

IMPACTS OF WESTERN EDUCATION ON RELIGIOUS PRACTICES IN NIGERIA

BY

Adegbola Bolaji Ibitola:Department of Educational Management and Counselling, Faculty of Education,
Al-Hikmah University, Ilorin, Nigeria**Abstract**

This paper looked into the impacts of Western Education on religious practices in Nigeria. Literatures were reviewed on the concept of Education, concept of religion, roles of religion in western education, contributions of religion on western education. It was concluded from the study that western education has both positive and negative impacts, for instance, the indigenous culture as well as indigenous languages has been eroded because of the adoption of western education which in turn has adverse effect on the religious practices because hardly one sees the religious leaders using the indigenous languages to communicate with their congregation but emphasized on the western world major language (English language). Based on this premise, suggestions are made: the religious bodies such as Christian association of Nigeria (CAN) and Muslim Society of Nigeria (MSN) should emphasise on the use of indigenous languages to preach by their religious leaders, the members of the society should embrace and promote culture by encouraging the use of our modern languages to communicate among themselves.

Keywords: *Education, Western, Indigenous, Religious, Impacts*

Introduction

It is obvious that Nigerian indigenous languages is going into an extinction because English language has swept over our local languages, this is very clear in our Nigerian homes where parents converse to their wards in English language phasing off our local languages which adversely have effect on religious practices in the sense that western culture has overshadowed our local languages because the religious leaders find it difficult to preach with our local languages with the mindset of adopting English language without considering its negative impacts on the Nigeria indigenous languages. The larger percentages of schools in Nigeria teaches in the English language and when they are taught with it of course less should not be expected from the students because every speech made around them is in English language. To worsen the Nigerian parents prefer bearing their kids English names to some of our local names like Kolade, Amadi, Ireoluwa, karimot. The good morals and virtues are eroding away. Good morals like good sense of dressing, respectful manner of speech, honesty and hard work. With the advent of western education, indecent dressing has now become a part of us which our forefathers greatly opposed. Consequently, one of our good morals was the respect Nigerian youth's accord to their elderly ones. Before now, some parts of Nigeria, the Yoruba's to be precise prostrate to greet their elderly ones. These days, that is gradually becoming a fairy tale as some youths find it difficult to greet and even when they try, respect will be lacking in it.

Parankimalil, (2015) opined that African mode of marriage is gradually phasing off with time, all these and more are the disadvantages of the western education on our Nigerian cultural background Education as a systematic process through which a child or an adult acquires knowledge, experience, skill and sound attitude is geared towards making an individual civilized, refined, cultured and educated. For a civilized and socialized society, education is the only means. Its goal is to make an individual perfect. Every society gives importance to education because it is a panacea for all evils. It is the key to solve the various problems of life. Education is a process of waking up to life.

Concept of Education

Education' as a word that emerged from the Latin word 'educare', meaning "to lead out," "to bring out." Hence to educate means to bring out of the child, the student, that spirit of learning and wonder, the desire to know, that thirsts for knowledge (Watson, 2009). The word education from diverse dictionaries perspectives has been described as '(Education) the act or process of acquiring knowledge, especially systematically during childhood and adolescence'; 'the act or process of imparting or acquiring general knowledge and of developing the powers of reasoning and judgment'; the act or process of imparting or acquiring general knowledge, developing the powers of reasoning and judgment, and generally of preparing oneself or others intellectually for mature life. (Collins English Dictionary, 2003; Webster's College Dictionary, 2010; DictionaryThesaurus, 2015 Rosado further asserted that despite the goal of education which is systematic acquisition of knowledge, some teachers' attitudinal methods of handing education have made this important process of human existence seemly unattainable and untrue. Rosado, therefore, declared the existence of the true and the untrue education based on the content. This author in agreement with Omeonu, Tayo, and Oyinloye (2001) quoting (Hefner, . and Muhammad (2007) described true education as 'the harmonious development of the physical, mental, moral (spiritual), and social faculties, the four dimensions of life, for a life of dedicated service'. Globally education has been viewed as the bed-rock of nations' development. This then implies that education has tremendous impact on both individuals' and national actualization and sustainability. In collaboration with educational relevancy, a sociologist Rodney Stark declared that education is the cheapest, most rapid and most reliable path to economic advancement (Rahman,2012)..

