figure **3-5.** Phases of Research

The original design was for the phases to take chronologically, but some parts of the study took place concurrently. This was due to the difficulty in getting interviews and information from some key policy informants, including officers from government agencies who often could not be reached despite having booked interviews months in advance.

Selection of sites for policy research

For the first part of the study, I began at the University of Ibadan, the home of Nigerian and African historiography. The University of Ibadan is the home of the Ibadan School of History as well as the birthplace of the Historical Society of Nigeria. From this first interview, I was guided to other sites to get additional information about the history education process in Nigeria. Due to travel restrictions placed on me by my home institution, I was only able to travel to Abuja for subsequent interviews. However, I was also able to pin down some additional interviews at the African Studies Association conference in Boston, Massachusetts, in November of 2019, where I presented the preliminary analysis of my pilot study. These interviews further guided my collection of resource documents when I returned to Nigerian in February 2020.

In Abuja, I was able to visit and interview individuals at the National Education Research Development Council, the primary curriculum design body in the country, a parastatal, or semi-autonomous division of the Federal Ministry of Education as searching their library and archives for materials. The National Education Research and Development Council (NERDC), previously the National Education Research Council (NERC), is in charge of curriculum policy development and the creation of curriculum materials such as teachers' handbooks and curriculum guides for schools.

Unfortunately, I was not allowed to photocopy but went through an arduous process of taking photographs of materials on my phone. I also visited and sourced primary documents from the office of the Joint Consultative Council on Education (JCCE) and the National Council of Education (NCE), where, along with interviews of civil servants working in the Ministry, I was able to collect all the Summary documents of the JCCE and NCCE from 1955 to date. I also paid a visit to the National Assembly to interview the House Committee Chair on Basic Education.

I had also discovered the role of international agencies and development partners in the process of history education and social studies education. I was able to use my contacts to get interviews with education officers at the World Bank and UNESCO, where I was able to source materials that were being updated on the African history textbooks created by UNESCO. I was also able to visit the Army Development Research Centre, where one of my contacts was working on his project for the African Historical Society and where he hoped to launch his campaign.

The contacts that I made were based mainly on previous associations and work that I have been doing for about two decades in Nigeria and the US with other Nigerians. Some of the key contacts were through the work I had done on curriculum development of Nigeria's financial literacy curriculum, which gave me familiarity with the curriculum development process and the agencies involved.

Selection of Youth Participatory Action Research sites

The policy research began as a background to the YPAR build, but as the research grew and developed, it became clearer that there two levels of analysis informed and strengthened each other. The policy research gave me a basis in which to understand the

challenges that the youths were facing in terms of how they were being conceptualized and vilified. The YPAR component informed my discussion with policy informants as it helped me to ask important questions about policy decisions regarding youth.

The Youth Participatory Action Research project was initially envisioned to take place in three sites, representing the historical three regions of Nigeria, the Southwest, the Southeast, and the North. However, due to financial reasons as well as strict travel restrictions by my home institution, I was unable to pursue this. I thus selected a research site with which I had historical familiarity, my hometown, Jos, Plateau State.

I chose Jos not only because I was familiar with the history of the town and also with youth in several communities, but also because Jos has become a symbol of Nigeria's past and potential future. Jos was once known as the home of peace and tourism and a "little Nigeria" due to the representation of diverse ethnic groups and religions that lived peacefully together in a town where the weather is pleasant, between 60- and 80-degrees year-round. The map in Figure **3-6** below shows the location of Jos, Plateau state.

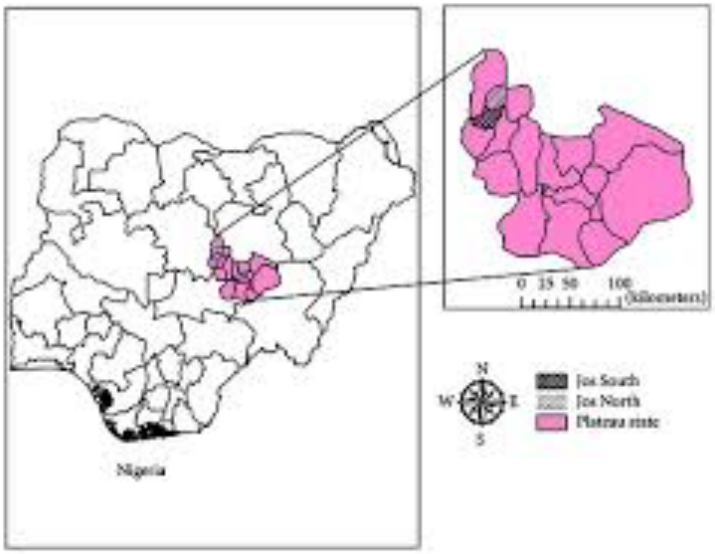

Figure **3-6:** Map of Jos, capital of Plateau State, Nigeria

Jos has a recent history, which makes it relevant for the research. In 2001, an unprecedented crisis erupted where thousands of people were killed in the span of one week, from September 5th to September 11th. Ever since that time, Jos has faced a constant ethnic and religious crisis which are called “crisis”. During that time, the entire Northern part of Nigeria has also become embroiled in conflict. Jos is thus a representation of the tense ethnic and religious crisis in Nigeria.

Jos has become the symbol of the contestations of citizenship and indigeneity, which has become a crucial part of the conflict in the country today (Krause, 2001). It was the conflict in Jos that led to an indigeneity clause in the Nigerian constitution that specified which citizens are "indigenes" of a given area. This is because of the long-standing claim of the current residents of Jos and Plateau state of hereditary rights to the land. The "indigenes" assert their rights and privileges over and above those considered "settlers" (Isa-Odidi, 2004).The indigene/settler conflict is compounded by religion. Those who claim to be indigenes of Plateau and Jos are Christian minority ethnic groups, while the settlers are the Muslim Hausa Fulani (Mwadkwun, 2001). This context emerges in the community's collaborative research work.

In Jos, I selected two Muslim communities and two Christian communities. The communities also represent self-described settlers and indigene communities, respectively. While none of these communities classify themselves as settlers, the issue is highly contested. To have some uniformity across the sites, I decided to select the most vulnerable, low-income communities known as urban ghettoes or "jungles" (Madueke, 2018). This site election was also done to facilitate any cross-community learning

without the barriers of socio-economic status. These communities had similar features: lack of running water, high rates of crime, lack of functional public-school systems, heavily policed, and high rates of drug abuse and prostitution. I also selected these communities because I have been working in these communities for the last ten years, as the leader of a youth-focused non-profit organization. As a result, I am familiar with the youth organizers and community leaders in the area.

The four communities that were selected were *Jenta* (Christian community), *Tudun Wada* (Christian community), *Dadin Kowa* (Muslim community), and *Gangare* (Muslim community). The communities are all within 10 kilometers of each other. In each of the communities, we met with the *Mai Angwa*, or community leader, to get permission for the study. I also worked with local youth organizations to select the youth participants for the study. The map in Figure **3-7** shows the four communities that were selected for the research.

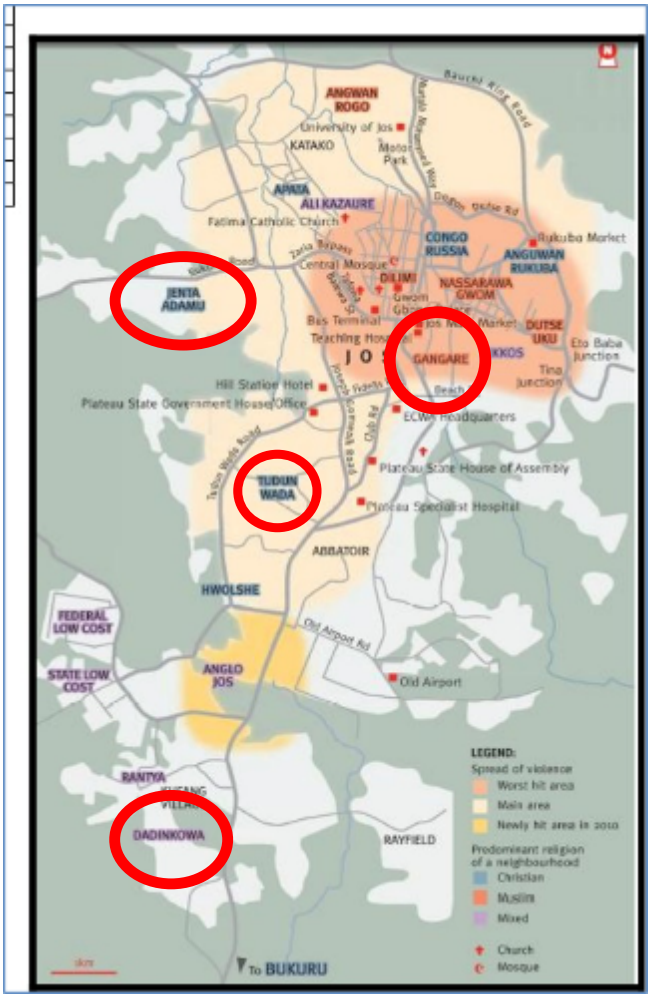

Figure **3-7:** Map of communities

Policy research participant selection

For policy research, I contacted different organizations that I had identified in the process of looking through documents and academic literature. The first agency I contacted was the National Education Research Development Council. I have worked with the NERDC as a partner in developing the financial literacy curriculum between 2005 and 2016. I have also worked as an NGO partner with the NERDC to develop a Safe Space curriculum for girls in secondary schools. As a result, I am in contact with the

leadership of the NERDC, and I am also familiar with all the processes of curriculum development from the advocacy to the implementation stage. The organization that I am still a member of, Linking the Youth of Nigeria through exchange (LYNX), works with the NERDC on the financial literacy project.

The NERDC introduced me to the informants and advocates for history education, Prof. Ogbogbo, who works at the University of Ibadan and is the immediate past president of the Central Bank of Nigeria. He introduced me to others working on the history curriculum. I also consulted other friends and colleagues to identify people working in organizations who had been part of the history policy process, for example, a friend in the World Bank introduced me to the Education Specialist. A Penn State alumnus introduced me to his UNESCO colleagues in the Nigeria office. I decided and interviewed the following 11 individuals, identified by their titles:

- Former President of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Professor of History, University of Ibadan
- Director of Policy, National Education Research Development Council
- Desk Officer, Joint Consultative Council on Education (JCCE)/National Council on Education
- Desk Officer, Basic Education, Federal Ministry of Education
- Chair, House Committee on Basic Education, House of Representatives, National Assembly, Abuja
- Lecturer and Head of Research, Department of History and International Relations, University of Jos

- Secondary school history teacher, Government Secondary School, West of Mines, Jos, Plateau state
- Lecture and Head of Research, Department of History, Bayero University Kano
- Director of Research, UNESCO Multi-sectoral regional office for West Africa, Abuja
- Senior Education Specialist, the World Bank Group, Abuja office
- Professor of Political Science, focus on Nigeria, City University of New York

Youth Participatory Action Research participant selection

To select the youth for the study, I created a flier and contacted youth organizations working in these communities. With support from some of my friends in NGOs in Jos, we contacted different youth organizations, churches, mosques, and community-based organizations and asked them to identify youth interested in being part of the research project. We gave them fliers, which specified a time that we would have an introductory session. At the introductory session, I described the project and asked the youth who might be interested in participating to read and fill out a consent form. After we read through the consent forms and they signed, they were asked to fill out an application form which is attached in Appendix C. After the youth completed the form, I worked with the youth organizers to sort through the forms and select the youth that met the criteria for the study.

There were criteria for selecting the youth co-researchers as I wanted to work with youth co-researchers who were active in their communities and dedicated to some form of community service. The kinds of organizations the youth co-researchers included were

religious youth groups and organizations, youth associations, community associations, and non-governmental organizations. The criteria for youth co-researchers participation in the study were:

1) Basic literacy: the youth co-researchers had to be able to independently complete the application form, and to be able to read and sign the consent form independently. Nigeria's official language is English.
2) Community engagement: having been involved in any form of community or school clubs that show interest in the community
3) Age between the ages of 18-24
4) Be able to participate in the study for at least six months.

I worked on the selection with youth leaders from the community, who were able to assist in knowing which youth were active. When all the criteria were met, we looked for diversity within each group in terms of ethnicity, as each group only represented one religion. For example, youth identified as Tarok, Angas, Berom, Hausa, Yoruba, Fulani and other ethnic groups that were considered both local to Plateau and from other parts of the country as well.

The selection criteria for active youth was intended to enable me to access the historical knowledge and historical consciousness of active youth who are in a period of waithood (Honwana, 2013, para 2), and still interested in civic engagement. I also paid attention to gender balance and selected six males and six females from each community. I selected 48 youth co-researchers between the ages of 18 and 24. These were out of school youth who had either completed or dropped out of secondary school. There were

21 different ethnic groups represented in this sample and two major religions: Christianity and Islam. There were 24 boys and 24 girls to start the program, but only 32 participants completed the entire research project from July 2019 to February 2020.

Table **3-1**: Pseudonyms and gender of youth co-researchers

Jenta (Christian)	**Dadin Kowa (Muslim)**	**Tudun Wada (Christian)**	**Gangare (Muslim)**
Bapizy (F)	Meenal (F)	Monroe (M)	Kaakaki (M)
Boris (F)	Bangale (M)	Unique (F)	Miss Tweety (F)
One Blast (M)	SM (F)	Reezky (F)	Wise lady (F)
Boyzo (M)	Hajjo baby (F)	Mummy'z Heart (M)	Adam Smith (M)
Brilliant (F)	Star Girl (F)	Optimist (M)	Fresh (F)
Sunshine (F)	Abbati (M)	Berky (F)	Reasonable (M)
Diamond Klerk (M)	Zee baby (F)	Jonex (M)	Triple G (M)
Shine boy (M)	Black Diamond (M)	Shanga baby (F)	Astonish (M)
Promised (F)	Star Boy (M)	Lady Slyd (F)	Zee baby(F)
Yellowman (M)	Young Journalist (F)	Proudly Blaqq (M)	Success (M)

At the beginning of the study, the youth co-researchers were each asked to give themselves a name that would be used through the course of the study. These names are their pseudonyms and are used throughout this dissertation. The pseudonyms and gender of each of the youth in these communities are in Table 3-1. In each of the communities, the religion of the students is the same as the predominant religion in the community due to the strict religious segregation of the communities.

Participatory fieldwork

I used semi-structured interviews, activity-based focus group discussions groups, youth journaling, memo-ing, and participant observation to collect my data in the field. As noted above, all the approaches are part of a YPAR framework with full engagement of youth in all stages of the research. I spent eight weeks working in the Jos, four weeks in July 2019, and four weeks in February 2020. I spent four weeks conducting interviews

and collecting documents from the National Education and Research Development Council, the National Commission on Education, and the History Teachers Association.

The tools used included activity-based focus groups and semi-structured interviews with individual youth, parents, community members, and policymakers. All of the work was recorded via audio and video. The study incorporated the use of video as a participatory methodology, and I wrote daily memos on the process. The data collection took place in three phases.

In Phase I, I sought to address my first research question: *what are the social, political, economic, and cultural influences on the removal and return of history education in Nigeria since 1955?* I conducted interviews with history teachers, relevant members of the National Education Research Development Council, the Federal Ministry of Education, the Historical Society of Nigeria, the JCCE/NCE administration, the University of Ibadan, the University of Jos, Bayero University Kano, UNESCO, the World Bank and a professor of Political Science with a focus on Nigeria at the City University of New York.

In Phase II, I sought to answer research questions 2 and 3: *what do Nigerian youth know about their history, and what are the sources of their historical knowledge* and *how does their knowledge and understanding of history relate to their civic and cultural identity*? I conducted the first part of the Youth Participatory Action Research Project. I conducted 20 activity-based focus group discussion, three hours each, with four different groups of between 8-12 youth co-researchers at each session. I then conducted a museum visit with all four groups and held activity-based focus groups with a mix of youth co-

researchers from the four communities. In this phase, alongside the youth co-researchers, we conducted eight interviews with community members, two from each community.

In Phase III, I worked with the youth co-researchers to develop a collaborative history project to answer research question 4: *can collaborative history-making change their historical consciousness, identity, and how they engage with their communities*? We designed a small study, developed research questions, decided on interview subjects, conducted interviews, analysed the interviews, and prepared a public report and presentation of our findings. The projected ended with a mini-conference for the youth co-researchers, where they learned about Nigerian and African history, based on their areas of interest in Phase II. On the second day of the mini-conference, the youth co-researchers made a public presentation to their communities whom we invited for the presentation. Phase III ended with post surveys, reflections, and discussion of the themes we had generated through the research. The research questions are aligned with the tools and sources for data in Table 3-2**.**

Table **3-2**: Research questions and tools,

Research Question	**Methods and Tools**	**Data Source**
RQ1. What are the social, political, economic, and cultural influences on the removal and return of history education in Nigeria?	Interviews with policymakers, administrators, teachers and academics	Interview transcripts, primary and secondary source of policy documents
RQ2. What do Nigerian youth know about their history, and what are the sources of their historical knowledge?	Activity-based focus groups Youth journaling	Video and audio recording, materials generated from activities
RQ3. How does their knowledge and understanding of history relate to their civic and cultural identity?	Activity-based focus groups	Video and audio recording, materials generated from activities
RQ4. Can collaborative history-making change their historical consciousness, identity, and how they engage with their communities?	Collaborative history projects, community presentations, reflections	Video and audio recording, materials generated from activities

Activity-based focus groups contain activities that engage the youth co-researchers and enable them to construct their stories in a fun and engaging format. Figure **3-8** below shows a typical 3-hour session of the activity-based focus group discussion. The session usually begins with a warm up and a reflection of the past session followed by activities.

At the end of each session, the youth have time for collective and individual reflections, sometimes with a journal assignment to take home. The activities included group work, games, individual and group reflection. The groups were recorded through video and audio formats, as well as through the materials that are developed by the youth co-researchers. A detailed description of all the activities in the activity-based focus groups and collaborative history projects are in Appendix B.

YOUTH CULTURE AND HISTORY STUDY – DAY TWO (120 MINUTES)
Activity 1 - Warm-Up (15 minutes)
Jump in jump out. My name is …they call me… and I want to be a …for the rest of my life.
Activity 2 - Reflection (10 minutes) Large group
In a circle, each person will discuss something that they learned in the previous session.
Activity 3 - Sharing (small group work)
Yesterday you were asked to go home and work on your family tree. Please share with us what you learned, and if you learned anything new and exciting.
Guiding questions; 1) What did you learn about your family? 2) Why is it important? 3) What is similar about your different family trees? 4) What is different? 5) What does the story of your family tree, not tell?
Activity 4 – What is history?
In small groups (gender specific), the Co-Researchers will discuss the following questions; What is history? Is history important? Why or Why not? What are the sources of history? Who writes history? Is who writes history important? Discuss why or why not?

Figure **3-8.** Sample guide activity-based focus group discussion

Each of the activities are carried out in each community and are recorded by video and audio tape in addition to observation notes and youth journals.

Analysis

As part of the policy analysis, I conducted semi-structured interviews with policy informants who know history education and the policy process. I also rely on primary and secondary source materials and documents to complement the findings and to serve as a way of triangulating the data from the interviews. I analyze policy documents, reports, memos, as well as books and peer-reviewed materials from journals. To analyze the policy documents, I read each document and highlight the areas of interest. I created a timeline that has different dates and sources that describe the events relating to history education. I listed the sources of information for each of these dates. I also listed the policy players that were recorded as being part of the process. I used this to create periods

that I classified according to the significant events and players that were influential at that time.

I analysed each of the individual interviews; I transcribed the data and generated codes from the data. After completing this stage, I created narrative summaries from each of the interviews. I then created matrixes and cut and pasted the quotes from different interviews and stories to generated themes. (Maxwell, 2005). After completing some of the interviews, I noticed discrepancies in some of the dates that were given as well as contradictory reports. Following this, I searched for sources or primary documents that I used to reconstruct the history of the policy on history education. Finally, I supported the primary data from interviews and source documents with empirical literature from peer-reviewed journals and other sources.

The research analysis for the YPAR data collected involved two levels of analysis; group-level analysis and cross narrative analysis. As part of YPAR, the community narratives and policy process narratives were analysed jointly with the youth co-researchers to identify generative themes. Jackson (2008) outlines a participatory group process to analyze qualitative data in a particular action research project. The group analysis involved sharing and reflecting in small groups as well as reporting back to the plenary. This group participatory data analysis followed the same steps of qualitative data analysis and maintained a strong inclusion ethic as outlined in the table below.

Table **3-3:** Comparison of the data analysis process

Table 4. Comparison of Typical Qualitative Data Analysis Process and the Participatory Approach		
Data Analysis Step	Typical Qualitative Analysis	Group Participatory Data Analysis
Data Management	Notes or tapes of interviews or focus groups are typed up to create transcripts by the researcher or a professional transcriber.	"Data Preparation" phase: Put notes into form usable by group (colored paper, large font, cut each statement into separate strips). In the process of doing this, the IRs become familiar with their data.
Reviewing and Familiarization	Transcripts or notes read through by researchers.	
Classification	One researcher or a small team codes the statements or passages according to emergent or predeveloped themes.	"Grouping the Data and Identifying Themes": The group organizes the strips of paper into clusters and organizes the clusters into themes as a group activity; theme titles are emergent.
Interpretation	Researcher or small team develops a hierarchy of themes and subthemes and connects them to each other and to other theories and the literature.	"Making Sense of the Whole Thing": Group arranges the theme titles into patterns and discusses the story and image related to the data with the help of a researcher/facilitator.
Report Writing	One researcher writes up the narrative or story of the data.	"Telling the Story": One member of the group writes up the narrative or story of the data.

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As noted in **Table 3-3,** the youth co-researchers helped to identify themes and discussed the findings of the project, telling their own stories and interpreting the data.

Group level analysis

As noted in the table above, the youth co-researchers were involved in preparing the data, generating themes, and creating stories from the research. I analyzed group-level activities using an inductive approach to "generative themes" (Freire, 1999). Using themes generated by the group data analysis, I constructed detailed matrixes to analyze further trends and themes emerging from the data (Maxwell, 2005).

Cross-narrative analysis

After analyzing the data for the different groups and individuals, I created a cross-case analysis framework to examine the different sites of the research. This conceptual

framework (Miles & Huberman, 1984) had dominant themes and patterns from the group narratives. I used this to generate themes across narratives.

Positionality: from where I stand

I am interested in finding alternative solutions to questions on youth engagement and constructing a study based on social justice and emancipatory pedagogies that uplift those involved. My personal views are bound to seep into the study and influence the participants. However, this design, being participatory, helps to ensure that my voice is not the only voice that is heard.

The youth co-researchers involved in the study and were able to reflect on some of the findings of the study and give their input and interpretation. While I, as the researcher, have the final decision on the interpretations of the project, which are based on the theoretical framework and informed by the literature. It is important to note that the study does lead with the assumption of youth knowledge and agency, asking the question to learn what youth do know, rather than assuming or predicting what they know.

The trustworthiness of the research is ensured through the use of multiple tools and methods as well as the different sources of information, which include the youth, the community members, and influencers of the policy process. While qualitative methodology often cannot be generalizable to other populations, this study provides insight into the relationships between youth historical consciousness, identity, and civic engagement. This work can provide a basis for my future research to look at different groups to confirm if there are similar or different results.

A wide array of experiences that shape my research work. I need to state this positionality and ensure that I am held accountable for giving all the research project findings given adequate consideration. I come from a multi-racial background and have lived extensively on two continents and in several different cultural contexts. I am a woman, a wife, and a mother. I am also a citizen of Nigeria and America. My various roles impact how I see race, racial identity, culture, and gender identity in many profound but often mundane ways. While I have a deep respect for culture and tradition based on my subjective experiences, I also bear the burden of discrimination based on race, ethnicity, and gender.

I have a long history of mostly American-based education. I have studied in the public education system in Nigeria, as have my children. My older daughter first brought my attention to the lack of history education in the public school she attended. I also rely on various experiences as a mother of children in public school, which gave me an insider perspective on Nigeria's public education.

I have spent most of my life involved in various social movements, including the anti-Free trade movement, the peace movement, women's movements, the #BringBackOurGirls movement, and diverse students and youth-led campaigns to which I contributed and played various roles. For over 15 years, I have worked in the non-governmental (NGO) sector in Nigeria in youth development. My work focused on youth civic education, and I wrote non-formal education curricula for secondary school students on history, development, and community service. I also played an advocacy role and have

had direct roles in curriculum development as a member of committees with the National Education and Research Development Council (NERDC).

My background and positionality as a bi-racial, feminist, pan-Africanist, socialist, and internationalist feed into and shape my work and how I see the world. I bring my perspectives into my research while I position myself as an engaged activist in solidarity with the youth and their plight. Having worked in these communities, I bring myself and the reputation of organizations I have been working with these communities. The relationships have been productive. Otherwise, I would not have been permitted to come back and do the work in these communities. My work in advocacy in the challenging policy terrain in Nigeria also influences the way I do policy research. My approach to obtaining information means working with human resources and networks I have developed throughout my professional life.

A graduate student researcher is not highly valued in the corridors of power. I first observed this in conducting my research for my second Master's degree in Osun state, Nigeria. The work of academics, as a whole, is widely undervalued in the society, as teaching and education have declined in value and prestige in Nigeria today. People may give you information out of pity, after days or weeks of persistence, but in many ways, they feel that they are doing you a favor, and not vice versa. I have to say that I was not seen as a regular student researcher during my work; I was seen as a researcher “from America.” Also, I was seen as a White American rather than a Nigerian. Nigeria is a patrilineal society, so I am considered American because my Nigerian ancestry is through my mother and not my father. So, when I went to offices, I heard them say, yes, it is the

"White researcher" and the researcher from America. Chapter Four will also highlight how my racial identity plays into the perception of youth I work with and what Whiteness and skin color, as well as facial features, mean to them.

Conclusion

Decolonizing research that is critically aware of the intersections of race must be designed in a way that can capture the stories from people that are often not heard. In the area of policy research, this also means relying on non-traditional sources and triangulating findings across multiple data points. In YPAR, this means creating ways in which young people are comfortable in familiar settings and engaged in fun and exciting activities. Overall, the data generated from this kind of research is, by nature, overwhelming. However, the richness of the data, as well as the transformative process of collecting it, is transformative in and of itself.

Chapter 4

Policy Analysis of History Education in Nigeria

I learnt not so long ago that history has been taken off the curriculum in this country.
Can you imagine that? History? What is wrong with History?
Or maybe I should ask, what is wrong with some people's head?

Prof. Wole Soyinka, Nobel laurate and popular Nigerian Activist[1]

On May 25th, 2016 the prominent Nigerian writer, activist and Nobel Laurate, Professor Wole Soyinka, brought to national attention the news that history had been removed from the curriculum. There was public outcry as social media and newspapers began discussions: How did this happen? Why did this happen? How could we let this happen? There was a general sense of shock and disbelief that Nigerian children were not being taught history. Varied dates and reasons were given, ranging from Nigeria's military leaders wanting to hide history to the government's lack of value of Nigerian culture and heritage. There was a lot of flurry, but it was productive. Perhaps having relenting to popular pressure or a unique policy window, but by 2019, just three years later, history was restored to the curriculum for basic (Grades 1-9) education.

To some members of the academic community, namely the historians and the history teachers, Soyinka's message was not news. In fact, fighting for the restoration of history had been a major cause of the Historical Society of Nigeria, for over 30 years! Prior to the 2016 public reckoning, there had been decades of advocacy, visits to the

[1] Quoted in a statement on August 25th, 2016 quoted by the Nation Newspaper

Presidency and verbal declarations to restore history by Nigerian presidents, but there had never been so much progress in so little time.

What happened to history education in Nigeria? Was history actually ever fully removed from the curriculum? What kind of history was ever taught in basic education and who changed that and why? To some extent, these questions have been addressed by the Historical Society of Nigeria through their meetings, memos, books and articles in the Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria. In particular, a festschrift book, *Advocate for History* (2018), creates a heroic account of the former President of the HSN Professor C.B.N. Ogbogbo and valorizes the Society's historic opposition and struggle. However, there are many sides to a single story, and this dissertation offers a fresh perspective.

These varying accounts give contradictory details and lay out only one side of the story. They leave untold the influence of foreign governments, including the USA and the former colonial power, Britain. It also does not tell the story of social studies education, which replaced history as a subject, with its advocates claiming to be integrating history but having little or no historical content. These accounts also do not place the removal of history education in broader African and Africanist context. In addition, the varied accounts do not adequately present the political and economic motivations behind curricula changes, and the larger context of the changes in the education system which were occurring at the same time. This chapter is an attempt to address some of these issues, bringing in a critical decolonizing approach to present a fresh take on what occurred, why and what the new changes may or may not mean to Nigeria.

In this chapter I address my first research question; what are the social, political, economic influences on the removal and return of history education in Nigeria? I begin

by outlining the general trends that took place in history education and introduce a periodization of events. I discuss briefly the major players who were involved, and then go into more detail about how these players, the ideas they held and the power they wielded shaped the story of history education in Nigeria over 100 years. Discussing such a large expanse of time in a single chapter can only be limited in scope and depth, but the aim is to highlight the contentions in ideology between the ruling elite that made decisions about history education and the intellectual elite that that sought to influence these decisions. I draw broad themes for which future research can be based, and challenge master narratives that have been created in the advocacy for history education.

Using the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter Two, I argue and provide evidence that the Nigerian economic and political elite worked hand in hand with the British and American governments to direct education policy towards Western lines of modernization and development. Alongside economic interests, this collaboration between Nigerian and foreign elites also sought to ensure social ordering and civic compliance by emphasizing civic responsibility and Western values. Finally these efforts also sought to ensure national unification and to gloss over ethnic and religious tensions by creating a curriculum that was amenable to the general population. It is within these larger and broader struggles that history education is situated and discussed in this chapter.

This chapter draws on the analysis of the 13 policy interviews I conducted between July 2019 and March 2020. Information from the interviews was often contradictory and contained multiple mismatched dates and ideas that could not be reconciled. Using interview to document historical processes has both benefits and

disadvantages but are still essential to reconstructing stories of the past, especially when written sources are absent or inadequate (Frisch, 1990). While I continued to build on key informant interviews, the glaring discrepancies in the narratives compelled me to search for and obtain primary source documents, which included education policy documents and minutes and reports of meetings that were held. For ease of reading, I introduce the interview materials as source materials alongside traditional documents as well as research articles that were garnered guided by the interviews and the source documents. This approach treats the interviews and the documents with equal weight.

This chapter examines how history education was a contentious subject within the radical Africanist and Western developmentalist visions for Nigeria. Cultural racism was used as tool to promote the latter vision and to delegitimize the importance of culture and history. It will also show how the political and social landscape in which ethnic and religious tensions exploded and threatened the existence of the Nigerian state, lent credence to the idea that emphasizing culture and ethnicity should be subsumed under the broader goal of nationalism. I show that the social studies curriculum which replaced history, geography and civic education, was considered more amenable to the goals of education which focused on development and unification.

The story of history education in Nigeria can be contextualized within a broader struggle for the use of education towards goals for capitalist, neoliberal national development and unity in the postcolonial Nigerian state. On the one hand, government technocrats and the ruling Nigerian elites sought to promote an education for national integration and economic development along neo-liberal lines. For this group, education in postcolonial Nigeria bore many of the legacies of colonial education. Education served

a specific function: development along Western lines towards the modernization project; and citizenship that would fall in line with a strong nation state, foregoing culture and ethnic ties towards the vision of a unified and developed Nigeria.

In contrast, Nigerian intellectuals and freedom fighters, as part of a broader Africanist anti-colonial movement, sought to use education as a tool for liberation and critical thinking, to foster pride in Nigerian and African history, culture and language as a means of creating citizens with a strong national and African identity that would free Nigeria from the vestiges of colonialism and colonial thinking.

While Africanist intellectuals had one plan for education, ultimately, the government technocrats' and Nigerian elites' vision for education took precedence over more radical visions for education, and ultimately, it failed. Nigeria today is neither "developed" in terms of neoliberal indicators for development, nor is it unified, as ethnic and religious tensions continue to question the viability of the Nigerian state.

The overall argument of this chapter is that postcolonial education systems continue to carry the legacy of colonialism in supporting global imperialism through curriculum policies that focus on creating subservient citizens who will fall in line with neo-liberal policies. Local Nigerian social and economic elites align with US and British elites to contend with the more radical intellectual elites, as I elucidate in the course of this chapter. However, the return of history to the curriculum and the years of struggle by the historians and the Historical Society of Nigeria shows that there will always be movements against Western neocolonial policies, and concessions were made by both the nationalist elite and the intellectual elite such as the return of history to the curriculum. Despite this, my research contends that the return of history to the curriculum is still a

false start, as the new curriculum lacks a return to the radical roots originally envisioned by Nigerian radicals.

Policy players

The story of Nigeria's history education policy has several players. Using Fanon's theories about the national elite described in Chapter Two, I classify Nigeria's civilian and military governments as the nationalist elite. Here I agree with Fanon's classification that the nationalist ruling elite were not a true bourgeoisie, because they rely on the infrastructure of the state rather than independent capital. I term the second set of players "imperialists." They include the colonial British administrators and the United States, whose influence can be traced to the 1920s and who gained more influence after the Second World War. The third set of players I call the "intellectual elite," who include the historians and the Historical Society of Nigeria. I call the final set of players the "traditional elites," who are comprised of traditional rulers and title holders. I briefly discuss each of these groups, after which I proceed with the policy story over time.

The Imperialists

In the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 European leaders formally carved up the African continent amongst European powers, giving the territory of what is now Nigeria to Britain. It would take almost 30 years of British force and coercion to completely subdue over 300 ethnic groups into a country it would name Nigeria in 1914. The British would rule Nigeria up until its independence in 1960, but the impact of colonial rule would live long after its formal ending.

The British governed Nigeria through indirect rule, using a small set of colonial administrators scattered across the country, and its governance relied on a complex system of traditional rulers who varied in style and power according to the various attributes of the ethnic groups in those areas. The British exploited ethnic and religious differences for their own benefit. They also worked hand in hand with a new educated elite towards the end of their rule in the 1950s not only to hand over the reins of power, but to ensure the continued dependency status of Nigeria in what I have referred to earlier as neocolonialism.

The second imperialist power of interest is the United States. While the US obtained global hegemony only after the Second World War, its influence in Nigerian education affairs came much earlier. The Phelps Stokes Fund African Education Commission of 1920 is one of the earliest examples of US incursion into Nigerian education (Berman, 1921). In 1922 the Phelps Stokes Foundation was hired by the British colonial government to study education in Nigeria and other colonies. The Phelps Stokes Commission was one of the first comprehensive reports on education in Africa and its guidelines were based on the its work in the United States with the American Negroes (Fagbalu, 2019). Much later, in 1967, the United States Education Development Center (EDC) would later play another influential role in promoting social studies. The EDC, alongside the British Center for Curriculum Renewal and Educational Development Overseas (CREDO) during the first conference for social studies in 1967, just a few years after Nigeria gained her independence from Britain.

The national elite

The national elite are the ruling social, economic, political and military class that have ruled Nigeria since independence. Prior to independence, they worked with the British government and after independence they continued to work with foreign governments. The description of the national elite is a broad categorization based on Fanon's idea of a national bourgeoise class (Fanon, 1967). While many of them were educated in schools in Europe and North America, I have separated them as a distinct class that obtained power and have held onto it since through successive civilian and military governments.

The intellectual elite

The intellectual elite represents mostly US and British trained individuals. While they are part of the national elite, I distinguish them by they established education systems, particularly higher education in Nigeria. For the purpose of this study, the Historical Society of Nigeria and are key players. The Historical Society of Nigeria was formed in 1955, five years before Nigeria achieved its independence.

Education technocrats

Another internal force in the historical timeline was the education planners and the influential education "experts" from the Institutes and Colleges of Education. Literature critiquing the problems of public education in Nigeria tends to focus on administration, finance and enrolment (Adesina, 2013; Fauna, 2008). The focus of education reforms has primarily been on increasing access to education and increased financing, transparency and efficiency in education policy administration. Education planning bodies, comprised of mainly bureaucrats such as Commissioners for Education, often highlight the physical

neglect of the education sector as well as the lack of effort of government in effectively administering the schools. There are also many calls from these individuals for increases technical and vocational education to push Nigeria towards economic development. There is thus increased pressure on education as a way to solve the problems of the country.

The Federal Government of Nigeria also has an extensive educational apparatus, the Federal Ministry of Education. The Federal Ministry of Education has various parastatals that operate somewhat independently and have distinct roles. The National Council on Education (NCE) is a body made up of the Minister of Education and the 36 state commissioners of education. It must approve all policies before they can be implemented by the state and federal ministries of education. Of interest to this study is the National Education and Research Development Council (NERDC). The NERDC is the key body that controls curriculum and research. Its predecessor was the National Education Research Commission (NERC). The NERDC is in charge of all the research and development of curricula in Nigeria. It can sign MOUs with other government agencies, as well as approved civil society organizations, to plan and propose curriculum to the National Council on Education (NCE).

The NERDC functions in two ways: 1) it makes its own internal policy recommendations for the education curriculum in the country, and 2) it takes directive from the Federal Ministry of Education to develop curricula that have been selected to be proposed to the NCE. The NERDC was instrumental for the return of history through the process of what is called disarticulation from the social studies curriculum into what is classified as a “standalone” subject. In the process of the NCE approval, a subject can be

integrated into existing curricula subjects, or it can be created as a standalone subject which will then be introduced as a new subject. Several recent changes show the transformation of previous subjects to new subjects. For instance, new subjects that have emerged in the 2016 National Policy on Education include Religious and National Values. Working with the Federal Ministry of Education and the HSN, the NERDC completed its work on the history curriculum through developing the history "curriculum" before proposing it to the NCE.

