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The historicity of academic institutions in the determination of student mobility: a reading from West Africa.

Introduction

The student mobility encompasses several realities. Moreover, the determinants of mobility are varied and can cover the life stories of students and their families, geographical areas and their importance, academic institutions themselves. These can be seen in several of their aspects. For example, the international mobility of students will depend on the policy of cooperation of schools that initially train them and those who will welcome them. In fact, it seems that, the more the institutions will be included in a valuation of the international and of elsewhere, the more inspiring the approach to their students to want to build their training by incorporating visits to other geographical areas. This will be especially important when these different geographical areas are considered to provide value-added scientific or promoting professional employability. It is in this context that we understand the importance of the historicity of institutions in the determination of student mobility, because considering the structure and functionality of the university, its influence on student mobility will be more or less important. Thus, we acknowledge that the interest of building academic institutions explains somewhat the student mobility.

As the example of Senegal, we analyze the changes of student mobility by questioning the historicity of academic institutions. We should know that college trainings in Africa have been, for many, designed and implemented by colonial powers in few urban centers. Practically, some areas had none. In a first point, we will show that student mobility was more oriented towards Dakar, which was the core of interest. As countries become independent, they gradually build universities. From then, student mobility has changed image. In a second point, we will talk about those evolutions by taking into account the

areas of mobility. The third point will be focused on the current context of mobility by considering again the dynamics of privatizing the post-education sector and the globalizing context of current reforms. Thus, we see how the LMD reform and the consolidation of private universities configure the student mobility.

I. Dakar, capital of A.O.F and West African Universities

The recent history of West African universities is closely related to that of the colonization (Affa'a & Des Lierres, 2002) (Tedga, 1988). They were built by the colonial power who governed those territories. That is true, as T. Obenga said, before colonial domination, there were experiences in the post-education that are comparable to that which could exist in Europe, even if it was not designed on the same model. Indeed, T. Obenga supports the idea of an existing prior model of African University (Obenga, 2003). In this context, the example of Tombouctou is quite remarkable. This city, core of the religious and philosophical teaching during the Kingdom of Songhai (twelfth to sixteenth century), was a center that attracted the greatest scholars of the Muslim world. In fact, Tombouctou homed a student population estimated at more than 25000. The teaching in the madrasas was on theology, but also on grammar, law, astronomy, history, geography or even on logic. As regard Senegal, the privileged field of our research, the first experiences of post-education as we know them today, date back to January 1918 with the creation, by France, of the African School of Medicine of Dakar.

Courses are limited to four years of study. That school was created in order to train paramedics in Senegal. Moreover, it got good reputation in other French West African colonies. Thus, since its creation, the School of Medicine of Dakar was located as a pole that could and indeed should provide training in this colonial territory. France, as a colonial power, had organized "his" territories in large sets such as French West Africa (FWA). This entity was headed by a Governor and had as a first capital St. Louis, and then Dakar. He set up an administration, centralized around some urban areas. Similarly the most important trainings will be centralized.

Post-education in Senegal is officially dated from the creation of the Institute of Post-Education of Dakar. This institute was founded by two decrees: the one of April 6 1950, which emanates from the central colonial power and that of November 27 1950 from the Academy of FWA. The Rector, chairman of the board of the Institute, is charged with the duties of Executive director of the Teaching (then of the Education). The Local management of education was entrusted to a Rector Assistant, inspector of schools. The university administration was entrusted to the school inspector of FWA, who was under the supervision of the General office of the colonies. The general policies of education and the staffing of schools depended on these two entities and thus on France.

One of the overriding concerns of the colonial authorities tended to confirm the structure of the West Africa Post-Education and the creation of an African university in Dakar qualified as modern. This concern is underpinned by the development of secondary education and the increase of African students. The University of Dakar, founded as the 18th French university, welcomed cohorts of young Africans who had passed the different levels of selections. This university, with a sub-regional vocation, offered trainings to young people who had not managed to reach France, but also a few others who refused to continue their studies at the metropolis, sometimes because of their Pan-African commitments. During those years, the majority of the African elite was formed at the city for obvious reasons of availability and diversity of sectors and also for prestige. The training was considered more or less important depending on whether they had been resident in Lycée Louis le Grand or in the Sorbonne.

In the landscape of the era, the challenge of the Dakar University was twofold. Thus, for the university authorities, in particular the Rector Jean Capelle (first Rector of the University: from 1947 to 1949 and from 1954 to 1957. Camerlynck Guillaume Henry was Rector from 1950 to 1954), it was necessary to manage the institution as a " French university in the service of Africa "because the future University of Dakar must in its conception, integrate the dimension of service for the country from which it belonged to, like Senegal, but also for black Africa in general. In the same way, it should take its place among the major French universities. Indeed, we may notice that, according to the first cooperation agreements governing Post-education, between France and Senegal, (cooperation agreement signed

August 5, 1961), the degrees from the University of Dakar will be State value of diplomas in both Senegal and France.

