

# Adult Education Quarterly

<http://aeq.sagepub.com>

---

## **Adult Learning in a Non-Western Context: The Influence of Culture in a Senegalese Farming Village**

Waly Diouf, Barry G. Sheckley and Marijke Kehrhahn

*Adult Education Quarterly* 2000; 51; 32

DOI: 10.1177/07417130022087107

The online version of this article can be found at:  
<http://aeq.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/51/1/32>

---

Published by:

 SAGE Publications

<http://www.sagepublications.com>

On behalf of:



[American Association for Adult and Continuing Education](#)

**Additional services and information for *Adult Education Quarterly* can be found at:**

**Email Alerts:** <http://aeq.sagepub.com/cgi/alerts>

**Subscriptions:** <http://aeq.sagepub.com/subscriptions>

**Reprints:** <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsReprints.nav>

**Permissions:** <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav>

# ADULT LEARNING IN A NON-WESTERN CONTEXT: THE INFLUENCE OF CULTURE IN A SENEGALESE FARMING VILLAGE

**WALY DIOUF**

*École Nationale d'Economie Appliquée, Dakar, Senegal*

**BARRY G. SHECKLEY**

**MARIJKE KEHRHAHN**

*University of Connecticut, Storrs*

*In Senegal, as in many developing countries, the education of adults is often guided by theories of adult learning developed in Western societies. There is little evidence, however, that such theories are useful for educating farmers living in rural African villages. This study, conducted in a rural farming village in Senegal, explored what, when, why, how, and from whom do adults in African villages learn? Using ethnographic research methods, information was collected from the village chief, six key informants, and individual villagers (N = 38). The results suggest that a community's social-cultural norms and values exert a powerful influence on the learning of African adults. For this reason, educational programs in African villages would be most effective if they were woven into the social-cultural fabric of the community. The results also suggest that cultural traditions influence the what, when, why, and from whom—but not the how—of adult learning.*

**In Senegal, the education** of adults is a national priority. Because many economic, social, and political problems are pressing for immediate resolution, the country cannot wait a generation for its young citizens to develop the knowledge and skills necessary to provide solutions. Instead, answers must come from a population of adults who lack many of the literacy and vocational skills that will be essential for the country's success in the next millennium (Eheanzu, 1983; Kerrigan & Luke, 1987).

---

Editors' Note: This article was accepted for publication under the previous editorship.

**WALY DIOUF** is director of research, École Nationale d'Economie Appliquée, Dakar, Senegal. **BARRY G. SHECKLEY** is a professor and section head, Adult Learning and Vocational Education, University of Connecticut, Storrs (barry.sheckley@uconn.edu). **MARIJKE KEHRHAHN** is an assistant professor, Adult Learning and Vocational Education, at the University of Connecticut, Storrs. A version of this article was presented at the symposium *Developpement Rural et Decentralization au Sénégal*, Dakar, Senegal, March 1998; sponsored by École Nationale d'Economie Appliquée and Peanut CRSP University of Georgia.



ADULT EDUCATION QUARTERLY, Vol. 51 No. 1, November 2000 32-44  
© 2000 American Association for Adult and Continuing Education

In Senegal only about 30% of the population is literate, and most of the adults (77%) engage in subsistence farming, and although farmers represent more than 70% of Senegal's workforce, they contribute only 20% to the gross domestic product (GDP) (World Health Organization, 1999). This low productivity is partly due to the farmers' reluctance to learn and use advancements in agricultural techniques that could help them improve the productivity of their farms (Waterbury, 1987). In addition, health problems persist in rural villages where only 27% of the population has reasonable access to safe drinking water, only 2% have adequate sanitation facilities, and only 23% of the births are attended by trained personnel (World Health Organization, 1999). These problems persist, in part, because adult education programs designed to improve knowledge and skills (e.g., health training, child care training, and agricultural extension services) are not successful (Cole & Scribner, 1974; Erny, 1981; Moumouni, 1968). Eheanzu (1983) argues that the programs are ineffective because the educational methods used are based on Western models of adult learning that do not fully incorporate the informal and community-based educational practices used in African villages.