The youth "lumpenproletariat" or youth in "waithood"

Youth and student movements have played a pivotal role in the development of education in Nigeria (Nafziger & Strong, 2020). This dissertation will not dwell extensively on youth movements, it is a study of youth and how education policies have affected them. This dissertation also engages youth in an education project through collaborative history work in their communities. For the purposes of this dissertation, I am examining the youth "lumpenproleteriat" (Fanon, 1961), the young people who are not part of the elite ruling class, attend public schools, and are often faced with unemployment after school. These are the youth in Honwana's "waithood" (Honwana, 2015, para. 3).

Periodization and the timeline of history education in Nigeria

I use these simple classifications to describe the processes of history education and education more broadly in Nigeria from 1884-2018. In tracing the history education in Nigeria, I created different periods of classification for the key events described in this chapter. These periods do not describe traditional forms of Nigerian education, nor

Islamic incursions into education, but focus on the Western styled public education system which is the backbone of Nigerian public education today. While the role of Islam, particularly in Northern schools is important. I discuss the Western style education that is the primary model of public education in Nigeria today.

Table **4-1**: Timeline of history education in Nigeria

Period One: British hegemony and a colonized history curriculum (1884-1954)	
1884	Berlin Conference
1885	First missionary school founded in Nigeria
1901	Nigeria becomes a British Protectorate
1914	Amalgamation of Southern and Northern Protectorates and formation of Nigeria
Period Two: Africanization of the curriculum and independence struggles (1955-1966)	
1955	Historical Society of Nigeria (HSN) & the Ibadan School of History formed
1960	Nigerian Independence
1966	First military Coup d'état end of the 1st republic
Period Three: The dark period: the introduction of social studies and erasure of history (1967 – 2004)	
1967	**1st African Social Studies Conference,** Nigeria's civil war begins
1968	2nd African Social Studies Conference
1969	National Curriculum Conference
1970	Nigerian Civil War ends
1973	National Seminar by the National Education Research and Development Council
1976	Implementation of Universal Primary Education (UPE)
1977	The National Policy on Education (1st edition) (replaces history with social studies)
1980	NERC releases guidelines on Social Studies which exclude history
1982	Implementation of 1977 policy consolidates removal of history from years 1-9
1985	New senior secondary school curriculum went into place for history
1985	Planned structural adjustment program begins
1999	Beginning of Civilian Rule,
1999	Launch of Universal Basic Education (UBE) to replace UPE
2004	National Policy on Education (4th edition)
Period Four: Struggle for the return of history education (2005-2019)	
2005	50th anniversary of HSN in 2005 invigorates advocacy for history education
2014	Second HSN visit to President Goodluck Jonathon
2018	Resolution adopting history back into the curriculum passed at NCE in Kano
2019	Start date for the integration of history into the curriculum in public schools

Table 4-1 outlines the major events in the timeline of history education in Nigeria. I divide the timeline into four periods. The first period from 1884-1955 is when Nigeria

was under British colonial rule. The next period 1955-1966 I mark as a special period during the final end of colonial rule when the Africanization of the curriculum as most prominent. Period three from 1967-2004 marks the slow decline of history education, its removal from Basic education and finally Period Four marks the final struggle for the return of history and its eventual reintegration into the curriculum. Details of the periods, highlighting the actors described above, follows.

British hegemony and a colonized history curriculum (1884-1955)

Race prejudice, in fact, obeys a flawless logic. A country that lives and draws its substance from the exploitation of other people's makes those peoples inferior. Race prejudice applied to these peoples is normal…" (Fanon, 1967, p. 41)

During the colonial conquest of Nigeria, three significant forces shaped Western education in Nigeria: the Islamists, the missionaries, and the colonial government. The missionaries and Islamists both had a religious agenda: to recruit converts and spread their religions and lifestyles. The colonial government had its plan, which was to support its quest in empire-building and, secondly, to quell rebellion and war. At some points, the interests of these external forces converged, and at others, they clashed.

The British colonial government wanted to provide to the "natives" and the kinds of education that Nigerians desired. The Colonial Government's arguments were premised on a position of Anglo-European Christian superiority and cultural racism. Fanon (1967) describes this process of cultural racism as a complex tension between the colonizers and the colonized, and an internal tension within colonized peoples.

Missionary schools were built by British and other missionaries before Nigeria became a British colony. The first missionary school was founded in Badagry in 1842 (Onabamiro, 1883). The establishment of European schools was necessary to make "European intentions in the country achievable" (Adaralegbe, 1983, p. 4). Missionaries established schools intending to convert children to Christianity. With this aim, the missionaries brought literary education, which was becoming an essential skill for participation in the economy. Even though Nigerians may not have been interested in Christianity per se, they were involved in the literary education it brought. Churches fought each other to establish schools to gain new converts. (Adaralegbe, 1983).The missionaries influenced social and cultural life through education:

> Education provided by the missionaries constituted one of the most potent sources of sociocultural change in Nigeria during the nineteenth century. Nigerians who participated in the Western educational experience thought of themselves as an elite African group. And, as their numbers increased, they began to make up a new class of professionals and businessmen who aspired to positions of leadership in their respective communities. Anxious to politically, socially and economically adopt a quasi-British lifestyle, they formulated in their minds the image of a developed Nigeria modeled after the British and European way of life. On the cultural plane, the missionaries distorted and, to a certain extent, destroyed traditional Nigerian culture (Falola et al, 1991, p. 158).

Missionary activity in education was in line with the broader imperial project, which exacerbated and exploited class relationships, creating a class of Nigerians tuned

to the British lifestyle. Europe's relationship with Africa had, for centuries, been exploitative. With the end of the slave trade, the British had to transfer this exploitative relationship with Nigerians into what was known “legitimate” commerce (Law, 1995). Trade in human beings as slaves was replaced by trade in items such as cocoa, palm kernels, and groundnuts.

While the missionaries claimed their vision was part of new humanitarianism in Europe, Falola (1991) the destruction caused by missionary education is well noted (Adaralegbe, 1983; Fagbalu, 2017; Fajana, 1964). Missionary education focused on taking children away from their families and building in the new values that were aligned with the church. For example, children were not permitted to speak Nigerian languages or participate in cultural activities such as such as dancing. (Adaralegbe, 1983; wa Thiong' o, 1986).

Missionaries agreed that literary education was essential and should be used to convert children, converting them over from “paganism” and the prejudices of “unyielding parents” (Fajana, 1964). Since it was difficult for adults to be converted as they were entrenched in their religions while children were considered easy converts. At first Nigerian parents were not interested in education, but as the colonial administration created changes in the economy, Nigerians began to see the need for British education. The introduction of taxes and wage labor, forced families to send their children to school as wealth shifted from trade and market based on a more formal economy, which required education. The assimilation into the British empire also inevitably fostered its consumption patterns. Even though education disrupted cultural patterns and traditional

ways of life, it became highly desired by an emerging Nigerian elite. These Nigerians had been trained in Nigeria and abroad. They demanded higher education in Nigeria and increased the number of primary and secondary schools to increase access to basic education. Walter Rodney (1987) notes that the demands of the new African elite, wealthy church members, merchants, and emigrants led to the expansion of education.

Racism and British colonial education

Colonial administrators were not so keen on literary education and pushed back against missionary work to educate Nigerians beyond the minimum level that was needed to fill colonial positions and outposts (Fajana, 1978) . Lord Lugard, the first Governor General of Nigeria (1914- felt that African education should only be used to assist Europeans and objected to the "egalitarian" teaching of missionary groups. Thus, the foundations of Western education in Nigeria were inherently culturally racist and based on a hierarchy of culture, placing the superiority of white European cultures above Indigenous black cultures.

Education policies in Nigeria can be analyzed within the global context of education and the education of black Africans. In the Americas, enslaved Africans were prohibited from learning how to read and write. Literacy was considered dangerous. An educated, enslaved person was considered a threat. Although the enslavement of Africans cannot be compared to indirect colonial rule in Nigeria, there were similar fears of British colonial administrators that too much education would lead to rebellion. Africans knew

and understood the value of education for their emancipation, both on the continent and in the Americas.

This must be put in the overall context of slave rebellions across the Americas and later, the rise of the colonies, beginning with India and Egypt, whose educated elite rose against British imperialism. So, while education was necessary for indirect rule in Nigeria, it was also a direct threat to the continuation of British imperialism. The British administrators of Nigeria made sure to demarcate the limits to which they were to extend African education. British colonial policy did not treat Africans as human beings, but a separate species:

> The roots of the idea of 'African education' commonly held among educationists, as if African [were] a separate species of beings that must be educated in a particular way. The basis for a doctrine that Africans should not be encouraged to aspire to a European level of civilization should be satisfied with little improvements in their conditions, such as making them happy to remain [in] their society. Furthermore, it could be a doctrine to keep the African as a second-class people who would forever be under European supervision. (Fajana, 1978, p. 118).

While Fajana notes the inherent bias in the administration of colonial education, he does not seem to dispute the idea of European civilization, thus, seemingly buying into the concept of cultural hierarchies. However, his analysis gives credence to the focus of Western education, which was to provide Africans within their colonies just enough

training to enable the colony to function as a part of the peripheral world system, in support of the British empire.

British colonialism was based on extractionism; the colonies provided raw materials to Britain, which in turn transformed these raw materials into goods that would be consumed locally and sold back to the colonies in processed forms. As Rodney (1981) notes, every aspect of colonial "development" was in service of the British empire, from roads, to seaports, to trains, to the administrative networks that would facilitate these transfers. Education was not exempt from this. Early colonial administrators promoted technical education with an emphasis on agriculture while the first missionaries focused on literacy to spread the gospel and support administrative and clerical functionality (Fagbalu, 1983). Improving agriculture would mean increased outputs and, in turn, increased revenue for the Crown.

While the Berlin Conference of 1984-1885 marked the formal carving up of African territories by European powers, the antecedents of colonialism and its accompanying destruction began. The enslavement of African peoples required a moral justification which was predicated of constructions of the inferiority of black men. Western education was rooted in racism and imperialism and constructed to exacerbate conditions of class divisions that had already become entrenched during slavery (Fanon, 1967, wa Thiong'o, 1987). But for the new class of African/Nigerian elites, education was the "golden fleece" and a way in which they could achieve modernization and global status. The school was a means of social mobility, to become white, to become European.

The intellectual elite argued that Nigerians needed to study liberal arts subjects such as history, geography, and philosophy. Many of these advocates, like young independence leaders across Africa, attended British and US universities. One of the most influential thought leaders of the Yoruba in the Southwest, for example, Obafemi Awolowo, had studied at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania. Many Nigerian students who schooled abroad returned to Nigeria and advocated for the expansion of secondary and tertiary education. They desired education to emulate what was taught in Europe and America and laid the foundation for education policies that followed in the independence period.

Colonial administrators of Nigeria designed education to suit the purpose of the British Empire which was to ensure that the colonies would continue to be of benefit to Britain. Specifically, they wanted to ensure that education would not lead to the creation of a restive Western-educated elite who would challenge British rule prematurely. In fact, Resident Burdon, a British administrator in Northern Nigeria cautioned that the introduction of literary education in future government-sponsored schools would inevitably lead to the production of "contemptible pseudo-scholar agitators" as had happened in Egypt and India, with dire consequences for the regime (Tibenderana, 2003, p. 33). The British Governor of the Sokoto province in Northern Nigeria argued for education along "native lines, " which would minimize the secondary and tertiary education for fear that it would radicalize Northern Nigerians instead of teaching them respect for British rule. In 1903 he appointed Mr. Hanns Visher who returned from a tour

of the British colonies of Egypt, Sudan, and the Gold Coast with damning reports of education in these places:

> It was injudicious to force upon "half-civilized people" an elaborate system of education suited only to highly civilized European nations…. Instead, pupils were taught an ethical code, duty to fellow men, honesty, patriotism, and loyalty to the British administration…the study of European political thought with its emphasis on democracy was to have no place in the curriculum of government schools in Northern Nigeria (pp. 35-36).

Education was a source of contention between colonial authorities and Africans. Africans saw education as a tool for their emancipation and freedom. At the same time, the British viewed education to break existing societal structures and cultural patterns while instilling values of obedience to the British empire. Concessions were made, many of the elements of conformity and obedience remained in African educational systems. However, education systems were expanded in terms of creating additional access and creating tertiary education in the forms of colleges, universities, and other institutions of higher learning.

Africanization of the curriculum and independence struggles (1955-1966)

The period between 1955 and 1965 marked Nigeria's formal transition from a colonial to a neocolonial state. The Second World War had changed the global balance of power; Britain was weak, and Nigerians soldiers once again had fought a war that was

not their own. The start of the Cold War brought new dimensions to global imperialism. Nigeria, like its African counterparts and other nations in Asia and Latin America, were being pulled by both sides. Across Africa, countries were shaking off the yoke of colonialism, some through violent revolution and others through a negotiation process. While the euphoria of self-rule and self-determination was in the air, history has shown that for many colonies, the transition to independence was only a nominal process. Many of the economic and political ties to the colonial powers remained intact (Fanon, 1967)

The national bourgeoisie, who I call the national elite, were the final negotiators of Nigeria's independence. The Nigerian elite inherited a highly dependent, export-driven economy that did not sufficiently meet the population's needs (Nnoli, 1977). Nigeria's path to development was modeled after free-market capitalism. It was export-driven and focused on the primary products, including groundnuts and cocoa, with oil discovery coming at the tail end of the period. The focus on exports caused disruptions to traditional means of production and agriculture, as well as to complex forms of trade that existed within Nigeria and across Africa before the usurpation of the economy.

While Nigerians once farmed and grew food to meet the needs of the population, the focus on exports led to a cash economy which was controlled by the British empire (Nnoli, 1977, Madunagu, 1972). With the decline of Europe after World War II and the impending end of British rule, the country's abundant natural resources were open to exploitation from other international interests, and the United States played an increasingly important role. Nigeria is a net exporter to the United States and a valuable source of palm oil and tin (Tijani, 2006). While there were economic growth and an

increase in the consumption of material goods and imports, these benefits were not spread evenly across the country and proved unsustainable in the long term.

The process of underdevelopment necessitated by colonialism did not lose traction during and after the British; instead, it gained a stronger hold. Nigeria's development was both ill-conceived and misguided:

> [Nigeria's development] is based on a notion of progress that commits us to the wholesale imitation of others and, therefore, to a wholesale repudiation of our state of being. The oft-stated goal is to catch up with the West. Such a goal permits us to want passionately goods and services which we cannot create for ourselves with resources that are at our disposal, and it causes us to neglect our basic needs and local resources (Nnoli, 1977, p. 21)

Nigeria's economic and political development during this era was modeled after Western Europe, America, and Japan and was based on obtaining artifacts found in these countries. It was a development based on notions of consumerism as modernity and the idea of 'catching up' with the West. The desire of the Nigerian elite, coming out of colonial rule, was to develop along the line of stage development theory, as noted by Rostow (2000).

While Socialists and leftists opposed Nigeria's full integration into a global capitalist economy, they were marginalized and left out of the final transition to independence (Mayer, 2019). Anti-leftist politics in Nigeria continued throughout the decolonization process. A new class of Nigerian political leaders took power after

independence and continued in the liberal, capitalist tradition. The departing British colonial administrators sought to isolate the extremists and help consolidate the position of the moderate Nigerian politicians. The British courted liberal nationalist leaders and repressed nationalist leaders with socialist and communist leanings. These were followed by constitutional reforms, development planning, and anti-leftist measures. Once this was successful, Britain willingly transferred power in Nigeria (Tijani, 2006, p. 109).

Nigeria's chosen path towards development has been rocky. The ruling elite has failed to achieve sustainable, inclusive growth, while the stability and viability of the political system are continuously volatile. In 2020, 60 years after independence, Nigeria remains a shadow of the glorious empires that once ruled vast territories of West Africa. Despite the worsening of conditions in the country, deterioration in all public services, inflation, declining educational standards, and national strikes and local discontent, the national elite and education technocrats continued to push the idea that this model of development would take Nigeria to the modern, industrialized promised land.

On the political side, Nigeria's emergence to independence was also carefully curated by the British in concert with the Nigerian elite. Nigeria's path towards independence was relatively peaceful, unlike other African nations that had fought bloody wars and rebellions for their independence. During the struggle for independence, Nigerian socialist and Marxists emerged strongly but were severely repressed.

After independence, the national elite would continue to carry out the colonial empire's objectives, particularly its capitalist expansion, long after the formal ties were broken (Tibendera, 2017). However, the transitions in Nigeria and other parts of West Africa did not follow the same path that Europe had taken towards capitalistic expansion. The particular ways in which colonial education entrenched class struggle are 1) the formation of a new class of educated elite, which Fanon terms the 'national bourgeoisie,' 2) the promotion of traditional leaders as intermediaries who were loyal to the Crown but claimed to represent the people and 3) the creation of a new class of unemployed youth (the lumpenproletariat) whose education had made them neither fit for traditional roles in society nor had it prepared them for any form of reasonable employment, as the position for which they had been trained were grossly inadequate.

The national elite lacked popularity and were also dependent on clientelism from the state. In Nigeria, the educated elite did occupy this position of privilege. Zachernuck (2000) traces the origins of the colonial intellectual life to the 19th century when slaves returned from the Americas and Europe and settled from Sierra Leone down to Southern Nigeria. The community of West African educated elites grew though the end of the 1800s. An elite few traveled to Europe. This ' intelligentsia,' according to Zachernuck, 'avidly committed themselves' to the Nigerian cause. However, the elites' path was also tempered by their fear of violence, privileged class status, and their belief that it was their experience and expertise to move the country forward:

> An emerging African-educated elite also played a role in spreading the ideology of colonialism; some supported it because they believe that it would bring

> progress to them and others. Educated Nigerians were also calculating the benefits that would come with the colonial rule in terms of access to jobs and wages and later, access to political influence. (Falola, 1991, p. 25)

The class interests of the Nigerian elite influenced their calculations of self-benefit when creating policies for the country. This elite class faced moral dilemmas and inherent contradictions, which were noted by Fanon (1967), who built upon the work of W.E.B. DuBois (1902) and his theory of double consciousness. DuBois coined the term to explain the contradictions in the identity of African Americans in America in his classic book, "*Souls of Black Folks."* He describes the contradictions of the American Negro as both an American and a black man, where the two ideas are contradictory. Fanon, in his 1967 book, "*Black Skin White Masks",* describes this duality in colonized African. On the one hand, they needed to be European and fight for equality through the means of European education; on the other , they were aware of the structural racism imbibed within that education system, the hierarchy of knowledge, and the inferiorized context in which Africa was depicted. Zachernuck (2000) notes:

> From the 1880s to World War I, the educated community was incorporated into a formal colonial order constructed on the economic, political, and ideological subjugation of Africans. Simultaneously, the intelligentsia began to deepen their roots inside Nigeria while they formally remained embedded in the intellectual world of the Atlantic. Challenged by Europe's scientific racism and imperialist that repudiated the civilizing mission, they sought inspiration and endorsement from certain colonial critics and African-American intellectuals. (p. 47)

The intellectual elite comprised a small and vibrant section of the population that were educated in the European tradition.

Finally, Western education created a new class of people that did not have any useful role in society; the unemployed youth. The push and pull between industrial education and literary education led to a crisis in which neither was pursued to a logical end. Although education was supposed to focus on the economy, it did not produce economic growth (Fagbulu, 1983). A new class of unemployed youth emerged from the education system, compounding the problems of education planners who argued the need for increased funding and access to education.

Western education was not the only kind of education in colonial and postcolonial Nigeria. In the Muslim North, Islamic education replaced traditional forms of education but was also problematic, creating the problem of unemployment as graduates from Qu'ranic schools could not often find work except to teach in other Quranic schools (Ischei, 1983). In the same way, Western education created class inequality, as well as regional inequality (Ischei, 1983). Each decade, the threshold of qualifications for a given post rose, so that the unemployed suffered acute relative deprivation, comparing themselves with their predecessors.

There were very few secondary schools, and these schools were often out of reach due to the high fees charged. Because of the high demand and the small number of schools available at the primary level, there was a "dilution of standards" (Ischei, 1987, p.

442). Pupils completing primary school were not literate in English. The literary education offered was grossly inadequate:

> One could deduce that the object of sending a boy to the first secondary schools in Nigeria was seldom to enlarge his mind. It was rather from the notion that additional schooling beyond primary education would earn the young person more money on the employment market… equally disturbing … was the non-evidence of the relevance of the school subjects for the improvement of the quality of life of the individuals or the social, economic, and political survival and progress of the nation… the school subjects taught… had no direct practical value (Adaralegbe, 1983, p 12-13).

The purpose and content of education for Nigeria's development became political as the implications of whatever happened in this sector reverberate across the society. As such, education has played a contradictory role in the development of Nigeria as a nation-state. On the one hand, Western education was purposed to further subjugation and obedience to British rule, and the white god brought through the missionaries. In this same vein, it was used by the educated elite to promote colonialism further and ensure that a small class of people would reap and enjoy the 'benefits' of colonialism even if to the detriment of the masses. On the other hand, Nigerians fought for Western education because they knew within it lay their emancipation from British rule and imperialism. Having suffered centuries of subjugation and fear during the slavery era, Nigerians grasped education with both hands. Nigerians see education as a tool that would enable them to stand at par with their conquerors and eventually defeat them. However, the

products of education system, what they can do and how they relate to the social, economic and political development of the country, remains highly contested.

Nationalist leaders of a newly independent Nigeria viewed education as a means of development. Their idea was to use education to speed up social and economic development for the country, to catch up with the West and become developed. However, the content of the curriculum in the immediate post-independence period still bore a colonial legacy (Fafunwa, 1996; Nnoli, 1977; Rodney, 1976). While colonial education was created in the service of the British empire, African leaders were critical of how British educational policies undermined African traditions and values (Woolman, 2001). In many ways education perpetuated the social and economic exploitation brought about by the colonial system while curricula were largely irrelevant to African societies (Omoruan and Bamidele, 2019).

One of the demands of the Nigerian elite was for higher education (Fafunwa, 1986). While colonial governments emphasized lower levels of education (primary schools) as well as trade and vocational schools, the Nigerian elite fought for the establishment of secondary schools and tertiary institutions (Fafunwa, 1993, Adesina, 2007). The University of Ibadan, Ahmadu Bello University in Zaria and the University of Nigeria at Nsukka were some of the early universities in Nigeria.

The Nigerian intellectuals envisioned an independent system of education that would address some of the ills of colonial rule by focusing on social equality, welfare and egalitarian principles (Mkandawire, 2007). Obafemi Awolowo, Premier of the Western region and later governor of the South West region, articulated and implemented this

vision in his free education policy which ensured all children universal primary education long before Nigeria's independence.

In general, Nigerians placed a very high value on Western education. It is in this vein that Nigeria in its first year of independence set up an Education Review Commission in 1960 (Udegbe, 2007). Independence leaders invested heavily in education, which led to increased enrollment of students and the training of teachers. Under colonialism, African history was undermined:

> Up until the decolonization period, the study and teaching of African history and those of its respective countries were forbidden simply because Western historians claimed Africa had no civilization, lacked a writing culture and thus had no history… Africa was termed a dark continent, a barbarous and an uncivilized one… For Nigeria, rather than teach the history of Nigerian and Nigerians, the Europeans concentrated on the activities of Europeans in Africa rendering the activities of Nigerian invisible (Afolabi, 2018, p. 64).

The discourse on Africa and African history played out in the teaching of history in schools. She goes on to explain how African scholars began to question Eurocentric theories of Africa and in their research dismantle these notions through reconstructing Africa's history through oral sources. History education in primary and secondary schools maintained a focus on colonial history possibly through the 1960s and early 1970s. Several of the policy informants I interviewed noted their personal experiences with European history while they were in school:

> I got a full dose of history and I remember still, the first textbook I used as a secondary student in Nigeria, was titled "*From the Fall of Rome to the*

> *Renaissance,"* what the hell is the relevance of that to us? I think we should have learned African history first, and then we can go and look at western history. Because what our focus shows is that we value the European history, that we buy into the idea that the European enlightenment as being the epitome of how to be a human being.[2]

A notable historian, Kenneth O. Dike, "adopted Indigenous African sources with emphasis on oral and unwritten data as valued and acceptable African sources for the reconstruction of African history" (Afolabi, 2018, p. 65). Under Dike's leadership, what became known as the Ibadan School of History was formed which would emphasize African historiography based on oral methodology. When Dike was appointed as the Head of History Department at the University of Ibadan, he led changes in the curriculum that would include African history. This had reverberating effects across the country and lead to the Northern Research Scheme, Eastern Research Scheme and the Aro History project (Ajayi, 2008) as well as setting up of National Archives (Omar-Cooper, 1980).

In 1955, the Department of History at Ibadan established the Historical Society of Nigeria (HSN) with the aim of generating "historical consciousness, nationalist orientation and a high sense of rationality among citizens" (Afolabi, 2018, p. 71). Its aim was to promote Nigerian and African history through research, publications, conferences, seminars and training. The HSN quickly took its agenda to the secondary schools. By 1956, the HSN held a conference on teaching African history in Nigerian secondary

[2] Interview with Prof. of Political Science (Africa focused), CUNY, November 2019

schools and by the end of the year, it had introduced two African history papers in the West African Examination Council's certificate syllabus.

The HSN was an outgrowth of the Ibadan School of History, which argued that African history needed to be taught and privileged over and above European history. This notion Africanizing history was revolutionary. It was a critical part of the decolonization process, which emphasized the power of Indigenous knowledge systems and the importance of the preservation of the traditions and cultures of the Nigerian people. There was an authentic anti-colonial, decolonial movement that was both atypical in its approach and may have also been different in its approach across Nigeria, as it appears newer universities such as the University of Jos, did not imbibe the same approaches.

The Historical Society of Nigeria popularized history (Afolabi, 2018). History became a subject that attracted "the best brains," and being a historian was seen as prestigious in the 1960s and 1970s. Historical studies were Afrocentric while also paying attention to European and world history. However, there is general agreement that a general period of decline of historical studies began in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Several of these authors give various reasons for the decline, including military rule, Western influence, and a general disregard for the importance of history in Nigerian political and civil society. A variety of dates are mentioned for the removal of history including 1983[3]. However, I trace the removal of history to the 1960s, through a series of events that would serve as a counter force to the strong Africanist tendencies of radical African intellectuals. The movement towards Africanist education systems in

[3] Interview with Prof. Ogbogbo, July 3, 2019.

independence movements and in newly independent countries was not just in Nigeria but across the African continent:

> African history emerged in the 1950s to address two major problems confronting the African continent namely, colonialism and racism. The discipline became an operational ideology for African nationalists as well as *a driving philosophy that molded the opinion of African leaders*…Indeed, African history continued to provide *a veritable instrument for justifying nationalist government policies and programs* after political independence was won by most African countries in the 1960s. After independence, especially in the 1970s and 1980s, African history provided the background for policies aimed at *removing the vestiges of colonialism and racism* in the continent. (Udoka, 2017, p. 2).

History education was both an anti-racist and anti-colonialist tool in the hands of African nationalists. That is, an Africanized history education curriculum was used to reaffirm the racial identity of Black Africans and positive aspects of their history, which had been removed or overlooked. African historical accounts that highlighted the past achievements of Africans provided a tool against colonialism that Africans could use to assert that they could rule themselves, as they had done so historically, without the assistance of the British colonial empire. It provided the background necessary for Africans to take back their power from the European state and to provide a sense of nationalism and purpose to African citizens. In Nigeria, the Historical Society of Nigeria highlights the role of history in fostering nationalism.

The dark period for Nigerian history education (1967-2004)

No sooner had African nations achieved their independence, counter revolutionary forces were already taking power. Three of the leading African powers, Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria in 1965, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana in 1966, and Modibo Keita of Mali in 1968 were overthrown in military coups (Wallerstein, 1996). Other revolutionary leaders were assassinated, Patrice Lumumba in 1961, Amilcar Cabral in 1973.

The euphoria of Nigeria's independence and the dreams for a free nation were, was also, short-lived. A bloody coup d'état in 1966 truncated Nigeria's first republic. Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa was assassinated alongside Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto, Samuel Akintola, the premier of the Western region. Ethnic divisions that had been exploited by the colonial regime became enflamed after independence. Festered and agitated by inequitable policies of the new government, these ethnic tensions exploded in the bloody Civil War which broke out in 1967 and ended in 1970. The Civil War transformed the vision of a Nigeria that embraced ethnic identity into one that feared it.

Nigeria was not the only African nation state whose early independence days ended in bitter turmoil. Across Africa, counter revolutions, and heavy-handed military takeovers characterized the first decade after independence, with a growing fear by the national elite and their foreign counterparts that these countries would eventually fall apart (Mamdani, 2019). The political instability of newly independent African states was a source of concern for education planners. Education, which was used by independence leaders to galvanize citizens towards independence, was now seen by

the new power elite as a tool to stabilize nations that had grown increasingly unstable, and, in the case of Nigeria, to push forward the agenda of national development along Western lines (Rodney, 1972).

In September 1967, education planners from 11 African countries, including Nigeria, met in Queen's College, Oxford at the invitation of the U.S. Education Development Center (EDC) and the English Centre for Curriculum Renewal and Education Development Overseas (CREDO) (Merryfield, 1988). The discussions centered around how African nations should "chart a course towards development and national stability through education" (Merryfield, 1988, p. 2). Social studies was promoted as an integral part of this new direction. The meeting was followed up a social studies conference held in Mombasa, Kenya, which was also supported by the EDC and CREDO. At this instance, 25 African educators, seven British and six American representatives were brought together to consider the new approach to social studies (Merryfield, 1988).

The report of the conference bears interesting details. First of all, in addition to the attendees noted in Merryfield's (1988) report, the EDC and CREDO report (1969) notes that there were several observers invited to the conference. These observers represent an impressive and notable list: UNESCO, the Commonwealth Secretariat, US/AID, The British Ministry of Overseas Development, The Danish Secretariat for Technical Co-operation with developing countries, the Ford Foundation, the British Council, the African Mathematics Program, the African Primary Science Program and the Overseas Liaison Committee. Clearly, the conference was very important to these

partners and the governments of the countries that sent them. Among the Africans who were present at the conference, is the presence of Professor J.F. Ade Ajayi, a notable Nigerian historian, founding member of the Historical Society of Nigeria, who was sworn in two years later as the President of the HSN in 1980. The conference was to determine what was meant by social studies and whether an integrated approach should be adopted. The conference participants agreed that a new approach to integrate civics, history and geography was required. Anthropology, economics and sociology would also be included. The report states:

> The content of traditional courses in civics, geography, history and religion is unsatisfactory because it is not correlated in such a way as to reinforce the child's understanding of his whole environment… [traditional courses have] greatly reinforced a tendency in the whole educational system to *alienate the African child from his environment and his society*. It has continued to focus the attention of the African child on a few abstract ideas that are usually *unrelated to the economic activities, social aspirations and political goals of his own people.* (CREDO, 1968).

The conference participants were condemning the subjects which had been hard fought for by early advocates in education, such as African history, geography and civics, because they were not relevant to the developmentalist project. The ideas from history and geography were seen as abstract, and not in line with the immediate environment. A close examination of the discourse above draws question to the motivations of the conference, as history is being promoted as a source of

"alienation," whereas independence activists had always promoted using history against alienation.

The new social studies curriculum was promoted as being more relevant to development, and also more functionalist in creating school leavers who would not be in search for white collar jobs. The new curriculum promised to promote the role of the school in the society and promote change which would focus on 1) national integration, 2) problems of rapid economic development; 3) promotion of self-confidence based on one's self worth. It promised to promote culture and critical thinking (CREDO, 1968).

The social studies conference may have set the tone for education policies in newly independent African states. In the case of Nigeria, this conference is rarely mentioned. What is mentioned however, is the 1969 curriculum conference, which took place the following year (Joint Consultative Council on Education, 1980). The growing influence of the United States on Nigerian education is noted in primary source documents, but rarely mentioned in academic literature. Organizations such as the Ford Foundation and UNESCO are frequently mentioned in the reports of the Joint Consultative Council on Education (JCCE) during this period (JCCE, 1968, 1969, 1970) and a visit to the United States by the Federal Advisor on Secondary Education is noted in the 1969 report (JCCE, 1980, p. 26).

The introduction of social studies, which focused on national integration, was coming during Nigeria's Civil War. The Civil War marked the end of unity of the Nigerian state, which has always been a fragile union (Ischei, 1983). The war had a

lasting mark on the conception of Nigerian unity and the fear of breakup. While the war only lasted two and a half years, it shook the concept of an indivisible Nigeria to its core. Over one million Nigerians died in the attempted secession of Biafra, and some estimates put the number as closer to three million. At the end of the war, the separatist Biafra surrendered to Nigerian forces. Nigeria's military dictator General Yakubu Gowon declared the end of the war as "no victor no vanquished," with no punishment meted on secessionists (Obadare, 2014).

In 1967, Nigeria, like other African countries was in a state of political instability. Social studies education appeared to be a salve for the wounds of the war on the minds of Nigerians, and history, in the eyes of some education planners, would do just the opposite. In an interview I conducted with the Director of Policy at the National Education Research and Development Commission (NERDC), she noted:

> The transition [from history to social studies] was taking place immediately after the war, and again the claim was to build the Nigerian society and bring us together instead of using our history to divide us. And, you know, our history as of that time, will be used to divide us in the eyes of children, because there was no way you will talk about the history of Nigerian without referring to the civil war and all the negativities associated it, you know, renewing the wounds.[4]

History education was seen as problematic as it would highlight the deep divisions in Nigerian society, and perhaps by extension, African society. The Social Studies curriculum that was proposed would focus on the goals of national unity, which

[4] Interview with Director of Policy, National Education Research Development Council

was important to the ruling elites and the education technocrats. Social Studies was seen as more relevant for promoting the goals of development and national unification than history.

In 1974 Nigeria would start drafting its first National Policy on Education, although the final policy was not launched until 1977. The policy reflected Nigeria's Second National Development Plan, with the goals of building a 1) free and just democratic society; 2) just and egalitarian society; 3) united, strong and self-reliant nation; 4) a great and dynamic economy, and 5) a land of bright and full opportunities for all citizens (FMOE, 1977). The educational aims included national consciousness, inculcation of values, training of the mind and skills acquisition towards development. These goals would remain similar across national policies in the future (FMOE, 1981, 1988, 2004 and 2007). The first National Policy on Education of 1977 shows a push away from culture and history, which would highlight the differences in ethnic groups, and a focus on national unity and integration (FMOE, 1977; Omoruan & Bamidele 2019). It did, however, stress the importance of Indigenous languages.

By 1978, the first social studies textbooks had been published (National Education Research Council, 1980), although historians tend to give a later date, 1979, for the introduction of social studies into the curriculum (Samila & Abubakar, 2018 and 1983 (Afolabi, 2018). In 1980, the National Education Resource Council published a pamphlet entitled "The Dynamism of Social Studies as a Course of Study in the Developing Countries" (NERC, 1980). The pamphlet emphasized the need for the integration of subject and the use of education towards national development goals.

The former President of the Historical Society of Nigeria discussed the replacement of history as a subject with the subject of social studies.

> In terms of history education… the federal government had made a policy that stopped the teaching of history at the primary school level and the junior secondary school levels. This came with the introduction of social studies. I understand that social studies will cover subjects such as geography, history, etc. etc. But, in terms of course content, there was little or no history.[5]

In the quote above, the former President of the Historical Society of Nigeria, Prof. Ogbogbo, noted these changes were brought about by scholars who had been educated in the United States but found that there was no ill intention associated with this change:

> For those who introduced it, they were coming from the United States… Social studies were one of the new big things that were being introduced over there. But they were copying and copying wrongly. Although social studies were introduced, they [the United States] retained their subjects, history, as a subject. Meanwhile in Nigeria we assimilated history but assimilated it wrongly. Like I said, [in] the entire social studies table of contents you won't find more than two history topics at best. So, I want to say that it was contrary to what most people think. It was not so much out of a deliberate action to kill the discipline. I attribute it more to ignorance. And then, at the level of policy implementation, there was a misapplication of policy.[6]

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[5] Interview with Prof. Ogbogbo former President of Historical Society of Nigeria, Professor of History, University of Ibadan, July 5th, 2019.
[6] Interview with Prof. Ogobogbo, former President of Historical Society of Nigeria, Professor of History, University of Ibadan, July 5th, 2019.

Nigeria assimilated a policy that they had learned about from the United States. This was not seen as something negative by the intellectual elite, although later, the HSN would take issue with the removal of history that resulted from the introduction of social studies. The Director of Policy at the National Education and Research Development Council (NERDC) also commented on the external influence of America when asked about where the idea of social studies came from:

> America! It was at that time Americans, too, were talking about social studies and Nigerians were trying to shake off the shackles… It was American. And I think maybe at that time the nation was trying to shake off the shackles of colonialism, and they tended towards the American. But the movement towards social studies came from America.[7]

The Director of Policy later added that the shift towards American subjects was also reflected in the integrationist movement in other subjects such as integrated science. The social studies curriculum was extremely problematic in many ways. Not only was it modelled after the US social studies curriculum, but it also ossified a very mundane approach to African culture. For example, it emphasized things such as the nuclear family and the roles of men and women, with women, of course, taking on domestic roles. It also took on an overly moralizing tone, indicating what was right and wrong, such as "proper ways of dressing" and the "roles of girls and women." There was a ripple effect of removing history from the lower levels of education which extended up to the academics in tertiary institutions.

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[7] Interview with Director of Policy, National Education Research and Development Council (NERDC), August 6th, 2019).

There was a ripple effect from removing history from the lower levels of education which extended up to the academics in tertiary institutions. The former HSN president noted that when he and his colleagues entered into the association, there was a high level of demoralization among members. He elaborated on the demoralization of members of the Historical Society of Nigeria during this dark period for the society and history intellectuals all over the country, and how a young cadre of history professors, emanating from the University of Ibadan's School of History, brought life back into the organization through innovative advocacy methods to bring history back into the curriculum.