Education being defined as measure of imparting or acquiring general knowledge, developing the powers of reasoning and judgment, and generally of preparing oneself or others intellectually for mature life, it is glaring that education goes beyond the classroom experience into other areas of life. Basically, educative system classification comprises the formal, non-formal and informal. Platas (2016) opined formal education basically corresponds to a systematic, organized education model, structured and administered according to a given set of laws and norms, presenting a rather rigid curriculum as regards objectives, content and methodology. It is characterized by a contiguous education process named, "presential education", which necessarily involves the teacher, the students and the institution. It corresponds to the education process normally adopted by schools and universities. Formal education in Africa with Nigeria as a case study is traceable to the efforts European Missionaries around 1842 hence it can also be termed 'Western education'. This form of Education at its commencement was regarded as of fundamental importance to the spread of Christianity (Online Nigeria, 2015). However before the year 1914, Nigeria existed as the Northern and Southern protectorates with the colony of Lagos. The Southern protectorate which was predominantly Yoruba and Igbo people imbibed this European form of education. (Jayeola – Omoyeni & Omoyeni, 2014).

The Northern protectorate was however predominantly dominated by the Hausa, Fulani and Kanuri speaking people, who had for over a thousand years(700-1914) been wrapped with Islamic religion, Koranic Education and Arabic Literacy, and committed to Muslim and Arabic education, tradition and culture (Khalid, 2015).. Based on this existing religious foundation and education, the north rejected Christian Missionary form of education when it was introduced to the area in 1845(Meshram, 2013). This of course resulted into formal emergence of Islamic Education. Informal and non-formal education happens outside the classroom, in after-school programs, community-based organizations, museums, libraries, or at home. These types of education are more flexible with their content. Moreover, both informal and non-formal education providers, by contrast, vary in experience and knowledge of teaching techniques, content expertise, and group management when compared with the formal type. Typically, materials for the non-formal and informal settings need to include a lot more structure (Launay, 2016).

Concept of Religion

It is common today to take the concept religion as a taxon for sets of social practices, a category-concept whose paradigmatic examples are the so-called “world” religions of Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism. Perhaps equally paradigmatic, though somewhat trickier to label, are forms of life that have not been given a name, either by practitioners or by observers, but are common to a geographical area or a group of people—for example, the religion of China or that of ancient Rome, the religion of the Yoruba or that of the Cherokee. In short, the concept is today used for a genus of social formations that includes several members, a type of which there are many tokens (Woodberry, 2012). The concept religion did not originally refer to a social genus, however. Its earliest references were not to social kinds and, over time, the extension of the concept has evolved in different directions, to the point that it threatens incoherence. As Paul Griffiths notes, listening to the discussions about the concept religion rapidly suggests the conclusion that hardly anyone has any idea what they are talking about—or, perhaps more accurately, that there are so many different ideas in play about what religion is that conversations in which the term figures significantly make the difficulties in communication at the Tower of Babel seem minor and easily dealt with (Nunn, 2012).. These difficulties are apparent, too, in the academic study of religion, and they go far toward an explanation of why the discipline has no coherent or widely shared understanding of its central topic (Manglos, 2016).

This entry therefore provides a brief history of the how the semantic range of religion has grown and shifted over the years, and then considers two philosophical issues that arise for the contested concept, issues that are likely to arise for other abstract concepts used to sort cultural types (such as “literature”, “democracy”, or “culture” itself) (Lehrer, 2004). First, the disparate variety of practices now said to fall within this category raises a question of whether one can understand this social taxon in terms of necessary and sufficient properties or whether instead one should instead treat it as a family resemblance concept. Here, the question is whether the concept religion can be said to have an essence. Second, the recognition that the concept has shifted its meanings, that it arose at a particular time and place but was unknown elsewhere, and that it has so often been used to denigrate certain cultures, raises the question whether the concept corresponds to any kind of entity in the world at all or whether, instead, it is simply a rhetorical device that should be retired. This entry therefore considers the rise of critical and skeptical analyses of the concept, including those that argue that the term refers to nothing.