Framing educational research and practices as Western or non-Western creates a false dichotomy that can oversimplify discussions of key issues, occlude important similarities, and reflect biases or false assumptions (Swartz, 1998, p. 92). With careful consideration of these limitations, the distinction Western versus non-Western is used here to highlight important traditions and practices of adult education in an African setting—a topic that is usually overlooked in many discussions of adult learning.

Reagan (2000) notes that educational researchers, historians, and philosophers are often "ethnocentric" in that they (a) use the practices of their own society as "norms" by which they evaluate other societies (cultural ethnocentrism) and (b) use the dominant paradigm in their field of study to determine the topics for "legitimate" discourse (epistemological ethnocentrism) (see also Said, 1978, 1993). In his insightful work, Reagan (2000) includes many examples of such ethnocentrism including the following passage written in the mid-1970s about education in Africa:

In Africa, education was extremely limited and associated with the very small numbers who were in contact with Islam over the land routes and later with Europeans in the ports or administrative centers already starting to be set up in those parts of Africa which were colonized. But basically the continent as a whole was completely underdeveloped and tribal. African potential, though great, was late in being mobilized. (H. M. Phillips in Reagan, 2000, p. 6)

Perspectives similar to those included in this passage, in equating "education" with "formal schooling," reflect an epistemological ethnocentrism by suggesting that the educational traditions in Africa—which are informal, are tied to the social life of the community, and are not centered in schools (Boateng, 1990)—are not "legitimate" forms of education. In addition, Reagan (2000) argues that such perspectives display elements of cultural ethnocentrism in their presentation of colonialism and

imperialism as “essentially progressive in nature, while indigenous practices, ideals, and so on are seen as ‘underdeveloped,’ and ‘primitive’” (p. 6). In a stinging commentary on the considerations given to African education by Western authors, Fafunwa (1974) argued,

Because indigenous education failed to conform to the ways of the Westernised system, some less-well informed writers have considered it primitive, even savage and barbaric. But such contentions should be seen as the product of ignorance and due to a total misunderstanding of the inherent value of informal education. (p. 17)

A fuller understanding of the traditions and practices of learning among adult farmers in African villages can enrich the field of adult learning in many ways. First, such knowledge would assist government agencies that are working to develop effective learning programs for farmers in rural African villages. Second, insights into the rich African traditions of informal and community-based learning could help theoreticians in Western worlds to expand conceptual models of adult learning. Third, adult educators throughout the world could use the information and expanded conceptual models to enrich practice. As a first step in providing more information on the rich traditions of informal and community-based adult learning in African villages, this study explored *what, when, why, how, and from whom* do adults in African villages learn?

## METHOD

In this ethnographic study, following procedures outlined by Hammersley (1990), Goetz and LeCompte (1984), and Patton (1990), information was collected directly from adults in a village that is typical of rural communities in Senegal (i.e., a population size of not more than 1,000 people, low levels of literacy, more than one ethnic group, and agricultural activities as the main occupation). The village, also typical of rural communities in Senegal, was segmented into quadrants with each sector populated by a multigeneration family group related by blood and marriage. A village chief was the central figure in the community’s governing structure.

One researcher, a native of Senegal who has extensive experience working with farmers in rural villages, made five separate visits (each 10 to 15 days in length) during a 6-month period to gather information on the full spectrum of adult learning in the village. He was fluent in the dialects spoken in the village and knowledgeable about the village’s social and religious customs. Although his associates from École Nationale d’Economie Appliquée (ENEA) had previous contacts with the villagers, he himself had never worked in the village prior to this research project.