Despite this connection, there still seems to be a glaring gap between the HSN and teachers of history at the lower levels. The HSN claims that it is open to members from all walks of life but does not have a program particular to teachers. HSN was also the key consultant on history education being reintroduced and not the teachers.

It was inevitable that the changes to the history curriculum would affect history at all levels of schooling. Due to the lack of demand from school administrators and support of the government, there was less interest in training history teachers and the focus shifted to social studies. History departments suffered shortfalls in enrollment and were forced to reinvent themselves by changing their nomenclature and curriculum content. Departments of history added courses and merged with other disciplines such as diplomatic studies and international relations to attract students and retain faculty.
The removal of history impacted departments of history at the university and how these departments were able to transform themselves to push back against negative associations of history and recruit new students to obtain overflowing classrooms at the University

where loudspeakers had to be used to teach a class. Prof Ogbogbo talks about the crisis of nomenclature:

> The crisis of nomenclature in which departments of history and international studies are becoming history and international studies, history and diplomatic studies, history and one appellation after another. And I felt that that pertains to danger for the future. The sway [of] social studies stifled history at the lower levels; we are going to start witnessing that at the university level very soon. History is sufficient as a discipline to stand on its own, and I have advocated for that in writing, a number of my writings.[8]

A Lecturer of History and Director of Research and Development at the University of Jos, also spoke about this in his interview as he is in one of the departments that have changed its nomenclature. He spoke about how they had to change to survive and adapt to the changing environment. He noted that he was encouraged to go and learn other subjects abroad and come back to the University to teach. He also spoke about how the students considered themselves "diplomats."

The impact on history teachers coming out of the "dark" period can best be described through the story of one of the teachers I interviewed, whose pseudonym is Ms. Dinci. Ms. Dinci is a history teacher in Jos. She was referred to me by her students, who live in one of the poorest slum areas of the town. Ms. Dinci was a traditionally trained teacher who had obtained a teaching certificate in history and had been teaching history for over 15 years at a government secondary school outside of Jenta, in a very rough area

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[8] Interview with Prof. C.B.N. Ogbogbo, former President of Historical Society of Nigeria, Professor of History, University of Ibadan, July 5th, 2019.

called the West of Mines. Interestingly enough, she was being paid by the Parent Teachers Association and was not a government staff. Her wages were no more than her transportation from her house to school, yet she showed great passion and commitment to the subject and to her students. Her story gave insights into what teachers of history had been experiencing during the history blackout of the last few decades.

Ms. Dinci said that many students would not take history as an option in the secondary school, although history was a mandatory subject in the first year of Junior Secondary School (US equivalent of grade 7). After that, very few students would take history because of its difficulty:

> Well, the issue of their number reducing, you know, most of the students… don't want to write notes, they will be complaining. But if I am teaching them, they will be coming to class, they want to listen to me, but they don't want to register in the class…. So, one of the reasons that their numbers reduce in SS2 is because the wideness of the subject. Another thing is that most of them, they don't have proper orientation to what history is all about. And the way the society, the community, and the government has neglected history that is why it has affected the students.[9]

History was viewed as a difficult subject to take, and students were looking for the subjects of "least resistance." Students did not want to take notes and did not want to memorize facts. Prof. Ogbogbo made a similar analysis:

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[9] Interview with Ms. Dinci, History teacher Jos, July 29, 2019

> Moreover, at that level, because of the new notion of areas of least resistance, most students are not looking so much at areas that will impart knowledge, but subjects that will be easy to pass and move on. And so, history, compared to other subjects… is much more cumbersome, you had more topics to cover. While history had like 23 topics for the senior secondary schools, government had like 10 or 11, so less work, easier to pass and so on. Naturally, they gravitated towards government, so that, so to speak, extinguished the study of history in most Nigerian schools.[10]

The subject Government at the senior secondary school was seen as easier to learn and be examined on. History was seen as a difficult subject to learn. Because Nigeria has an exam-based system, where exams are the only requirement for university or tertiary education admission, it seems a clear choice that students would choose easier subjects to pass. In the West African Examination Council exams at the end of high school, students focused on the arts had the option of taking history or government, and many chose government.

Also, without a background of history education at the lower levels, it was difficult for secondary school students to grasp. Due to low enrollment and interest, most schools did not bother to hire history teachers. Also, since history had no clear path to the job market and was not valued by the government as a subject of interest. Thus students naturally did not pay attention to it.

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[10] Interview with Prof. C.B.N. Ogbogbo, former president of the HSN and Professor of History, University of Ibadan

It is important to place all these events within the wider context of social, political and economic developments in the country. The high investments in education in the early years of independence where education was viewed as an essential aspect of human capital development were short-lived. After the oil boom in the 1970s, Nigeria quickly succumbed to large amounts of foreign debt which led to recommendations by the World Bank and the IMF for Nigeria to adopt a Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) (Omoruan & Bamidele, 2019, Okome, 1988).

While the civilian government of the 2nd republic resisted SAPs, a military coup d'état ended civil rule and General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida took over as the military head of state. Okome (1998) notes that these coup d'états, which took place across Africa, were known as "IMF coups." She coins the name because, despite strong resistance from civil society, especially within the universities, Babangida implemented the Structural Adjustment Program in 1986.

The introduction and implementation of the World Bank/IMF Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) was against the wishes of the majority of Nigerians who fought against by the university students and civil society movements (Nafziger & Strong, 2020). With the influence of international financial institutions and multilateral agencies, the Nigerian government reduced spending on social services, including education and sought to create an enabling environment for market-driven policies in education (Adesina, 2007). According to a World Bank report, education expenditure declined from 6% of the GDP in 1980 to 0.65% in 1995. This necessitated a crisis in the

education sector, which included a sharp decline in government subsidies of education. According to Omoruan and Bamidele (2019):

> [The] Federal Government could no longer take sole responsibility for social services provisioning and thus, this culminated in the crisis in the education system. The severe cut in public expenditure weakened service deliveries and educational facilities. For example, education funding was reduced; school fees were reintroduced; teachers' salaries were unpaid; educational facilities were degraded and incessant strikes in the universities remained unabated among others (p. 168).

The education sector never really recovered from the Structural Adjustment Program crisis. However, education policies continued to articulate contributions to national development. The 1998 iteration of the NPE focusing on science and technology as did the 2004 and 2007 editions (Federal Ministry of Education, 2004, 2007). Education was seen as a tool for promoting national development, industrialization, and economic growth. National stability and unity were both key to national development plans and were also emphasized in the education policies.

The struggle to return history (2004-2018)

A few years after Nigeria's transition back to democracy in 1999, there was a push from the Historical Society of Nigeria (HSN) to put history back in the curriculum. The HSN founded to promote historical studies and African historical studies, to promote

historical consciousness. It created a particular brand that became known as the Ibadan School of History. It flourished and influenced history departments across Nigeria.

However, with the decline of history education at the lower levels, funding for history and historical research decreased and as a result the HSN also declined in both numbers of members but also in political strength. Prof. Ogbogbo noted that when he joined the HSN as a young historian in the late 1990s, he and his colleagues found the organization "lying comatose." According to Ogbogbo, they set out to revive the organization between 2002 and 2003. Ogbogbo narrates a story of a meeting he attended with the leaders of the HSN to prepare for its 50th anniversary in 2005:

> So, I was invited to a number of one of the executive meetings, and my findings at those meetings were shocking. I discovered that there was a very serious lack of confidence… they had gone through a lot of browbeating.[11]

The once popular group of historians and forebears of the Ibadan School of History and the HSN had become marginalized and dismayed over the "dark years" of history in Nigeria. However, the 50th anniversary of the HSN marked a turning point for the organization. The leaders of HSN at the time decided to invite the President to the anniversary event. Executive members of the HSN paid a courtesy visit to President Obasanjo which was aired on national television. The president accepted their request to put history back into the curriculum and directed the Minister of Education to do so, but it would be another 13 years for the policy to be approved by the National Council on

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[11] Interview with former Prof. O, President of Historical Society of Nigeria, Professor of History, University of Ibadan, July 5th, 2019.

Education in 2018. While there was excitement within the organization, there was no progress at the level of government acting upon the verbal order of the President. It took another nine years for another Presidential visit to take place, and this was to President Goodluck Jonathan, who also happened to be the first university-educated President Nigeria has had since its first republic.

The HSN had been revived and was now under the direct leadership of Prof Ogbogbo as the society's president. This time, they tried a different strategy. Ogbogbo notes that they “paraded” their elders, by bringing in senior academics who had retired. At the meeting with President Jonathan, upon sighting one of his elders, Prof. Ije Alagwa, refused to sit down. Prof. Alagwa had been a professor at the University of Port Harcourt, where Jonathan had also received his Ph.D. President Jonathon proceeded to give a verbal order granting the request of the HSN to return history into the curriculum, the establishment of a Presidential library with a historian manning the library, and land to build the national secretariat.

The directives of the President did not translate into policy change. President Jonathon lost the 2007 election, which created an additional setback. Nonetheless, the HSN persisted. At this time, Ogbogbo had emerged as President of the Society and took the return of history to the curriculum as his mandate. He wrote to the governors of the 36 states, and called on the traditional leaders to bring attention to the need for the return of history to the curriculum. It was Ogbogbo's passion for history, his participation in Academic Staff Union of Universities and his legal experience which enabled him to be a master strategist in this process. He knew the politics of defending one's discipline, but he also saw a wider picture. Historians, part of the intellectual elite, believed that history

education had important contributions to make to Nigeria's development. Despite years of disappointment, their knowledge as historians was vast, and their passion resolute, but they faced a very long uphill battle for them to realize the return of history to the curriculum.

The decentralization of the strategy was an interesting and masterful move by the HSN. Bringing in of traditional rulers such as the *Ooni of Ife* and the *Obi of Onitsha* was also a particularly effective strategy. While traditional rulers in Nigeria have very little actual power, they have always retained high levels of respect. The diversification also meant that other voices, not just the historians, thought history was important. Ogbogbo reflects:

> By then I had emerged as the President of the Society, so it became my lot to carry on a battle that was now over 30 years. I must say that I gave it a lot of time, energy and thinking…. So, I wrote letters to the 36 state governments sensitizing them to their powers and the need to restore history…. I started paying visits to the Ooni of Ife, to the Obi of Onitsha, several traditional leaders all around, I was paying them visits and demanding of them to speak up for African culture and for African history that they were supposed to be custodians of culture. And I must say they did… and so by the time you have voices all over calling for its return and we make our push; it became easier to be listened to.[12]

The discussion on history became national as the newspaper and television stations covered the traditional leaders, government officials, and cultural leaders

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[12] Interview with Prof. C.B.N. Ogbogbo, July 6th, 2019

demanding the return of history education to the curriculum. It is interesting to note that it was at this time that it came to light that history had even been removed from the curriculum! Public figures, such as the Nobel Laureate Wole Soyinka, expressed shock and dismay. Many of these prominent Nigerians had taken history in primary and secondary school yet seemed to have not noticed that it had been largely absent from the curriculum for almost 30 years.

Despite the approval from the former President, the HSN still faced red tape at the level of the government. Professor Obioma, the Education Secretary of the National Education and Research Development Commission, was not convinced. It was not until the administration of Mohammed Buhari in 2018 that history was brought back into the curriculum. Professor Junaid was the new Executive Secretary of the NERDC and Hon. Adamu Adamu was the Minister of Education. Instead of going to the President this time, Ogbogbo and HSN visited the Minister. In the same vein as earlier visits, the HSN brought a respected elder historian, one who had occupied various diplomatic seats in government, to assist in "opening doors." The meeting with the Minister restarted the process which involved the NERDC and the HSN articulating the demands for the re-introduction of history into the curriculum, this time through a process of "disarticulating" it from the Social Studies curriculum.

The focus of the new curriculum was solely on Nigeria, with the three focus areas being the community, state, and the country. In 2018, the National Council on Education finally passed the disarticulation of history from social studies and endorsed history as a standalone, compulsory subject in Basic 1-9 at its meeting in Kano. This was widely

covered in the news media and an editorial from one of Nigeria's largest newspapers, the Guardian, summarizes the general public feelings of the time:

> Finally, the future of Nigeria looks a little brighter because the nation has decided to begin to look, again, into its own past. The erstwhile removal of History from the school curriculum, or its so-called integration into that of Social Studies, was a mindless and uncharitable act of disservice to the generation of Nigerian pupils/students to which it was denied, a deprivation of the human need to understand its origin and trajectory in order to chart a worthy and viable course for its continuity. Thankfully, however, History has been restored, and Nigeria is no longer doomed, like the proverbial river that forgets its origin, to dry up and crack in its bed (The Guardian, 2018, para 1).

The HSN and other stakeholders, intellectual elites as well as members of the general public were elated with the return of history. Another newspaper, The Daily Trust published a picture of the new curriculum and gave details of the NERDC announcement:

> Malam Adamu noted that the reintroduction of history in basic schools would "rekindle our nationalism, nationhood and glory," …It would further imbue the younger generation of Nigerians with the knowledge of the past and how the past is related to the present and also enable them to appreciate the basis of the unity of Nigeria… children would be better prepared for the task of nation building… Speaking on how the subject was restored, [the Executive Secretary of the NERDC, Prof. Junaid] said the drive to reintroduce it as a standalone subject was actually necessitated by the demand and concern expressed by various stakeholders including the "Historical Society of Nigeria, the Presidency, the

> National Assembly, the Federal Ministry of Education as well as other concerned stakeholders… He stated that the curriculum was divided into three levels; Primary 1-3 (Lower Basic), Primary 4-6 (Middle Basic) and JSS1-3 (Upper Basic). He explained that the concept of history, origins and peopling, heroes and heroines in Nigeria, geography and environment, economics, trade and commerce, culture and customs as well as external contacts (Daily Trust, 2018, para. 4-9).

The long road to return history education to Nigeria had in some ways, come to a victorious close. The intellectual elite had convinced the ruling national elite that history was important to address the current challenges of the country. Its re-introduction provided a source of hope for Nigerians to embrace their cultural heritage and learn from the mistakes of the past.

Policy discourses and trends

The politics of history education in Nigeria since its independence is placed within various discourses that have shaped the direction and content of the education system as a whole. It is impossible to isolate the subject of history in schools without examining the broader direction and discourse which shaped Nigerian education. Among the key messages and discourse are: 1) education for economic development and growth, as narrowly defined by neo-liberal standards 2) education for national unity and nationhood and 3) education for “culture," morality, and character-building. These policy discourses are constructed around a set of perceived problems in which education is positioned as the solution. Education is positioned as an antidote to the narrative of youth

as morally bankrupt, restless and devoid of agency. Education policy over the past sixty years has aligned with ideas of Western styled capitalist development, and the struggle to quell ethnic and religious discontent and consolidate Nigeria as an indivisible nation.

The removal of history education has several arguments, although many of these arguments are put forward as structural-functionalist interpretations of education policymaking. History education was a tool of imperialism within the broader context of colonial education, meant to create subservient, obedient subjects to the British crown and humble servants of Christ to promote both the values of Christianity and the materialist demands of the crown. To this effect, colonial education had two key objectives: the stripping away of the past and the introduction of new value systems and ways of life that would be amenable to Nigeria's role as an undeveloped nation-state serve to material needs of imperialism. Under colonial rule, history education was British and European History, and to effect this, it sought to diminish African History as being "no history." In the same vein, it sought to diminish African languages, forms of clothing, and African traditional religion. The attack of African culture by British imperialism was holistic and complete. It attacked every sphere of society, and the foundation of all these spheres was history.

In the fight for independence and towards emancipation, African nations sought to liberate education from its colonial appendages. This struggle took several forms on different terrains. Many of these struggles are extensively documented (Fafunwa, 1965, Tibenderana, 2001, Rodney, 1979). The expansion of education or the "massification" of education was pursued relentlessly by Nigerian pre-independence leaders such as Obafemi Awolowo, who mandated free primary education in the South West region in

1945, 15 years before Nigeria achieved its independence. Another area was the struggle for higher education, and the need for the humanities and social sciences to complement the focus of technical and vocational education.

In the period directly before and after independence, from the 1950s through the 1960s, Nigerian intellectual elites sought to liberate curriculum content and to turn it away from colonized perspectives. This included the struggle for the Africanization and indigenization of the curriculum through the introduction of Nigerian languages and cultural and creative arts and the Africanization of history. African intellectuals used African History to reclaim their identity and assert Africa's rich cultural heritage as a basis for political liberation from colonialism. Nigerian historians, beginning with the work of the Ibadan School of History and extending to universities across the country, advocated for African History and for the reformulation of history curriculum to capture both oral histories and new forms of histography that would enable them to document and analyze history education from their epistemological standpoint.

No sooner had the process of Africanized curriculum begun, was it truncated. The reasons for this are multi-faceted. Nigeria's national project had been shaken at its very core by the Nigerian Civil War from 1967-1969. It was within the context of the Civil War that Nigeria was called to the first education conference held by the EDC and CREDO in 1967 and 1968. In fact, by the time Nigeria and other African nations had gotten together to define the objectives of education in Africa at the 1969 curriculum conference, which took place in Addis Ababa, much of the agenda for education had already been formulated. Like Nigeria, many young African nation-states had soon

become unstable with civic unrest and civil wars, and the consolidation of state power was met through increasingly strict government control.

A unified nation-state was critical to the Nigerian developmentalist project pursued by the Nigerian elite. According to Nnoli (1983), Nigeria was underdeveloped by a national elite, which further entrenched the country's economy in a peripheral status in the global world system. The western-styled approach to the "development project" meant that all sectors needed to face the task of modernization and consolidation of the independent nation-state squarely.

The 1967 and 1968 conferences in Oxford and Mombassa respectively, the EDC and CREDO highlighted social studies as a path to African development through education. By 1970 several African independence leaders had been killed, there was a loss of morale, and an unwillingness of the intellectual elites to be the sacrificial lambs for the ruling military class. It was in this context that history became, alongside other subjects, part of the collateral damage of an education system that shifted gears from independence struggle to the task of nation-building, away from idealism and into the pragmatism of developmentalist thinking.

Themes and analysis

History education and economic development

The idea that education needs to promote economic development and growth has been a key policy thrust from the movements for independence and beyond. Education was seen as a means to develop the manpower needs of the country and for Nigeria to "catch up" with Europe and America. Education as an imperial project is documented by

Wilkinson (2002) in his book *Learning to Divide the World.* However, education was not just an imperial project; it was also a tool for emancipation for the formerly colonized. It was a tool that independence leaders felt could be used to carve out a new direction for the country. Like other Africans and displaced and colonized people around the world, Nigerians desired Western education in the hopes that it would end poverty and thrust their nations forward on the development trajectory.

One of the critical debates arising from this in the kind of education that was needed in Nigeria, which remains a question until today. What is the best formula for education for economic development? Nigerian policymakers have continued to decide on the technology, science, and vocational training as instrumental towards this goal. As such, history, philosophy, languages, and the arts have been seen as lesser priorities. Knowledge was meant to solve the problems of poverty and unemployment and not for its own sake. The tension between pragmatic, technical education and the arts and humanities has been a debate in education systems around the world. It is very similar to the struggle within the United States, where the form of education freed slaves was debated extensively by W.E.B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington.

The tension between history education and social studies also points to different approaches to education. History education was seen as less practical and useful for newly independent African states. Social studies was promoted as being more in line with the needs for modernization and social change. History education's removal was not an isolated event, but rather part of an ongoing dialogue on what kinds of education was most useful for national development and growth. Thus, the economic side of the argument for education continues to play out. In this vein, when history as a subject was

finally reintroduced into the curriculum, it was positioned as being for problem-solving, namely solving the problem of violence and terrorism that has engulfed the country in the 21st century.

History education, political stability and national integration

After the civil war, Nigeria's education policies focused on an indivisible nation and national unity. One of the goals of education was to ensure that Nigerians believed in the country and had a sense of citizenship (FMOE, 1977). The idea of the nation of Nigeria has always been contested, with many ethnic groups advocating for increased autonomy and even continued declarations of various groups for the carving out of states. This is evident in the Movement for the Realization of Biafra, the various struggles in the Niger Delta area, and the declaration of an Islamic republic in the Northeast by Boko Haram (Adebayo, 2017).

Education policies have tried to promote nationhood, patriotism, and the idea of "one Nigeria." This was part of the idea expanded in social studies education and civic education, which were seen to bring about a sense of nationhood without the associated baggage of a divided history. The Civil War had brought about fractions which the education system attempted to address:

> Immediately after the civil war, the government was trying to rebuild Nigeria and bring Nigerians together.... Our history at that time, would create friction. You would not refer to it. It was like reminding people of the war. Social studies were

> about our culture and values; it was not because of the Americans; it was more of unifying the nation… [13]

There was a sentiment that reliving the horrors of the war through history education would bring about further disunity in the country. Education planners felt that history education would open up old wounds and as such they preferred the bury the memories of the war which still haunt the nation till today. However, the continued agitation against a unified state has brought questions about the efficacy of the curriculum to address national unification issues. It is within this context that history re-emerged as a tool to create national consciousness among the current generation of young people. Prof. Ogbogbo notes:

> What abandonment [of history education] meant was that several Nigerians have no sense of citizenship, patriotism, and nationhood…. Several generations of Nigerians have not been taught history, and it manifests in allegiance to primordial sentiments. We see ourselves as ethnic dominantly… there is a need to build national consciousness…there is a pessimistic angle that Nigeria was forcibly brought together by Lugard.[14] But tell me one country that is "organic" that evolved like that?[15]

The idea that a sense of national consciousness needed to counter ethnic sentiments is reflected across Nigeria's national policies. However, the politics of ethnic identity are overlooked and deliberately passed over in the discussion of a unified

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[13] Interview with Director of Policy, NERDC, August 2nd, 2019
[14] Lord Lugard was the Governor-General of Nigeria under British colonial rule from 1888 to 1921. He presided over the forced amalgamation of the Northern and Southern protectorates of Nigeria after Britain defeated the colony of Lagos and the territories covered by both of these protectorates.
[15] Interview with Prof. C.B.N. Ogbogbo, July 6th, 2019

Nigeria, which is not possible until many of the barriers of certain ethnic groups and their lack of access to national resources are addressed.

Education for morality and character building

Education has also been seen as an avenue to build moral values, culture, and character in children and young people. One of the pushes of social studies education is moral values. However, on close examination of what this means, one can see that these moral values are mainly Western values or what is conceived to be Western values, such as the importance of the nuclear versus extended family, the role of the husband as the provider of the home, the role of children in being obedient to their parents and the role of citizens being obedient to the state.

Discourses of the "youth lost at sea"

Negative views about youth and youth agencies are reflected in the interviews with policy influencers and makers. The positioning of youth in dichotomous terms is extensively examined by authors such as Honwana (2016). Honwana observes that African youth are seen as victims of tragic experiences and generational poverty or are depicted as the saviors of the world. Upon adequate involvement, the latter will become the "future leaders," placing their participation in society at some unknown point in time.

In the discourse the HSN used to advocate for the return of history as a standalone subject to the curriculum in Nigeria, the society constructed a picture of this "lost" generation of youth, who were unanchored from history and tradition, and thus prone to external manipulations. Ogbogbo notes describe the problems caused by a lack of historical knowledge among youths:

What has happened to them is tragic. They are like a ship at high seas. They are

> lost on what to do. They have not been properly molded and guided…. You have 18-year-olds who do not know the Lagos streets. People who do not know who Herbert Macaulay is. Who are their heroes and heroines? The country has not constructed an ideal for emulating. They will be yahoo boys (fraudsters), prominent musicians…. I regard it as calamitous… ships in the high seas…. It is therefore easy for them to be manipulated. [16]

While the present generation of youth is blamed as not having historical knowledge, several generations have not had history education. However, youth draw on other sources than history education for knowledge about the past. The Director of Policy of the NERDC reflected on youth violence in Northern Nigeria by comparing it to her knowledge of the Civil War:

> Right now, the youth that we have, most of them have never seen the civil war. That is why you see them calling for war. You think war is what you see on tv: you die one day, and then you come back in the next film…. However, you have to experience war and pass through that trauma…. Then the youth will not be as they are now…. Even the slightest thing that could have been resolved by the dialogue, they call for war as if the war was a joke. Nevertheless, getting into it is not as easy as getting out.[17]

The idea that lack of youth knowledge of history is the reason for their discontent is interesting. If youth know their history, it may be possible that they are even more

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[16] Interview with former HSN President, June 7th, 2019
[17] Interview with Director of Policy, August 3rd, 2019

discontented! However, the idea of the lost generation is fascinating, which I return to after writing the youth chapters of this dissertation.

Conclusion

The story of history education is representative of the push and pull between government and civil society to maintain and hold power over society (Gramsci, 1971; Tarlau, 2019). At the same time, the changes in the evolution of history and social studies education are indicative of a Fanonian struggle against cultural racism (Fanon, 1979) but are also rooted in a class struggle by the Nigerian elite to continue to control the population and push them towards their self-benefitting goals of creating a developmentalist state. Nigerian History is at first relegated and later extinguished through the process of removing history education from the curriculum, which had ripple effects across the education system and into the society as a whole.

On the one hand, Nigeria's military and later civilian elite collaborated with external organizations such as the EDC and CREDO to push for education as part of a larger developmental project focused on manpower needs as well as the indoctrination of the ideology of national unity based on a singular collective identity. On the other hand, organizations such as the Historical Society of Nigeria, departments of social sciences and arts alongside teachers and traditional rulers, argued for an education system which embraced Nigeria's cultural and linguistic heritage, giving credence to Indigenous knowledge systems and languages and arguing for Africanist philosophies and historiographies.

The struggle for over 30 years to return history as a standalone subject into the 1-9 (basis education) curriculum is representative of conflicts between Western education and African-centered education, and indicative of a long-standing debate on what education means for development and democracy. In this struggle, history education was part of a more extensive political process and field of contention of what was essential to public education in Nigeria. It also represents a political and economic push and pull (Gramsci, 1999) and a cultural and social movement that moved from embracing culture and history to relegating it (Fanon, 1979).

Emerging in the past decade is a renewed thrust and reinvigoration of history and culture, both signifying the continued struggle for self-actualization of Nigerian people against external and internal forces that attempt to divide and impoverish them. However, curriculum in Nigerian schools remains in service of the colonial and neocolonial imperialism; it is yet to free itself from the chains of the past. The process of stripping away cultural knowledge, history, and heritage is an act of war against people. Fanon discusses this extensively.

In the following chapters, I show that when history and culture are stripped from youth, they are replaced with other forms of culture and ideas of history which may or may not be aligned to their best interest. I posit that "nature abhors a vacuum," and thus when the teaching on history and culture is insufficient, youth will look for other ways to regain their identity and other ways to create culture. Youth create their own identities and their coping mechanisms for the loss. I argue that in many ways, the stripping of the youth of their cultural heritage is a continuous process. This induces forms of historical or intergenerational trauma. It is not that young people are seen as *tabula rasa*; no, they

are not seen as clean slates. Instead, they are seen as states that need to be cleaned, their cultures and ways of life need to be rubbed off, with the purpose of creating uniformity, conformity, and compliance.

I predict that given the history of policy change in Nigeria, it is possible that changes to the curriculum may once again relegate history to the background. For instance, the strong push for technical and vocational education, the endurance of subjects such as entrepreneurship, and the increasing push of foreign and internal agencies to keep youth employment at the forefront of government policy may be that history is once again not given a priority.

Despite changes to the curriculum, the change lacks a relevant financing mechanism, which is going to be left up to market forces, in terms of the assemblage and manufacturing of textbooks. The quality of history education will depend on state governments, which will ultimately decide in the curriculum will see the light of day in their states, as education remains on the concurrent list in Nigeria, meaning that states hold discretionary powers on whether or not to follow up on policy changes. While all states did agree to the reintroduction of history, through unanimous voting at the National Council of Education, it will still be up to states to hire teachers, retrain teachers and ensure that history becomes life in the school system, as the implementation of policy tends to lag behind the actual passage of the policy.

Chapter 5

Youth Knowledge and Historical Narratives

When policies are conceptualized and implemented, it is not always clear what their short- and long-term consequences are for the people they are designed to serve. It is crucial to consider the historical consciousness of young people in Nigeria in the context of the policy changes to history education over three decades. This chapter examines how young people learn about history in the absence of school-based history education.

In this chapter, I answer the question: how do Nigerian youth obtain information about, understand, and conceptualize history at the local, national, and international levels? After providing a brief background to Plateau's history and context, I describe the findings from the first part of the Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR) Project conducted in Jos from July 2019 through Feb 2020. This chapter will cover the first part of the study, which took place in July 2019. I present analysis and discuss the implications of the first part of the study.

I argue that while the lack of formal sources of history education creates gaps in historical knowledge, youth find alternate sources to reconstruct the past. However, the lack of historical references means the past is often misconstrued, prone to negative imaginaries of an uncivilized past based on history's progressivist narratives. In the absence of historical knowledge, master narratives of White superiority and inferiority of Black cultures thrive, while the constructed project of the Nigerian state is a distant imaginary.

In particular, the absence of knowledge of history creates a void in which cultural racism thrives. Lack of historical knowledge prevents a grounding in the past as young people lack the knowledge to challenge culturally accepted tropes about development, race, inferiority, and superiority of race and civilization.

Context of Plateau state and communities

Plateau state does have many of the characteristics associated with other states in Nigeria. These include economic underdevelopment, political corruption, economic instability, violence and general lack of security, poor schools and public health systems, absence of a social welfare system, scarcities of food, water and access to basic sanitation, and neglect of human rights. While it has its own peculiarities, the cases and the narratives therein a reflection of the larger story of historical consciousness among youth across the country.

Since 2001, ethnic and religious conflict has engulfed the state. The conflict has economic and political causes. Environmental degradation in Northern Nigeria has forced Fulani herders move to further and further south to find land for their cattle to feed. The movement of the Fulani herdsmen has led to conflict between the "settler" indigenes, who are farmers, and the "herdsmen," who are considered to be non-indigenes.

Religious affiliations exacerbate this conflict. The indigenes are mostly Christian, while the Fulani are mostly Muslim. I not delve into the complexities of decades of conflict, but of importance to this study is the stark divisions that this conflict has created in the city of Jos. The conflict led to the complete segregation of the city into Muslim only and Christian only communities. After dark, neither population ventures into the

others' territory for fear of loss of life. Many youths that have grown up in these segregated communities and, by extension, have attended segregated schools and not had many interactions with people from other religions or ethnic groups.

History is the memory of the people

To assess the youths' knowledge of history, I engaged the youth in several activities. The details of these activities are in Figure 5-1 below. The individual reflections and small group discussions aimed to bring about an understanding of their basic knowledge of the concepts of history.

Activity - What is history?
In small groups, the Co-Researchers will discuss the following questions
What is history?
Is history important? Why or Why not?
What are the sources of history?
Who writes history?
Is who writes history important? Discuss why or why not?

Figure **5-1**: What is history activity

What is history? The youth co-researchers described history as an aggregate of past events, "the memory of the people,"[18] and "the background of tribes and culture, and a recording of past events." They noted that learning history is important to know the struggle of past leaders. The youths saw history as the past and the past being a way to inform the present.

Sources of history Most of the youth co-researchers had never taken a history class, so their knowledge of history came from other sources. The youth co-researchers in

[18] Journal entry, Jenta, not dated.

the four communities defined history as past events or the record of past events, while a few viewed histories as being important in solving present problems.

While all but two of the 48 youth co-researchers had not taken a history class, they were all aware that history classes existed. They are aware of history classes, because history is offered as an optional subject at the senior secondary school level. While some noted that history was compulsory for the first year of senior secondary school, most of the youth co-researchers had still not taken any history class in school, and this may have been due to the shortage of history teachers.

Is history important? The importance of history was generally agreed upon in helping to know more about the past, learning about the culture, learning about past heroes, traditions, and leaders. History gives young people a window into the past where they can learn about colonialism and independence. They felt that history was important because it helped avoid what happened in the past and provided direction for present challenges. Fidelis, a female student from Tudun Wada, noted:

> Studying history is essential because it allows us to understand our past, which allows us to understand our present. Studying history can provide us with insight into our cultures of origin as well as culture with which we might be less familiar, thereby increasing cross-cultural awareness and understanding.[19]

Some of the historical sources noted by the participants were books, novels, the internet, print and social media, magazines and movies, and museums. However, an

[19] Focus group discussion, Tudun Wada, July 12th, 2019

important source was grandparents, storytelling, and folk tales. A few participants said the time they spent with their grandparents had given them a sense of history.

> When I go and meet with my grandparents, they used to tell me stories about my family and the history of my family, and I find it very interesting and nice. That is why I enjoy going to see them, and I like to hear the stories that they tell[20].

The youth learned history from other sources in their family, uncles, aunts, and parents. While they noted that the writers of history were historians. They also were able to identify the oral tradition of storytelling as a historical information source.

Is who writes history important? In general, the youth felt that the person writing history is important. They expressed the idea that "anyone can write history." Their understanding of a historian was not necessarily an academic qualification. Unique, a female participant in Tudun Wada, commented:

> The person who writes history is very important because history in the form of folktales is not reliable. We need a documented history of our community, state, or country, making historians more critical.[21]

In this quote, Unique values history documented in written form by historians above "folktales." While many of the youth co-researchers gain historical knowledge from their parents; they do not see their parents or community members as providing factual or modern accounts of history. In a conversation, Bright from Jenta said: "Who writes history is important, because he educates people about what they want to do" and Optimist from Tudun Wada community agrees: "who writes history is important,

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[20] Boris, Jenta youth, Activity based focus group Jenta, July 16th, 2019
[21] Activity-based focus group discussion, Tudun Wada, July 15th, 2019

because if that person does not know what they are saying, then there will be confusion."[22]

The role of the historian was viewed with importance. The participants commented that historians and authors write history, and they are important because they tell the young generation about the past. History was seen as a way to correct the errors of the past. One of the female students, Lady Slyd said:

> He who writes history is important, because the history he writes allows one to make more sense of the current world. One can also understand why some rules exist in the modern world, and also written history allows one to exercise their critical thinking skills.[23]

Lady Slyd discusses the importance of written history and how it informs the rules of society. Across the four communities, the youth co-researchers found the role of those who write history to be important and made connections between having correct narrative accounts of the past and the role of the person writing history.

Knowledge of family, community, state and national history

To understand the youth's knowledge of history, I focused on going from what they know and understand well, outward. As described in the discussion of the pilot study, I found that the youths had limited knowledge of history. As such, in line with decolonizing methodologies, I started with the familiar and moved out to what might be less familiar. In Figure 5-2 below, I show that the study began by working with the youth

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[22] Activity based focus group discussion, Jenta, July 14th, 2019
[23] Activity-based focus group discussion, Tudun Wada, July 15th, 2019

as co-constructors of knowledge, beginning with knowledge of their families and moving outward to their communities, the state, the nation, and then the broader African context.

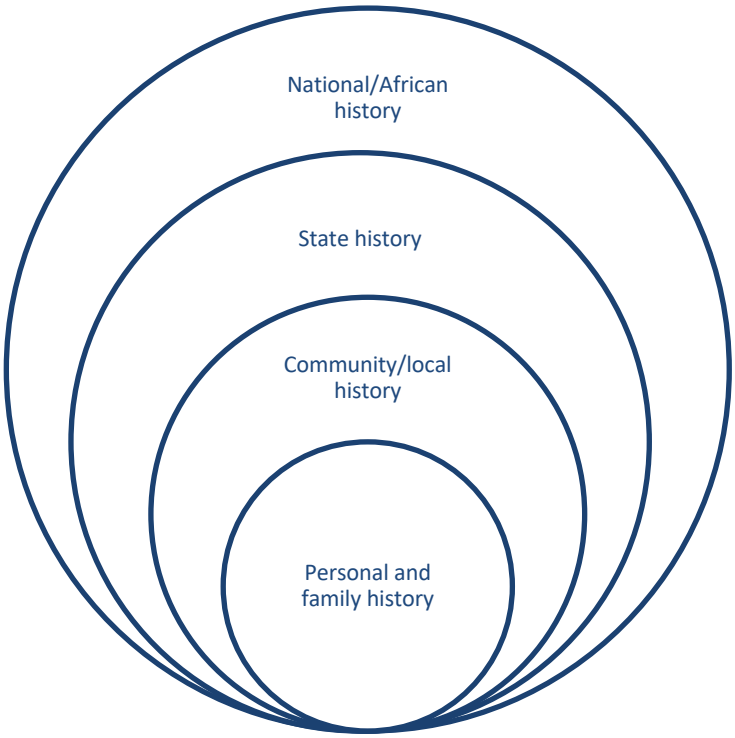

Figure **5-2**. Approach to understanding youth historical knowledge

The approach above does not presume that each of these levels of knowledge and understanding is mutually exclusive. Rather, it is an effort to build on youth knowledge based on the pilot study's findings, which showed limited knowledge of state, national and African history.

Knowledge of family history

While there was limited knowledge of history, youths clearly articulated the importance of family and community. One of the activities of the activity-based focus group discussions called for the participants to draw their family trees. To complete the exercise, they were asked to go home and interview their family members to get as much

information as possible. After that, they brought in their family trees and presented them to the group. They then discussed what they had learned from the process and compared and contrasted their family trees.

Knowledge of community history

The next level of focus was on community history. There were differences between different groups' knowledge of their community history. Tudun Wada and Jenta were able to identify and discuss community and cultural events, some of which they participated in. These two communities could be described as having indigenes, ethnic groups that claimed their lineage directly to the land in Plateau state, all minority groups in the larger picture of Nigeria. This is in contrast to the two Muslim communities Gangare and Dadin Kowa.

The youth co-researchers from the four communities discussed how community members support each other. For example, when there is a death in the family, community members provide financial support to them. They also noted that children in the community are taught to respect other people's cultures. When asked to describe the history of their communities and ethnic groups, the respondents were able to discuss local history through their lived experiences. They highlighted in their experiences of holidays and festivals such as the new year's festivals held in many villages and in the city of Jos itself.