Religion can be defined as a system of norms and values that are based on the belief of a superhuman order which people see as a spiritual guide, having practical implications on their everyday practices and behaviors. Education, leads to change, builds character and moral values by teaching individuals to think outside of the family values and visions, outside of what they had been in contact with since their birth. Similarly, to education, religion plays a very important role in the process of socialization. Religion, in the most diverse forms, has been found in all human societies since the very first appearances of human societies and wars and social conflicts recurrently result from religious disputes. Globalization brings diversity, and diversity brings different cultures, values and religions coexisting together in the same territory, and so States have the greater challenge of safeguarding a peaceful cohesion between them. However, it is evident that a peaceful coexistence on the various religious matters is not easy to achieve. In the recent years, we have been witnessing a deterioration of the relation between religions as a direct consequence of the intensification of terrorist attacks and the link that people tend to make when associating terrorism to the Islamic religion. The increase of the number of terrorist attacks in the Western Societies led to the necessity for teachers, church, and the media to educate the people about Islam and prevent the of stereotyping and avoid the promotion of hate crimes and negative acts towards Muslims.

It is intriguing to see how the behavior of single isolated individuals prejudices the perception of the whole religion before the rest of the world. It causes great damage on the religion’s reputation, and on the safety of its believers and followers. These situations have forced some States to apply more extreme

measures, justifiable as safety measures, to avoid further attacks that end up jeopardizing the core values and beliefs of the religions directly linked to the attacks. What causes the constant conflict between religions? It all comes down to one thing: interpretation. When thinking about it, in reality there are much more similarities between religions, than differences. But unfortunately, there is a tendency to give more notice to the differences, than what actually unifies them, yielding extremist approaches on this topic. No matter what, all religions share the same fundamental principles of the Value of Human Life, where people are essentially equal and connected – not killing one another; good and responsible to God, themselves, and their fellow people. These are direct consequences of what the values transmitted by the Religion to their believers are.

Whenever religion is invoked as the cause for terrorist attacks, it is simply a mere excuse to what the actual real motivations behind those really are: economic interests and politic control, which are in no way related to the purpose of religion. In these situations, the individuals committing the attacks end up instrumentalizing religious matters for the achievement of other interests. There is a need to fight extremisms, so that the core fundamental values, common to all religions and at the base of society, are not lost. And it is precisely here where the religion and education are complementary to one another. Religion provides the fundamental values, beliefs and practices on which you should guide your life in society. Education, helps the interpretation of it, providing a wider vision and diversifying your knowledge with the contact with the different realities, and it is revealed as essential to not let extremism get the best of the religions and protect the fundamental values in Society, by teaching to respect the differences.

The Role of Religion in Western Education in Nigeria

Education indicators in Nigeria reflect gaps of gender disparities, spatial disparities between rural and urban areas, as well as geographical disparities between southern and northern parts of the country. Those disparities drive public action against illiteracy and inequities in access to education. In recent years, addressing challenges posed by these gaps has been the concern of many religious bodies in Nigeria. The history of education in Nigeria reflects the antique relationship shared between Christianity and education. Similarly, Islam shares great ties with the development of education in Nigeria, especially if we discountenance the erroneous identification of education as a strictly western model. Religious bodies, as one of their primary services to society, have sought for the moulding of citizens through schooling (education). The impartation of knowledge to generations has been the primary focus of the two major religious groups present in Nigeria.

There are a number of Muslim missions or Islamic groups in Nigeria: the Ahmadiyya, Ansar-ud-deen, Tijaniyya, Sufituruq, Qadiriyya, Shiite and the AhlusSunnaWal-Jama'a. Prominent among them in terms of educating members and Nigerians are the Ahmadiyya mission and Ansar-ur-deen. An Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission is to lead his/her life in accordance with the Shari'a; motivate, train (educate) and involve the entire jama'at in the field of missionary effort. In Nigeria, the contributions of Islam to education mostly started from the north. Aside schools set to train and educate Muslim children, there were Missionary Training Institutions that also provided education to Nigerians.