In the first phase of the study, the researcher worked with the village chief and local leaders to select six key informants who (a) were viewed as the most knowledgeable members of the community and (b) represented one of the village’s four

family groups. Four were men, two were women. Four were between 60 and 70 years of age; two were about 35 years of age.

In the second phase, after becoming more familiar with the village structure, the researcher worked with key informants and the village chief to select 8 to 10 individuals from each family group (quadrant) within the village. A mix of women ( $n = 16$ ) and men ( $n = 22$ ) of varying ages were selected to participate in the focus group discussions. To round out the information gathering, the researcher also interviewed two healers and two government extension agents.

### *Data Collection*

Interviews with key informants ( $n = 6$ ) used open-ended questions to obtain general information about the village's social organization and its educational system. Informants were also asked to rank members of their social group (e.g., men or women within a family group) according to their level of knowledge and skills. In addition, informants were asked to describe the characteristics of people with different levels of knowledge, the content and nature of knowledge that differentiated each level, and the methods and processes involved in acquiring that knowledge.

The second set of data was collected during individual interviews in which informants in each family group ( $n$  total = 38) were asked to recall past learning experiences. Informants described their past learning experience in terms of *what* they learned, *why* they learned, *when* they learned, *how* they learned, and *from whom* they learned.

In the third phase of data gathering, following procedures outlined by Pelto (1994) for community-based focused ethnographic studies, the focus groups indicated the relative priority and importance of the information they provided. Each focus group completed paired comparisons in which they chose the more important or higher priority of two themes that emerged from the interviews. They elaborated on this choice in a follow-up discussion.

Every interview and focus group discussion was tape-recorded to ensure that all information was captured and to help the researcher focus on questioning and probing instead of concentrating on taking notes.<sup>1</sup> The information collected during the interviews and focus groups was compared with the researcher's observations and informal conversations with members of the community.

### *Data Analysis*

Data were analyzed during each of the different stages of gathering information in a way to guide data collection during the next phase. In the first step, interview data were analyzed by open coding and axial coding using the Ethnograph Software Program (Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The second step involved domain analysis and taxonomic analysis methods (Spradley, 1980). During the third step, taxonomic analysis was used to explore the relationships among all

terms included within a domain and to create subsets by looking for similarities among them (Spradley, 1980). Member checking, peer debriefing, negative case analysis, and auditing were used to increase credibility of the analyses (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

## RESULTS

### *Age Norms and Education*

According to the respondents, education is the process by which children are prepared by parents to live harmoniously in a community. Education, a process that covers every topic an individual needs to learn to become a member of the community, begins and ends in childhood. For one informant, education was a key to adulthood:

When you are a young child, your parents want you to become a good man. So they start teaching you how to work as a man. You learn different skills you will need as an adult. By the age of 18 or 20 years, a man is supposed to know all farming and related activities he will need to perform as an adult.

Another key informant emphasized that the education that occurred during childhood influenced his learning in adulthood:

There are things that an adult cannot learn because he is supposed to have already learned them as a child. It is unacceptable for a man to not be able to perform all tasks related to farming after the age of 18 or 20 years old. An adult man is not supposed to learn how to sow, how to plow, or how to harvest.

Because of the expectation embedded in the community's culture that adults learn about their roles when they are children, one villager expressed strong feelings about learning farming skills as an adult later in life:

Farming techniques are part of the basic education that parents give to their young children, therefore asking adults to learn farming when they are only supposed to teach it, is perceived as denying their own knowledge and treating them like kids.

### *Domains of Knowledge: What They Learned*

The informants were asked to identify specific topics about which they learned. Their responses were coded into five categories hereafter referred to as domains of knowledge: (a) farming activities, (b) domestic activities, (c) health care activities, (d) religion and social relations, and (e) special professional activities.

To explore the values placed on each domain, informants in focus group discussions were asked to choose by consensus one element of a paired comparison as the

preferred domain of knowledge. When asked why one domain was valued over another, the respondents replied unanimously that “community usefulness” was the most important criterion.