The youth in Tudun Wada and Jenta also discussed an event called "Museum Day", when tribes come together and "practice culture" or "exhibit culture and

tradition."[24] Apart from that a city-wide event, the youth co-researchers mentioned several "cultural days,", including a festival in Bokkos, the *Bukin Dodo* Festival, days for hunting in their villages, and other festivals in their communities. While they were able to explain some of these festivals, they did not know the origin of the festivals or other aspects of history surrounding the events. However, they could identify the events and link them with their cultural grouping.

For example, the youth in Tudun Wada listed the *Pusdung (Ngas*); *Nzen Berom* (*Berom*) day of *Berom* people; Azehrechi for *Irigwe* people; Kabache for *Angwan* people; *Pusdun* and *Kaba-kek*. These annual celebration days are for the different ethnic groups that are historically from Plateau state. These festivals are based on the culture or traditions of these groups. One of the female youth co-researchers, Reezky, describes one such festival in her journal:

> *Fier* day in Pankshin local government. It is important because it built healthy relationships and spent time with our family, friends, and others. It also strengthened our relationship both and home and within our community. It established a strong town identity. We use our community event to connect our residents and keep old traditions alive while making new ones. The point of the history of our community event is to create memorable moments in our town. This event not only showcases what our community has to offer but also connects members of the community forever from these shared experiences, no matter our background, gender, or age. [25]

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[24] Youth Journal, Reezky, 2019
[25] Ibid.

Reezky gives a detailed description of what she gains from a festival that she celebrates in her home town, which is about three hours from Jos. She talks about the importance of the festival in building community and in creating a "strong town identity." She talks about the importance of traditions and notes the idea of creating new traditions. Her comments show a sense of pride in her community. She is also happy about her involvement in activities and the connectedness she feels during this event.

In Jenta community, the youth co-researchers also described the different festivals they took part in, in nearby towns and villages, and the celebration of culture in Jos as "Museum Day." These celebrated festivals were also noted by youth in the pilot study, and these events presented the culture of the communities to the youth co-researchers and their shared past.

There were distinct differences in recollecting community history between Tudun Wada and Jenta, the Christian Indigenous communities, and the Gangare and Dadin Kowa, the predominantly Muslim communities. The two Indigenous communities were able to have direct experiences in festivals that took place within Jos and the surrounding villages and towns in the state. However, the Muslim youth co-researchers spoke more about national holidays, such as "Democracy Day." This difference accentuates the politics of locality and indigeneity, which has been highlighted by several historians. Even though there are differences in knowledge of local community history, across all communities, youth highlighted the importance of culture. Youth co-researchers pointed to things such as dressing in traditional attire, traditional foods, greeting and welcoming cultures, and cultural dance.

Knowledge of local and state history

The first question about the history of the state was, "what was Plateau state like 100 years ago? 1000 years ago? 10,000 years ago?" The question was difficult for the focus group discussions, and many of the youth told me that they could not answer the question. I asked them to write down what they think, and in response, some of the youth said it was "bushy" and "underpopulated." They could not differentiate between the periods and had no idea how to describe Plateau state 1000 or 10,000 years ago. Only one participant was able to identify Plateau's history entailed being part of the Bauchi province and the history of state creation in Nigeria; this took place in 1978. They had only very little knowledge about the ancient past.

The next question asked about the ethnic groups that lived in Plateau state now and in the past. There were stark differences between the sites on this question. Youths from the two sites where Plateau "indigenes" lived, Jenta and Tudun Wada, were able to list with over 30 ethnic groups from the state. They listed primarily groups that were considered to be 'Indigenous' to Plateau state, mainly Christian groups. In contrast, in the two Muslim sites, Gangare and Dadin Kowa, the youth were able only to list the Muslim ethnic groups, which are considered by the indigenes to be non-indigenes. Both groups, however, acknowledged the diversity of ethnic groups in the state. As Lady Slyd comments:

> These ethnic groups are predominantly farmers and have similar cultural and traditional ways of life. People from other parts of the country have come to settle

in Plateau state. These include the Tiv, Idom, Igbo, Yoruba, Ibibio Anang, Efik, Ijaw, and Bini. [26]

Interestingly, the description of the ethnic groups by Lady Slyd are all from outside the state, but they have not laid claim to the land in Plateau. She also notes that they are primarily farmers and have similar ways of life. She does not talk about the nomadic groups that are contesting the land, but instead focuses on the groups that have come to the urban areas of the state to engage mostly in business. The youth co-researchers identified "tribalism" as a problem in the state and stated that history would help them to understand the past, even though they had little knowledge of it.

The "Crisis" in Plateau State

Aside from the formal activities, another source of information about youths' historical knowledge surfaced from informal discussions with the youth. These conversations, largely unscripted, came out of lunchtime discussions or emerged out of references during class discussions. The issue of the Plateau crisis was repeated across the communities at various times. In these conversations, the youth discussed their understanding of the crisis, its causes, and long-term impact. This history of the communities will be discussed more in the collaborative history projects in Chapter Seven. However, it is important to highlight the youths perspective of the Plateau crisis *before* the collaborative history projects, which serve as an intervention in history knowledge. One example of this tension is an argument that ensued about religion in the Jenta youth group. They were arguing about the presence of only one religion in Jenta

[26] Youth journal, Reezky, July 2019

and I asked them to explain why and an argument ensued about whether there was only one religion in Jenta and why. I asked them why they thought there was only one religion in Jenta:

NANRE: What do you think happened?

CHORUS: Crisis! Crisis.

NANRE: And what happened in the crisis?

SPONSOR: We chased them away

NANRE: Were you born?

CHORUS: Yes, I was born.

BORIS: But that time all of us were… (indicates a small child)

OTHERS: How can you say all of us? (disagreement)

NANRE: So, what happened in the crisis?

SPONSOR: We chased the Muslims.

NANRE: Who chased who?

BORIS: The Christians chase the Muslims out of the area.

NANRE: Why?

PIZZY: Because the Muslims also chased the Christians from their side.

BRIGHT: From their area.

NANRE: When was the crisis?

CHORUS: 2001, 2001, 2001!

NANRE: That was 18 years ago. What was the date?

BORIS: Actually, we do not know.

BRIGHT: I was still a baby.

NANRE: You just know 2001, so that was a pretty long time ago, so what happened then? Throughout your lifetime?

PIZZY: The Christians have continued to live on their own side, and the Muslims have continued to live on their own side. It is only in the market that we can meet.

The youth co-researchers talk about the "Crisis" which took place in Jos in 2001 They are referring to this crisis as a pivotal moment when the communities were divided and segregated by religion. Even though they are talking about an event which took place in their early childhood, the ways in which they engage in the subject matter make it very much alive. They refer to what occurred in the Crisis by saying "we" chased them out of the area even though they were very young at the time. The youth in Jenta are aware that the effects of past conflict remain and still pose an eminent danger. It is important to keep in mind that there have been other conflicts since that time, which continue to deepen the divisions, but the youth focus on the 2001 crisis. As the conversation continues, the youth continue a very heated argument about how this past history relates to their present lives:

BORIS: So, in the 2001 crisis, it was a misunderstanding.

NANRE: It was a misunderstanding?

BORIS: Yes, but they have settled [this term means they have reconciled]

CHORUS: (Interrupting – shouting). They did not settle! They did not settle!

PIZZY: If they settled, they would go back to their houses.

BRIGHT: But they sold their houses

As the conversation continues, Boris, Pizzy and Bright continue to argue about if the conflict has been settled or if it is still existing. Here they are talking about how the

crisis affected Christians and Muslims living in Jenta community. But as they continue, Sponsor and Boris talk about what happens when they venture out of their community into the main part of town. In the passage below, Sponsor vividly describes what would happen if a Christian and Muslim got into a conflict in Jos main market, popularly called *Terminus*, where many conflicts have started in the last two decades.

SPONSOR: Even if you enter that *terminus* you as a Christian, if a Muslim were to step on you and you slap them (indicates a big slap), they will call it a crisis cause …

BORIS: …even if it is just a little misunderstanding

NANRE: But how will you know that he is a Muslim?

CHORUS: We know them… we know them!

SPONSOR: By their fruits, you will know them…we know them.

Again, the youth describe their own feelings about the Muslims. I ask them how they know about this and they quote a verse from the Bible "by their fruits you shall know them." This indicates the level of personalization of the community conflict and the storied intergenerational violence of the Crisis. Pizzy goes on to give an example of why there is still concern about the Muslims in Jos and in the state as a whole.

PIZZY: What they are saying is they want to rule over Plateau state because if you allow them, they even share some fields around here. If they manage to collect Plateau state, this is where they will build. That is, through RUGA.

Pizzy refers to RUGA, a government resettlement program that was being debated in the Senate at that time that would give Hausa and Fulani people land to graze their

cattle. She expresses concern about the program having an impact on their community through the redistribution of land. When I ask her what the solution is, she says that the Muslims should go back to the where they came from, but Boris and the other youth argue that they have no home, because they are Fulani herdsmen. The youth continue to argue very loudly and they begin to speak in Hausa, the dominant local language. I ask Bright to interpret what they are saying for me, as the proverb is too complicated for me to decipher from my limited knowledge of Hausa. Bright explains the Hausa proverb:

BRIGHT: Meeting with a chicken does not stop you from cutting it.

NANRE: What does that mean?

BRIGHT: Being used to a chicken does not stop you from cutting it

PIZZY: And we are the chickens.

BRIGHT: We are the chickens… so being used to us does not stop them from killing us…

This statement literally takes my breath away. Throughout the first few days of discussion, we have had very general discussions on topics of history, knowledge of history, family history and the proverbial ‘elephant in the room’ has remained unspoken. The conversation gets very loud and heated and ends with Bright and Pizzy explaining a Hausa proverb to me: "being used to the chicken does not stop you from killing it" and the meaning of "we are the chickens." The conversation has traced a particular history, from long before the 2001 crisis to the present day, where Bright and Pizzy are worried about their safety and the safety of their communities. Unlike many of the conversations we had about the general history of the state or the country, this conversation was detailed and participatory; everyone had something to say and contribute. It reveals that

these stories of conflict exist in the collective historical consciousness of these young people. They have read and heard about these stories from the community and been able to translate the meaning into the present day.

Knowledge of national history

The youth in all communities showed a lack of knowledge of national history, as is also noted in the pilot study. The first question: "What is Nigeria, and how did it come to be?" drew a surprising number of blanks from the youth, as they did not know how the Nigeria came to exist. None of the groups could answer the fundamental question of how the Nigerian state came to be. Lady Slyd, reporting back from a small group discussion which looked at national history, answered this first question as follows:

LADYSLYD: Nigeria is a country in Africa. As for the second question, we do not have anything to say.

NANRE: You do not know how Nigeria came to be?

LADYSLYD: No, ma….[27]

Another group presentation in Dadin Kowa responded: "Nigeria is a country located in West Africa. How it came to be, we do not have any answer."[28] Among entire groups of 48 youth co-researchers, none of the young people could explain the history of how Nigeria was created. In their own words, they simply did not know how Nigeria, as a nation, came to be. The lack of knowledge of nation and country was in sharp contrast of the youth knowledge of local affairs and history. Not understanding how Nigeria was created may be one of the reasons that the youths do not feel a strong sense of national

[27] Activity-based focus group discussion, Tudun Wada, July 16th, 2019
[28] Ibid

identity. As we continued the conversation, the youth also described Democracy Day, a national holiday in Nigeria, as a historical "event." That is, they did not know the origin of the Day or why it was being celebrated. Democracy Day is an event which started in 2002, three years after Nigeria's return to civilian rule, to celebrate the democracy. But the youth did not understand the political history of Nigeria. They were aware that there was military rule and colonial rule, but it was difficult for them to put together a timeline or any meaningful order or events as can be noted in my conversation with the youths in Tudun Wada below:

NANRE: How did democracy come about?

LADY.S.: Ma, before, we do not have a leader to rule, so as we were privileged to have… I don't know!

NANRE: Anyone else in the group?

LADY.S. Before we were using kings, we do not have a leader. And now we are having a leader and representatives in the House, and even in the House, the president and the independence it helped Nigeria to stand for itself, before, we were depending on others.

NANRE: So, we went from kings to democracy; anyone has an alternate view?

MONROE: We had military rule.

NANRE: So, went from kings to military rule to democracy? Is that correct?

MONROE: Well, I do not know.

In this conversation, they are unable to connect the different parts of history in chronological order. Nigeria still has kings, who are described with different titles

depending on the ethnic group. Nigeria was formed in 1914, achieved independence in 1960, suffered decades of military dictatorships and a long battle of pro-democracy struggle to achieve democratic rule in 1999. The youth did not know this, and as such, it they do not have a clear picture of national history, or the reasons that a day like Democracy Day is important. In fact, Democracy Day has been changed from its original purpose to celebrate a critical moment in the pro-democracy struggle, but this was also not mentioned by the youth. They were visibly frustrated by their lack of knowledge, and it became important to move the conversation forward. I made notes and we moved on.

In general, the conversations on Nigeria went in the direction of the Tudun Wada group. However, in Gangare, one of the youth co-researchers, Kakaaki, a youth leader in Gangare, was able to articulate stories about Nigeria's independence and political history with ease. His expressions at various points in the conversations pointed to his own personal interest and research on the political history of Nigeria. Kakaaki was working towards getting into the local university to study political science. Having conversations on what is not known can be difficult. This is one of the reasons that the study is an action-based project which was designed a social justice objective of getting youth more interested in their history despite not having access to school-based history education.

"We are the minor; they are the major"

The next question that the youth discussed was the number and names of the ethnic groups in Nigeria. As I have asserted through the first few chapters of this dissertation, ethnicity and indigeneity are issues of great concern in the modern Nigeria. Ethnic conflict is exacerbated by religion and class, and ethnic identity is seen as one of the key problems that leads to conflict in the country. In response to deep divisions in the

country, the national narrative focuses on the three major ethnic groups, the Hausa, the Yoruba and the Igbo. This is featured in national news, festivals and other cultural events. In addition, these three groups represent the regional languages that are being taught in schools. These three ethnic groups also represent the three regions that were created by the colonial British empire, who placed these large groups in positions of authority over the minority ethnic groups.

The questions on ethnic groups were designed to investigate how the youth understood both the history and the current place of ethnicity in the country, and more specifically, in Plateau state. The "Crisis" in Plateau state is based on both ethnic and religious conflict, with the minority ethnic groups or tribes claiming that they own the land of Jos and Plateau state and the Muslim ethnic groups from the North claiming that they too have occupied the land for hundreds of years. I was interested to know how the youth felt about these issues, and how they viewed ethnicity.

I was surprised to find that the ways that youth understood ethnicity was very divided by the site location and the composition of the youth co-researcher groups. The two groups in Jenta and Tudun Wada had very similar answers to the questions on ethnic identity while the youth co-researchers in Gangare and Dadin Kowa had similar answers. As stated earlier in this dissertation, the youths from Jenta and Tudun Wada are composed primarily of minority Christian ethnic groups that claim to the "indigenes" of Jos and Plateau state. The youth in Tudun Wada responded to the question on ethnic groups in this way:

LADY.S.: So, we have three major groups in Nigeria: Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba.

NANRE: Why did you choose those? Are any of you from those ethnic groups?

LADY.S.: Because that is the main tribe that we have in Nigeria.

NANRE: So, what are you if you are not one of the main tribes?

LADY.S.: We are the *minor*, they are the *major,* and we are the minor [minority]. *So, we are talking about Nigeria and not Plateau state,* so I just talk about the major.

While these young people did not know the history of Nigeria and why it was created, they knew their status as a minority group and they knew who the majority groups were. None of the youth co-researchers in this discussion were from any of the ethnic groups that they mentioned but they named them all the same. This demonstrates their acceptance of the narrative of major and ethnic groups. Though they were able to name different ethnic groups in an earlier question described in the first part of this chapter, they knew that nationally, they were from a minority group.

The predominantly Hausa group in Dadin Kowa had a similar response. They also answered that there were three major ethnic groups, Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa. However, when I inquired why they only mentioned three ethnic groups, Star Boy had a different response. In fact, he took over the conversation from the presenter, S.M. to assert his own opinion on the different ethnic groups as I show below:

SM: We have three main ethnic groups Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba.

NANRE: You have three groups?

SM: The major.

NANRE: So, what are the others?

SM: We do not know. They are the three major ones.

NANRE: So, what are the other ones? Are there no other ones?

SM: Those other ones fall *under* those three.

NANRE: The other ethnic groups fall *under these three*?

MANY: Yes, yes.

STAR BOY: Like the North now is Hausa. The other ethnic groups fall under Hausa.

NANRE: *Under?* How?

STAR BOY: Like other ethnic groups mostly in Jos, like they are plenty, but normally they used to call them Hausa because they are from the North.

NANRE: What about here in Plateau state where you live?

STAR BOY: [pauses, thinking] Normally they are under Hausa.

NANRE: They are under Hausa?

STAR BOY: No north central is under Hausa. It's all Hausa.

NANRE: So, you don't know of any groups, just Hausa?

STAR BOY: I know some of them, but *they are not popular* like those three that we mention, normally *there are just three that they used to mention.*[29]

This conversation draws on some very important assumptions and the master narrative of the three majority ethnic groups in Nigeria. The indigenes of Plateau state,

[29] Activity-based focus group discussion, Dadin Kowa, July 16th, 2019

made up of minority groups, have long contested their absorption under the core Northern part of the country, which is predominantly Muslim. Plateau state remains predominantly Christian. The youth co-researchers in Dadin Kowa are mostly Hausa, though not all of them are. Star Boy, was adamant about other ethnic groups being *under* the dominant three ethnic groups. Not only did he and the other youth believe that the Hausa were the dominant ethnic group, they also found it difficult to name the other ethnic groups that made up Plateau state. The difference in the knowledge of local ethnic groups, local cultures and historical events, was starkly different in the two Muslim sites and the two Christian sites. This may point to some of the contentions of identity, based on the lack of knowledge of history and also current affairs.

Knowledge of African History: "There was no civilization back then in Africa"

If the youth lack knowledge on Nigeria and its history, it can be assumed that they would lack knowledge about Africa and African history. I asked the youth to write down everything that they knew about Africa in a self-reflection exercise. This is based on an activity that was carried out in South Africa (Angier, 2017). As I went around the youth when they were writing, I found that many of the youth were looking into the sky and not writing. When I asked them why, they told me "I do not know anything" or "I do not know what to write." I asked them to write in their journals what they said to me "I do not know anything about African history." It is hard to design questions that request things that I know the youth may not know, but to create a record of this, I have to ask the question. From the pilot study I knew that the youth knew very little about Africa, but I wanted to establish the same in the case of Jos, as the other studies had been conducted in other cities.

I also knew that a few of the youth would have knowledge of Africa's history. Following the self-reflection, I placed the youth in groups and had them discuss what they knew about four historic events in Africa's timeline: 1) the ancient civilizations of Africa 2) slavery 3) colonialization, and 4) Africa's contributions to the world. The participants were only able to articulate two themes; traditional kingdoms and a 'lack of civilization."

The first topic, ancient civilizations in Africa, was a challenge across the four groups. In her journal, Unique notes that her group came up with:

> Ancient civilization in Africa. The ancient Africa civilization was based on the king and traditional rulers, *but now it is civilized* to head of state, i.e., governors and president.

Lady Slyd wrote about her group's conclusion on ancient civilizations in Africa:

> *There was no civilization back then in Africa* because people use animal skin and leaves as clothing, and they feed on green plants, but there was nothing but sickness compared to the civilization we are and early deaths.

The youths have limited knowledge about African history. There is knowledge about traditional rule, but this also is very limited. Here we see that the narrative of an uncivilized past take precedence in the absence of other information or historical knowledge.

In terms of the slave trade, the youth co-researchers knew that the slave trade had existed, but they had neither a clear understanding that slavery took place across Africa, nor did they know that slavery took place in Nigeria. One of the breakout groups

provided a false historical narrative that is often passed on through films and popular history:

> During slavery, they [White men] came with mirrors and other items which were given to our forefathers in exchange for the children, and the children were being given as slaves to the Europeans and Americans.

Another group noted a different narrative about what took place in slavery:

> They took slaves from Africa to Europe and America. Slavery took place as a result of the conflict and crisis between communities, where the conquered communities are taken away by the victorious community and sold to the foreign people in Europe and America. Slavery came into being as a result of clashes or war between communities, where the conquered community is taken away by the winning and being sold.

Two dominant narratives of African enslavement are being proposed; the narrative of trade for 'vanity' items such as mirrors and clothes and the narrative of conflict and the consequences of slavery. These narratives may have been shaped both through the media and through oral stories.

The youth co-researchers had some information about the colonization of Africa, namely that it was colonized by different countries in Europe, such as France and the British. They noted the presence of both the missionaries and the colonial countries. They stated that colonialism was both negative and positive (Rodney, 1998). Unfortunately, the youth co-researchers also took advantage of their phones and their

ability to 'google' colonialism in Africa, and without citation, their responses quoted the Wikipedia page on colonialism in Africa:

> Between the 1870s and 1900, Africa faced European imperialist aggression, diplomatic pressure, military invasion, and eventual conquest and colonized by the early 20th century; however, the European power had colonized much of Africa except Ethiopia and Liberia[30].

Similar to the discussion on African civilization and slavery, the youth had inadequate information, and thus, there was an insistence on official narratives of colonialism, namely that it had two sides. Interestingly, there was little discussion of missionaries or Islamization of Nigeria. When asked about Africa's contributions to the world, the youth co-researchers spoke of their pride in their race as black people. They spoke of the rich natural resources of Africa, such as petroleum and natural resources exported to other countries. Lady Slyd makes this contribution in her journal:

> Africa contributed in many ways, which was when Africa was not developed. It was known as a continent that welcomed or appreciated visitors. Africa welcomed the British, which came in as missionaries. However, as coming in the impact, West Africa was both negative and the positive impact because, before the development of Africa, Africa lives on traditional worship, using leaves as clothes and animals' skins, feed on green plants, fish, and also animals, roasted animals. *It*

[30] This is taken from the Wikipedia page but I have composed the quotation directly from what the youth wrote in their journals. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonisation_of_Africa

was the British's positive impact, which is known as missionaries brought education, clothing, and different food we eat in West Africa.

The youth reflect the negative and racist narrative of Africans as primitive peoples. They do not see anything strange in talking about their ancestors being dressed in leaves. In an earlier discussion the youths had an intense argument about the history of the White men who brought civilization although some of the youth contested this narrative. They had no historical reference; no visual reference of Africans being dressed in clothes or the massive empires of the past.

Themes and analysis

A 'pidgin' history: fragmented historical narratives

The youth co-researchers present a 'pidgin,' broken or fragmented version of the past that is both incomplete and often incongruent. The word 'pidgin' is used to describe languages developed, typically in colonial states, for intergroup communications (Britannica, 2020). Pidgin functioned as *lingua francas* and was used to facilitate trade and communication as a simplified version of the dominant European languages. Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE) is a widely spoken lingua franca in Nigeria today among primarily urban populations (Mafeni, 1971). While commonly spoken, Nigerian Pidgin English is often seen as illegitimate and bastardized or as a lesser language.

In the absence of history education, youth co-researchers construct fragmented pieces of information to recreate a narrative of the past used by different groups. These fragmented narratives create room for misconceptions and misconstructions of Nigeria's

history, including racialized narratives of a darkened past. At the same time, the value the youth co-researchers place on some cultural norms, such as respect for the elders, disrupts a linear progressivist construction of the past, which would Rüsen describes as a traditional narrative approach to history (Rüsen, 1989).

Fanon (1967) discusses the lack of historical references, which deny Africans a foundation for their knowledge of culture. The lack of knowledge of history, as demonstrated in these conversations on ethnic groups, supports Fanon's ideas that reference points are needed as a guide to anchor African communities in the struggle against decolonization. Samaila (2014) also notes this in his research on history making in Plateau states where he asserts that the Nigerian "history machine" manufactures narratives which lead to and reinforce conflict based on ethnicity and religion.

The pidginization of history is thus a way in which they youth are able to transfer their limited knowledge of the past into a narrative that they can adequately decipher to inform their present. Although the elders or even the national intellectuals may view youth's pidgin history with disdain, the youth of the various communities use pidgin history in the absence of other master narratives to guide them. The pidginization helps them to create these reference points to guide their actions.

Knowledge of the local

There is a clear difference in how these young people discuss local issues and culture and their ability to speak about the country's broader issues and history. The knowledge of local culture and historical events is based on their personal experiences, including stories from their grandparents and festivals that they attend in their home town and community. This, however, differs across communities. The youth from families that

have lived in Plateau state over generations and consider themselves to be indigenes have more knowledge about local customs and traditions and can also name and describe the different ethnic groups that live in Plateau state.

Through these stories and oral histories, the youth have a sense of historical consciousness that is collective and based on knowledge of local issues and local culture. They can relate their knowledge of the past and apply it to the present, as evidenced in the conversations on the conflict. However, these stories are based on a conflict that has become the narrative of a segregated Jos city has become storied intergenerational violence and a source of collective trauma. As such, their understanding of history may not be constructive to building the future but may entrench further divisions.

The historical trauma of past generations lives on in these youth and is evident from the ways that they discuss the violence of the crisis and personalize the conflict. In a personal way. Because the violence has not stopped, the storied violence becomes part of a generation's lived experiences. While they may not have been involved in the conflict, their friends who operate gangs are the ones that enforce the strict religious segregation in their communities.

Minorities and major ethnic groups

The youth do not have extensive knowledge of Nigerian or African history and thus do not have a sense of patriotism or allegiance. Most of the youth could not describe how Nigeria came to be. This has implications for their national identity, as will be discussed in the next chapter, as well as their sense of responsibility to the country and their fellow countrymen. I observe that the question about ethnic groups in the country focused on the idea of "major" and "minor" ethnic groups, which brings the idea of ethnic

conflict into the forefront. Plateau state is made up of over 40 ethnic groups, while the Muslim Hausa and Fulani settlers are from the majority North.

Ethnicity and ethnic difference have been a central form of contestation in the Nigerian state, like many other states in Africa. Minority ethnic groups in Nigeria have long claimed marginalization by dominant ethnic groups. The dominance of some tribes over others was encouraged by British colonial rule through its “divide and conquer” strategy. In the absence of history education, the simplification of the Nigerian narrative of three tribes representing the nation has become ingrained to the detriment of the stories of minority groups that have often been marginalized. The idea of the three major tribes has been contested by minority groups, who have agitated continuously for their rights and for self-determination. This has led, among other things, to the proliferation of states and local governments used by the national elites to placate the demands of different ethnic groups for increased autonomy and self-governance.

The discussion in Dadin Kowa of the other ethnic groups being "under" the Hausa shows that the idea of ethnic dominance lives on and is exacerbated by the lack of knowledge of history and geography. In the discussion in Tudun Wada, the youths are from "minor" groups, but they only initially present three of the "major" ethnic groups. Their sense of being a minority needs to be further explored as they differentiate between their place in the state and their place in the country. However, Hausa is the dominant language of the town of Jos. All of the youth speak and interact outside of the formal discussions in Hausa, which is the dominant language of the North, and not in their own language.

The past as uncivilized

The narrative of wearing animal skins and leaves is woven through discussions across communities. There is a perception of the “native” as primitive and uncivilized. It is also evident in descriptions of traditional religions as "pagan." This goes in line with many of the conversations that I had during the pilot study in both Abuja and Lagos, where youth discussed how they wanted to move away from the past and move towards a future that was more modern and “civilized”. The youths’ responses are aligned with Fanon's descriptions of the mummification of a culture, where culture has become distorted because it is no longer being changed or developing. In the next chapter, I discuss how the youth have created their forms of culture based on their knowledge of the past and their desire for the future.

Conclusion

Lack of formal sources of history and history education leads to gaps in historical knowledge and consciousness filled by other forms of knowledge and knowing, creating and conceptualizing community and national history. In particular, it creates a void in which cultural racism and master narratives thrive. Overall, the youth did not know African history, so they believed stories they heard about their ancestors wearing leaves and living in primitive conditions. They did know the history of Nigeria or how its various ethnic groups came together, so they believed in the dichotomy between majority and ethnic groups and dominance of the North over the minority groups in Plateau. Yet because many of the stories they heard were conflicting, and not based in a single master narrative, they created a pidginized history in which they gave themselves reference

points to understand the past. The pidginization process, shows that youth do have historical consciousness, even though they lack sufficient knowledge in which to reconstruct historical narratives. At the same time, their lack of historical knowledge prevents a grounding in the past as young people lack the knowledge to challenge culturally accepted narratives about development, racial hierarchies and the meaning of civilization. Within this void, youth construct an identity based on a "pidginized" history.

These youth forge a dual identity, which negates blackness and acceptance of whiteness as superior (wa Thiong'o, 1983). Despite this dominating narrative, several of the young people in this study held on to black identity with a narrative based on Africa and Nigeria's greatness. These narratives are often conflicting and contested within the group discussions. Youth use these constructed narratives to create their own sense of local, national and African identity. They access media and social media to interpret the past through a youth lens. These sources of information are often patched together with sparse oral narratives passed on from their parents, grandparents, or other relatives. Youth disconnectedness from the past thrives on broader and more complex tears in the fabric of a society that has been fragmented by conflict, tribalism, and religious bigotry. Storied violence of conflict and trauma become the lived histories of communities which are passed down, recreated and reinvented over time.

Chapter 6

Youth Identity and Contestations

This chapter discusses youth constructions of their identity and contestations. I explain how youth co-researchers conceptualize their identity in relation to their historical knowledge. For this part of the study, I worked with the youth co-researchers on several activities within the activity-based focus group discussions. Each of the sessions was held at an individual site with 10-12 youth in attendance. These activities were designed to enable me to understand what is important to youth co-researchers and how their knowledge of history impacts their identity.

The literature on Nigeria conceptualizes ethnicity and religion as critical factors in identity and identity politics, which are driving conflict in the country (Nnoli, 2016). However, few studies discuss how young people feel about their own identity. In one of our activities, "What's important to me?" I asked the youth to discuss what is most important to them. In another activity, "Where in the World?" I worked with the youth to understand how they construct themselves within global contexts.

The first section focuses on the findings from the activity-based focus group discussions. This is followed by an analysis of the themes that emerged from the discussions. In conclusion, I discuss the relevance of these themes to theoretical interpretations. This chapter highlights the importance of family and religion in Nigerian youth identity and the impact of globalized media on their identity. In the absence of historical narratives, youth turn to media to reconstruct images of Nigeria, Africa, and Blackness.

What is important to me?

The first activity that youth engaged with to understand their identity was a game called 'What is important to me?' In this game, the youth are asked to write down what is most important to them on a paper. The description of the activity is in Figure 6-1 below. They are asked to prioritize in order of what is most important and share this with the larger group. The youth co-researchers are also asked to describe this in their journals.

Activity 1 (Duration 20 minutes) – What is Important to Me
Four different categories will be placed on the wall. Each person will be given stars to place under the category that is most important to them in describing their identity. Then collectively, we will look at all the categories and stars and discuss why the results are as they are.
Ethnicity
Religion
Role in the Family
Social Role
Race
Nationality
Occupation

Figure **6-1:** What is important to me activity

Across the four communities, family and religion were the top choices of the youth co-researchers. They recorded this in their journals as well as their reported this during presentations on the wall. One of the reasons they noted the importance of family is their parents gave birth to them, support them and provide for their needs. These youth co-researchers, still living at home with their parents, express appreciation for their parents.

> Family is important to me because they are the reason that I am alive, and they are my comfort and happiness (Reezky, Tudun Wada).
>
> Family, to me, is the most important in describing who I am, because you can agree that everybody comes from a family. A family can be the first form of socialization because it defines your religion, culture, community, and education. So, my family defines who I am (Jonex, Tudun Wada).

> Family is very important; they clean all my mess and bring me back to order. (Monroe, Tudun Wada).
>
> The family was important because it gives me a good education, tells us who we are and where we come from. (Kakaaki, Gangare).

After family, religion was the most important to the youth. Both the Christian and Muslim youth agreed that their religions were an essential part of them and impacted the way they dress and the way they see themselves. Interestingly, ethnicity, nationality and race were not selected by the majority of the youth people as being of great importance.

These young people were also really and deeply grounded in the community. They knew the streets well, and the community members were also familiar with them. As I walked the streets of their neighborhoods, people would call out to them from shops, and they would stop to greet people, say hello and discuss different things. This was true for the majority of the participants. They knew the problems of their communities, and they knew what was happening. They were well abreast and opinionated about local matters, violence in the community, local government elections, battles between the *mai angwas*[31], jungle justice, who the youth leaders were, who the jungle boys were, where to go and not to go.

Even though these youth co-researchers were mostly from impoverished backgrounds, it is not something that they dwelt on or spoke of. [32] They defined their

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[31] *Mai Angwas* are the local leaders of communities, usually selected through hereditary rights or the selection of a small community. Mai angwas are often wrongfully labeled as local kings. They are not wealthy by any means but rather occupy a position as moral leaders of the community and are often consulted on community matters by the community members themselves and by the government.

[32] Notes from my observation notebook, July 30th, 2019

limitations as limitations of the community and mainly in the fact that the government has abandoned these communities. As a result, they have minimal choices about where to move and how to get ahead. They have big dreams. Some of them were waiting and hoping for admission to university or other tertiary institution such as a polytechnic or college of education. It may be vocational training in carpentry or hairdressing and the joy of obtaining "freedom" or permission to practice after four or five years of apprenticeship.[33] Nevertheless, the conditions that they lived in were very precarious. During the study period, a brother of one of the participants was 'lynched' or burnt alive for stealing a mobile phone. One of my students was raped the day after we completed the program. These material conditions are dire and often extremely tragic.

Where in the world map game?

Youth identity in Africa needs to be analyzed within the broader global context (de Boeck & Honwana, 2005). To understand how young people, perceive their identity and place in the world is not an easy task. Very little research has been done with youth in Nigeria using qualitative and participatory methodologies. I designed an activity called "Where in the World Map Game" and tested it during the pilot study, where I found it to work well and generate significant discussion. In this activity, we put a map on the board and asked youth co-researchers to choose a place in the world where they would like to be born and two of the characteristics of their identity in that place. The instructions for the game are in Figure 6-2 below.

[33] Notes from my observation notebooks

Activity 5: Where in the world? (20 minutes)
In this activity, respondents will be asked to imagine that they had a choice of where to be born and what to be when they are born. They will be shown a map of the world which they can view on the board. They will write their name, the country in which they will be born, and two identity characteristics of who they will be born (i.e., race, ethnicity, religion). They will then place this on the map of the world. After everyone has placed their name on the board, we will discuss the following questions:
Why did you choose what you chose?
Were you surprised about other choices or not?
If everyone you know made similar choices, what would be the result?
What about the history of these places made you make that choice?
Where did you get the information that informed your decision and choice?

Figure **6-2**. Where in the world activity

Across the four communities, the youth co-researchers selected mostly the United States, Europe, Asia, and the Middle East, while a few youths chose African countries. They also chose different characteristics, such as being White, having "straight" noses, and green or blue eyes. I describe below some of the conversations we had when discussing the selections made by each young person. During the discussions below, I was looking at the world map where the youth co-researchers placed their names on the country they have chosen. On their notes, they have also written two physical characteristics. The first discussion highlights the youth co-researchers from the Tudun Wada community:

REEZKY: I chose the United States of America born as a White man… Yes, why I chose it is, I love the country. I love it due to the stories I have learned and the books I read. It gives me an urge to be it.

NANRE: What about the urge to be a White woman?

REEZKY: I admire them.

NANRE: Any reason why?

REEZKY: The reason is because… ma, I don't have a reason.

NANRE: Okay, no problem. Shanga Baby. Shanga Baby [I turn to her and read from her post-it]. Born as a White woman as a Christian in the USA. Tell us why.

SHANGA: The reason why is because I also like that country, USA, and from the stories I have heard or the novels I read about the USA. It makes me wish as if I am already there. [others exclaim: Hmmm!]

NANRE: Where do you hear these stories?

SHANGA: From my friends… from novels.

Shanga Baby and Reezky, both dark complexioned youth co-researchers in their late teens, describe wanting to be White and live in the US due to the stories that they have heard and the movies they have watched. Here, Shanga adds that she wants to be a Christian, implying the US's association with Christianity. The conversation continues with two of the male participants Mummy'z Boy (M.B.) and Jonex. M.B. says that he wants to be born as a Black man in America with long hair. I ask him why:

MB: Yes, Black as Black, because I love Black, and I love America because *America is [more] developed than Nigeria* (Author's emphasis). Moreover, from the stories, from books, yah, and from the movies their way of life, I love it.

Nanre: Okay [turning to Jonex, I read his post-it]. Jonex, born as a Christian, speaks English in the USA? Tell us.

JONEX: Yes, because I love the USA.... I love their way of life. They live decently and their dressing, and they are simple in nature.

NANRE: What makes you think that?

JONEX: Okay, I met someone who is from the USA. They had a program with my senior sister, and I met her.

NANRE: So, what if someone met one Nigerian, and they made conclusions from that?

JONEX: It's not only that. I watch movies about them.

NANRE: What movie? Can you tell me a movie? [no response]. You all said movies, what movie?

MB: *Coming to America.*

In my discussion with Mummy'z Boi and Jonex, they want to be born in America, but while Mummy'z Boi wants to be Black while Jonex does not express himself with racial characteristics. The reasons they want to live in the US because it is "more developed" and "decent." Their desire for life in America reflects the idolized dream of the US that many African youth hold.

It is worth mentioning that the activity did not call for racial characteristics alone, but this is something that the youth co-researchers choose. When asked about his idea of being Black in America, Mummy'z Boi pointed to the 1988 American comedic movie, "*Coming to America",* that features an African prince coming to the United States and eventually marrying an African American woman. Later on, in the conversation, they mentioned the film Avengers and noted that they had seen the 2017 US blockbuster "*The Black Panther"*, and then shouted Wakanda!