Until the 70s, the University of Dakar was the most frequented by the African masses and the most famous of the French-speaking Africa due to its capacity of host and the quality of its teaching and its research. So it centralized the student mobility.

In February 1957, the first Senegalese university (first of French-speaking West Africa) was officially created. The university will become, in 1987, Cheikh Anta Diop University of Dakar (UCAD). The choice of the sponsor's name is not accidental. Native son, Cheikh Anta Diop was for many young African intellectuals a renewed figure of the African intelligentsia. He was a scholar whose work was intended to refute the revisionist theory of African cultures. According to him, knowledge was the only strength and wealth that societies get. Therefore, "each country had the background of its researchers and scientists." This change in posture from the University of Dakar reflects an evolution in the historicity of institutions of the Post-Education but also the mobility of students. By becoming a national university, the University of Dakar changed its coverage area and its recruitment area. The country became a priority for both as the recruitment of students as to think of training. Finally, the breakup of the AOF will cause the increase of centers of interest for student mobility.

II. The Independences and the new map of student mobility

When French-speaking African countries became independence in the 60s, only a minority of them had Post-Education Institutions. It belonged to them, on behalf of their sovereignty, to provide the development of these same institutions. With those independences and the establishment of national universities, transnational mobility takes other magnitudes: students no longer move in the same way. At the same time, other people go to university. During the colonial period, Africa in a whole had a few academic centers with a regional vocation. Furthermore, the links of dependency with Europe were fairly sturdy. Having a university was increasingly becoming a national issue since it symbolizes, in some way, the sovereignty of a country. But, which sovereignty? Certainly cultural, but also, ideological

sovereignty. Remember that the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial, driven primarily by the student movement would allow the building of a university protest, wanting to defend a colonized and exploited Africa.

Indeed, at this moment in history and in these spaces, the university was both a means and location of claims of independences and of sovereignty. Students and staff did not fail to seize opportunities to demonstrate their disagreements and hostility towards the West and those who continued to serve (Bathily, 1992) (Diop, 1992) (Thiouh, 1992) (Bianchini, 2004). The story about the General Union of Students of West Africa (UGEAO), student and labor movement in general is there to testify. Note, for example in Dakar, the mobilizations of students from different nationalities around the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah, president of Ghana in 1966, given its commitment to the Pan-Africanist and iconic figure that represented the front of anti-imperialist struggles.

Thus, instead of a university with regional vocation (as was the University of Dakar), will proliferate universities and smaller institutions of Post-Education in several West African states. With the building of the University of Lome (1970), Cotonou (1970), Niamey (1973), Ouagadougou (1974), or that of Nouakchott (1981), the University of Dakar gradually loses its prestige but especially its role in the sub-region. Its centrality is limited. For other States, it is an opportunity to mark their independence against the colonial power, and for Senegal, guiding his institution to the purposes he deemed essential in the consideration of local realities.

The reading of the history of universities shows some evolutions that affect the mobility. In this spirit of independences, several elements transform the environment of Post-Education. The University of Dakar, which hitherto appeared in a very traditional form and as centralized pole will experience his first questioning. "The University of Dakar - as most of the rest of other universities in the world - did not beware of social changes that were occurring rapidly and logical processing of mentalities, they involved, and it has especially ignored the seething cultural and sociological changes resulting from various complex phenomena arising from the early years of independence, occupied, primarily it was to affirm its links with the Universities "Metropolitan" to ensure and enhance its privileges within this set (...) "(Niang, 1997).

Students no longer move only to Dakar but more to the capitals of their countries where were established universities. Thus, with the independences and the creation of new universities, capitals become poles of attraction and centers which are directed towards young people who wanted to continue their training.

The novelty also lies in a certain democratization of Post-Trainings. Indeed, some segments of the population have more and more access to the university. Note, for example, that the University of Dakar, with the introduction of a social scholarship and the recruitment of students that had become nationwide, students of modest life standard will be able to continue their studies after the High School Diploma (Baccalaureat).