For men, farming activities were the most valued domain of knowledge because agriculture was essential for the survival of the whole community. The other domains were ranked below farming activities in the following order: religion and social relations, health care, and special professional activities. The farmers indicated that they valued most knowledge that contributed to the welfare of the community. For example, one discussant indicated that because young people who hold special professional knowledge use it to make money for themselves—and become less interested in service to the community—their professional knowledge was not valued highly by other members of the community.

Women, consistent with their social responsibility to accomplish domestic chores within the community, ranked domestic activities as the most highly valued domain of knowledge followed in order by health care, farming activities, and religion and social relations. The women also indicated that they valued most knowledge that contributed to the welfare of the community.

Throughout the discussions about these comparisons, to the surprise of the researcher, the informants suggested that adults did *not* necessarily focus their learning efforts according to the value rankings of the domains of knowledge. To explore this result further, informants were asked to complete a second set of paired comparisons in which they chose the domain of knowledge about which they would like to learn more.

#### *Domains of Learning: Why They Learned and When*

The four male focus groups all agreed that the most valued domain of knowledge was *not* the most valued domain of learning. Farming activities, the most valued domain of knowledge, had the lowest priority as a domain of learning for adult farmers. The informants explained that although farming was a very important activity for them to know, they learned what they needed to know about farming when they were children. One farmer expressed his satisfaction with the training provided by his parents:

Twenty-five years ago when extension agents started coming here, many adults like me did not want to learn again how to farm because we were already farmers and what we were doing was just perfect. We were doing what our parents had taught us when we were younger, and we wanted to stay with that.

The men chose religion and social relations as the most important domain to learn about in adulthood. According to one informant, learning about religion was a lifelong project:

Religion and society are two domains of knowledge people always need to investigate. Nobody can finish learning about religion and society. The more you live, the more you will need to learn about life. Older people, even very knowledgeable ones, keep learning about the religion and about life.

Similar to the men, the uniform consensus expressed in the women's focus groups was that the most valued domain of knowledge for women (domestic activities) was *not* the most valued domain of learning for them in adulthood. Women felt no need to learn any more about domestic activities because they learned what they needed to know at an earlier age. Because learning domestic activities was the main focus of basic education for young girls, they reported that it was not an appropriate topic for adult learning. One informant revealed that learning about domestic activities in adulthood would be disgraceful:

If a girl gets married without having the good skills for home activities, she would be very embarrassed. If her mother-in-law and other women in the house were not willing to help her, she would not stay. She would return to her parents and this is a shame for her own mother.

Women selected health care as the most preferred domain for learning because they always needed this knowledge to care for their children. Women chose religion and social relations as a second priority because, as they explained, when they get married, they needed to learn how to be a wife, how to adapt to her husband's religious practices, and how to live as a daughter-in-law. Special professional activities were chosen third because, as their discussion indicated, younger women generally expressed the need to learn modern home economics activities.

As discussed in the next section, adults respect the knowledge of their elders. Because the elders declared, through the rite of initiation into adulthood, that education of these adults was complete, these adults now believe that they do not have to learn any more about farming or domestic activities. Instead, they focus their learning on topics such as health care or religion and social relations.

#### *Sources of Knowledge: From Whom They Learned*

*Elders.* The persons nominated as the "most knowledgeable" individuals in the village ranged from 50 to 70 years of age, the "moderately knowledgeable" group ranged from 40 to 50 years, and the "least knowledgeable" group ranged from 25 to 30 years. Because the villagers believed strongly that knowledge was acquired from experience, they looked to their elders as sources of knowledge. One informant elaborated on the respect he had for his elders:

Older men who are now grandparents know what they know by their own experiences, they also have known what was yesterday from their own parents and what was the

day before from their own grandparents. By experiencing three generation periods, they become very knowledgeable.