Another interesting conversation took place with a very dark-skinned male youth co-researcher, who gave himself the nickname, Proudly Blaqq, on the first day. When I

initially asked him about his chosen name, he said it was because he was proud to be Black. Proudly Blaqq had placed his post-it in China, and I asked him why:

NANRE: Proudly Blaqq. You said you are going to be born in China with long hair (chorus laughter). Are you still going to be Black? Are you still going to be proudly Black? In China?

PROUDLYB: No, proudly White! (laughter from the group).

NANRE: So, are Chinese people White?

JONES: No, they are not White.

PROUDLYB: No, it is just their color. I like that.

NANRE: But I thought you were Proudly Blaqq?

PROUDLYB: Yes, it is just imagination now (laughter from the group). I love China, because of their fighting and the sound of their language, from their movies. They used to do training in *Kungfu.* That is what I love about China.

The idea about Whiteness reveals some of the deep impressions of race among the group. This young man took the name Proudly Blaqq, but in the hypothetical situation where he could choose whom he wanted to be, he chose to be White or have lighter skin. The media's role is also important to note here, as the youth referred to films and books where they got ideas such as the discussion of "kung-fu" above.

The idea of being White was also reflected in young women. Tasha, a dark-skinned young lady, named after African American songstress Tasha Cobbs, also expressed her interest in being born as a "White woman" in India. I asked her if Indian women are White:

TASHA: Yes, their complexion. Then their long hair and their beauty, they have this *beauty* [emphasis hers]. I once met this Indian woman in a hospital. She just put to bed and the way she was just behaving; it was very nice! And the way they decorate their face, it's very nice, it's very attractive.

NANRE: Where did you see their decoration?

SAHSA: In movies! Plenty of movies!

NANRE: You watch Indian movies. You love Indian movies?

TASHA: Yes!

Tasha was animated and excited about the Indian woman she had seen at a hospital. She used her hands to show how the Indian woman behaved, indicating a delicate softness and shyness in mannerism. Interestingly, Tasha is a dark-skinned young woman with an assertive and very vocal personality. Her emphasis on the whiteness of the complexion and also on the long hair and beauty illustrates what is considered beautiful. She also notes that the Indian lady's demeanor is soft, perhaps in her conception of what feminine characteristics are desirable. Her desire is echoed by Sky Baby, who also wanted to be born in India as a White woman. Sky baby described Indian women as being White because their skin was “fair” and “fine”. She notes that she loves their "beauty, their Whiteness, and their long hair and dressing."

Three participants have chosen to be born in Nigeria. Berky, one of the older female participants, said she wanted to stay in Nigeria because she loves Nigeria and is proud to be a Nigerian. She stated, “So, in my next world, I would still come back to Nigeria." The other two youths are Optimist and Munroe, who had significant discussions with their peers

during the earlier part of the exercise and, as a result, changed their name tags several times. Munroe is a young community organizer whom I have known for several years. I had watched him take his name and place it in several different countries, he could not make a decision on where to place himself. I asked him about his lack of decision and his "journey" through different countries.

> MONROE: I wanted to go to other countries, but I then saw you were talking about the present day and the future. So, because someone is living in America, it doesn't mean that he is okay. Somebody may be living in the UK it doesn't mean that he is living fine. It just that something does not come from all those countries. It comes from the change you make in your own country. So, I am saying that if I am able to come back from the future, I want to come and make a change for the people in my own country so that it will be better. I need to make a change in my country. I love all those places, but I still chose to come back to Nigeria and be a better person.

Munroe expresses his determined to take a stand and be involved in social change to make Nigeria better. Optimist, a male youth, had also had difficulty in selecting Nigeria as a place where he would like to be born. I had noticed during the activity that when he was making his choice, he had been challenged by Mummy'z Boi and Jonex. They challenged him about his assertation that Black people would join together as a force in the world. I asked Optimist to explain their confrontation, and his final choice of being born a White man with blue eyes in Nigeria. He explained:

OPTIMIST: I was first looking for the Netherlands then to Portugal, because I just love countries in Europe, but I came back. But I thought when I was sharing with Proudly Blaqq with Reezky, I shared with him about the Black. So, I said that if I am going to be born in another world, I be a White man with long hair and blue eyes. But I still remain in Nigeria, which is Africa, but I make sure that the Black is going to be on top.

NANRE: Even though you are White?

OPTIMIST: Yes.

NANRE: But tell us about the conversation [with Jonex] …I think Jonex and Proudly Blaqq. You had a long debate about race, and they were challenging you seriously. So, do you want to tell us? What were you challenging him about?

JONEX: So, he said that the Black race, they are going to come together in order to form a great society. And, I asked him what if there is someone White among the Black? Can't they form a better society without the White person?

OPTIMIST: I then said that everyone has his own perspective, but we coming together to bring our own collective ideas and make sure that it becomes one so that we will move on. We will not have someone be at the back, you know backstabbing us, but that we will have a better society and also achieve much.

NANRE: So, you are saying that the Black civilization is important? Why do you choose to be White?

OPTIMIST: I just love the White idea and that blue eyes... I thought that anyone has those blue eyes, that person is just special because the normal color is Black. So that blue eyes are very specified. So that is why I just chose it.

Optimist explained his discussion with his peers and why he had defended the "Black race." His peers had asserted that Black race was not developed and did not have much to offer. However, he pushed back by saying that he would be one of those to organize the Black race so that they would be strong and assert themselves in the world. As Optimist discussed his response to his peers, I noticed that Tasha had a deep scowl on her face and I asked her to explain why. She said:

TASHA: I am surprised by those that choose Nigeria. Because if I should be in their shoes and I can leave Nigeria, I pack my shoes! The country is just--I don't know how to say it [flustered] I am tired of this country!

NANRE: So, you are tired of Nigeria. So, you believe if you go to another country, you will not be tired of it?

TASHA: If I am tired, I leave and come back again. [laughter, banter]

Tasha expresses her frustration with Nigeria and its lack of development. After she expresses her opinion, other youths join in the discussion expressing their frustration, while others like Monroe encourage them to take up the mandate of developing Nigeria and their communities. This conversation points to the deep discontent that the youths have with the

state of their country in relationship to other countries. In discussions on Nigeria and Africa, the youth had limited knowledge, but when it came time to discussing other countries which they considered to be "developed" they had a lot of positive things to say and claimed to have in depth knowledge of what was taking place in those countries.

In Dadin Kowa, a Muslim community, similar conversations took place but there was one key difference, the youth did not choose the United State but rather selected countries such as Canada, Australia, Saudi Arabia and Malaysia. The young ladies in Dadin Kowa, however, expressed a strong desire for physical characteristics that are more common in White and Arabic peoples. These three girls, Star Girl, Hajjo baby and Zee Baby, all desire to have long noses among other characteristics:

STAR GIRL: My characteristics: I want to have long hair [her peers shout - eh!], big white eyes [laughter from peers], then chocolate in color, long nose, and sweet voice in Canada. Because I love Canada, because of the way that they behave and the way they are educated.

HAJJO BABY: I would like to be born in the United Kingdom. I want to have brown skin, a long nose, blue eyes. I just love the people. I just love the country. That is all.

ZBABY: My name is Zee Baby. I want to be born in Australia. I want to have pink skin, long hair, and white eyes.

While Star Girl and Hajjo Baby want to be born with brown skin, Z baby wants to be born with pink skin. They all want to have long noses and white eyes. They said these features from other countries were better than those they presently had:

JENNATH: Malaysia. I love Malaysia because I watch them in movies. They. They have brown skin, long hair, and White eyes. I watch their movies, and I want to be like them.

NANRE: They have brown skin, but you also have brown skin?

JENNATH: Yes, but my own is not like their own.

NANRE: How is their own?

JENNATH: Their own is smooth, fresh!

MULTIPLE: Laughter, jokes

NANRE: Have you ever met a Malaysian?

JENNATH: No.

I asked about the "White eyes." The position of several of the female participants (Star Girl, Baby Blaqq, Hamaira baby) and one of the male participants was that they wanted to have "straight noses" and "white eyes." It was challenging to decipher with them what it means to have White eyes, but the nose description referred to Caucasian characteristics, which have become so desirable in the Nigerian context. I asked them where they see long noses and white eyes. They talk about movies that they watch, which is extremely important. Some of the participants also got information from people that are returning the Hajj. Baby Blaqq said she wants to be from Saudi Arabia with a pointed nose and brown eyes. She explains:

NANRE: Baby Blaqq, you want to be from Saudi Arabia with a pointed nose with brown eyes, let us hear from you Baby Blaqq. Something about noses [laughter]. Tell us.

BABYBLAQ: I want to be from there because I want a pointed nose.

NANRE: So, your nose is not pointed?

BABYBLAQ: No, I chose because of the pointed nose.

NANRE: Do Saudi Arabians have pointed noses?

MANY: Yes!

NANRE: Okay, I did not know. I am learning new things every day. Okay, we have another person. This pointed nose thing is very serious, oh. So, what is the shape of our own noses now?

YOUNG J: I don't know, oh! [exclaiming in disbelief]

JENNNATH: Our own is flat.

NANRE: Our own is flat?

MULTIPLE: Different answers

JENNNATH: Like your own! [referring to Nanre]

NANRE: My own is pointed?

MANY: Yes, yes.

NANRE: But for me, my own is like your own?

MULTIPLE: No. no. Like pencil!

NANRE: My own is like pencil? [laughter, agreements]. Ah. Okay oh. So, it is both the male and the female that want this nose?

MULTIPLE: [Laughter] Yes! Special nose!

In the conversation above, while the young women appreciate their brown skin, they still desire particular characteristics, which are pointed noses. This conversation was surprising, and I was a bit taken aback. They had the idea that Middle Eastern and Asian

people had “pointed noses” while they had "flat" noses, which they considered undesirable. They also decided that my nose was also "pointed" like a "pencil."

While the group was deciding where they would place themselves on the world map, I noticed a heated argument between Star Boy and Young Journalist, both of whom have a darker complexion. They were arguing about who was Black and who was brown. Young Journalist argued that she was brown and that Star Boy was Black. Star Boy was darker in complexion than her. It was clear that colorism was at work here, but they did not seem to be aware of it.

When it was her turn to present her position, Young Journalist proudly stated that she would be from Addis Ababa. She would like to speak the language spoken in Addis Ababa, which she wrongly said was Swahili. In particular, she quoted a phase “nakupenda,” which means “I love you” in Swahili. She also spoke about the headquarters of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) being in Addis Ababa. On both counts, she stated some incorrect facts. For example, the OAU is no longer the OAU, but the African Union, and Swahili is not spoken in Ethiopia. It is spoken in other parts of East Africa, such as Tanzania and Kenya.

NANRE: Young Journalist said she wants to be born in Ethiopia with blue eyes. No pointed nose?

YOUNG J: No, I love my nose. Why I like Ethiopia is a certain language I like about them is the Swahili. I like the Swahili. And I have also heard about Addis Ababa, something like the OAU, and that is why I like the country, because of that language Swahili – *Maliaka, nakupenda* [I love you, angels]. So, I want to have brown skin and blue eyes.

BABYBLAQ: [interrupting] Your skin is Black, not brown!

NANRE: Speaking of which you were arguing before with someone about Black and brown. What was that about?

YOUNG J: He was like, "I am Black." And I was like, "Me, I am not Black. I am brown." He is Black!

NANRE: So, there is a difference between Black and brown?

YOUNG J.: Yes! (exclaiming).

NANRE: Okay, what is the difference?

YOUNG J: Me, I am more like chocolate, but black is something like that material there. [Pointing to a Black hijab cloth which is followed by group laughter]

In the discussion above, Young Journalist rejects the idea that she is "Black," which is contested by both Star Boy and again by BabyBlaqq, who says she is Black. She is aware of the negative connotations, which she rejects by claiming that she is not Black. She is both, describing a color, while also rejecting the idea of Blackness. I continue the conversation by asking her to explain further.

NANRE: What if someone told you that everyone in this room is Black?

YOUNG J: Yes, we know we are Black. But the complexion, that is what I am talking about.

NANRE: So, everyone is Black, but there is a difference in complexion?

YOUNG J: It differs yes.

NANRE: So, there is Black, brown, and what again? [group is silent]. So, what is my own? Am I Black?

MANY: No. you are fair.

NANRE: I am fair, so there is fair, Black, and brown. But so, I am still Black, but I am fair?

MULTIPLE: Yes, yes, no!

NANRE: Okay, what is your opinion?

YOUNG J: She is White or what? [We both burst into laughter]

ZEEBABY: But ma, she is yellow, pink, red!

YOUNG J: She is not yellow now!

ZEE BABY: Small yellow, small pink,

HAJJO: She is pink …

YOUNG J: She is not even pink!

Young Journalist goes on to explain that what she is describing is the complexion of the skin and acknowledged that everyone is Black. I continue by asking the youth co-researchers to place my skin color, which has been discussed before by the youth in side conversations. Zee Baby enters the conversation by describing my skin color as yellow, pink, red. While she is joking to some extent, it is interesting that she describes my color as pink, but at the same time, she has rejected the idea that I, too, am Black. These contradictions, being based on perceived color, will be discussed more in the final part of this chapter.

Similar to the discussion in Tudun Wada, the young people in the Dadin Kowa group that chose Nigeria faced some criticism. A rather shy young lady who rarely spoke, Hamaira Baby said that she wanted to be born in Nigeria with Black skin, long nose, and White eyes. When I asked her why she chose Nigeria, she responded that she loves her

country. She was then accused by one of the male participants of loving corruption, which to him, was synonymous with Nigeria. The final person on the map was Star Boy, and the group hailed and praised him as I read out his characteristics from the map.

NANRE: Star Boy: Black [multiple people shout - yes!], White eyes [yes!] Nigeria [Yes! Ayaya! Hailing]

STARBOY: The reason I chose Nigeria is because I am proud to be a Nigerian! [supportive cheers from peers]. I am proud of my Black skin [Wow!], and that is all.

NANRE: So, you would just remain as you are

STARBOY: Yes, I like my color

GIRL: I like you more [teasing, calling nickname].

It is interesting how the response here to Star Boy is very positive, while the response on the same position to Hamaira Baby was negative. This may have to do with her being a woman and the expectation that she should desire certain characteristics.

These discussions are not just about race and place, they are also about what the youth consider to be acceptable living conditions and the kinds of societies that they would want to live in. As part of our discussion in Dadin Kowa, the youth begin to discuss the idea that Nigeria is "corrupt". This stems from a comment for Bangali also chose to be born in Nigeria. His reasons for choosing Nigeria were different but also met with the idea of the country Nigeria being synonymous with the concept of "corruption". Living in a corrupt country meant that stealing money and making money from unknown sources was acceptable, and this was something that Bangali was interested in:

BANGALI: Whenever you stole money, nobody will come and ask you how you got the money and from which source, and from where you get your money, so that is why.

NANRE: So how does that benefit you? What is your plan with that?

BANGALI: My plan that is whenever I become president, I now work on that.

NANRE: You will work on being part of that or…?

BANGALI: No, no, addressing it.

Bangali says he wants to be born in Nigeria, because the cost of living is low and there is corruption. But when I ask him specifically about this, he retreats and says he will part of the solution. After his presentation, I allow the youth co-researchers to discuss a word that has been emerging through the conversations of the day. Star Boy reasserts his position that Nigeria is not corrupt, and Young J takes him up on it, asking him why he disagrees with the assertion that Nigeria is corrupt:

YOUNG J: Why do you say so?

STAR BOY: Yes, I disagree because Nigeria is not corrupt because every country has its own corruption [exactly, yes]. It is not only Nigeria. It is not only Nigeria

NANRE: Anyone wants to agree or disagree?

YOUNG J: I disagree with him. We are corrupt [Argument goes back and forth, we are not! we are!].

NANRE: Please, you have stated your opinion, let her state her own. Let her land.

YOUNG J: Because I have a program with Yara and we are talking about corruption, and we cannot get rid of corruption totally! If not, because we are corrupt. Why would they bring the program that has to do with corruption? It is because we are corrupt! So, we are trying to like to reduce the rate of corruption in Nigeria

NANRE: But Star Boy said that it is not that there is no corruption; he said that all countries are corrupt; it is not just Nigeria that is corrupt.

YOUNG J: Yes, I agree that all countries are corrupt yes. You should still agree that Nigeria too is corrupt, so you are not meant to say that Nigeria is not corrupt. What we are trying to say is that Nigeria, too, is corrupt, and we have to get rid of corruption, totally.

In this discussion, while some of the youth co-researchers buy into negative narratives of Nigerian corruption, others question the validity of the argument concerning other parts of the world. Corruption and poor leadership as the fundamental causes of Nigeria's underdevelopment is a conventional narrative by Nigerians to describe the country's problems. Young Journalist discusses her involvement in a non-governmental organization (NGO) that is fighting corruption in the country. These conversations represent narratives of NGO-ization, where the foreign influenced NGO is seen to have knowledge which is superior to the knowledge of the community. These contentions exist and are part of the dilemma of conducting research in these communities.

Off-script discussions on gender and violence

While discussions around gender were often muted, the conceptualization of gender and gender bias became evident in much of our discussion. Very few of the youth co-researchers claimed that their gender identity was significant to them. However, the youth co-researchers who did make this claim were often very vocal about their positions. One of these youth co-researchers was Young Journalist. Her gender identity intersected with her understanding of her race and culture, and she was very proud of her "chocolate skin."

Several of the discussions, along with the verbal and non-verbal cues given in the conversations, pointed to awkward and tense relationships between male and female students, particularly in two communities: Jenta and Gangare. In these more cosmopolitan communities, the young women were much more able to assert themselves even though Jenta is a Christian community, and Gangare is a Muslim community.

At the beginning of my conversation with these young people, the female youth co-researchers also claimed that some female youth co-researchers sought out sexual relations and were deserving of rape. When I asked about their personal experiences, they noted that even though they tried to be "good girls," they were also equally harassed and were not free to move around after dark or venture into specific areas for fear of being attacked. Also, at the beginning of the study, it was difficult for the youth co-researchers in all the communities to identify woman leaders in the community. They often discussed and debated about who qualified as a "woman leader." While this dissertation does not provide a feminist analysis of the findings. I raise these issues to highlight some of the contentions within the research that can lay the foundation for future work.

Themes and analysis

Deculturation and contestations of racial identity

The hierarchy of race and the evidence of colourism and racism in the conceptualization of identity resonated across the communities. Many young men and women sought idealized features, which included White, pale or light skin, long straight noses, and long hair. These youth co-researchers looked up to other races or saw them as beautiful or superior in some way. When asked about the origin of these thoughts and ideas, they asserted that they came from movies or people they had met or interacted with, some on social media. These ideas of race and racial superiority featured across all four communities.

A feature that took some time for me to understand was the idea of "White eyes," which the youth co-researchers spoke about often. This is an idea that I had never come across, nor have I come across in the literature. Upon consultation across multiple sources, I discovered that the eyes of many Nigerians are red or yellowish, and this is often due to malnutrition, dust, and pollution. While one of the youth co-researchers, who wanted to be a doctor, asked the other youth co-researchers to eat carrots, they did not necessarily agree that this would work or help them to achieve the desired look that they wanted.

The youth co-researchers did not necessarily want to be White. They are making a far more nuanced argument about being cosmopolitan citizens of the world. For these youth, the White race is associated with what is good, healthy, and modern and not necessarily with skin tone. They view an idealized America or an idealized West, as presented in the movies, is also seen in some youth co-researcher's descriptions of African Americans, Jamaicans, Indians, or Saudi Arabians. Here, the ideas of desirable

characteristics are far more critical than even the idea of race itself. The youth are influenced by access to global media images through films, social media, books, and sports.

Importance of the local, absence of the national in youth identity

Different studies find ethnicity to be a primary source of identity for Nigerians (Krause, 2011, Nnoli, 1978, Isa-Odidi, 2004). I did not find ethnicity to be a primary form of identity for these urban youth co-researchers. Instead, the young people had strong allegiances to their families and to the culture of their communities, which was collectivized rather than based on an individual tribe. In the conversations on tribes in Nigeria, those from minority ethnic groups felt that they were not part of the "major" tribes, while youth from larger ethnic groups felt that minor ethnic groups were subsumed under them, as seen in Chapter Five. This is important because the youth lacked knowledge about the history of different ethnic groups and how Nigeria came together as a nation. The notion of national identity, which is emphasized in the curriculum of Nigerian schools, was not something that engendered in-depth discussion among the youth co-researchers. While they were aware of their identity as Nigerians, they did not actively care about national identity.

Conclusion

Is race and a racialized view of history relevant to the identity of young Nigerians? Fanon (1967) talks about the racialized group trying to "imitate the oppressor" (p. 38). He asserts that the "liquidation of its systems of reference, the collapse of its cultural patterns" (p. 38) leads to alienation, which is also noted as assimilation. However, "alienation is never wholly successful", (p. 38). This is a significant point that we see in the contexts of

these youth co-researchers. While some youth want to become White, I read this as more of a desire for specific features and access to goods, services, and Westerners' lifestyles.

The youth are expressing their desire for modernity and the dream of a modern lifestyle. While, some of the youths express their hope that Nigeria will become "developed", others have given up on the dream of the idea that the Black race will rise up. While the ideas and discussion on race present some nuances, there is also a strong sense of anti-Blackness among some of the youth, as well as colorism. This is demonstrated in the often-heated discussions that emerged about Black skin. While some expressed the desire to be White, they are still very much contending with their Blackness and skin color, a reality they must live with every day even while trying to become White.

Fanon (1967) also argues that the Black man 'flings himself upon the imposed culture with the desperation of a drowning man' (p. 39). This flinging is not wholeness, as Fanon describes, but a necessity of the weakness of some part of the population. However, despite this flinging, despite this "acculturation" or assimilation, the Black man continues to find racism everywhere. Fanon argues that the Black man is thus "acculturized" and deculturized at the same time. He is attempting to cling to another culture which does not accept him, while at the same time removing his own culture and allowing it to be used against him by racists. In some ways Fanon's analysis is applicable to these young people. There is some desire for Whiteness among the youth. But there are also contestations. The youth cling to their own culture as well as wanting to embrace other cultures and skin tones. There is not a single story or narrative .

Chapter 7

Collaborative History Projects and Historical Consciousness

This chapter answers Research Question 4: *Can critical reflections through collaborative history-making transform young people's historical consciousness and civic engagement practices?* This question was answered through the process of youth co-researchers planning, implementing, and reflecting upon a collaborative community history project they implemented in their communities. The chapter concludes that while collaborative history-making fosters historical consciousness, bridges intergenerational divides, builds knowledge of local history, and creates an increased sense of tolerance for difference, it does less to build connections between the more significant and broader historical analysis of national and global issues reflected in local settings. Thus, there is a need for young people to acquire the tools for historical analysis to enhance projects on local history, reverse lack of historical knowledge and comprehend the links among local, national and global matters.

Youth culture and history project

As described in Chapter Three, the collaborative history project, entitled *Youth Culture and History Project,* took place in two phases. The collaborative history project, phases are

The first phase took place in July 2019. As part of the activities of the activity-based discussion groups, the youth co-researchers practiced their interviews and conducted two short interviews with a male community leader and a female community

leader. They analysed this data and came up with themes. They visited the National Museum and the National Library to learn more about history and research. In the second phase, from January to March 2020, the youth designed and implemented a collaborative history project. The team of youth co-researchers decided on the topic of interest. After this, they conducted six interviews with three male and three female community members who played leadership roles. Following this, they created reports of their findings, which they presented back to the community members in a public presentation. Table **7-1** shows the activities the youth engaged in by community as well as joint activities. The topics that the youth co-researchers chose for their research are as follows:

- Gangare – "The economic history of Gangare."
- Dadin Kowa – "How Dadin Kowa came to be" (origin story)
- Tudun Wade – "How Tudun Wada came to be" (origin story)
- Jenta – "How Jenta came to be" (origin story)

Table **7-1**: YPAR activities: Youth Culture and History Project

Phase	**Activity**	**Communities**
Phase I	Preliminary interviews with two community elders	Gangare, Jenta, Tudun Wada, Gangare
	Museum visit	Joint visit and activities
Phase II	Youth co-researchers designed community research	Gangare, Jenta, Tudun Wada, Gangare
	Research visit to the National Library	Joint visit by four sites
Phase III	Mini-conference designed to meet student interest in history facilitated by local university history students and faculty	Joint activity by youth from all four communities
	Community presentation	Joint activity by youth from all four communities

The projects were conceptualized and led by the youth co-researchers. They were supported by local youth leaders under my guidance. Each of the interviews was captured by the youth co-researchers in video and audio recordings. The interviews were well supported and received by community members, many of whom attended the community presentation on February 29th at the National Museum in Jos. The interviews were conducted without incident, and the youth co-researchers put considerable effort into selecting community members for the interviews, conducting the interviews, writing reports of the interviews, and creating public presentations of their findings. The documentation of these interviews is in the community narratives section, below.

The questions were created to be unique to each community and are listed in Appendix C. I added one question: What occurred during the 2001 crisis, and what has been the impact on the community? This question was inserted because youth co-researchers often mentioned and discussed the crisis, but they seemed unwilling to add questions about the crisis to their community questionnaires. In consultation with local colleagues, we felt it would be appropriate to insert a question on the crisis, which would also enable the youth co-researchers to understand a single topic in a comparative perspective, while still maintaining the integrity of the questions and topics they had chosen for investigation.

Community Narratives

Each of the communities had unique stories to tell. The youth gleaned from their lived experiences as well as the discussions we had over the first few months of the project. These communities are all low-income areas that are referred to by the locals as

ghettos or in some cases jungles. These communities are physically separated Muslim and Christian communities. The stories that follow reflect the 32 interviews carried out by the youths in the 4 communities.

Dadin Kowa

Dadin Kowa is a predominantly Muslim community in the southwest corner of Jos North Local Government. The co-researchers identified and interviewed eight members of their community. The key findings of the youth study of history were that Dadin Kowa had previously been a mining community and was now one of Jos's most peaceful communities, while other communities were filled with violence. However, Dadin Kowa faced some challenges, which were attributed to the youth.

The youth co-researchers found that the *Twa Fwa* were the first settlers in Dadin Kowa. The Ward Head of Dadin Kowa noted that the Twa Fwa lived in the land as far back as 1520.[34] However, the youth co-researchers were more concerned with the current community of Dadin Kowa. As a result, they did not make further investigation into this history. The co-researchers found that Dadin Kowa was "originated" or discovered by a "white man called Dickson" in 1956. Dickson owned a mining company. According to their interviewees, before Dickson came everywhere was "bushy." Dickson later sold his mining company, and the name of the town was changed to Tudun Munisar and then to Dadin Kowa, which means all are welcome to enjoy here.

Their interview[35] described the office where the white men would pay the local workers for tin. According to the description of Elder Tafa, one of the community elders.

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[34] Interview with Ward Head, Gangare, February 12th, 2020
[35] Interview with Ward Head and Tafa of Dadin Kowa, February 12th, 2020

The men would spend their earnings in beer parlours, brothels, and gambling centres which surrounded the payment office. The men spent the whole weekend there and returned to their mines again on Monday to continue mining activities. Elder Tafa also said that the white men did not build any mosque or church but that these were the things that he established.[36]

The respondents expressed their discontent with the Jos crisis of 2001, but all agreed that the crisis did not reach Dadin Kowa. They all emphasized the commitment of the Dadin Kowa leadership to peace and called on the youth co-researchers to continue to maintain the spirit of peace and brotherhood within the community.

> You see, now we are getting older and older. That is why we are calling the young in our midst to show them how we are living. We are human beings; God made us, why should I take something to kill you? God is watching you. The blood you drop on the ground the day God wants to take you to *Jennah,* they will say this man killed someone. God will put you in hellfire.[37]

In this discussion, the "grandfather" of Dadin Kowa expresses the need for peaceful human relations and how the religious leaders of both communities often come together to make sure that conflicts are resolved quickly in Dadin Kowa. Another one of the elders also discussed how the religious leaders got together when the crisis was brewing to discuss with the youth in their community:

> I am the community leader in this community. We are peaceful here. All the conflicts we have witnessed just a little between the Christians and the Muslims,

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[36] Interview notes of Interview with Elder Tafa, Senior Ward Head, Dadin Kowa
[37] Ibid

> but it was not so much as in other places. It was just a few as the rainfall and go, but today, we see peace.[38]

The youth co-researchers learned the names of the first Mai Angwas, but they could not identify the first woman leader of Dadin Kowa.[39] The title "woman leader" was seen as a political title that emerged with modern democratic politics in 1999. The interviewees discussed peaceful co-existence in Dadin Kowa, and the challenges of the community were that the youths were lazy. In discussing the current challenges of the community, the Elder Tafa made this comment:

> The challenges we are facing are now much; some of our youth have gone into drug abuse, some of our youths now go on stealing, some of our reps [elected representatives to Nigeria's National Assembly] are disobeying, and this is what we are facing. Secondly, most of the problem that brings those challenges is idleness; there is no work for the youth, which is why it brings them to this moral something, smoking, taking other drugs, and so forth. [40]

In the quote above, Elder Tafa attributes some of the problems of the community to the youths. Elder Tafa discusses the economic problems that foster these problems. He called on the government to create jobs for youths, noting that youths, even in their economic deprivation, were not fighting in the football fields or viewing centers [places where youth watch football on tv screens].

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[38] Interview notes, Dadin Kowa youth co-researchers
[39] Ibid
[40] Ibid

During reflections on the interviews, the youth discussed that there were very impressed with the details of their community history and felt they had gained knowledge from their research. The Dadin Kowa youth presented their findings at the community presentation, although none of the community elders attended the presentation.

There was a difference between the elders' narratives and that of the youth leaders. While the elders praised the history of Dadin Kowa, the youth leaders interviewed were ignorant about its history and were more focused on the community's present-day challenges, which included robbery and other crimes. An interview with a youth leader took place immediately following an interview with an elder, and the youth co-researchers asked if Dadin Kowa had other names, to which the youth leader replied "there is no other name other than Dadin Kowa."[41] This indicates that the community's history is mainly deposited in the elders of the community and has not been passed down to young people. As is common in Nigeria, the "youth' leaders", were over 40 years old.

Youth co-researcher's reports did not contain many of the details narrated by the elders, as they narrowly focused on the issues they wanted to present. The youth co-researchers only recorded the stories that they thought were important, and that were aligned with the question and not all the things that were reported by the community. One example is when the elders discussed the ancient history of peoples that lived in the land, which is now Dadin Kowa, the *Twa Fwa*. but the youth co-researchers were disinterested in the topic and moved on to discuss what was Dadin Kowa. In their presentation, they left out this ancient civilization. Instead, the youth co-researchers noted that there were

[41] Interview with Dadin Kowa Youth Council leader, February 10th, 2020

“only bushes” in Dadin Kowa and no form of development. Thus, the association of how lands were occupied before urban centers were set up was lost in the conversations and the research. Another example is that the interviewee spoke about the mining and the corruption around the mining process and brothels, but the youth co-researchers never raised this in their reports. It was only recorded in the interview transcripts. There was also a difference between the accounts of the women and men leaders of the community. The women leaders did not occupy formal roles in the community, and those selected had limited knowledge of the community's history.

One of the community leaders criticized the youth led research saying that NGOs had often come to ask them many questions, but there was no follow up. He thus advised the youth co-researchers to make adequate follow up on the research. This points to research fatigue, which is often noted by Indigenous scholars (Smith, 1999). While I was the lead researcher, it was hard for the interviewees to differentiate my research from NGO research, and most of the youth co-researchers had been involved in local NGOs and maintained some ties to the NGOs that had trained them.

Tudun Wada

Tudun Wada is a predominantly Christian community located in the northwest area of Jos. The respondents' discussion centred on the conflict around the ownership of Tudun Wada by different ethnic groups who claimed to have been the first settlers in the community. Like Dadin Kowa, the current challenges facing the community focused on youth co-researchers' problems and how they were being engaged in society.

One of the narratives in contestation was on the ownership of Tudun Wada. As previously discussed, indigeneity has been a matter of contestation in Nigeria, and

Plateau state has been adversely affected. The youth co-researchers interviewed different leaders on both sides of the divide about who were the first settlers and, thus, the owners of the land:

> I am a woman leader. I lived in the community for 28 years, exactly. I do not know exactly how Tudun Wada came to be; I do not know. The first settlers of Tudun Wada was the Afizere people. Nothing has readily changed since then. The major groups that occupy are the Rukuba, Irgiwa, etc. [42]

In her response, the woman leader notes that while she does not know how Tudun Wada came to be, she knows that the settlers of Tudun Wada are the Afizere people. She is also Afizere by ethnic group. Contrast this with one of the male elder's detailed but nuanced report:

> We have many challenges at this time of development; we have tribalism, even the kind of religion. This one will say I am from this, or I am from that, that is where we are facing many challenges. You can see Tudun Wada here today. It is not developing, because of all these things. I am an Afizere man, I am an Angas [he is speaking in the third person as an example], And if the government wants to develop anything, they will say I am the person who owns it, and that is why the government will withdraw their money. Because of tribalism.[43]

In the quote above, Elder Bitrus also noted that the ownership of Tudun Wada is contested. gave a detailed description of the challenge, and the reasoning that is often given about ownership and rights to land:

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[42] Interview transcription, February 2020
[43] Ibid

> The experience we have today is not what we are taught or what we live with from our ancestors. We are all human beings. We must live with one another peacefully. Everyone has where they come from. You come to my house, and I give you water, I shelter you, I give you water. Later in the day, you say the house belongs to you? Then, you are looking for trouble. I cannot go to someone's house now and … claim anything. So that is the problem that we are having: what belongs to you belongs to you, but what does not belong to you is not yours.[44]

In a very traditional form of storytelling, Elder Bitrus gives a popular narrative of how people are welcome in other people's homes, but that does not make the home theirs. The idea that "everyone comes from somewhere" shows an argument about claiming land that is often used against those who are considered “non-indigenes”.

I note these conversations because the young people interpreted these discussions very differently from the elders. In their presentation to the community, they took on a very radical position regarding who owns Tudun Wada in a poem called “Tudun Wada Belongs to No One”. In this poem, they asserted that any child born in Tudun Wada owns Tudun Wada, and it does not belong to any of the ethnic groups claiming the land. The full text of the poem and other presentations can be found in Appendix D.

A frequent challenge in present-day society was the youth and their involvement in drugs, crime, and other social problems. However, the younger interviewees spoke more about tribalism among the elders. In their reflections, the youth co-researchers agreed with the statements about youth behaviours. As an example, Berky noted, “Our

[44] Interview with Elder Twafe, Feb 2020

youth are found in some behaviours that do not make the growth of a community rather than cause violence here and there."[45]

As in the other communities, the representations of the female leaders were often focused more on family history than community history. An elderly woman, who sold pepper in the local market, told the story of her husband asking her to breastfeed her children only at certain times of the day. She said, "I obeyed" and went on to discuss the discipline of her own children who would, in turn 'obey' her. The elderly woman gave the example of breastfeeding according to her husband's wishes and her act of obedience.

She used this to set the tone for how her obedience to her husband results in the obedience of her children towards her. This submissive language and submission to male authority in a marriage is characteristic of many Nigerian families today and supported by both major religions Christianity and Islam. This story is important to note because, at the end of the conversation, she went on to implore the youth co-researchers to be obedient and compliant to elders in the community and to also be exemplary in discipline and good behaviours.

Some of the problems of the community that were discussed by the elders were drug abuse by the youth, smoking, drinking, and 'indecent dressing' as well as crimes such as robbery and rape. At the end of the interview with the woman leader, the youth co-researchers asked her to give them advice. The narratives between the elders of the community and the youth leaders were different. While the elders blamed the youth for

[45] Journal Notes, Berky, Tudun Wada community

many of the problems in the community, they emancipated themselves from blame. Monroe noted this in his report of the community interview:

> The baba said that most of the challenges are coming from the community's youths. He added that there is no problem of leadership with other leaders from other tribes in the community.[46]

Monroe notes a disparity in some of their observations and the words of the interviewee. The same sentiment of the non-existent problems was reflected in other interviews. The head of Local Security stated, "there are many problems, but it does not surpass our strength," while another of the elders said, "these are problems between brothers, we do not want anyone to interfere." Mai Anguwa of Rukuba, also said "the youth are causing violence in the community, so we as leaders try to get peace and everything in order."[47]

Optimists also noted in his journal that 'most of the problems in the community have to do with youth." [48] These comments point to a growing and widening generational divide between community elders and youths, where both sides point fingers at the other as a source of community problems. The elders accuse the youth of being the problem, while ignoring institutional barriers and the social and economic challenges they face, and in turn, the youths see the elders as reneging on their responsibility for the underdevelopment of the society.

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[46] Report of community findings, February 20th, 2020
[47] Audio recordings, community interviews, February 2020
[48] Optimist journal notes, Feb 2020

In reflecting on these comments, some of the youth co-researchers acknowledge that the Mai Anguwa and other leaders did not necessarily represent the views of the entire community. Others disagreed and said that the community leaders adequately represented the entire community, asserting that community members often consulted with them on these problems. Jonex describes his discussion group's view on adequate representation by community leaders:

> They do not represent the views of the entire community, because the community has a very heterogeneous population. They might not know all the challenges happening out there in the wide community. Some challenges faced in the community are cultism, sexual harassment, etc. which were not mentioned by them. So, the views of the entire community are not reflected." [49]

And after eight interviews, it became clear that there were many points of view that were not in the interviews, perhaps including their own.