As the first religious group to introduce formal education in Nigeria, Christianity has served several purposes in the development of Nigeria's education. Like Islam, Christianity has promoted the training of citizens from the basic level to the tertiary level. This was done through the establishment of educational infrastructure and events/activities that are purposed to make education a better one. There are hundreds of educational institutions established by different Christian groups in the country. The history of Nigeria's education depicts a high sense of commitment toward educating citizens in both secular and religious disciplines. Their contributions to the promotion of knowledge are made possible by the inevitable connectivity existing naturally and theologically between religion and education, hence

development. Western Education in Nigeria has come with several positive implications, which have aided the advancement of the nation. Nigerian education has for several years been characterised as a path that provides direction, adjustment and self-activity. It has also been seen as a means of social change and progress as well as a process of socialisation. Among the relevance of education are the following: The accumulation and storage of human resources, the formation of mind, personality or character, serves as a means for preparation, gender empowerment and mental discipline, developing democratic citizenship, promotion of leadership qualities and vocational efficiency

A voyage into the history of Nigeria confirms the axiom that Christianity, the mother of the church and education are intertwined. Olawoyin citing (Ajayi, 1965), observes that before, during and after colonisation, Christianity has been involved in the making of a new elite through education in the area now known as Nigeria. Before private universities were allowed in Nigeria in 1999, Christian Missions and churches had been involved in the establishment of primary, secondary (including modern and high or grammar), teacher training, vocational and theological schools. It is also, a well-known fact that the quality of education produced by these schools when the missions and churches were running them was high, academically and morally. The graduates of the schools were disciplined, hardworking and brilliant. The high quality that the missions and churches gave education then is what is spurring the state governments to return the schools to the churches and even allowing private universities. The Christian churches had been in the vanguard of establishing these private higher institutions in Nigeria (Burstein, 2007).

The involvement of the church in education as seen in Nigeria, both at lower and higher levels, is a reflection of what had been going on in Christian history whenever and wherever Christianity becomes entrenched. In fact, the modern university system is Christian in origin. For example, Bologna, Paris, Oxford and Cambridge, were originally Christian Catechetical schools. Similarly, the best universities in the world today, which are mainly in the United States such as Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia and Brown, were Christian in origin. Without doubt, the ethos contributed by Christianity, and the European Enlightenment contributed to making these universities the best (Olawoyin, 2005).

The inseparable union of church and education can only be explained by one underlying philosophy of Christianity that Jesus is the logos, the organising and governing principle of the world. The same truth is affirmed in Colossians 2: 3 when the author writes that, all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge are hidden in Christ. The church thus feels responsible to contribute concretely towards the progress of the society within which it finds herself; for example, the church in the face of incessant strikes by government-owned institutions is capable of providing a stable, qualitative and accessible education to discourage Nigerians travelling abroad seeking for quality education. There are many mission schools, nursery, primary, secondary and tertiary institutions that produce quality graduates to serve the nation today. This is about the most significant contribution of the church to development because the greatest engine to growth and development of any economy is human capital development. According to Omotoye (2006), one of the major strategies of conversion by the Christian missionaries since the 19th century was the introduction of Western education in Nigeria. The Mainline churches like the Anglican, Methodist, Baptist and the Roman Catholic established Primary, Secondary and of recent Universities in the different parts of the country. Pentecostal Churches in Nigeria are not left out in making their impact felt in this regard. The Redeemer's University was established at the International headquarters of the Church at Mowe, Lagos-Ibadan expressway in 2003. Covenant University was established in 2002 by the Living Faith Church and has its headquarters at Ota, Benson Idahosa University in Benin. Many Nigerians who have been yearning for admission into Federal and State Universities without any success are opportune in this regard. The church has also established Primary and Secondary schools in the nooks and crannies of the country. Some of these schools are located in almost all the states of the Federation and the Federal capital territory, Abuja.