The discussants indicated that as “knowledge providers,” elders selected carefully the learners whom they would teach. One informant explained that the elders were reticent about distributing their knowledge:

The person who holds a particular knowledge does not transmit it very easily to everybody. He will observe the knowledge seeker for a long time to ensure that he has the quality to hold this knowledge. Healing a particular disease for example cannot be transmitted to a person if the holder himself is not sure that this person will be willing to help any member of the community who is sick. A healer will not give his knowledge to somebody who will only use it to get money. All these concerns make a knowledge holder very slow to transmit [knowledge].

Informants felt that the elders valued their own knowledge, and because they knew its power, they were not always willing to tell it to others. When elders decided to do so, the process was slow. They organized and planned the learning process in such a way that they could stop it any time if they doubted the learner’s motivations, values, or commitment to the village. The informants felt that the elders used the length of the training as a control system that enabled them to ensure that the knowledge was transmitted (learned) successfully and to ascertain that the learner had integrity. One discussant emphasized that the teaching process was multidimensional:

The process of transmitting knowledge can be long, depending on how the transmitter perceives the learner and what she or he should give. It can be a series of tasks apparently independent that the learner will grasp or practice. With many tasks very independent, the mastery can be easy but the understanding of the whole process is often difficult. This strategy enables the provider to keep controlling the learner’s personal qualities, and that means the process of transmitting can end any time there is a doubt about the learner’s integrity. It is only when the provider is really ready to transmit the whole package that she or he is going to give all explanations, rules, and ethics concerning holding and using this knowledge.

*The family.* The results of paired comparisons indicate that of the three possible sources of knowledge about farming activities, the family was the preferred source for learning. For women, the family in-law was the second preferred source for learning because married women had to adjust to their new family’s ways of organizing and conducting domestic affairs.

*Neighbors and other sources in the village.* If learning occurred in adulthood, and the knowledge provided by the elders within the family needed to be supplemented, neighbors were the third preferred sources of knowledge. When adults had to consult other sources for knowledge, the sources within the village (e.g., village

healer) were preferred over those outside of the village (e.g., nurse). This is because the sources in the village understood the social values and cultural norms of the community and are known by the adults. In no case was a government extension agent preferred as a source of learning, a result that has implications for the design of adult education programs. One woman expressed disdain for government agents:

Government agents don't understand our culture and want people to change their belief and the way they used to live. Family planning, for example, is not accepted because women cannot decide to apply it without their husbands' agreement and also because we believe in having children. Every woman wishes to have many children. If a woman has many children, girls start very earlier to help her in the housekeeping and before they get all married, boys also grow up and bring wives to do the work for their mother.

In addition, as one adult explained, because some extension agents are younger, they cannot be trusted: "Extension agents who are asking people to learn new farming techniques are very young and therefore cannot be knowledgeable. The problem is that we cannot trust these young agents coming to teach us how to farm."

#### *Adults as Learners: How They Learned*

According to the information gathered, those adults whom the elders select to teach tended to be younger than their teachers, volunteered to learn, and were willing to establish close relationships with elders in order to learn. One informant described the process he used to gain information from an elder:

[The strategy] is that you know a person who holds a specific knowledge that you want to get, and you start a process of letting him know that you are interested in learning what he holds if he is willing to transmit it to you. The process of letting him know your interest is a long commitment of serving him because he is generally an older person. Nobody can get valuable knowledge without showing devotion to the holder as a sign of respect and of recognition of his achievement.

The provider will advance the process when he or she is convinced that the learner has the "quality" to hold this knowledge and to use it for the community's benefit. One villager described the clash that occurs when these cultural values run counter to the methods used by the government extension agents:

In our own community, the knowledge people strive for is seen as new and not easy to get. Farming techniques are not new knowledge and extension agents as knowledge holders are begging people to learn. Farmers are not committed to learn farming techniques, but agents as knowledge providers are committed to transmit their knowledge. This is the opposite of our own way of seeking knowledge.