The interviews ended with the question of the vision for the community and advice for the youth co-researchers. Most of the interviews harkened upon the youth co-researchers to be good, to do their part, and to be respectful and obedient. The Woman Leader from Tudun Wada said:

> If someone comes to empower you, he is your lover. And if you learn well, you will be able to empower someone, which is the right thing to do. If you do well, you will get what is right, no stealing, gossiping, and no cheating. [50]

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[49] FGD Discussion, July 2019 after the first set of community interviews
[50] Transcribed interview, Women Elder, Tudun Wada

Another elderly woman, Woman Elder Esther, lamented the loss of moral values in society and the declining role of parents:

> Things are not the same as before: there were moral values before, but it has changed. I think civilization, advancement… these days parents hardly sit and parent their children. They are after making money. They want to look for money. They hardly stay at home and look for their children. When you leave early in the morning and come back late at night, and you don't know what has transpired during the day. Before, our parents used to wake us up to go and pray. So, I think that is why the moral standard is going away… most of our young men are in the jungle and smoke *ganja,* and the girls will use their parents' room and do things they are not supposed to do. I want all the girls to go to school and study, either formal or informal. [51]

The conversation with this woman elder points to some of the problems that the youth are facing, including lack of parental care due to parents having to leave the communities to make money. As noted above, the elders and youth leaders alike implored the youth co-researchers to be good and to make the most out of the opportunity given to them. Elder Twafe emphasized the role of the youth in carrying forward the history of the community by developing it:

> Those that will develop Tudun Wada are the youth. Because today, where is my father? Before he died, his father died; he died and left me. I, too, will die and leave the youth, my children…. If you don't develop it, then who will develop it?

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[51] Transcribed interview, Women Elder, Tudun Wada

> That is why we are calling on our youth, let them be calm, let them follow the history, know where you come from, know where you are going, that is how we are going to develop. They have to come together, put minds together, and stop fighting…. Tudun Wada has become, let me say, like no man's land. Everyone is claiming whatever he has, but when you calm yourself, you find the history of Tudun Wada, how it starts, how it is today, please calm down.[52]

Elder Twafe is both encouraging the youth co-researchers and teaching them the importance of history. He has his own version of history, and at a point, he also tells the youth co-researchers that 'they cannot serve two masters,' implying that they should decide which side history they are going to take. However, young peoples' interpretation does not focus on taking Instead, they focus in their community presentation on the idea that Tudun Wada is like "no man's land".

The youth co-researchers from Tudan Wada said they learned about the history of the community, challenges faced in the community, possible remedies, and advice from the people we interviewed. The youth co-researchers also noted that the research had broadened their knowledge about conducting research and created boldness and confidence in conducting research. On the other hand, the youth co-researchers noted that the research was stressful and consumed a lot of time and energy.

Jenta

Jenta is in the central area of Jos North. It is notorious as an urban ghetto with 'jungles,' or crime hotspots, that are impenetrable by the police. Jenta is by nature very

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[52] Interview notes, Elder Twafe

cosmopolitan and has less ethnic-based politics due to the diversity of its population. The youth co-researchers centred their research on the history of Jenta, particularly on how the urban jungles and crime hotbeds came to be. The questions they asked each community members are in Figure **7-2** below.

1. What is the origin of Jenta?
2. What is the origin of the 'jungle boys?'
3. Why is Jenta known as a ghetto?
4. What is the future of the Jenta community?
5. What is the role of youth?

Figure **7-1:** Jenta community research questionnaire

The youth co-researchers found that Jenta was founded in 1962 by the Jarawa, who came for mining activities. All the respondents noted that prior to the 2001 crisis, Jenta was a mixed community where Christians and Muslims lived together. Youth Chairman William notes:

> We used to live together. The Muslims came [here] to mine. Then people started coming. When the community was developed, then it came the issue of whom to give power to... At that time, we don't have any problem here, all these smokers, all these hoodlums we don't have. Before, there will only be two people fighting, and the Mai Angwa will solve the problem. If they [the police] take them [the youth] to the police station, he [the Mai Angwa] will come and take them and say that these are his people, they cannot come and take them. So, we enjoyed his leadership… It is the youths that are causing the problem of the community, if you are walking, you will see the young boys, and they will stop you and take

> what you have from us. So now, under our leadership, we are trying to see what we can do, with you, to join hands.[53]

The origin of the "jungles" is traced by several of the community members to 2001. While I discuss the 2001 crisis in detail in the following section, it is important to note that in Jenta, the Muslims completely abandoned the area. It is said that their abandoned houses were left unclaimed and became centers for drug use and criminal hideouts. Elder Mary narrates the story:

> Before the crisis, there were Muslims and Christians living together. But shortly after the crisis, they [Muslims] are no more here. A few years to come, the homes that were deserted, are where drinks are being sold, so that is where they are increasing in this community now…. It started with the drinks. As I told you when we came, there was a crisis. There were not so many drinks, but after the crisis, the more children started drinking. And so, it is from there we started hearing of the occultism and stealing and other things from the society.[54]

Elder Mary discusses the problem of alcoholism and crime as outcomes of the abandonment of homes in the 2001 crisis. As the conversation continues, she notes that the problem that the youth are having in the community comes from the home. Like the situation in Tudun Wada, she talks about parents leaving home in the early morning for work and leaving the children to become "wayward."

This is also echoed by Ms. Selya, a middle-aged community member who works and employs youth. She spoke about the bonds held among the jungle boys:

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[53] Interview with Chairman Williams, transcription
[54] Transcript of interview with Elder Mary, a Jenta community member

> These children have a need, physical and spiritual needs. The spiritual needs take over the physical. You are doing research. These young guys, most of them are coming from a divorced home, single parenting, and polygamous homes… you know what it entails. If you are growing up as a single mother, or a divorcee, no one tells you that Jesus is Lord…what do you expect? They have many problems, no school fees, cannot go to school, and are frustrated. So, these jungle boys have a bond; if you go there, at least you will have a drink, you will get drunk, smoke he will give his brother, and have a bond when you are fighting one you are fighting another.[55]

In her response, Ms. Selya discussed both the implication of broken family lives as well as the economic problems facing families and their children and ends looking at the bond that is formed among Jenta boys. While the female leaders interviewed were quite sympathetic to the cause of youth, some of the male leaders were less so. The male Youth Leader complained that the youth were "tormenting the community" and had vowed to do something about it. This is especially scary because the following week, a set of youth leaders decided to "sanitize" the community by sweeping for criminals the following weekend. The idea of Jenta being known as a ghetto was also discussed by Ms. Selya:

> It is known as a ghetto because it is being neglected. There are a lot of educated people in this community. There are a lot of wealthy people, but they are just selfish. If you are the only rich person, will you enjoy those riches? So, if you

[55] Transcription of interview with Ms. Selya, Community Member

> extend to others before you know it, the ghetto will cease to be. But instead, you say, if it is not my family, if it is not my child, I do not have anything to do with it.

Some of the current problems Jenta is facing now are mainly ones of insecurity, which leaves many of the residents living in fear. The area is also very rocky, and there is a problem with roads and the issue of clean water. Although there is a river flowing through Jenta, it is very polluted. Youth Leader William responded about the Jenta being a ghetto:

> We, the people, are residing in this community. We contribute to this. That is why outsiders look at this community like a ghetto…. I think that nobody is going to call this community a ghetto [in the future]. We are going to sanitize the community, we don't have a police station, we don't have a road network. But those people see that we don't have anything that is why they live in the ghetto.[56]

The final question the youth co-researchers asked is, 'Does Jenta have a future?' Another youth leader, Coach Ayuba, rejected the notion that Jenta was a jungle or a ghetto:

> In places like this, you find people most of the same mindset. They believe in poverty only the poor live in Jenta. However, it is not like that. Why would you believe you are a poor man if you have hands and eyes? Even when the Hausa are here, we have jungle, and there is a river down there where they were smoking. So, whenever you find rowdy people, they must define them as a jungle.

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[56] Interview with Youth Leader William, transcript

> However, this is not the jungle. Ghetto and jungle are two different things, people living in ghetto what do you think about them, our mindset is about being poor. Yes, we live in the ghetto, and we behave like people that live in the ghetto. Life is not easy; that is why it is called the ghetto.

Elder Mary noted: "Yes, everything belongs to God we never close our eyes because we see it and even if I close my eyes and say it is not my child, who will help him?" She also spoke of bringing preachers to preach to the youth. Ms. Selya also encouraged the youth co-researchers by telling her own story, narrating her struggles:

> No one will discover who you are for you. Will no one ever sit down and say I want to be this? Everyone needs to know his purpose…we are brought to the world for this reason. You must seek that and know it. That is when you will be who you are. Your life is in your hands whatever you want to do, you can do it. [57]

Coach Ayuba a youth encouraged the youth in a similar vein:

> The elders and leaders are doing nothing, absolutely nothing. The leaders the politicians are all the same set of people…. The next generation is [also] sick. They need mentorship. Youth have a lot to do; the future of this nation depends on the youth. [58]

In summary, the youth co-researchers of Jenta found different ideas and conceptualizations concerning the problems of Jenta. While there was some historical detail of the history of the problems, most of the discussion centred around Jenta's current problems and the roles of different members of the community in fostering these

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[57] Interview with Ms. Selya, transcript
[58] Interview with Coach Ayuba, transcript

problems and resolving them. As in other communities, the role of youth co-researchers in solving community problems was emphasized, while encouragement was given by the respondents to the possibilities of the future. The emphasis in Jenta was also heavily moralized within Christianity as the solution to the problems of the community. Although economic and political forces were at play, the moral impetus of religion was emphasized as having the power to solve community problems.

Gangare

The youth co-researchers in Gangare focused on the economic history of Gangare. From their earlier interviews, they had discovered that Gangare was a mining community. This piqued their interest, and they decided to find out more through their research. They found out that Gangare has historically been a Muslim community founded by the "White men" who gave Gangare its name. They reported that Gangare was over 200 years old, and the Gangare community's leadership, a Muslim lineage, could be traced back to the first generation. The ethnic groups in Gangare were all from the Northern part of the country and included the Hausa, Fulani, the Jara, Barbar, and Were. Women Elder Safarat noted that there was once great unity of the people in Gangare.

Baba Hussain, an older woman of 82 years, told the youth co-researchers how he worked with the White men in the community in the tin mines. She said that she did not know what the tin was used for, but that the miners took care of them and did not let children near the mines. The mining history of Gangare is captured in the youth co-researcher's community presentation in Figure 7-2.

Gangare was one for the communities [in] which mining activities were carried out. Mining in Nigeria started around 1912 … many people benefitted from the mining that took place as a source of income…. The mining stopped in Gangare, and the white people leave. They said their license expired; therefore, they will go back to their country. Now, in Gangare, the current activity is vocational skills, which people learn after the mining is no more in the community. In conclusion, through this research, we know that tin was truly mined in Gangare, and it is used for pleating, protecting irons equipment from rushing, and it is used in manufacturing chronometer and so on.

Figure **7-2**: Report on Gangare community research[59]

There were both positive and negative aspects of the mining activities. The youth co-researchers asked specific questions about the environmental and the health impact of the mining on the communities, and some of the respondents also mentioned the economic activities. Alhaji Salawu spoke about the environmental degradation of the land and the fact that there was no benefit left behind the mining activities. Alhaji Garba spoke in depth about the mining activities and how they would leave a place after exploration. Elder Alhaji Kadir also noted some of the challenges:

> I was born in this mining community since 1942. I was born February 2nd, 1942, in the house of your grandfather, you [refers to Tweety]. I was born in the community. The Jos Tin Area Nigeria Limited was registered on October 10th, 1910. I do not know who discovered tin. Tin was discovered by our "masters" how we used to call them in 1910… However, now, as the company closed… most of the people had no place to go. They stayed in mining for 40 years, and there was no pension or gratuity, and so you start looking for what? …Most of them have all died, no older people now in Gangare, the people here have not been here for long. Working for the miners, they stayed long in the rivers in the

[59] This presentation was typed and handed to me at the community presentation. It was read verbatim at the community presentation.

> cold, and there were many diseases, but no one to care for them, and there is no arrangement on them. The miners were just used to snatch the mining and the tin…[60]

The Elder describes in detail the negative impact of the mining on the health of the workers and the long-term impact on the communities. However, his own opinion differed greatly from the present Youth Leader of Gangare. The Youth Leader emphasized the innovativeness of the miners and blamed the people of Gangare for not following up on their activities once the white men left. Youth Leader Salisu lamented:

> You see, we Africans, we don't have the thinking the capacity to look into what we have. You see, the White men, they rule us, and because they have the gadgets and what not, they see we have the mineral resources. So, they came to explore and see that we have the resources here. So, there is one adage – *al mangare* – there is something that is very close to you, and you don't know the use of it.[61]

The Youth Leader's description clearly shows a vast gap between his perception of what took place in the community and the definition from the elders. The elders lived through the experience of mining, and they knew firsthand the detrimental effects of the mining activities and the environmental and health impact. However, the Youth Leader did not. This gap in his historical knowledge is not just a gap from history education. It is also a gap in the transmission of knowledge from generation to generation. Without these points of reference, the Youth Leader sees the community members as lazy and unable to exploit the abundant resources of their community. In Chapter Eight, I discuss how this

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[60] Transcribe from the interview, not included in youth reports
[61] Interview with Youth Leader of Gangare, February 2nd, 2020

attitude is pervasive in Nigeria today, and how it can be attributed to the lack of critical historical consciousness.

The Youth Leader had a completely different analysis of the current challenges facing the community. He believed that the solutions to youth unemployment and crime were to train the youth in "modern ways." His describes his contributions:[62]

> We as a forum, we train youth, even the elder ones. We teach them. We train them in modern ways. We bring in facilitators from outside and expand the capacity of our thinking to live and to see that many things that we are being left far behind. Let us look to the future.[63]

According to the Youth Leader, the community's problems are the mindset that they have, so the solution is to expand their thinking capacity. The Mai Angwa also pointed out the problems of the community. He spoke about the problem of youth being drug abusers and implored the youth to be obedient and self-confident and of "service to humanity" and be "useful to the community."[64] Youth being a problem to the community was a source of agreement with both the elders and the younger community leaders.

Despite their different views of the historical development and, perhaps, underdevelopment of the Gangare community, they all viewed youth as the problem. Thus, the solution also lay in solving the "youth problem." Perhaps the most telling discussion of the youth problem was with Elder Hardo. He had a bleak prediction when asked about the future of Gangare, which was met with gasps of shock by the youth, who

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[62] Interview transcript, Youth Leader Salisu
[63] Interview with Youth Leader, Gangare, Feb 2020
[64] Journal Entry, Youth Co-researcher, Aliyu, Feb 2020

tried to challenge his position by asking more questions. However, he was unrelenting in his position:

> There is no future. What future? [youth laugh]. There is nothing here. You will not get anything here. It is up to you. if you get anything. The youth and their forum? You always find them… they are only deceiving themselves. What can they do? There is nothing that they can do? …I do not even see anything. I am tired. If they would be useful at all, they should try to groom those who are not in a society already. A lot of them at least 50% of them are thugs and sitting and doing nothing, trying to find troubles and trying to engage in finding troubles, using knives, cutlasses, thuggeries. They are all thugs anyway… [65]

In this grim picture, Elder Hardo laments on the youth's state and describes the situation as hopeless. The youth co-researchers attempt to ask him to follow up questions, but he brushes them off and confirms that he has not seen anything hopeful about the youth. The youth co-researchers are discouraged, but they thank him and continue on their way with other interviews.

Alhaji Kadhir had a similar view of the youth and criticized them for not being industrious or paying taxes and accepting bribes from politicians:

> You youth! You used to sit down on the bench and abuse the government. However, since you were born, you never paid the tax., Where will the government go and get money to give you a job? You are to find a job for yourself and learn a trade, like me, a professional carpenter. I learned it. I stayed

[65] Interview transcript, not recorded in youth notes or conversations.

> here and worked for the government for 35 years before I retired, so if you learn a trade, you can see use or marketing. I am a carpenter; some people are not doing anything. So, the government has to get taxes, but you have not paid a kobo in tax, and you want the government to do things for you? I beg the youths not to be following the politicians to be using them as dogs, the politician will use them, and when the elections come, they will never remember them. If I want to become a councilor [local elected position], I give you five hundred naira [Nigerian currency]. As soon as you go, I forget about you when I win the election.[66]

The narrative that Alhaji Kadhir gives is one of the prevailing discourses on youth. These discourses promote a deficit perspective: youth are lazy and ready to take bribes from politicians. As we see in other communities, the elders are ready to blame all of the problems on the youth and are less likely to look at systematic and institutional factors.

During one of the interviews, the Mai Angwa took them on an extensive tour of the community and showed them houses, the office of the miners, the buildings, round huts that they built, the mosque built by the community. The youth asked him about some old colonial buildings, thinking that these were schools the colonialists had built. He responded that it was not built as a school, but as an office for the miners. The community had later converted it to a school. He took them to another building that was now a science laboratory, and they asked him, "Is this where they were going to school?"

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[66] Interview with Alhaji Kadhir, February 3rd, 2020

He responded in annoyance, “school, school, what school? You are always asking if they built schools, this is an office, the office they used for their work!”

In this discussion, the elderly community leader became annoyed as the youth co-researchers asked him about the miners building schools. He emphasized that the miners did not build any schools or community amenities, but only offices for themselves. This seemed strange to the youth co-researchers, who had assumed that there was a benefit brought to them by the white miners.

Summary of findings across communities

In Tudun Wada, the youth co-researchers took a definite position on the Indigenous politics, stating that "Tudun Wada belongs to no one" and asserting their own identity as natives of the community despite their mixed heritage. This was a bold and courageous statement, and one that was shocking. In a single affirmation of ownership of Tudun Wada, the youth had solved a major long-standing issue in the community. In Gangare, the tracing of economic history underscored how resource extraction has long-term negative, effects on a community, but in the final presentation, this seemed to have been lost on the youth co-researchers.

They presented the story of the “White men” who were in Gangare, but they emphasized the benefits, which were not in line with what the elders said. A remarkable demonstration of this was the tour that the Mai Angwa gave the youth co-researchers of the community buildings. The youth co-researchers kept asking if the “White men” built the schools, and the Mai Angwa at a point became very frustrated and almost shouted “no, it was an office!” The buildings built by the colonial miners had been for their

purposes, for processing and collecting minerals, most likely storing them for onward distribution. However, the youth co-researchers insisted on the benefits. The guide showed them that the community turned the buildings into schools and science laboratories. The community, in many ways, reinvented itself after mining had left the community.

In Dadin Kowa, the perpetuation of the narrative of peace threatens to silence dissenters who highlight other problems in the community. From the research, it is clear that many of the problems of other communities, drug abuse, and thuggery, crime, all exist within the Dadin Kowa community. However, because it is an outlier community, the Dadin Kowa youth buy into the idea that Dadin Kowa is a community without conflict. In the discussions of the youth co-researchers, the female youth co-researchers insisted on some critical challenges, namely corruption within the public-school system. This discussion was immediately shut down by some of the male youth co-researchers who insisted on the narrative of peace and progress. A discussion on poverty and inequality in the community was also shut down by the idea that development and peace are intertwined, and thus the community is "developing."

In Jenta, the moralization of social issues brought about a disconnect between the analysis of community problems and their solutions. While numerous reasons were given for the poor social and economic climate in the community, which led to the classification of Jenta as a jungle or a ghetto, the solutions to the community problems are highly moralistic, mostly Christian. As an example, during the community presentation, one of the Jenta community, Boris, was called out by an elder. After he was briefly praised for his work, the Elder declared or prophesized that the young man should

be a pastor. The audience cheered and applauded. The idea that this young man, so full of the promise of leadership that his greatest ambition should be to lead a church, points to the enduring imprint of Pentecostal Christianity on community life.

In each of these communities, the complex histories are told and interpreted in diverse ways with the expansive knowledge of history being in the hands of the elders, and perhaps never told before this time. The preservation of history and historical knowledge must take on diverse forms and methodologies for it to be captured before it is too late.

Narratives of the Jos Crisis

Across the communities, the youth co-researchers asked questions about the 2001 crisis. The stories across the communities reflected aspects of the uniqueness of each community, but they also presented similarities. Each person that was interviewed was able to give detaisl on where they were on the day of the crisis, and all of those interviewed lamented what the crisis had done to divide the town of Jos. A few of the stories shared:

> The crisis has negatively impact us. Before, we are living with Muslims even in the same compound but after that crisis even now I cannot go to Tudun Wada Angwan Hausawa and even the Muslim you cannot tell them to come into our own community… (Youth leader, Tudun Wada).
>
> During the crisis I was at work we saw flames of fire, in the afternoon I went to the market I saw people running, I found people had run from many places to the office then I heard that there was a fight we could not come back to our homes, we stayed there in the morning until the fight was on Friday, we don't know the real problem

of the fight so… what has happened since then? To the impact is we know as citizens we have to be living with other religions so the strongest religions are Christian and Muslim it has turned to one sided but we don't want it like that, we don't live together so we are not so happy so if they know that they can live with us we cannot refuse, but we don't know if they will want to come back here, we are only Christians in this community and though we know that it is not good (Woman leader, Jenta).

The crisis started at Anguwan Rukuba where we went to attend our friend's wedding that wedding bring us together but if I tell you that day is still fresh in our memory, that is the last time we met our friends because most of them were killed (shaking his head), so many things ended, education, so many changes, so now communities are going different ways. We did a school here in Gangare we had a mixed society. Our compound was a mixed one but now you see the consequences, many things you being to mention the consequences all we are praying is for peace, because we are praying that peace we are seeing now let us continue like this because I can tell you even if you go to Jos town and you begin to see development, you begin to see that if there was peace, if you see Europe and all those place, we pray not to continue with such, let us be our brothers keepers… our religion teaches us that we should not displease others, in our actions let us not be displeasing others (Elder Hardo, Gangare).

In each of these stories, and many more of them were told, the elders and youth leaders all agree on the problems of the crisis and what it has meant to the long-term

development of Jos. They each express pain in the separation, but also do not have hope that they problems will soon be resolved.

Themes and analysis

Respect for elders and the authority of local leaders

These young people valued respect for elders in the community. They were able to identify community leaders by name and location, to contact them, schedule the interviews, and get their agreement to participate in programs without any problem. At the end of the first set of interviews, the youth co-researchers were asked if they had chosen these elders to represent all the views in the community. While there were some minority opinions on this, most of the youth co-researchers agreed that the Mai Angwa and the Women Leaders were able to represent the community's views entirely. The youth felt that since the community members often went to the Mai Angwas to solve problems, the Mai Angwas could adequately represent the community. In the Muslim communities, Mai Angwas were said to be inherited positions. In the Christian communities of Jenta and Tudun Wada, several Mai Angwas were representing different subdivisions of communities and were selected through a process that was not known to the youth co-researchers.

Respect for elders has both its benefits and its limitations. On the one hand, it provides a source of social stability and order in communities often in conflict. On the other hand, it creates a chasm with youth who are disobedient or unwilling to go along with the directives of the elders. These youth are then considered to be the 'bad youth' who do not listen. Respect for elders and has created a gerontocracy in Nigeria alongside

other African countries. It is not only the problem of elders, but also the problem that the youth are unable to have a position from which they can lead. Given that the category of youth extends to 45 and sometimes even 50 years, young people in the age group of this study (18-24 years) have a little place to practice their leadership skills or to have their say in any way.

When the youth co-researchers approached the elders, there emerged opportunities for intergenerational learning. Intergenerational learning critical for historical consciousness. The elders often sought to give the youth co-researchers advice on how to be ‘good youth’ and avoid social vices such as drugs, sex work, and crime. However, the elders often did not attribute any of the community's failings to themselves, but rather, all the problems were attributed to the failures of youth. Rüsen (2010) describes “traditional” forms of historical consciousness. The past has much that can be learned from, and we should reflect on the values of the past and keep those values in order to grow.

Opportunities for intergenerational learning were immense. However, they were often one way. In respecting the elders, the knowledge streams down from the elders and not vice versa. To remedy this in the study, we invited the youth co-researchers to deliver a community presentation of their work back to the elders and the youth leaders from each of these communities. Elders from Jenta, Gangare, and Tudun Wada were in full attendance, while there were no elders from Dadin Kowa, perhaps because of the distance or other factors we were unable to ascertain.

Gendered perceptions of community leadership

In each of the four communities, the Mai Angwa is the community's formal leader and represents the community as a community leader to the government. The Mai Angwa is a form of traditional leadership, which is part of the three different forms of leadership acknowledged by the Nigerian government, traditional leaders, religious leaders, and government elected leaders. However, in each of the communities, there was no formal role or title for a woman leader. This differed from other communities within the pilot study in the southwest, where the woman leader is the head of the market and holds formal political power.

After much pressing and pushing, the youth co-researchers were able to identify the Woman Leader in their communities. The questions they asked of the leaders were not gendered. However, the responses of the interviewees were gendered. The male leaders would speak about their occupations and the role they occupied in the society, such as 'Grand commandant of the neighborhood watch force.' In contrast, women leaders tended to speak about their husbands and their children and about activities such as helping with weddings or child-related ceremonies. The stories told by the women were domestic. However, this was not well noticed by the youth co-researchers.

There were also apparent differences between the Muslim and Christian communities, with differences between public speaking for the male and female participants being especially evident in Gangare. In Gangare, young women tended to be shy and not willing to speak up. Many times, they were not even audible on either the video and audio. With time, many of these young women were able to find their voices

and speak up more, and by the conclusion of the second phase of the project, the girls were conducting interviews and making public presentations.

Learning to question

In many Nigerian cultures, children and youth are expected to be seen and heard, to obey and not ask questions. This inhibits their ability to think critically and to seek clarification on issues. The nature of the YPAR study and the interactive activities is to bring out the voices of the young people and enable them to become comfortable in questioning and seeking the truth. The conversations in the focus group discussions were often difficult and required multiple questions, as is demonstrated in Chapters Five and Six. They required several rounds of questions for the youth co-researchers to be able to explain what they felt. The youth co-researchers also had a difficult time formulating questions for the community members. The process of interviewing elders gave the youth co-researchers confidence. For example, in the Jenta community, a young woman wanted to go deeper into understanding the religious crisis and why there was only one religion in the Jenta community. She was told that this was an inappropriate question for the Mai Angwa and woman leader.

However, questioning became part of the process and the culture within the study as time went on, and in conversations and interviews with community members, youth co-researchers would take the initiative to follow up on some questions, even when they were shot down. One example was during a discussion in Dadin Kowa community, when an elder was describing how Dadin Kowa was a place where people would escape from crime. S.M. asked, “So Dadin Kowa was a hiding place for thieves?” However, there were still many times that the young people stuck only with the script, even when the

interviewee made points that begged follow-up questions. Watching the youth co-researchers grapple with questioning also bears witness to some of the difficulties of self-expression faced in cultures where young people are often silenced, and their silence becomes accepted and normalized within the social structure.

Youth devils, youth saviors

Honwana and De Boeck (2016) describes how African youth are often seen as either "makers or breakers" (p. 5) in the society where they are often only viewed as extreme. The findings from this study support Honwana and De Boeck's arguments that youth are often politicized in a dichotomous fashion. All the conversations that took place during the collaborative history-making project pointed to youth's problems. Three of the communities were dangerous places to live and grow up, and the gangs that run the streets in these communities bring fear into the lives of elders and youth alike. So, when asked about the problems of the community, the elders would often reply, "it is the youth of nowadays." Placing the blame of current problems on the younger generation is not particular to Nigeria alone. Research in multiple countries and cultures shows that adults often judge social problems by placing the burden on the youth, who are often also victims of the neglect of those same societies.

The youth co-researchers agreed with the role of youth in society and the problems associated with youth delinquency. Both the elders and the co-researchers pointed out the need for the "good youth" to reconstruct society and make things better. However, for the elders, this implied being obedient and listening when spoken to, and heeding the elders' word. In Nigeria, as in many parts of the world, black youth are a threat and a menace to society. The research in these communities supports and affirms

the ghettoization and degradation of Nigerian male youth. In the Jenta and Gangare communities, by far some of the most notorious slum communities in Jos, discussions revolved around the gangs of youth who occupied these communities and ruled them in fear.

In the Jenta community, these gangs of youth were called jungle boys, who constituted gangs that occupied part of Jenta during the day and more often at night. They took part in activities such as “collating.” Collating means raiding streets in large numbers and collecting mostly cell phones and cash from individuals and shopkeepers. These boys are considered a menace and spread fear, but they are also seen as a protective force in the community when it comes to outside invasion. In a discussion about the violence in the communities, the Jenta youth spoke about Muslims coming into the community for anything other than selling water or doing small mobile jobs like nail and hair cutting. I asked them what would happen to a Muslim if he was in the community past dark. They immediately noted that he would be attacked by the jungle boys and would not survive the attack. They also discussed how the “jungle boys” had changed their name to "damba," which means animal. I asked them who had changed the name, and the youth claimed that it was the boys themselves that had changed their name, and they were the ones using it. The notoriety of the jungle boys was also expressed in my conversation with the history teacher in Jenta (in Chapter X?), who said many of the boys in her classes were jungle boys. She even implied that some of the youth co-researchers in the research group were part of the group. The jungle “boys” are also said to include females.

In Gangare, a discussion on violence in the crisis described the local gangs, called *Sara Suka*. These gangs also occupy streets during the day and night. They sell and do drugs and perform what the youth co-researchers referred to as "sweeping" neighbourhoods. This sweeping is to ascertain their territory as well as the rivalry between the different groups and gangs. While the youths discussed the claim that this group included females, they argued about whether the females who were part of these gangs were only their girlfriends or had their independent status as members of the groups. This is a common conception: that active female youth are only appendages of their male counterparts. While there is insufficient information from this study to make conclusions on the authenticity of this claim, these were the ways some of the youth co-researchers viewed female gang members.

The ghettoization and criminalization of youth were notable in research that was focused on the history of the community. After brief discussions on history, the conversation in every single interview turned to the youth as problematic. This highlights how community problems are perceived and understood in present reality and not in the broader context of history and the social, political, and economic apparatus of the state. Through an "exemplary" view of the past, which divorces the role of political and economic structures from social and cultural structures, the problems of the community are discriminatory against young people. Whereas a historical analysis could shed light on how these communities develop and the aabandonment of these communities by government. The use of political agendas to use youth for politicized purposes was rarely mentioned. Youth were seen to have their own sense of agency, which they put to were deliberately destroying these communities. However, the youths in the study did not see

themselves in that role. These youths were selected for having shown leadership involvement in the community, so they were often not what could be classified as the lousy youth. However, these “bad youth” were their friends, their brothers, and sisters.

More than one tragic incident took place in the course of the study time. In the Jenta community, the “youth leaders” with the support of the Mai Angwas declared war on youth crime in the community. They declared that any youth caught stealing would be burned alive or using their words "lynched." The week before the conclusion of my study, one of these youths was caught stealing a cell phone. A mob poured petrol on him and lit him on fire. Due to the intervention of some good citizens who put out the fire and dispersed the crowd, the young man lived.

In a check-in with my group from Jenta, who seemed physically distraught and depressed, I asked one of the young men what had his past few weeks been like. He answered, “bad and bad.” He then explained that the youth who had been the victim of the burning was his brother and that he had been placed hospitalized in intensive care. Later in the conversation, another one of the youths asserted that it was good that the community had taken the law into their own hands to deter others from committing the same crime. When I pushed to know if the life of a human being was of the same value as a stolen cell phone. She could not answer, but the following week she held her ground about the need for the community to use its power to place a check on youth crime.

As a result of the tremendous burden placed on young people, I reflected on the study's opening discussions when the youth talked about their expectations. We reflected on this at the end. In closing reflections, many of the youth were hopeful and confident of their role in building their communities, furthering historical knowledge of their

communities, and training other youths in how to do historical research and research about their communities.

Healing across the intergenerational and cultural divide

The healing of the wounds of conflict that have endured across generations is complicated and requires extensive processes. While this research and the collaborative projects that emerged out of it was not aimed at producing healing at the community level, a level of catharsis was achieved in the process of telling the story. While for some of the interviewees, there was an apprehension about what would be done with the information provided, for many, there was a sense of relief in telling their stories. The crisis in Jos has endured for almost 20 years, and there has been no process of reconciliation and no justice for the victims, despite numerous commissions and panels of inquiry. There remain so much anger and discontent in the city, and the process of healing will take much effort and willingness.

Healing across intergenerational divides was a significant part of the process of this study. The youth co-researchers were able to listen and hear from community members about stories they had never been fully able to decipher. However, this storied conflict also brought out open wounds of the community, which the young people themselves pledged to heal.

Excavations: reversing the mummification of history

The process of collaborative history-making was one of excavation. Much like the mining done in the Plateau, there was a process of digging and sifting through. Fanon (1967) describes the process of the 'mummification of culture' in which culture has stagnated and ceases to be relevant. It is very clear that many parts of Indigenous culture

were irrelevant for the youth co-researchers. It was my hope that many of the stories in the community would disrupt dominant narratives of the racial and cultural superiority of whiteness and Eurocentric interpretations of development and modernity.

However, the youth co-researchers still selected mainly from the things which they wanted to hear. An example is that the elders and youth leaders told many stories about the history of the community, how it was formed and created and how it came to be, the youth co-researchers selected topics which were of interest. This did not include much of the history told to them by the elders.

Storytelling and learning from the elders

In the conversation with elders, there was always an ending with a moral imperative. The elders emphasized the need for obedience, the importance of listening, the responsibility of respecting elders, the role of young people in safeguarding the community. This moral imperative is very much a theme in the curriculum of social studies and in how education is envisioned in Nigerian society as hierarchal and based on didactic teaching methodologies and rote memorization. While the stories are important, the stories are only relevant since they bring forth social meaning and a lesson on morality. This is part of the tradition of storytelling in many Indigenous societies, and thus, the idea of counter-storytelling is not necessarily in line with how these cultures envision youth civic engagement.

Healing across religions

The religious divide within the city of Jos is nothing less than extreme. These constructed borders are not known to strangers but are demarcated by residents. The stories that were told indicate how these demarcations came to be and what they mean for

young people today. While the divisions that mark the city remain evident in the lives of the youth co-researchers, the youth demonstrated a willingness to overcome religious divisions through friendship. In the final closing ceremony, I asked the youth co-researchers to find a youth co-researcher from a community that they had never been to before and with whom they had formed a friendship during the project. They quickly went and chose youth co-researchers from other religions and held them and laughed and talked.

Many of these friendships strengthened over the eight months of the project. This has important implications for planning and implementing projects to engage youth co-researchers across religious divides. Learning history together was a way for these youth co-researchers to engage and disrupt the narratives that had been handed down as storied violence from across generations. On the final day of the mini-conference, the four communities were asked to work together on a single presentation. They decided to write and recite a poem which reflected their unity and strength.

Individual growth

The process of engaging in collaborative history and participatory action research shows growth in some of the lives of the youth co-researchers. There were 13 youth co-researchers, out of 48 youth, who did not complete the project., Their stories will not be told as part of this dissertation, and their stories may be quite different. One of the things that the youth co-researchers also feared in the beginning of the project was not being able to speak with clarity, and even after the first phase of the project there were several comments from youth co-researchers about the discomfort of public speaking. But one of the areas of growth that was most noted by the youth co-researchers was learning to be

confident and to speak in front of crowds as well as being able to do research and speak to their elders.

Crossing boundaries, building bridges

The boundaries between the youth co-researchers from the four communities has been constructed over decades. Many of the youth co-researchers were afraid to cross into communities that were not their own, even though many were geographically close to each other, less than a mile in some cases. However, the process of the YPAR project brought youth co-researchers together in familiar settings, threw open the lines of access and friendship, and, in the process, broke down barriers that once existed. The first crossing over boundaries occurred in the first few days of the research when the youth co-researchers requested to know what was happening in other communities. They wanted to meet the youth co-researchers from other communities and expressed interest in coming together.

I, alongside the community coordinators, decided that this interest was something we should build on. So, we decided to spend the last day of the first session in a collective gathering at the Jos Museum. This is a national museum connected to the Jos Zoo, a centrepiece of the Jos community located in the middle of the town by the High Court. We gathered the youth co-researchers at this location and allowed them to mingle and interview each other and present the findings from their community research. Young people very much enjoyed this time. The open-air theatre we used for the presentations was full of laughter and conversation. Following the museum meeting, we found that youth co-researchers had spontaneously begun to visit each other in their various communities. Friendships were formed, and networking was facilitated. The youth co-

researchers decided to conduct other activities together, which included a visit to the library. When it was time for the community research, I noticed that some of the youth co-researchers from other communities would join in for the research and blend into the scene.

After the second phase of the project and its completion, the youth co-researchers formed a group called History Makers, in which every week they would visit a different community for the meetings. History Makers also formed a Facebook group, through which they communicate regularly. Sometimes it is about regular day-to-day events, or someone asking for prayers when they are sick. At other times, they share information about history they have gleaned from the web or happenings of interest and importance on the political scene. The youth co-researchers added me to the group, but I am mostly silent, though I am available for questions.

The race-less imperative

It is clear from the findings in the collaborative history project that race became less emphasized in the re-construction of collaborative history. While white people were mentioned, they were not mentioned as purely saviours. In fact, one of the repeated themes was that the white miners had come and extracted without leaving any benefit for the community. In Dadin Kowa, the Mai Angwa said: “At that time, the white men came, and they did not bring with them anything like churches or mosques, but rather they brought brothels, beer joints and gambling.” He went on to describe how the extractive culture fed the breakdown of social and family structures as the men would go to the office and deposit their mined minerals for cash pay-outs, but they would proceed into the surrounding area to spend the same cash on drinking, prostitutes and gambling.

In Gangare, the Mai Angwa spoke about how the miners extracted tin and other minerals and “did not develop the community.” In this regard, the youth co-researchers were able to see a different side of the white saviour story, and though the longer-term impact of this is unknown, it is of great importance that they see different sides of what was once a single story.

What we did not achieve

While collaborative community history helped the youth, co-researchers learn about being able to research and investigate the past, it was limited to a study on community history. As such, many of the youth co-researchers noted in the final reflection that they did not sufficiently learn about national and African history through the project. While the mini-conference highlighted African and Nigerian history, it was insufficient in really deepening the knowledge of youth co-researchers about the broader national and African history. The short time did not allow for the much discussion of global history, which would be necessary for youth co-researchers to know. As the study shows, there is a lack of knowledge of events in history, such as the enslavement of African peoples and Africa's colonization.