However, we notice that the nationalization by Senegal of the university has not been an easy experience. It even became difficult and complex especially in the field of planning and management. Financial resources do not always follow policies considered. In fact, the vision that was to depart from the orientation that gave birth to the university just to materialize. We speak of the subordination of universities in post-colonial French model. This situation will tend to increase the mobility of students to the North. Another element that must be taken into account is the evolution of the phenomenal number of students enrolled. This development will result in a heavy expansion of the first universities. This would result in the creation of universities in the second and third generation as the one of Saint-Louis and Ziguinchor. Add to this the demands of scientific research that will be disturbing factors in the construction of autonomous universities. Thus, training through research such as the Diploma of Advanced Studies or Doctorate are underpriced, which does not fix the graduate students in their home universities. We must also say that when these third cycles existed, they were often regarded as low-order. Therefore, in reference to these historical a path of universities, an author as P. Tedga will consider that post baccalaureate education in Africa, in general, is a disaster (Tedga, 1988) insofar as the quality of training is altered which leads inevitably to a loss of recognition. Thus the University of Dakar is less and less considered the jewel of French West Africa. The university is precarious and there is an orientation of differentiated student mobility. Students begin to have the choice of their mobility. However, this choice may be constrained by the terms of admission that the new universities may establish. The University of Saint

Louis in Senegal, for example, will introduce a *numerus clausus* to select more students based on merit. Diversity of geographical origins remains visible even if it is not the first criterion. However, independences have been a moment of bifurcation in the dynamic of construction of national universities and student mobility. The guidelines and policy implementation are defined in the NIS, even if the activity is strongly conditioned.

In recent steps of Senegalese authorities, the idea is to bring universities and training more and more closer to people's areas. The country currently has four public universities and a Regional university college (CUR). The first of its kind is located at Bambey in the Diourbel region. Other projects opening CUR are under consideration. These training units, often thematic, will participate in the differentiated dynamics of student mobility. Domestic students can be directed towards the regional universities, instead of heading into their vast majority to the capital. The centrality of mobility is increasingly dislocated. The Capitals will no longer be the only places that capture student mobility. This logic is observed in Senegal as well as in other countries, for example in Togo with the building of the University of Kara.

III. University reforms and globalization in the determination of student mobility

The historicity of academic institutions integrates the overall context of reform. Indeed, the West African universities are facing reform processes that shape transnational access to education and knowledge. Thus, reforms such as those related to the Bologna Process is not limited only to academic issues but includes political, in defining the boundaries and conditions for student mobility. It therefore becomes important to see how this reform, called LMD reform, coupled with the political contexts of the receiving countries such as France, redefines the dynamics of mobility. There is also the liberalization of the Post-training that allows the massive creation of private universities.

In the arguments that justify the application of the LMD reform in the West African context, figures in straight line the student mobility with the introduction of credit accumulation and transferable. Note that before the implementation of this reform, the training received by students already allowed them to integrate other universities including the North. In this,

the LMD does not introduce a systematic innovation in the process of student mobility. To consider therefore the only integration of Senegal and West African countries in the LMD reform will encourage mobility of students is to ignore the rules surrounding the process of mobility which also obey other rules that are related to the financial question but also access rights to selected territories.

Let's be interested in political and administrative conditions that will ultimately condition the student mobility in the current context of the historicity of academic institutions. The Mobility that will be discussed here is more the one that takes place between Africa and Europe, especially France.

The right to access and stay in the host territories, as is known in France as part of the visa policy or law of "selective immigration" or "selective immigrant", restricts much This student mobility in the globalized world of post-training. We note that the student in the first year of Modern Literature, at the university like that of Dakar, will not come easily in France, host country to continue to leverage its funds under the LMD Reform. The field of modern literature may be regarded by some as wasteful (and therefore somewhat "bankable", ie that carries little promise of future profits). From there, the visa policy it will not be necessarily beneficial. "Our" student enrolled in modern literature will have more difficulty than another from the same university enrolled in a sector such as engineering, mathematics or physics. As recalled E. Davidenkoff and S. Kahn "foreigners - whose personality and talent are assets for the development and influence of France - will be granted a resident stay of three years" (Davidenkoff & Kahn, 2006, p. 193). We see that student mobility will depend followed by the sector in addition to the specificity of the university.

Furthermore, we know that the financial issue and the educational strategy of the parents remain key factors in this process of mobility. In this context, we identified three categories of students in the mobility process in the direction of the northern countries and accumulation of credits. We can therefore distinguish:

- Students with a scholarship (government or agency)
- Wealthy Student
- Poor-wealthy students.

In pursuing this issue with Senegalese students in Toulouse and mobilizing our previous knowledge on the subject (Goudiaby, 2002), we could see how these categories are a reality, and especially how they declined in the mobility process. Mentioning them here shows that the dynamics of construction of Senegalese Post-education system incorporates this idea of mobility and that it affects, in one way or another, the organization of universities. Therefore let's consider these three categories of students in regular mobility.