The laxity with which Christian knowledge was taught in the public and private schools was held responsible by most church leaders in Nigeria for the loss of moral values and discipline among students and youths with severe implications for a nation's development. These were in the form of examination malpractices, cultism, sexual harassment, and bribery. All these also fuelled the demand for church schools (Olarinoye, 2016). It is difficult to say how or where the strict moral standard that was established by the white missionaries in the mission schools, which were the original model schools for Western education, started deteriorating. The vision behind the establishment of these schools is that religion influences the way people see themselves, each other and the world around them. Especially in developing countries, religion often figures largely in everyday life. This is something that many Western development organisations used to underestimate (Boender, Dwarswaard & Westendorp, 2011). The place of religion in education is significantly realised in the human, social, political, economic and spiritual development of Nigerian students.

Significance of Religious on Western Education

The knowledge or information worth: Educationists who hold the knowledge or information significance of education justify their stand with powerful arguments. They argue that knowledge is indispensable for all right action, and it is the source of all power. It is knowledge which makes a realist a visionary successful in any profession. Education in Nigeria provides a basic source of modern knowledge which is the foundation of human development in all societies (Saliba, 2007).

The social and leisure importance: It is evident that no individual can live and grow without a social context. Individual life becomes unbearable to humans, hence the formation of society. While personal security and welfare depend on the society, individual improvement is conditioned by social progress. Education makes each individual socially efficient, as socially efficient individuals are able to earn their livelihood. Also, education ensures the creation of moments for leisure in the life of individuals. This leads to creativity and helps to pursue personal activity not just to earn a living but to create comfort.

The spiritual significance: The idealist thinkers have opined that the spiritual development of an individual should be the supreme aim of education. Mahatma Gandhi has attached great importance to spiritual values in education. In Nigeria, the involvement of religious groups in education has contributed to the spiritual development of both teachers and learners. This suggests a complete living aim. Some educationists have insisted upon the need for an all comprehensive aim of education. This viewpoint has led to the development of two aims- the 'complete living aim' and 'harmonious development aim' which suggest spiritual and physical/bodily development.

Character formation and moral significance: Character is the cream of life and, as such, it should be the aim of all forms of education. Many theologians and educationists emphasises character building in education. Character formation or moral education is concerned with the whole conduct of man. The education policy framework in Nigeria ascribes its first goal to the provision of a framework for the development of standards, core values and ethics (morals) for the teaching professions to make them contribute immensely to student development

Vocational meaning: The vocational aim also known as 'the utilitarian aim' states that the ideals of education are useless unless they (the aims) enable us to procure the primary needs of our life such as food, shelter and clothing. Education must help the child to earn his livelihood. Education, therefore, must prepare the child for some future profession or vocation or trade. The vocational aim is a narrow aim of education. Thus, the vocational aim is not a complete aim by itself.

The culture implication: The cultural aim of education has been suggested to supplement the narrow view of knowledge aim. The cultural aim of education is no doubt an utmost significance aimed at

producing men of culture. Though education in modern Nigeria places little emphasis on revitalising cultural heritages of our time, its procedures in outlining the traditional heritage of the Nigerian society is plausible.

The social and leisure importance: It is evident that no individual can live and grow without a social context. Individual life becomes unbearable to humans, hence the formation of society. While personal security and welfare depend on the society, individual improvement is conditioned by social progress. Education makes each individual socially efficient, as socially efficient individuals are able to earn their livelihood. Also, education ensures the creation of moments for leisure in the life of individuals. This leads to creativity and helps to pursue personal activity not just to earn a living but to create comfort.

Conclusion

It was deduced from the study that the western education has both positive and negative impacts on the religious practices in Nigeria because indigenous languages has been jettisoned for the western world language and also our cultural values and heritage has been traded for the foreign or western culture. Although nit was substantiated that the western education earns people exposure to see beyond the scope.

Suggestions

The following suggestions are made based on the outcome of the study:

1. The Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) and Muslim Society of Nigeria (MSN) should encourage their religious leaders to emphasise on the use of indigenous languages to preach to their followers
2. The members of the society should be encouraged to engage themselves in the use of indigenous language to communicate among themselves
3. The parents are encouraged to use indigenous languages to teach their children about the religious concept.