It is also unfortunate that the new history syllabus is limited to the study of Nigerian history alone and will not cover African or global history in Grades 1-9. These are only optional subjects in the senior secondary schools. Policy decisions that are made without a thorough investigation of the concrete needs of young people are destined to be lacking. Issues such as indigenization decrees, the history of missionaries and Islamic jihadists in the spread of religions and the history of how ‘three tribes’ came to dominate

the national narrative are of critical importance to the lives of these young people. In addition, in an age of globalization, in order to counter the false narratives of white superiority, knowledge of Africa and the African diaspora has a bearing on the development of the collective psyche of Black youth and their social and emotional well-being.

Conclusion

One of the salient issues is the placing of the problems of the community squarely on the shoulders of the youth co-researchers. Elders blame youth for structural transformations in Nigerian society: The youth co-researchers are the problem of the community, whereas the elders are not seen as having the problem. In the eyes of the elders who were interviewed, the youth, who are involved in nefarious activities are seen to be morally irresponsible. At the same time that the elders do note some of the social and economic challenges that youth face, they place the burden of change squarely back on the shoulders of the youth. As a result, a great burden is placed by elders upon the youth co-researchers in the study as they are promising and resourceful. This is evident even from the beginning of the study, where the youth articulated their own sense of carrying the burden of being the ones chosen to participate in the study.

On the first day, many of the youth co-researchers expressed the fear that their participation in the study "would not be in vain." They were also worried that what they learned would not be acceptable in the communities that they returned to and that they would not be able to implement the things that they had learned by teaching other youths in the community. The youth co-researchers have a very strong allegiance to their

communities, having been born and raised there. The participatory research in the form of collaborative history has many implications for transforming young people's relationships with their communities. As is noted in the different findings above, youth investigating their history does not only have implication for transforming their identity, but also in making an impact on the communities they live in as well as across communities. These bridges that are formed over the course of a very short time, support the ideas of historical materialism that the masses are the makers of history and that making history is in and of itself, a transformative act.

Chapter 8

Discussion, Implications and Conclusion

In this chapter, I discuss the major findings of my dissertation and place these findings within my theoretical framework. Secondly, I discuss the theoretical, policy, and practice implications and make recommendations, followed by broad conclusions. I close with a reflection on my journey as a researcher.

Discussion of findings

The findings and analysis in this dissertation, contextualized within the theoretical framework and grounded in the literature, point to several pertinent issues. At the broader macro levels of policymaking, this dissertation further strengthens the assertions of neocolonialism in education and ways in which Nigerians have pushed back against these policies and the concessions that were made to accommodate them. At the micro level, this dissertation interrogates the lived experiences of young people and how they navigate complex historical dilemmas while forming their identity and making decisions on how they will be engaged in society.

The overarching research question asks how do neocolonial legacies in education reinforce the discourse of cultural and racial hierarchies? Secondly, how can we decolonize education systems, build on the strengths and legacies of resistance, and on Indigenous knowledge?

In this dissertation, I have demonstrated that the goal of Nigeria's education system, development, and national integration based on and supported by cultural racism.

Cultural racism is a tool that holds up developmentalism and capitalism. The Nigerian elite, who have governed Nigeria since her independence, have ensured that Nigeria remains a "developing" nation so that they can continue to exploit and plunder. Two things are essential to the continued underdevelopment of Nigeria; a nation-state strong enough to keep the diverse peoples as a single entity and secondly, a large population of docile enough or distracted enough not to rebel and tear down the country. Education, in many ways, has served this purpose. The research questions this dissertation addressed:

1) What are the social, political, economic influences on the removal and return of history education in Nigeria over the past sixty years?
2) How do Nigerian youth gain knowledge of and understand local, national and African history?
3) How does Nigerian youth's understanding of history relate to their identity and how they engage with their communities?
4) Can critically reflecting through collaborative history-making transform young people's historical consciousness and how they engage with their communities?

Research Question 1: What are the social, political, economic influences on the removal and return of history education in Nigeria over the past sixty years?

The Nigerian elite carried on the legacy of colonialism into the independence era, adjusting the curriculum's content to meet the demands of a newly independent but

deeply divided and economically unstable country. The emergence of radical historians, who positioned Nigerian and African history as a basis for African independence and self-reliance, directly threatened the ruling elite's vision. As such, the ruling elite was able to work with foreign organizations in the US and the UK to convert the history curriculum into the social studies curriculum, which had no history topics. The new curriculum focused on fostering obedient and subservient citizens, deculturized and assimilated to Western cultural norms.

The social studies curriculum, argued to be more relevant for the Nigerian context, was a source of de-radicalization and cultural mummification, which had long-term impact on the direction of primary and junior secondary education. However, this curriculum must be contextualized within broader efforts to align Nigeria's education towards the twin goals of the country's development plans, namely, development along Western, neoliberal economic lines, national integration and stability. The latter goal sacrifices the rich diversity of Nigeria's ethnic groups for a homogenized national identity, which remains contested at every level.

Organizations such as the Historical Society of Nigeria, in cooperation with other civil society members, fought a long and hard battle for history education to be returned as a full standalone subject in primary and junior secondary schools (basic grades 1-9). However, the return of history came with some concessions. The history curriculum focuses on local, state, and national political history and pays no attention to African or world history, even to contextualize Nigeria's history. As such, I argue that while the return of history to Nigeria's curriculum in 2019 is necessary, it may be inadequate to

address the needs for historical knowledge and the formation of critical historical consciousness.

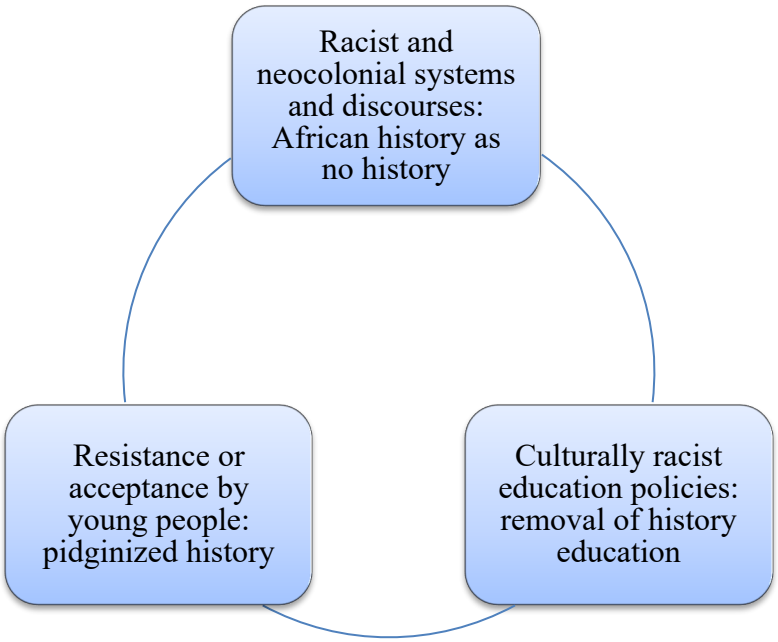

Figure **8-1:** Pathways from neocolonial theory to practice

Research Question 2: How do Nigerian youth gain knowledge of and understand local, national and African history?

I find that there is a pathway in which broader discourses translate into policies that are, in turn, accepted or rejected by young people. In Figure 8-1, I give an example of how the negation of African history translates into a policy of history education being removed from the curriculum and replaced with social studies, which emphasized Eurocentric social norms and obedience and loyalty to the state. Over time, these policies

led to interpretations of a “pidginized” history among youth, which has implications for the development of identity and public engagement practice.

This study finds that youth create a "pidginized" history from different sources such as social media, films, stories from their parents, and the collective memory of their communities. Absent historical references that may come with school-based history learning, youths lack both an empirical basis for their understanding of history and the tools to critically analyze history. Youth are easily influenced and swayed by the national and popular culture. This may be exacerbated when they lack grounding in historical knowledge of their cultures and communities, they that they gain through the media and other sources. They use these as points of reference to understand their present situation, whether these sources are based on facts or fiction.

However, I argue that youth *do* have historical consciousness: they can understand the importance of history that informs the present and are aware that their actions today will play a role in the future. Investing in their historical knowledge can foster *critical* historical consciousness, which is both analytical and interpretative, questioning the present and the future in line with the historicity of the past.

Chapter Five shows that without school-based learning or written forms of historical knowledge, youth imbibe storied intergenerational violence from their parents and community members. The youth understanding of the Jos crisis demonstrates this, as young people who have not experienced this crisis have personalized highly divisionary renditions of violence that occurred in the past. When violence continues in these communities, the stories also become the lived realities of the youth, who take on their parents' prejudices. However, while this storied violence has the potential for becoming a

vicious cycle, I find that these conceptions are easily disrupted, as youth crossed literal and philosophical boundaries by engaging with youth from different communities in the study.

The absence of historical knowledge also allows misconceptions and negative narratives about Africa and Nigeria to take hold. This includes seeing positive aspects of colonialism and interpreting the causes of the enslavement of Africans. It also gives credence to the idea that the West is civilized, whereas Africa is not. The youths generally agreed with linear models of development, which places Africa at the back, Europe, and the West, in front. Their conceptualizations of civilization and its discontents reflect Afro-pessimism and ideas that have become pervasive in Nigerian society. While some of the youth contested these conceptions, reaffirming Black identity and expressing hope for the future of Nigeria and the Black race, they were often challenged by their peers who felt otherwise. The Afro-pessimism of these youth and their views of history give credence to my assertion that neocolonialism and the hegemony of Euro-centric cultures are reinforced by the omission of history from the schooling of generations world's largest Black nation.

Research Question 3: How do youths' knowledge and understanding of history relate to their identity?

The negation of Black history is related to the formation of cultural and civic identity of Nigerian youth. When given a choice, most of the youth chose white skin or light brown skin and characteristics such as straight noses and long hair above their Negroid characteristics such as dark skin and broad noses. While the youth in Christian

communities showed interest in European and Asian cultures, the youth in Muslim communities showed more interest in Saudi Arabia and the Middle Eastern cultures. The youth interpret these cultures through the lens of popular media, material culture such as clothes, and the influence of religion, namely Christianity and Islam.

While most of the youth reject their Blackness, others embrace it, and a clear connection is between those youth who view African history with pride and those that do not. The youths that see the positive narratives of Nigeria's history are the same youths who express their racial identity more favorably as Black people. This finding demonstrates that globalized racism and the critique of the racialization of education are evident in the formation of youth identity in a majority Black nation.

Apart from the racial identity, these young people show strong affiliations with their family s and communities as well as strong religious identities. While the strength of religious identity among Nigerians has been noted by previous researchers, the lack of importance placed on ethnic identity has not been extensively studied. Nigeran scholars (Falola, 2009; Madunagu, 2008; Nnoli, 1983) have consistently expressed ethnic identity problems as central to the internal conflict in Nigeria. However, I did not find a reliable identification with the tribe and ethnic group among the majority of the youth. The youth themselves denounced tribal infighting in their communities and sought to transcend the boundaries of ethnic divisions, as was demonstrated in the Tudun Wada community.

Ties to the family may be an essential area for future research, as these young people show strong loyalty to their families, which could be a basis for decision making. A few interesting lines of research (Ceesay, 2017; Kaag et al., 2019) have pointed to young migrants making tremendous sacrifices for their families and being a significant

source of investment for their families. Several youth studies (Honwana, 2013, Camaroff & Camaroff, 2013) describe how African youth that placed in precarious positions, forge their own unique cultural and civic identities. The dissertation builds on the theoretical work of Fanon, who discusses youth as a specific social category integral to the African revolution (Fanon, 1967). These unemployed or underemployed youth play a specific role in society's political, economic, and cultural structure. Through social media, Nigerian youth are exposed to and interact with other young people worldwide and share music, film, and other aspects of popular culture. Nigerian youth are part of increasingly globalized youth culture.

Research Question 4: Can critical reflections through collaborative history-making transform young people's historical consciousness and civic engagement practices?

This study shows that engaging youth in collaborative history research projects has implications for closing generational divides and building bridges between elders and young people. Researching history also helps young people see the interconnectivity of issues, both across time and across the communities which they jointly explore with their peers.

However, these collaborative research projects have their limitations. Youth are prone to select only specific aspects of the stories they are told that align with their pre-existing ideas. Like historians before them, they ignore histories that they deem less suitable to answer the questions which they seek to address. The negative interpretations of history can persist despite youth investigations into history. An example is how the

stories of the negative impact of British tin miners in Jos was glossed over by the youth in the presentations that they made to their communities.

Another example is how the youth researchers insisted that the schools in Gangare were built by the white miners, despite the community leader's description that the schools were initially offices for the miners and were later converted to schools by the locals. The power of colonized legacies on the collective psyche of the community becomes apparent. The disruption of these legacies will take a critical approach that combines history education with research to upturn entrenched narratives. Counter storytelling is part of the tradition of Critical Race Theory (CRT) research that focuses on the creation of alternative narratives to understand marginalized people's lived experiences.

Even though there are limitations in how the youth interpreted their collaborative history research, many youths were beginning to make meaningful connections by the end of the project. The youth in Tudun Wada created a counternarrative that displaced the tribal rivalry in their communities with their interpretation of indigeneity; birthright. In Jenta, the youth envisioned the conversion of the abandoned houses used by gangs to centers for youth development and a restructuring of the riverside from drug hideouts to gardens. The youth have begun to understand some of the community's histories and were able to make connections between that history and the present time, as well as convert this understanding into a vision for the future. This reflexivity and praxis is the essence of *critical historical consciousness* and lends itself to a new approach to youth civic engagement.

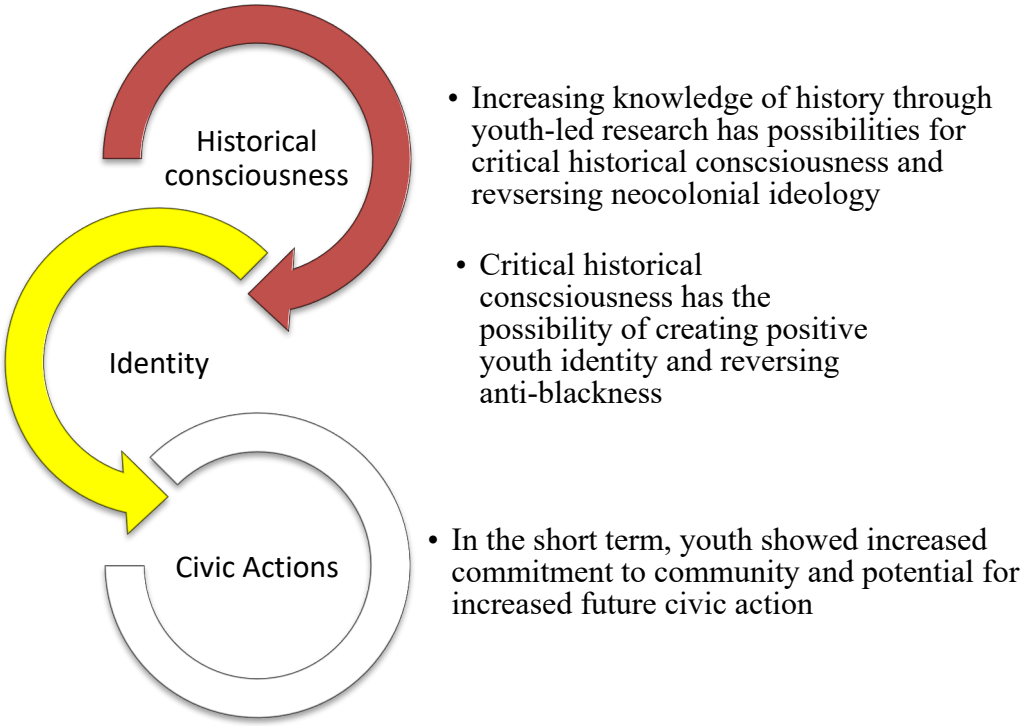

Figure **8-2**: Revisiting the conceptual framework

The research findings align with the conceptual framework, in Figure **8-2**, highlighting the connections between historical consciousness and identity. Increasing youth knowledge of history through the process of collaborative history can foster a sense of critical historic consciousness. It also has the potential to reverse the process of deculturation and the formation of a positive youth identity. In line with this, the dissertation supports the idea that youth identity and historical consciousness play a role in their civic actions and how they engage or disengage in society. The collaborative history projects highlight the potentiality of young people engaging with community history as a bridge for increased awareness and civic actions, while further research needs to be conducted, including longitudinal studies, to understand changes in civic and political engagement over time.

Discussion of key themes

Contentions of elitism, neocolonialism and civil society

Neocolonial policies continued and were upheld by a Nigerian elite after the formal end of colonialism. The ruling ideology of the Nigerian elite is to keep Nigeria on a permanent "path to development" along Western lines. In reality, this means keeping Nigeria a peripheral economy that serves the core countries (Wallerstein, 2008). This permanent state of economic underdevelopment means the ruling elite control power and continue to feed off the state (Nnoli,1977; Madunagu, 1983).

The ruling elite in government fight to keep Nigeria as a united nation-state; his means quelling efforts of ethnonationalism and all agitations for self-determination among different groups. Education is a tool of the state and the Nigerian elite to maintain power and keep Nigeria in its status as a peripheral, underdeveloped nation-state. Uncritical education is necessary for them to maintain power. Thus, Nigeria's education system is aligned with the interest of the ruling elite; to maintain Nigeria on the developmentalist path and ensure national unification.

However, this dissertation shows that there has and will always be resistance to the ruling elite and their neocolonial agenda for education. Civil society actors, local organizations, activists, and intellectuals continually push back to maintain and build strong social and cultural ties. These movements often win concessions, a middle ground, which jettisons radical processes for more conservative approaches. The process of decolonizing the curriculum was incomplete during Nigeria’s early independence days, being truncated by both local and global events. However, the Historical Society of

Nigeria, leading historians from different universities across the country, continued to fight for decades for the return of history into the basic curriculum of Nigerian schools.

The endurance of this struggle points to the continuous contention between the state and civil society (Gramsci, 1971, Tarlau, 2019). The intellectual elite, at times may defend the ruling national elite, but are more often in contestation to the policies which negatively impact both their interest but also the interest of the overall society. As such the intellectual elite have the capacity to serve a moral conscience for the society, while at the same time struggling for their own survival. While the construction of racial identity through Euro centric policies is evident in the ruling class, in line with Fanonian constructions of the ruling class, the intellectual civil society has become separated over time from the ruling elite, due in part, to their sustained interest in keeping national pride and identity at the forefront of national discourse.

The political economy of cultural racism

An emerging theme from this study is that it is difficult, if not impossible, to disentangle racism from imperialism in education. Murray and Jackson (2020) assert that race is "a central organizing logic," which is perpetually prescribed colonial hierarchies and divisions (p. 919).

> Racialization reproduces a colonial hierarchy of humanness that violently and unevenly structures and is structured by environments, political economies, and nature-society relations. Racialized processes and their attendant racist rhetoric and ideas, bodies, lands, and knowledge are racially categorized, hierarchized, and situated within "global raciality (quoting Bachetta et al., 2019). (p. 919)

Racialization is a tool that reproduces hierarchies through classification. In this system, the majority-white countries are on the top, and black African nations are at the bottom. Within this system of racialization, young people live and make sense of the world around them. This study shows that young black Nigerians are neither immune nor protected from global racism. The hierarchy of knowledge and knowledge production, what is valued and what is not, is alive and well in their school systems and everyday lives.

In a recent publication, Bledsoe and Wright (2019) describe how the racism of coloniality is often hidden in influences of antiblackness and white and light-skinned dominance such as the rhetoric, policies, and practices of corporations. In this study, the youth often cited videos or films that informed their ideas of race and interactions via social media. Bledsoe and Wright (2019) argue that the framing of antiblackness is a "necessary precondition for the perpetuation of capitalism" as it creates or requires "empty spaces" (p. 919).

In this dissertation, I argue that the erasure of history education attempts to create these empty spaces through the process of deculturation (Fanon, 1967) which I define as separating one from the culture which they identify with. However, I also argue that there are always contestations. There is both individual and collective historical agency which will push back against the process of deculturation. This is where culture is returned, voided of its essence, in what Fanon describes as the process of cultural mummification. I argue that social studies are an attempt to assimilate Nigerians into western or white culture and create within citizens a sense of duty and responsibility to the nation-state. However, historical knowledge and historical consciousness can never be erased. Not

only does it live on in the generations that have borne witness to it, but also it is an essential part of human society and human memory.

This assimilation is necessary for the continuance of capitalist hegemony as it gives rise to consumption patterns, which will seek out refined commodities imported into Nigeria from the West. Some of the youth in the study wanted to eat non-Nigerian food, wear Western clothes, and use modern cell phones from abroad. The desire for the external goes even further. When we look at patterns of illegal migration and human trafficking, it is based not only in the decrepit state of Nigeria but also in the vision of the dream of going abroad to the white man's land.

I demonstrate that while the overt racism that was used to justify the enslavement of Africans and the colonial empires ceases to exist, it has taken on a new form in the negation of Black capability. The discourse of ‘development’ places the responsibility to right the wrongs of capitalist exploitation which are actively causing underdevelopment, on the shoulders of Africans. Bledsoe and Wright (2019) argue that the "colonial trope of natives as agents of their misfortune" (p. 935) is necessary for extractive capitalism. African states are racialized as incompetent and greedy and mismanaged by the local, and so the local is the root of suffering.

In the community work I conducted, I see time and time again that the youth are blamed for the community's problems. On the other hand, youth also blame their society for being "behind" and not making significant moves to "catch up." This is the problem with the whole idea of development. It is ahistorical and turns cultural differences into differences across time by, for example, saying that some places/people are “further along” the path to development. Despite the study being about history, the subject matter

always turns back to the youths' role and the harmful trope of youth as problems. These tropes gloss over the underlying causes of the problems and challenges that youth face.

History education's neocolonial legacy

Historical memory, historical thinking, and historical consciousness are necessary elements of society's social fabric. History learning enables the passing of knowledge from one generation to the next. It also enables a fluidity in culture as history teaches that culture and tradition are not stagnant but rather move in various ways.

While history is not only passed down through the school system, the school in the modern Nigerian state became a significant force in the socialization of children. Thus, many of the roles of the family and society were given over to the school. Of course, many of these roles were usurped, as we see in missionary education where the purpose of the school was to take children away from the family and inculcate them with new values – religious and moral values- to build character. So many traditional ways of handing down knowledge from generation to generation were broken, so too was the passing down of history through traditional means. This, of course, was not absolute as parents will always continue to socialize their children**.**

Because of history's importance, it became a cornerstone of the struggle for the Africanization of the curriculum both immediately before and immediately after independence. The Ibadan School of History and the other schools that rose from this school of thinking stressed the importance of African history and created new ways of recording African history, such as through the oral tradition. However, this revival was truncated by a countermovement to introduce social studies as an alternative to history, geography, and civic education.

Advocates of social studies argued that is was the necessary pathway for national development and national integration, both goals of the Nigerian state. Thus it aligned with the interest of the elite. In its discourse, social studies embraced localism, moral teaching, and character-building while at the same time being promoted as Africanists. The social studies curriculum aligned with the interest of creating obedient and morally upright citizens, according to Western standards. The curriculum emphasizes Western family structures while focusing on issues such as manifestations of capitalist exploitation rather than fostering critical thinking skills. A curriculum that focuses on drug abuse, trafficking and corruption is not one that engenders critical thinking, but one that places the burden of social change on family structures, ignoring the institutions and international systems which break up the family.

History advocates condemned the move away from traditional subjects such as history and geography, but strong arguments countered their revolutionary zeal. Nigeria did not need ideology or highly intellectual subjects; it needed to "develop," and it needed to stay as a single national unit. Because these arguments and discourse aligned with the Nigerian elite's desires, history stayed out of the curriculum for an extended time, despite numerous efforts for it from the Nigeran radical intellectuals. Social studies are built with the tools of cultural racism, cultural mummification, and localism. Social studies align with Nigerian cultural values of interest to maintaining the status quo while shifting focus from nationalist capitalist exploitation.

While the HSN eventually won the battle to bring back history to schools, this was based on a promoted discourse that history was useful and essential to development

and unity. Thus, it gave away its radical possibilities by focusing on the local and not returning to its radical revolutionary roots.

Therefore, interventions in historical knowledge must go above and beyond local community histories and foster critical thinking skills based on global citizenship while building on the strengths of local and national histories. History education must disrupt the mummification of culture, by supporting with historical evidence the fluidity and continuously changing nature of culture. This is necessary if history education is to be part of a cultural revival and the strengthening and rebuilding of the social fabric. History is empowering, but being able to analyze and cull from the past is an important skill that typically relies on an education that enables critical thinking.

Detachment from the past and generational chasm

The lack of historical knowledge creates a void, a detachment from the past, enabling current and present challenges to seem temporal and blame to be placed on the current situation. Rather than addressing systematic and institutional challenges, or deep socio-cultural and political rot and malaise, the temporality of the present is seen to have solutions in the present. These are, more often than not, individualized. The neo-liberalist ideology of self, of pulling oneself up and making it through as an individual, has long been used to undermine collectivistic cultures and organizations. In the same way, removing the context of history leads to a growing sense of despair and longing. This sense is temporality filled with materialistic consumption, but a more profound longing for cultural and familial connections continues to exist. This void makes apparent why the youths tend to turn to societies, cults, and groups to which they can have a sense of collective identity.

There are deep generational chasms between the elders and youth in these communities. The causes of these differences have been insufficiently studied and require further analysis. This dissertation shows that the lack of historical knowledge is part of creating and deepening this division between elders and youth, and the blame game for the problems of the society are more often than not, misplaced. "Divide and conquer" tactics were commonly used by the British colonial powers. The Nigerian elite has been accused of carrying forth these tactics by exploiting supporting religious and ethnic differences while holding power and creating personal wealth. I assert here that the generational gap is another form of divide and conquer. It also distracts communities from facing headlong the problems of lack of social resources and services, which should be provided by the government and deep intergenerational poverty, which should be addressed.

The lack of historical knowledge is one of the many causes of a vast chasm between the elders and the youth. The bridging generation, that is, the current people of middle age who are parents of the youth co-researchers examined in this study, are also ignorant of the history and thus cannot serve as a cultural bridge between the elders, and the youth co-researchers. The youth co-researchers so often expressed a profound appreciation for being able to connect with community elders they never had access to. Creating this bridge across generations is imperative to the work of intergenerational collaborative history making, which is demonstrated in this research.

Culture, society, and resistance

This dissertation finds that historical knowledge and critical historical consciousness are part of what maintains continuity of culture and tradition over time and

enables learning across generations. Knowledge of culture and history support the development of positive cultural identity and strengthen the social fabric, as well as society's ability to resist and withstand continuous assault. Because of the importance of culture and history, cultural racism attempts to disrupt these systems and render them insignificant, thus removing their potency as a binding force for society and thus as a form for resistance (Fanon, 1961, 1967, wa Thiong'o, 1983).

This dissertation shows that both racism and intergenerational trauma have served as a tool of disruption to the fabric of Nigerian society by stripping away tradition and culture and align with "Western" knowledge structures and the consumption patterns necessary for capitalist exploitation. Racism within education in Nigeria, in line with Critical Race Theory, has become so engrained in the structures and systems of education that it is almost invisible. It has become acceptable to teach in a foreign language, teach foreign religions and condemn and demonize Nigerian culture and history. Since education planners and administrators are not White but Black, it may seem absurd to make the charges of racism against them. However, this dissertation shows that the hierarchies of knowledge, of valuing what is White over what is Black and African, demonstrated the need for further investigation into what cultural racism is and what cultural racism does in Black nations that continue to bear the weight of neocolonialism, which is reinforced and supported in discourse, ideology, and as is noted in this study, in the curriculum content in schools.

This study support Fanon's idea of cultural mummification, where culture becomes stagnated and unable to grow. The curriculum of social studies that was introduced supports this process, as culture is positioned as obedience and lack of

questioning, and without the reference points of history, culture seems to have stopped evolving. However, I argue that cultural mummification is never fully complete, as young people create their own cultural norms and create their own versions of history which I call a pidginized history. The youth demonstrated the enormous capacity to interpret and understand local history, and reformulate stories and ideas into their own words and stories, thus creating a counter-narrative to the ways social problems in their communities, such as ethnicity and religion, are interpreted and retold.

Implications and recommendations

Theoretical implications

At the level of theory, this study reimagines Fanon's colonial framework to argue and provide evidence for the continuance of cultural racism in which African cultures are placed at the bottom of a global hierarchy of race and capitalist development. I extend Fanon's work through viewing historical consciousness at its intersection among race, coloniality, and capitalism. Furthermore, I extend the work of global CRT to a majority black environment, which never experienced direct white rule. Extending CRT into the decolonizing theory has important implications for sharing knowledge that has been generated regarding Afro-pessimism into the African context. I highlight the need for further theorizing of race in the context of Black Africa, through interdisciplinary and intersectional research.

I assert that Fanon’s violent liberation of the colonial time, must take a different form in the era of neocolonialism in which Nigeria exists today. Liberation cannot be achieved through physical violence. Instead, it is a collective exorcism, a cleansing of all

the negative discourse that has come to haunt black Africa's collective psyche. The psychology of racism is a process of continual assault on culture, which is based in history, and thus the only history can give birth to sustained resistance. This is why history is considered so dangerous that it needed to be destroyed. However, because history is housed within the collective memory, it is challenging to destroy. Historical memory can be disrupted by creating a chasm between the elders and the youths, as was done in the physical separation of Indigenous children in the Americas by European colonialists.

However, resistance to attempts to destroy culture creates new ways to see the world, and it is within these innovations that new history education must be built. Fanon's arguments are important, but they are described as being evolutionary, from one stage to another. In contrast, I argue that all these stages exist simultaneously among different population members at different or similar points in time and are also continuously reinvented and reimagined. Many of these youth co-researchers did not mention Nollywood movies but rather mentioned foreign films and books which they have read, which they imagine to have some form of superiority to their own culture.

Racism as a defining form of inferiorization that is necessary to bring forth the subjugation of a people Fanon (1967). “It is not possible to enslave men without logically making them inferior through and through. Furthermore, racism is only the emotional, affective, sometimes intellectual explanation of this Inferiorization" (Fanon, 1967, p. 35). Racism is a manifestation of inferiorization and not its cause; it is an essential part of inferiorization, but it is used as a tool and a disguise for overt subjugation. This dissertation shows that the arguments of developmentalism have normalized racism by

disguising subjugation and exploitation using language in which oppressed people are not oppressed; they are merely "developing" or trying to "catch up" with superior races.

Policy implications

At the policy level, this study adds to the literature on policy implications within historical context by looking at the longer-term impact of education policies and the ripple effects that a single policy decision has on multiple layers of the education system and the society as a whole. It also provides insight into how young people can be further integrated into policy making. In addition, this research shows how critically examining discourses as well as social, political and economic contexts provides a more holistic understanding of how policies are conceptualized, implemented and success or failure of the policy goals in the long and short term.

The research also provides specific policy implications for education policy in Nigeria. It shows the complexity of the policy making process and in particular the role of different players including international actors who play various roles over time. While it may seem that these international actors do not have a nefarious agenda, the implications of any education policy promoted by international policy players must be evaluated for its short term and long-term implications on the society. At the same time, it is important that all education policies are subject to continuous review and evaluation, and that advocacy for education that meets the needs of the society must be heard and integrated into the policy process. In addition, constant consultation and involvement of teachers, parents and students must be a critical part of creating, implementing and evaluating education policy.

The recent decision to return history to the curriculum as a standalone subject, its disarticulation from social studies, is a welcome development. However, it appears that despite decades of activism, the actual process of creating the curriculum was rushed, without adequate consideration for the quality of content. While knowledge of local, state and national history is important to a child's development, it is of equal or perhaps even greater importance that children and young people are aware of African and world history. The dangers of localism in history ignore the fact that young people are inundated with message and information from global sources every day. They listen to African American music, watch films from South Korea and India, and are assaulted with a daily barrage of global products from skin lightening creams to the latest cell phones. In this climate, not giving young people the tools to understand world history, and inherently unequal relationships between cultures and nations, will leave them without a compass to navigate and make informed decisions and choices.

I recommend that the history education curriculum undergoes a complete review, in line with a larger general assessment of the historical knowledge of young people which assesses both their historical knowledge and consciousness as well as their social and political attitudes. It is only with the information on how young people understand history and how they relate it to the present and future, that we can begin to plan both in school and out of school history programs that can engender a sense of critical historical consciousness among youth.

Practice implications

On the practice level, this study extends the work of community-based research practices and youth participatory action research methodologies. Incorporating youth

into research provides them with valuable skills for other parts of their lives and gives the researcher an insider view to the community from a youth perspective. Youth development organizations and community organizations can use YPAR to enrich their projects and ensure their sustainability through the strength of youth who live in the community.

This study also has important implications for teaching practice. Teachers in Nigerian public schools can begin to question whether there is any purpose or value in the curriculum that they are provided for the students they are teaching. In addition, history teachers may consider reforming the defunct History Teachers Association in order to advocate for an advance their discipline.

Beyond teachers themselves, the Historical Society of Nigeria also must move to be an inclusive organization that is more welcoming and open to the needs of teachers. History as a discipline was impacted by the removal of history education at the lower levels of education, and important lessons must be gleaned from this. It is no longer appropriate for historians to sit in their ivory towers and theorize history, it must be become a practical subject that is useful to society. Integrating history teachers provides a necessary feedback mechanism that can enable history departments understand the challenges of teaching history as well as the needs of students at all levels.

Implications for future research

This dissertation provides a foundation for future research on Nigerian education but for education for Black people in Africa and across the African diaspora. It is clear that education was formulated with the intentions to continue in the tradition of oppression and suppression of Black peoples. The removal of Black history in textbooks

not just in Nigeria, but across the world, provides evidence of it. I intend to continue to develop this research through further studies that examine if the framework I develop in this work can be useful in fostering the process of decolonization in Nigeria and beyond.

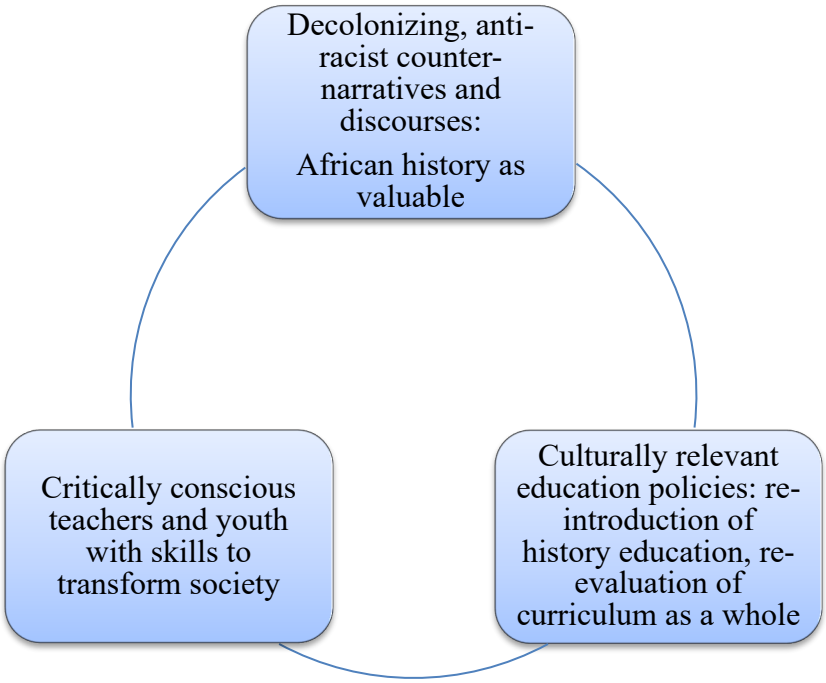

Figure **8-3**: Framework for decolonizing Nigerian history

Figure 8-3 provides an over simplification of how to counter the existing neocolonialism inherent in Nigerian education by providing a decolonizing, anti-racist approach to curricula. This is necessarily an oversimplification of the great task ahead, but provides the basic framework for re-examining education to extract it from its racist antecedents and provide a hopeful future.

Conclusion

How can we decolonize education systems and build on the strengths and legacies of resistance and Indigenous knowledge? Decolonizing history and history education means a return to the radical goals of Africanist historians that sought to use history as a tool for liberation. Historical consciousness enables us to use the past to inform the present and the future, however both critical thinking skills and access to historical records, oral histories, museums, films and books are important for young people to be able to investigate the past. While knowledge of local and national history is important, isolating Nigerians from the history of the larger African continent and world history is an impossibility. If schools do not introduce history education, young people will piece together information to inform their own views of history.

Bringing together the policy context and the Youth Participatory Action Research, this dissertation sheds light on how neocolonialism is manifested in public education in Nigeria and has an impact on the historical consciousness of youth. I establish the complex legacy of colonialism in the education sector and demonstrate how the ruling elite have continued education policies that encourage submission to authority, compliance and obedience.

Throughout history, academics and intellectuals have challenged the structure and content of education. Nigeria, too, shares a legacy of activism and advocacy for liberatory, pan-African education, despite its losses to less progressive forces over the last four decades. However, the history education that is being re-introduced into Nigerian schools lacks a critical lens and a pan-Africanist, global approach that could make it more relevant to the lives of youth who navigate global racism and anti-blackness, particularly

in the climate of today where the Black Lives Matter movement sheds necessary light on anti-blackness globally.

I demonstrate that young people, part of several generations that have never taken history classes in school, have learned history through other means: the media, stories from their family and community members as well as public events that take place in their communities and home towns. This dissertation draws light on how history education and its replacement, social studies education, were politicized and used for neocolonial purposes in Nigeria. The two areas that emerge most strongly are the I argue and provide evidence that the Nigerian elite worked hand in hand with the various.