Awarded the student award a scholarship from the Government of Senegal - French cooperation or other organization - has easy accessibility in visas (parchment for travel), in his trip (airfare supported) and his settlement (there are, for example, a quota of rooms reserved for this academic category of students). A set of elements that constitute an advantage in their insertion into the training system and for his work for corporate credits. However There may have some difficulties related to late payment of the award (in the case of scholarships in Senegal, for example) or the rate that may be, in many cases, just enough to cover all needs of students. In this category of population, we can identify two subgroups: students who receive their awards because they deserve it (according to the exams results or academic records which combined with the choice of fuels) and those who 'get it because they have relatives in social capital that allows it. So we have the deserved scholarship and the scholarship by arrangement.

The wealthy students are the one, whose parents have a significant economic capital. Since the work of Bourdieu, we know that families with strong economic capital are often those who are also social and cultural capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1964). We call this social capital network. These parents are often in the network of administrative and political authorities of the country, which is an advantage for the steps (it is often important, indeed essential, to have a relationship in an administration to get the necessary documents in time more than reasonable). This category of students, often get a visa without any major difficulties. We must add that this student is often brilliant. Moreover, given that his family has adequate financial resources, its first steps in mobility will be no great difficulty: parents ensuring all costs connected with installation. Often, having the time to devote to studies and in terms of their level of training, these students eventually build the necessary funds in the allotted time and live in a manner considered appropriate, their mobility.

The Poor students "is the one whose parents in the strict sense of the term, do not have a significant economic capital, but are capable, according to several modalities to mobilize (or extended family or friends and / or knowledge either banks or lending institutions) the funds necessary to complete the record of visa application. Need I remind you that in this case, for example for a visa to France, must have at least 2.8 million CFAF 4 € 274.81 in a bank account, which represents the average cost of living for a student in France for 10 months. This student, by the strength of family ties, and especially the hope is that his mobility will be able to complete this first step. However, remains the decisive factor for regular mobility, namely the visa. Everything is always backed on the visa policy. This student will have as their only argument in this policy, the quality of their schooling or university and the choice of the training program. Once Senegal behind him, that student can meet objectively, unlike the other two categories, more difficulties in installation and certainly in obtaining credit accumulation within the time limit.

Ultimately, under the current reforms and the countries context, we note that all students can not be candidates for international mobility. It remains accessible to some students enrolled in national universities. The impecunious student (poor student) has no chance for a regular mobility, unless awarded a scholarship. It will build no financial resources to their mobility. Moreover, it is likely that this same student enrolls in field less "bankable" and knows little about the functioning of government. It may, however, register, under certain conditions, in an internal dynamic of mobility including the creation of private universities such as the radial nature of the Catholic University in West Africa.

With this model of university, model in which we can write the Suffolk University, my dual certification will be a parade to international mobility, which takes place towards the North. It must be said that the proliferation of private universities in the West African context gives a new face to student mobility. Indeed, if one considers that most decisions to go abroad are conditioned by the lack of training or specialization immediately profitable in terms of employability, and that private universities are investing those slots, we understand that student mobility does not occur only between countries. There is more a phenomenon of transfer students in the public system to the private system. Even when students leave their

West African country to another country, they enroll in private universities as much (sometimes more) than in the national universities.

Conclusion

If you consider that student mobility is synonymous of "return" rather than "migration", that is to say, it supposes a foothold in the territory or in the home university, a stay in term in another country or another university and a return to the country or the University of departure (Example the ERASMUS program in Europe). These three moments are inseparable in the context of a mobility policy. One may question the validity of the concept of mobility in the case of West Africa. Indeed, many African students once they graduate in the North do not necessarily return to their countries of origin. Conditions and return to practice a profession related to graduation are not always met, or because they no longer desire. Still, that vision and goals of mobility did not work over time. Force is therefore clear that more scientific and technical value does not always benefit the country of departure. In sum, student mobility in Africa can be viewed through a political dimension and configurational. Moreover, there are experiences that can fit into a genuine process of mobility. We believe programs such as intercollegiate graduate in Economics from the Interuniversity Conference of Education Institutions and Economic Research and Management in Africa, with its various campuses including the Yaoundé II in Cameroon and one in Dakar, Senegal. We also believe the African Centre for Advanced Studies in Management (CESAG) in Dakar. He conducts various courses in Management Science for the citizen of many African countries. We must put this framework in the creation of the Chair as a UNESCO Chair in Education Sciences at the Cheikh Anta Diop University in Dakar. This training unit assumes an international offer of educational services by a sub-regional or regional. . It gives a new dimension of student mobility at the University of Dakar by the diversity of nationalities represented. Ultimately, the process of building universities draws student mobility. It will, when it comes to analyze student mobility, to clarify the various factors taken into account.

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