As one adult explained, by acquiring knowledge that was valued by others, individuals could increase their social status within a village:

An adult person can seek any knowledge that is valuable. You cannot as an adult go and learn anything you want. You should learn something that makes sense for you and for your community. The knowledge an adult is seeking for is first recognized as useful, otherwise it is not worth wasting time and effort. The usefulness of knowledge is not only for the holder personally, but first for the community because it is the community that values knowledge. Nobody wants to get knowledge that is not valued by the community. People here live first for their community, and that is why all what they want to do should conform to the community's values. Knowledge is supposed to give to the holder a valuable status in his or her community, and that is why people make efforts to get it.

Informants felt that the timing of learning in adulthood was often related to changing social roles and responsibilities within the community. Villagers indicated that many learning activities occurred within definite, socially established time periods. When social norms did not prescribe learning (e.g., a woman is not yet pregnant), an elder was not committed to transmitting knowledge (e.g., how to care for a new infant). Because the cultural norm was for an adult to learn about a new social role within a specified time period (e.g., learning how to care for a newborn during the child's first months of life), the elders will not support learning after this period has passed. In all cases, learning providers (the elders) controlled the learning process in ways that maintain and perpetuate the community's social norms.

Farmers also prefer hands-on learning. Every adult interviewed used observation, listening, and practice to learn information and skills within each of the domains of knowledge. One farmer explained the process in a straightforward manner:

When you try what you have observed, you make sure that you can do it by yourself for the next time, because it is easier to remember how you did it than how somebody else did it. If you repeat and memorize what you have heard, you have more chance to recall it. People here don't read and write, and the only way to keep the knowledge they get is by internalizing it through practice and memorization.

Learners also combined observation and application with explanations from knowledge providers. In this approach to learning, adults observed or listened to something, practiced it, and then received feedback or obtained more information from a knowledge provider. The respondents indicated that this method was very effective because it provided them with external feedback in a way that helped them to improve their understanding and application of the knowledge. For this reason, it was the preferred learning method among adult villagers.

## DISCUSSION

*What* do adults in African villages learn? They learn information about farming, domestic activities, religion and social activities, and health care. *Why*? They learn information because it is valuable to the community. *When*? They learn most of the information they need to fulfill adult roles during childhood. As adults they learn

about topics such as religion and society. *How?* They prefer to learn by a hands-on process that includes observing, practicing, and receiving feedback. *From whom?* The elders within the village are the preferred source of knowledge.

Government agencies in Senegal could use the results of this study to guide improvements in their policies and practices. Adults in this village clearly indicated that they will not participate actively in adult education sessions in which they were required to learn again "as children"; that were not of value to their community; that did not allow for hands-on learning and practice; and that were taught by younger, inexperienced agents. When government agencies design programs that run counter to the educational norms and traditions of a village, an opportunity is lost for adult education programs to cultivate knowledge and skills that could help Senegal move forward successfully into the next millennium.

Government agencies interested in developing adult education programs that are effective in rural villages will need to cultivate cooperative relationships with the villagers. As suggested by this study, villagers' readiness to learn is determined by the social traditions. Participatory research offers one avenue for government agencies to improve educational programs. Participatory research is an educative process in which all participants are researchers, the "teachers" are active learners, the "learners" are teachers, and all participants work toward a common goal of understanding the social reality in a study. This interactive process would allow farmers and government agents to work together to infuse educational programs with meaning based on the social values and norms of the village. Using this process, government agents could join with farmers in collaborative efforts to use new information to address problems that are most pressing in a particular village. Such a participatory process would surface not only the knowledge and skills that needed to be learned but also would underscore the social meaning of this knowledge for the villagers.