Re-engaging with the past opens up radical possibilities for an unimagined future. Engaging young people in praxis through collaborative history making can help them to break Nigeria's shackles of insecurity and negative identities to instill a new sense of confidence in their capabilities to create their own histories for those that will follow from behind. However, this emancipation must take place within the context of structural reform of education systems, not through isolated subject based interventions.

A researcher's journey

Learning in the field

In a traditional research document, this section should be titled, "limitations," but as the process of research should lead to the growth of an individual, the challenges, the shortfalls of my study are couched in the title "learning in the field." The lessons learned are that there are severe limitations in carrying out participatory action research as a graduate student as. One is that such research can never really be truly participatory.

While I had a pilot study, and engaged with youths before going back to get their input on the study, I had my own agenda and my own research questions. If the youth wanted to turn the research into an economic activity, they did not have that freedom. Another learning area is that finances and budgets are not only useful for the researcher, they are essential for the study as a whole.

The first part of my study, in July 2019 was designed to be completed in a single trip to Nigeria for a lengthy period of time. But it did not turn out that way. Due to factors beyond my control, I could not spend long periods of time in the cities I selected, and I was also sorely short on funds. After I completed the first part of the study, I realized that there was much more to be done for the project to feel complete. The youth would call and write asking when I would return, which placed a tremendous burden on me. I found a way to return, and it was a very important and critical decision to return and complete the project in a way that felt there was a sense of closure between the youth co-researchers and myself. Other lessons learned include the need to set-up a kind of research station if the youth are really to be full participants in the study. In another study, I would apply for more funding to allow the youths to transcribe and analyze the audio and video tapes we generated, as well as to process them into publicly accessible materials.

Unexpected outcomes

The highlights of any critical and participatory study are the outcomes that follow. In the case of this study, there are several unexpected outcomes. The first is the youth co-researchers began a club called Youth History Makers, and they meet weekly (pre-Covid) to work on history projects in their communities and share readings and history lessons.

Secondly, due to my contact with some of the leading historians, I have been invited as part of the planning committee for the first national review of the new history curriculum. Thirdly, my interview with the Chairman of Basic Education resulted in a discussion to introduces a bill to the House of Representatives [Nigeria's legislative body] on history education that would ensure its long-term sustainability as part of the core curriculum for basic education. To that effect we are developing a bill called the History and Cultural Education Bill to be introduced to the House this year.

Joy in research

On a final note, I would like to add an additional "finding" which is important to any research endeavor, but also to research as a doctoral student. At every time in the pursuit of such grandiose dreams of critical action-oriented research, there is discouragement. There is pure joy in the pursuit of working alongside young people who have a hunger and desire for something beyond what they can see. I thoroughly enjoyed every day I spent in the field. I also spent many hours laughing and crying over the videos, audio materials, journals and pictures that I collected with the assistance of my co-researchers. It has been a great privilege and honor. I acknowledge this is not a typical experience, but suggest that it should be. Research, after all, should improve the human condition, and may that begin with our own.

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Appendix A

Pilot Study Tools

Activity-based Focus Groups

Youth Culture and History Study – Day One

Topic: Introduction to the Project and Participatory Research

Warm Up (Duration: 15 minutes)
The group will be asked to walk around the room dancing to music. When the music stops, they will ask the person who is closest to them a question that tells something about themselves. They should ask each person a question. After the activity, they will introduce someone and tell the interesting thing that they learned about the person. The questions are:

- If you can a million naira to spend in a day what would you do?
- What was the most embarrassing thing you ever did?
- ? is your favourite teacher and why?
- If you were given the Nigerian presidency for a day what would you do?

Introduction (Duration: 5 minutes)
The Researcher will explain that the subjects are part of a Participatory Action Research Project. She will explain that this is a different kind of way of doing research in which the research subjects are also co-researchers and co-collaborators on the project.

Activity 1 (Duration 20 minutes) – What is Participatory Action Research (PAR)?
The respondents will be given cards with different words /phrases on them that represent the different ideas of participatory action research. They will be asked to place the cards under the word that is relates to. They will then try to make sentences that describe PAR.

- Build knowledge
- Investigation
- Taking part in
- Having a voice
- Doing something
- Active involvement
- Committing oneself
- Solution oriented
- Working together

Example: Taking part in doing something that builds knowledge

Activity 2 (Duration 20 minutes) Participating or Not participating?
The group will be divided into two. Each pair will be given a description of a scene which they will create a frozen image of. The scenes will include:

- A teacher dictating a lesson to a student
- A father and children playing
- A meal being eaten collectively
- A researcher looking the other way while respondents struggle over a questionnaire
- A principal administering corporal punishment to a student
- Youths engaged and listening to each other in a conversation

The other group will be asked to guess what the scene is. When the frozen image activity is done the group will discuss these questions:

- How do you feel when you are part of something that you have no say in? Give examples
- How do you feel when you are asked to participate? Give examples.

Snack time (Duration 10 minutes)
The Researcher will describe the different ways Participatory Action Research involves respondents as well as giving examples of participatory action research projects that have involved youth. She will also describe the general direction of the project and the research questions broadly.

Discussion Questions (Duration (20 minutes)

1. Tell us the group, a bit about yourself?
2. What are some of the things you want to achieve by being part of this group?
3. How will you know that you have achieved those things?
4. What are some of the expectations that you have?
5. What are some of your fears?

Journaling (Duration: 15 minutes)
At the next session we will be discussing identity. In one or two pages, answer the question, who are you?

Closing Thoughts (Duration: 5 minutes)
The Co-Researchers and the Researcher will go around each discussing something that is important to them.

Day Two (Duration 120 minutes)
Topic: Understanding our Identity as Young People
Review of Previous Day and Reflection (Duration 10 minutes)
In a circle each person will discuss something that they learned at the previous session.

Activity 1 (Duration 20 minutes) – What's Important to Me
Four different categories will be placed on the wall. Each person will be given stars to place under the category that is most important to them in describing their identity. Then collectively we will look at all the categories and stars and discuss why the results are as they are:

- Ethnicity
- Religion
- Role in the Family
- Social Role
- Race
- Nationality
- Occupation

Activity 2 (Duration 20 minutes) – Personal timeline
Each respondent will be given a large sheet of paper to write a personal timeline of important things that have occurred in their lives. They will be advised to only write down things that they want to share with the group. They can go back as far as they want but must at least have five events. They will then share their timeline and notice any similarities in what they noted in their timelines.

Snack time (Duration 10 minutes)
Discussion Questions (Duration (30 minutes)

1. How do you identify, if someone were to ask you, who you are, what would you say? Why?
2. Where do you come from? Why do you say you are from that place? Where do your parents come from and their parents?
3. Who do you identify most with? Why?
4. Do you identify as a black person? Why or why not?
5. Do you identify as an African? Nigerian? Why or why not?
6. How do you see other races that are different from your own?
7. How do you see other ethnic groups that are different from your own?
8. How do you see different religions from your own?
9. What informs how you feel about these people that are different? What makes you have these opinions? Where do you get your information from?

Journaling (Duration: 15 minutes)
Reflect on today's activities. What were the most useful ways that you were able to learn about your identity and the identity of others?
Closing Thoughts (Duration: 5 minutes)

Day Three

Topic: What is History and where do we get our information from?

Review of Previous Day and Reflection (Duration 10 minutes)
In a circle each person will discuss something that they learned at the previous session.

Activity 1 – What is history and why is it important? (Duration 20 minutes)
In a group circle, the Co-Researchers will discuss the following questions

- What is history?
- Is history important? Why or Why not?

- What are the sources of history?

In Activity 2 – Africa's History - Video Reflection (Duration 30 minutes)
The group will discuss how they see the collective past of Nigeria and Africa. They will write down five words that they think of when they think about our collective history. Following this we will watch a series of video clips.

Video 1: The Gods Must Be Crazy https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a5GOpgm4fwg Stop at Minute 5:21
Video 2: Black Panther
After each clip, the respondents will write down five more words that come to mind when they watched the videos. They will paste these on the wall after all videos are viewed. We will then discuss:

- Why did you select these words to describe your past?
- Did the films that you watched confirm or refute what you already thought about our collective past?
- Are these accurate descriptions of our history?
- Why do these different descriptions exist and how do they differ or reflect our own thoughts?

Snack Break (Duration: 10 minutes)

Activity 3 – Anyone Anywhere (Duration: 20 minutes)
In this activity respondents will be asked to imagine that they had a choice of where to be born and what to be when they are born. They will be shown a map of the world which they can view on the board. They will write their name, the country in which they will be born and two identity characteristics of who they will be born as (i.e. race, ethnicity, religion). They will then place this on the map of the world. After everyone has placed their name on the board, we will discuss the following questions:

- Why did you choose what you chose?
- Where you surprised about others choices or not?
- If everyone you know made similar choices what would be the result?
- What about the history of these places made you make that choice?
- Where did you get the information that informed your decision and choice?

Activity 4 – Conducting a Semi-Structured Interview (20 minutes)
The next session (Day Four) will be a semi-structured interview with a family or community member of the respondents' choice. The researcher will guide the co-researchers through how to conduct a semi-structured interview. She will use role play with the guiding questions and pause to discuss different things that can be done when these are encountered. The subjects will be paired into two and practice an interview with the other subject. They will each take a turn using the following semi-structured interview guide:

Practice Semi-Structured Interview Guide

1. What is the history of your family?
2. What is the history of your community?
3. If you don't know, why don't you know? If you do know, how did you get this information?

4. What do you think about your culture and your heritage?
5. What do you think about other cultures that you are exposed to?
6. What do you know about the general history of your community, your state, your country, the world?
7. How did you come across this information?
8. What are some good things about your culture and history? What are some of the things that you don't like?

Following the practice, the group will discuss the interview process and how they felt giving the interview and being interviewed. The PI invite questions and concerns about the interview process.

Journaling (10 minutes):
Reflect on what you know about your family's history and your personal history.

Day Four

Topic: Community history taking
Activity: Co-Researchers will interview members of the community, using questionnaires that they have designed, to understand oral stories and histories about their family and the community.

Community Semi-Structured Interview Guide
To the Co-Researcher
Select an elderly member of your family, a grandmother, grandfather, great uncle or a member of your community that may have insight into your family history or the history of their community. Ask them if they would like to be interviewed about a project that you are doing. Get their consent to be part of the study using the Consent Form given to you. After they accept, you can conduct the interview.

These questions are a guide. If the respondent says something you are interested in you can ask them follow up questions or ask them to explain further.

Make sure you record the interview and transcribe the interview immediately after you are done. You will share the transcribed interviews.

1. Please tell me a bit about yourself, where you come from, who you are and who your people are?
2. Tell me about your history and some interesting things about where you and your people came from.
3. What are the most important events in this historical timeline? Why?
4. Describe your culture. Discuss both negative and positive aspects.
5. How did you come to live in this area?
6. What are some things you would like a young person like me to know about your history and culture?

Youth Culture and History Study – Day Five

Topic: Compiling and interpreting findings

Review of Previous Day and Reflection (Duration 10 minutes)
In a circle each person will discuss something that they learned at the previous session.

Activity 1: Sharing the Interviews (Duration: 20 minutes)
The Co-Researchers will share about their experience with other Co-Researchers. They will then switch transcripts with each other and highlight what they think is important in the interviews of their colleagues. Co-Researchers will identify:

- Key words used
- Key themes that emerge

Activity 2: Finding themes (Duration: 20 minutes)
The researchers will create little cards that state different themes emerging from their interview transcripts. They will then work with the rest of the group to group these key words and themes into themes that cut across different research categories.
Snack Break (Duration: 10 minutes)
Activity 3: Making Sense of It – Concept Mapping (40 minutes) - The Co-Researchers will make concept maps from the different things that they have learned trying to relate the different ideas together.
Finally, they will write up a two-page report on the different themes, using quotes from the interviews to support the key messages that have emerged.
Discussion Questions (10 minutes)

1. What did you learn about your history or the history of your community?
2. How does that confirm or refute other sources of information that you have used to understand your history?
3. Has this experience changed the way that you view yourself or your community? Please explain how.

Journaling (10 minutes):
Free journaling – write about any topic that you wish.

Youth Culture and History Study – Day Six
Topic: Formulating research questions, study design and plan
Review of Previous Day and Reflection (Duration 10 minutes)
In a circle each person will discuss something that they learned at the previous session.
Activity 1: Research Question (40 minutes)
The Co-Researchers will discuss what kinds of questions they have been asking since the beginning of the research project and they will write down different questions that they have asked and the answers that they have found. Each Co-Researcher will write down the five most important questions that have emerged from this study and put them on the wall. From this wall, the research questions will be grouped together and the Co-Researchers will decide on what the best research questions are that can be used to get the opinions of other youth.

Snack Break (10 minutes)

Activity 2: Deciding on Research Methods (40 minutes)
The Researcher will discuss different kinds of research methods with the group. The group will break into pairs and discuss the different methods that can be used and then present this to the rest of the group. The group will then decide on which research methodologies are the best for the research questions that they have selected

Activity 3: Where do we go from here? (20 minutes)
In a group discussion, the Co-Researchers will discuss

- What have we learned from being a part of this study?
- In what ways will we feel that our research has accomplished something?
- What is the relationship we want to continue having with each other and with the Researcher?

Journaling (10 minutes)
Right on the topic: "As a result of being part of this study…"

Appendix B

Activity-based Focus Group Discussion Guide Final

YOUTH CULTURE AND HISTORY STUDY – DAY ONE

Topic: Introduction to the Project and Participatory Research

Pre-Survey (Duration: 20 minutes)

Warm Up (Duration: 15 minutes)
The group will be asked to walk around the room dancing to music. When the music stops, they will ask the person who is closest to them a question that tells something about themselves. They should ask each person a question. After the activity, they will introduce someone and tell the interesting thing that they learned about the person. The questions are:

- If you can a million naira to spend in a day what would you do?
- What was the most embarrassing thing you ever did?
- Who is your favourite teacher and why?
- If you were given the Nigerian presidency for a day what would you do?

Introduction (Duration: 5 minutes)
The Researcher will explain that the subjects are part of a Participatory Action Research Project. She will explain that this is a different kind of way of doing research in which the research subjects are also co-researchers and co-collaborators on the project.

Activity 1 (Duration 20 minutes) – What is Participatory Action Research (PAR)?
The respondents will be given cards with different words /phrases on them that represent the different ideas of participatory action research. They will be asked to place the cards under the word that is relates to. They will then try to make sentences that describe PAR

Participatory	**Action**	**Research**
Taking part in	Engagement	Investigation
Having a voice in	Doing	Study
Active involvement in	undertaking	Exploration
Hands on	organizing	Inquiry
Being part of	Acting	Building knowledge

Example: Taking part in doing something that builds knowledge

Activity 2 (Duration 20 minutes) Participating or Not participating?
The group will be divided into two. Each pair will be given a description of a scene which they will create a frozen image of. The scenes will include:

- A teacher dictating a lesson to a student
- A father and children playing
- A meal being eaten collectively
- A researcher looking the other way while respondents struggle over a questionnaire
- A principal administering corporal punishment to a student
- Youths engaged and listening to each other in a conversation

The other group will be asked to guess what the scene is. When the frozen image activity is done the group will discuss these questions:

- How do you feel when you are part of something that you have no say in? Give examples
- How do you feel when you are asked to participate? Give examples.

Snack time (Duration 10 minutes)
The Researcher will describe the different ways Participatory Action Research involves respondents as well as giving examples of participatory action research projects that have involved youth. She will also describe the general direction of the project and the research questions broadly.

Discussion Questions (Duration (20 minutes)
Tell us the group, a bit about yourself?
What are some of the things you want to achieve by being part of this group?
How will you know that you have achieved those things?
What are some of the expectations that you have?
What are some of your fears?

Homework Journaling (Duration: 15 minutes)
When you get home today, ask your parents about your family's history. Draw a family tree that shows your family's history. You can also draw any kind of image to represent where your family came from and your ancestry.

Closing Thoughts (Duration: 5 minutes)
The Co-Researchers and the Researcher will go around each discussing something that they learned or a reflection of how they feel.

YOUTH CULTURE AND HISTORY STUDY
DAY TWO (DURATION 120 MINUTES)

Activity 1 - Warm Up (15 minutes)

Jump in jump out.
My name is _____ they call me _____ and I want to be a _____for the rest of my life.

Activity 2 - Reflection (10 minutes) Large group
In a circle each person will discuss something that they learned at the previous session.

Activity 3 - Sharing (small group work)
Yesterday you were asked to go home and work on your family tree. Please share with us what you learned and if you learned anything that is new and interesting.

Guiding questions
1. What did you learn about your family?
2. Why is it important?
3. What is similar about your different family trees?
4. What is different?
5. What does the story of your family tree not tell?

Activity 4 – What is history?
In small groups (gender specific), the Co-Researchers will discuss the following questions
- What is history?
- Is history important? Why or Why not?
- What are the sources of history?
- Who writes history?
- Is who writes history important? Discuss why or why not?

Activity 5- My story – 20 minutes
In this activity you will write your personal history. At the top of the page, draw a timeline of your major life events. Then write in any free form, the story of your life, highlighting things that are good and important. Share your story with a friend, then we will come together and share your story as a group.

Activity 6 – Conducting a Semi-Structured Interview (20 minutes)
The next session will be a semi-structured interview with a family or community member of the respondents' choice. The researcher will guide the co-researchers through how to conduct a semi-structured interview. She will use role play with the guiding questions and pause to discuss different things that can be done when these are encountered. The subjects will be paired into two and practice an interview with the other subject. They will each take a turn using the following semi-structured interview guide:

Practice Semi-Structured Interview Guide
1. What is an important event in the history of your family? Why is it important?
2. What is an important even in the history of your community? Why is it important?
3. What do you know about your heritage and culture?

4. What are some good things about your heritage and culture? What are some of the things that you do not like?
5. Name two important elders in your community which you would like to interview. Do you have access to them?

Reflection
Following the practice, the group will discuss the interview process and how they felt giving the interview and being interviewed. The PI invite questions and concerns about the interview process.

Guiding questions
How did it feel to be interviewed?
How did it feel to interview someone else?

Journaling (10 minutes):
Reflect on what you know about your family's history and your personal history. Write down three questions for members of your community?

YOUTH CULTURE AND HISTORY STUDY
DAY THREE

Topic: Community history taking

Activity: Co-Researchers will interview members of the community, using questionnaires that they have designed, to understand oral stories and histories about their family and the community.

Community Semi-Structured Interview Guide
To the Co-Researcher
Select an elderly member of your family, a grandmother, grandfather, great uncle or a member of your community that may have insight into your family history or the history of their community. Ask them if they would like to be interviewed about a project that you are doing. Get their consent to be part of the study using the Consent Form given to you. After they accept, you can conduct the interview.
These questions are a guide. If the respondent says something you are interested in you can ask them follow up questions or ask them to explain further.

Make sure you record the interview and transcribe the interview immediately after you are done. You will share the transcribed interviews.

1. Please tell us bit about yourself
2. Where do you come from?
3. How did you come to live in this area?
4. Where does your family come from historically?
5. How long have you lived in this community?
6. How long have members of your family lived in this community?
7. Can you tell us a bit about this community?
8. What are some of the interesting or unique things about this community?
9. What are the most important events that have taken place in your community?
10. Have there been major problems in the community?
11. Were they overcome?
12. How were they overcome?
13. How did they impact the community and why is this an important part of the history of this community?
14. Describe your culture. Discuss both negative and positive aspects.
15. What are some things you would like a young person like me to know about your history and culture?
16. Is there any advice that you can give us as we learn about our history and culture?

Journaling (10 minutes):
Reflect on your experience in the community. How did you feel about the process and what did you learn?

Reflection (Duration 10 minutes)
In a circle each person will discuss something that they learned at the previous session.

Activity 1: Sharing the Interviews (Duration: 20 minutes)
The Co-Researchers will share about their experience with other Co-Researchers. They will then switch transcripts with each other and highlight what they think is important in the interviews of their colleagues. Co-Researchers will identify:

- Key words used
- Key themes that emerge

Activity 2: Finding themes (Duration: 20 minutes)
The researchers will create little cards that state different themes emerging from their interview transcripts. They will then work with the rest of the group to group these key words and themes into themes that cut across different research categories.

Snack Break (Duration: 10 minutes)

Activity 3: Making Sense of It – Concept Mapping (40 minutes) - The Co-Researchers will make concept maps from the different things that they have learned trying to relate the different ideas together. Finally, they will write up a two-page report on the different themes, using quotes from the interviews to support the key messages that have emerged.

Discussion Questions (10 minutes)

1. What did you learn about your history or the history of your community?
2. How does that confirm or refute other sources of information that you have used to understand your history?
3. Has this experience changed the way that you view yourself or your community? Please explain how.

YOUTH CULTURE AND HISTORY STUDY – DAY FOUR
Activity 1 - Warm Up – Land by the Sea (with arm movements) 10 minutes

- There was a land by the sea but the land was never seen
- There was a hill on the land and the land by the sea but the land was never seen
- There was a tree on the hill and the hill on the land and the land by the sea but the land was never seen.
- There was a branch on a tree and the tree on the hill and the hill on the land and the land by the sea but the land was never seen.
- There was a nest on the branch and the branch on the tree and the tree on the hill and the hill on the land and the land by the sea but the land was never seen.
- There was an egg in the nest and the nest on the branch and the branch on the tree and the tree on the hill and the hill on the land and the land by the sea but the land was never seen!!

Activity 2: Review and Reflection (15 minutes)
Discuss the activities of the last few days with a partner. What was the best thing about the journey we have taken as a group so far and what is the worst? Introduce your partner (AKA name) and let us know their answers and reflections.
As a large group, discuss, were some of the best things the same, were some different? The PI notes, but we all did the same thing but we had different responses to the same thing, how come? Discuss.

Activity 3: Developing themes (30 minutes)
The PI discusses themes with the youth. Themes can solidarity, injustice, crime, religion or anything that has come out a number of times between the two people interviewed. The discussion question follows;

1. You conducted research in the community, what are some of the themes that emerged?
2. Draw them out and compare with others.
3. Do you think the views of these individuals reflect the views of the entire community?
4. Why or why not?
5. Who would you need to get a more holistic or well-rounded view?
6. Choose themes that you want to share with other groups.

Activity 4: Who I am (20 minutes)
In this activity, you will reflect on what is most important to you and makes you who you are. Write down the order in which these things are important to you. You can also say that these things are not important. Reflect on the reason why for each of the choices you have made in your journal.

- Tribe or ethnic group (state which one)
- Family
- Religion
- Community where you live
- Occupation (tailoring, welding)
- Culture
- Gender identity
- Education
- Country
- Race (racial identity) _____
- Other (please explain)

Write it on a piece of paper and paste it on the wall. Others will walk around and take a look at what you have written and ask you questions. Reflect as a group on what you have learned.

Activity 4: In this world (15 minutes)
Draw where we are located in our state, in our country, in the world, and in the universe
Explain

Activity 5: The history of our great state (30 minutes)
In small groups, discuss and answer the following questions?

1. What are some of the most important events in the history of Plateau state?
2. What was Plateau state like 100 years ago? 1000 years ago? 10,000 years ago?
3. Who are the people that have lived in the area of Plateau state 100 years ago?
4. How long have they lived here?
5. Who are some of the people groups that make up Plateau state today?
6. Are they the same people that live in Plateau today?
7. What are some of the challenges facing Plateau State today?
8. What do they have to do with the history of the state?
9. What are some of the similarities that people have in our state?
10. What are some of the differences?
11. How does the history of Plateau state impact the present?
12. How does the history of Plateau State impact the future?

Activity 6: Reflection - Will you make history?
History is made by human beings who live in this world. Take some time to reflect on the questions below and write the answers down in your journal - Will you make history?

Write a reflection imagining yourself in 2069, looking back at the last fifty years.

1. What would you have done to make history?
2. What would be the history of your community, your state and your country?

YOUTH CULTURE AND HISTORY STUDY – DAY FIVE
Activity 1: Warm Up (10 minutes)
Activity 2: History of our great country (30 minutes)
As a group, discuss the following questions and create a presentation to the larger group. Try to think of an interesting and fun way to present your group's findings.

1. What is Nigeria and how did Nigeria come to be?
2. How many ethnic groups does Nigeria have? Name as many as you can.
3. What are some of the major events in the history of Nigeria?
4. How do these historical events impact where we are today?
5. How will these historical events impact the future?
6. What are some of the challenges that Nigeria has as a country?
7. How do these challenges relate to our past, our present, our future?
8. What are some of the strengths we have as a nation?
9. How do these strengths relate to our history, our present and our future?
10. What is your role in making the history of Nigeria that will be written 50 years from now?

Activity 3: Personal Reflection (20 minutes)
For twenty minutes, write down everything you know about the history of Africa and Africa's contribution to the world today.

Activity 4: Africa and the World (30 minutes)
As a group, write down everything you know about

- Ancient civilizations in Africa
- Slavery
- Colonialism
- Creation of modern African nation states (like Nigeria, Kenya, Cameroun)
- Nigerian independence
- Every African country that you can name

Share this with a group. Did you learn new things? Explain.

Activity 5: Where in the world? (20 minutes)
In this activity respondents will be asked to imagine that they had a choice of where to be born and what to be when they are born. They will be shown a map of the world which they can view on the board. They will write their name, the country in which they will be

born and two identity characteristics of who they will be born as (i.e. race, ethnicity, religion). They will then place this on the map of the world.

After everyone has placed their name on the board, we will discuss the following questions:

- Why did you choose what you chose?
- Where you surprised about others choices or not?
- If everyone you know made similar choices what would be the result?
- What about the history of these places made you make that choice?
- Where did you get the information that informed your decision and choice?

Activity 6: Africa Trivia (20 minutes) (Optional)
You will be given some facts about countries in Africa. Place them on the country where you think they belong.

Activity 7: Group Work – Histories of Difference and Sameness (20 minutes)
As a small group, discuss the following questions and present it back to the larger group.

1. Why are some countries rich and some countries poor?
2. Why do some countries have a lot of modern facilities and others don't?
3. Choose a country and compare it to Nigeria. Answer the following questions:
    a. What are some of the things that are the same?
    b. What are some of the things that are different?
    c. What do you think is different about the history of these two countries?
    d. Do these countries value their culture and heritage?
    e. Why did you choose this country?
4. Should all people in the world have the same things? Why or why not?
5. Is this a possibility? Why or why not?
6. What is the greatest contribution of Africa to the history of the world?

Homework:
On Wednesday we will be visiting the National Museum in Jos. Write down five questions you would like to ask on the tour in which you will see different exhibits and also ancient architecture.
On Wednesday you will also be meeting with youth from different parts of Jos. Create a presentation as a group on the most important thing you learned and be ready to share it with the other group.

Think about what you would like to do in terms of creating a project on history and culture in your community. Write down some ideas to share.

YOUTH CULTURE AND HISTORY STUDY – DAY SIX
Topic: Identity, Reflection and Planning

Identity
Review of Previous Day and Reflection (Duration 10 minutes)
In a circle each person will discuss something that they learned at the previous session.

Activity 1 (Duration 20 minutes) – What's Important to Me
Four different categories will be placed on the wall. Each person will be given stars to place under the category that is most important to them in describing their identity. Then collectively we will look at all the categories and stars and discuss why the results are as they are.
Ethnicity Religion Role in the Family Social Role Race Nationality
Occupation

Activity 2 (Duration 20 minutes) – Personal timeline
Each respondent will be given a large sheet of paper to write a personal timeline of important things that have occurred in their lives. They will be advised to only write down things that they want to share with the group. They can go back as far as they want but have to at least have five events. They will then share their timeline and notice any similarities in what they noted in their timelines.
Snack time (Duration 10 minutes)

Discussion Questions (Duration (30 minutes)

1. How do you identify, if someone were to ask you, who you are, what would you say? Why?
2. Where do you come from? Why do you say you are from that place? Where do your parents come from and their parents?
3. Who do you identify most with? Why?
4. Do you identify as a black person? Why or why not?
5. Do you identify as an African? Nigerian? Why or why not?
6. How do you see other races that are different from your own?
7. How do you see other ethnic groups that are different from your own?
8. How do you see different religions from your own?
9. What informs how you feel about these people that are different? What makes you have these opinions? Where do you get your information from?

Journaling (Duration: 15 minutes)
Reflect on today's activities. What were the most useful ways that you were able to learn about your identity and the identity of others?
Closing Thoughts (Duration: 5 minutes)

Review of Previous Day and Reflection (Duration 10 minutes)
In a circle each person will discuss something that they learned at the previous session.

Activity 1: Reflection (40 minutes)
The Co-Researchers will discuss what kinds of questions they have been asking since the beginning of the research project and they will write down different questions that they have asked and the answers that they have found. Each Co-Researcher will write down the five most important questions that have emerged from this study and put them on the wall. From this wall, the research questions will be grouped together and the Co-Researchers will decide on what the best research questions are that can be used to get the opinions of other youth.
In a group discussion, the Co-Researchers will discuss

- What have we learned from being a part of this study?
- In what ways will we feel that our research has accomplished something?
- What is the relationship we want to continue having with each other and with the Researcher?

Snack Break (10 minutes)
Activity 2: Deciding on Research Methods (40 minutes)
Activity 3: Where do we go from here? (20 minutes)

Journaling (10 minutes)
Write on the topic: "As a result of being part of this study…"

Appendix C

Youth Recruitment Flier

YOUTH PARTICIPATORY ACTION
RESEARCH STUDY ON HISTORY AND CULTURE

Are you a youth between 18 and 24 years of age?
Did you attend a government school?
Do you enjoy talking and sharing your experiences?
Are you active in your community in a youth or community group?
Do you want to learn more about history and culture?
If yes, please come and join us!
We will meet for a total of 12 hours from July 22nd to August 3rd, 2019.

REQUIREMENTS
Aged 18 -24 years with proof of age
Must have attended public school and show proof of attendance
Must not currently be enrolled in private, Christian, Catholic or Islamic school

SELECTED YOUTH WILL RECIEVE
An opportunity to provide insight into a research study
Snacks
Transportation stipend

If interested please contact Nanre through a text or WhatsApp message 08131329703

This research is being conducted by Rhoda Nanre Nafziger, PhD Candidate, Department of Education Policy Studies, College of Education, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA 16801.

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Appendix D

Community participant recruitment flier

COMMUNITY LEADERS
ASSIST YOUTH TO LEARN ABOUT HISTORY AND CULTURE

Are you a community member who knows about the history of the community?
Do you desire to share your knowledge and wisdom with the younger generation?

If yes, please take part in a one-hour interview with Youth Researchers. Interviews will be audio recorded. The Principal Investigator will be with the youth during the interviews.

REQUIREMENTS
Community member over 40 years of age who has lived in the community for at least 20 years
Willing to sit down for an interview for one hour

BENEFITS
Helping youth learn more about the culture and history of the community

IF INTERESTED PLEASE CONTACT NANRE THROUGH A TEXT OR WHATSAPP MESSAGE 08131329703

This research is being conducted by Rhoda Nanre Nafziger, PhD Candidate, Department of Education Policy Studies, College of Education, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA 16801. She is the Principal Investigator for the study.

Appendix E

Youth Participant Application Form
Application Form Youth History and Culture Study
Principal Investigator: Rhoda Nanre Nafziger

Basic Information

SURNAME: Other Names:
Date of Birth: Age:
Gender (circle one): Male/Female
Ethnic Group: Religion:
State of Origin: LGA:
Residential Address:
E-mail: Phone Number:
Current Occupation:
Name of Secondary School Attended:
Type of Secondary School
____ Public ____ Private ____ Religious (Islamic, Catholic, etc)
Highest Level of School Completed
____ SS1 ___ SS2 ___ SS3 ____ WAEC/NECO ____ JAMB
___Tertiary Ed (Polytechnic, College of Education or University)

Short Answer Questions

1. What organizations have you been a part of? Please list and write out names in full.
2. What leadership/entrepreneurial roles have you taken on? Please describe.
3. Do you consider yourself to be a youth leader? Why or why not?
4. What is the most important thing that you have accomplished?
5. Why do you want to be a part of this study?

Appendix F.

Reflection Guide
Reconvening and Reflecting Meeting
Week of September 16th, 2019

NOTE: Before the activities start, two people should be keeping minutes of the whole meeting and everything that is said. Journals can also be returned and attendance should be taken.

Activity 1: Warm up

Sit in a circle. Go around the room and share one interesting thing that has happened since we last came together as a group and one not so interesting thing.

Activity 2: Reflections and thoughts

Break into smaller groups. This activity will go through all the activities covered in phase 1 of the project. For each of the days, youth should comment on the following:

1. What did you learn?
2. What was good about this day?
3. What was not so good about this day?
4. What more would you like to learn about the materials we covered on this day?

Reflect on:
Session One: Introduction to the Project and Participatory Research

- Pre-Survey
- Warm Up – dancing and questions such as: If you can a million naira to spend in a day…?
- Activity 1 – What is Participatory Action Research (PAR)?
- Activity 2 – Frozen images

Session 2

- Activity 1 - Warm Up - *Jump in jump out.*
- Activity 2 – Reflection - Large group discussion on what was learned
- Activity 3 - Sharing family trees
- Activity 4 – Small group activity - What is history?
- Activity 5- My story – writing your own story
- Activity 6 – Conducting a Semi-Structured Interview – activity with partners

Session 3: Community history taking

- Activity 1: Community interviews
- Activity 2: Sharing the Interviews
- Activity 3: Finding themes

Session 4:

- Activity 1 – My place in the world – map activity
- Activity 2 - What's Important to Me – ethnicity, family, religion
- Activity 3: Planning for the Field trip

Sessions 5 & 6 Combined

- Warm Up – Move and meet new people
- Activity 1: Introduction of Communities
- Activity 2: Learning from Each Other – pick a partner from a different community
- Activity 3: Personal Reflection on Africa
- Activity 4: Group Work – Africa and the World
- Activity 5: Histories of Difference and Sameness
- Guided Tour of the Museum
- Reflection and Planning
- Personal Reflection 1 - Will you make history?
- Personal Reflection 2 – Being part of this study

Activity 3 – History Project

On the last day of phase 1, we discussed different projects you could do as a group. Spend some time and discuss if that is the project you want to do, and finalize three potential projects. The project must all be on documenting and learning about history. They can be about learning history in your community, or learning about history of Africans anywhere in the world. You can learn about Plateau, Nigeria, Africa. You can learn about ancient history or modern history. Be specific about what you want to investigate so that it will be easier to plan.

Appendix G.
Policy informant semi-structured interview protocol

1. Can you tell us more about yourself, who you are and your various roles?
2. What is your area of expertise in terms of understanding history education in Nigeria?
3. What are some of the changes in history education that have occurred over time?
4. How do you understand the policy process in which history was removed from the curriculum in Nigeria?
5. In your opinion, why did these changes take place?
6. In your opinion, who were the key influencers and what was their role?
7. What is the policy process by which history is being reintroduced to the curriculum?
8. Who is behind the changes and how did everything take place?
9. Are there external influences in terms of how Nigeria's history curriculum has been oriented and shaped over time? Please explain.
10. Why did these changes take place and what impact do you hope these changes will have on students and the country as a whole?
11. What is the relationship of history education and other subjects in the curriculum such as social studies and civic education?
12. Is it important to have all these subjects as part of the curriculum? Please explain.
13. How has the changing place of history in the curriculum corresponded with other changes in the curriculum and in education policy, either specifically or generally?
14. What are some of the external and internal forces that shape policies around history education? What are the historical factors that determine where history is placed and why is this the case? Can you explain further?
15. How does Nigeria's position on history education relate to history education in other parts of Africa and in other parts of the world?
16. As a young person, did you take history as a subject, did you learn history from other sources, and how did this influence how you think about history and your role in history education?
17. How do you view the level of knowledge of history and historical consciousness of young people in Nigeria today?
18. Will changes in policy impact this and how?
19. Is there anything else you would like to add that we have left out of the conversation?

VITA

Rhoda Nanre Nafziger, PhD

EDUCATION
Master of Education, Sociology of Education
Sept 2017, Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile Ife, Nigeria
Master of Science, Health Policy, Planning and Financing
June 2002, London School of Economics and Political Science & London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine
Bachelor of Arts, Sociology (Deans List Second Honours)
May 2001, Boston College, Boston

PEER-REVIEWED PUBLICATIONS
Nafziger, R.N. (2020). Critical Reflections on 1619: Educators as Truthtellers about Slavery in America. *Forum of the American Journal of Education (AJE Forum).* https://www.ajeforum.com/critical-reflections-on-1619-educators-as-truthtellers-about-slavery-in-america-by-rhoda-nanre-nafziger/
Mathieu R. Despard, David Ansong, Rhoda Nanre Nafziger-Mayegun & Bernice Adjabeng (2018) Predictors of Capacity-Building Needs Among Nongovernmental Organizations in Sub-Saharan Africa, *Journal of Community Practice*, 26:2, 204-224, DOI: 10.1080/10705422.2018.1449043
Despard, M., Nafziger-Mayegun, R. N., & Adjabeng, B., Ansong, D. (2017). Does revenue diversification predict financial vulnerability among non-governmental organizations in sub-Saharan Africa? *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Non-profit Organizations*, 28, 2124-2144.

BOOK CHAPTER
Nafziger, R.N. & Strong, K. (2020). Revolutionary Vanguard No More? The Student Movement and the Struggle for Education and Social Justice in Nigeria. In A. Choudry & S. Vally (Eds.), *The University and Social Justice Struggles Across the Globe*. London: Pluto.

ACADEMIC PRESENTATIONS
African Studies Association Annual Conference, Nov 2019
"History's Children? Historical Consciousness and Civic Identity in African Youth."
Comparative and International Education Society, San Francisco
Apr 2019 "Activating Youth Activism: Reflections from the field."

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS
African Studies Association (ASA), African Studies in the Worldwide Diaspora (ASWAD), Comparative and International Education Society (CIES), American Educational Research Association (AERA)