The learning process preferred by the villagers (i.e., demonstration followed by hands-on reflective practice with feedback) is remarkably similar to the process evident in many of the conceptual frameworks set forth by Western theorists such as experiential learning (Kolb, 1984), reflective (critical) dialogue (Brookfield, 1986), active learning (Watkins & Marsick, 1993), and sociocultural learning (Jarvis, 1992). Perhaps the ways in which adults learn best (i.e., hands-on practice followed by reflection with feedback) does *not* vary across cultures. Instead, differing cultural norms and values may influence *what* adults learn (in this case topics of value to the community), *when* they learn (in this case vocational skills are learned only in childhood), *who* provides the instruction (in this case the elders), but not *how* they learn (in this case observation, reflective practice with feedback). Further research is planned to explore this proposition.

Oftentimes models of adult learning based on research conducted in Western societies are criticized as having an exclusive emphasis on human agency without offering a full consideration of the social and cultural context within which learning occurs (Clark & Wilson, 1991). Attempts to address this criticism and expand adult

educators' understanding of the social-cultural dimensions of adult learning can be enhanced by research that explicates the traditions of informal and community-based learning in African society. For this reason, the authors urge other researchers to initiate research that explores more fully the rich practice of adult learning in African communities.

## NOTE

1. The on-site researcher was proficient in both French and the local dialect spoken by villagers. He was assisted by the professional staff at École Nationale d'Économie Appliquée (ENEA) in Dakar in translating the interviews into English.

## REFERENCES

- Boateng, F. (1990). African traditional education: A tool for intergenerational communication. In M. K. Asante & K. W. Asante, (Eds.), *African culture: Rhythms of unity*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
- Brookfield, S. (1986). *Understanding and facilitating adult learning*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Clark, M. C., & Wilson, A. L. (1991). Context and rationality in Mezirow's theory of transformational learning. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 41(2), 75-91.
- Cole, M., & Scribner, S. (1974). *Culture and thought: A psychological introduction*. New York: John Wiley.
- Eheanzu, B. A. (1983). Functional literacy as a technique for effective mobilization of resources for community development. *Journal of the African Adult Education Association*, 1(3), 64.
- Erny, P. (1981). *The child and his environment in Black Africa: An essay on traditional education*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Fafunwa, A. B. (1974). *A history of education in Nigeria*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Goetz, J., & LeCompte, M. (1984). *Ethnography and qualitative design in educational research*. Orlando, FL: Academic Press.
- Hammersley, M. (1990). *Reading ethnographic research: A critical guide*. New York: Longman.
- Jarvis, P. (1992). *Paradoxes of learning: On becoming an individual in society*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Kerrigan, J. E., & Luke, J. S. (1987). *Management training strategies for developing countries*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Kolb, D. (1984). *Experiential learning*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Lincoln, Y., & Guba, E. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Moumouni, A. (1968). *Education in Africa*. New York: Praeger.
- Patton, M. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods* (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Pelto, G. H. (1994). *Manual for a community-based focused ethnographic study (FES) of acute respiratory infection*. Unpublished manuscript, University of Connecticut, Department of Nutritional Sciences.
- Reagan, T. (2000). *Non-Western educational traditions: Alternative approaches to educational thought and practice* (2nd ed.). Trenton, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage.
- Said, E. (1993). *Culture and imperialism*. New York: Vintage.
- Spradley, J. (1980). *Participant observation*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Strauss, A. (1987). *Qualitative analysis for social scientists*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Swartz, L. (1998). *Culture and mental health: A South African view*. Cape Town, South Africa: Oxford University Press.
- Waterbury, J. (1987). The Senegalese peasant: How good is our conventional wisdom. In M. Gersovitz & J. Waterbury (Eds.), *The Political economy of risk and choice in Senegal* (pp. 47-89). London: Frank Cass.
- Watkins, K. E. & Marsick, V. J. (1993). *Sculpting the learning organization: Lessons in the art and science of systemic change*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- World Health Organization. (1999). *Global Health for All Indicators: Senegal* [Online]. Available at: <http://www.who.int/whosis/hfa/countries/index.htm>