References

- Burstein, P., (2007). "Jewish Educational and Economic Success in the United States: A Search for Explanations." *Sociological Perspectives*.
- Chaney, E., (2016). "Religion and the Rise and Fall of Islamic Science." Harvard University working paper.
- Collins English Dictionary – Complete and Unabridged © Harper Collins Publishers 1991, 1994, 1998,2000,2003, Dictionary.com, Unabridged Based on the Random House Dictionary, © Random House, Inc. 2015.
- Darnell, Alfred & Darren E. S. (1997). "The Impact of Protestant Fundamentalism on Educational Attainment." *American Sociological Review*. A related study by Louisiana State University sociologist Samuel Stroopeet. al finds that biblical literalism is "negatively associated with college completion."
- Daun, H., (2000). "Primary Education in sub-Saharan Africa – a moral issue, an economic matter, or both?" *Comparative Education*.
- Jayeola, O. M & Adeyemi, (2014) *Contributions Of Western Education To The Making Of Modern Nigeria During And After The First World War* Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Osun State, Nigeria *Formal Education/Western Today: European Scientific Journal*
- Fafunwa, P. O. (1977). *History of Education*. Benin City. Osasu Publishers.
- Farid, S. A (2005). *multiculturalism and Christian Muslim dialogue*. International sociological association, National University Singapore.

- Graham, F. S. (1966). *Government and Mission Education in Northern 1900-1919*, London: University of Ibadan press.
- Hefner, R. W. & Muhammad Qasim Zaman, (2007). "Schooling Islam: The Culture and Politics of Modern Muslim Education." ←For descriptions of the intellectual climate under early Islam, see Sardar, Ziauddin. 1993. "Paper, Printing and Compact Disks: The Making and Unmaking of Islamic Culture." *Media, Culture and Society*. Also see Ahmad, Imad-ad-Dean. 2006. "Signs in the Heavens: A Muslim Astronomer's Perspective on Religion and Science."
- Parankimalil, J., (2015). Meaning, Nature and Aims of Education, retrieved in Kasongo, K. (2010) "Impact of Globalisation on Traditional African Religion and Cultural Conflict". *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*.
- Khalid El-Gharib, (2015). *The Islamic Response to the Secular Educational System*, www.missionislam.com/islam/index.htm,
- Launay, R. (2016). "Introduction: Writing boards and blackboards" in Launay, Robert, ed. "Islamic education in Africa: Writing boards and blackboards."
- Lehrer, E. L. (2004). "Religiosity as a Determinant of Educational Attainment: The Case of Conservative Protestant Women in the United States." *Review of Economics of the Household*.
- Manglos, W. N. (2016). "Identity, Inequality and Legitimacy: Religious Differences in Primary School Completion in sub-Saharan Africa." *Forthcoming in the Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*.
- Meshram, M. (2013). "Role of Buddhist Education in Ancient India," *International Journal of Research in Humanities, Arts and Literature*.
- Nunn, N., (2010). "Religious Conversion in Colonial Africa." *American Economic Review: Papers and Proceedings* 100. Also see Woodberry, Robert D. 2004. "The Shadow of Empire: Christian Missions, Colonial Policy, and Democracy in Postcolonial Societies."
- Nunn, N. (2012). "Gender and Missionary Influence in Colonial Africa." In Akyeampong, Emmanuel, Robert H. Bates, Nathan Nunn and James A. Robinson. 2014. "Africa's Development in Historical Perspective." Also see Nunn, Nathan. 2010. "Religious Conversion in Colonial Africa." *American Economic Review: Papers & Proceedings* 100.
- Platas, M., (2016). "The Religious Roots of Inequality in Africa." *Dissertation*. The perception of government schools with Western-style curricula being seen as a tool for conversion of Muslim students also is discussed in Csapo, Marg. 1981. "Religious, Social and Economic Factors Hindering the Education of Girls in Northern Nigeria." *Comparative Education*.
- Rahman, F. Z. (2012). "Gender Equality in Muslim-Majority States and Shari'a Family Law: Is There a Link?" *Australian Journal of Political Science*.
- Saliba, G., (2007). "Islamic Science and the Making of the European Renaissance." For other scholars who argue that the constrictions on intellectual innovation have been exaggerated by historians, see Hourani, Albert. 1991. "A History of the Arab Peoples." Also see Hallaq, Wael B. 1984. "Was the Gate of Ijithad Closed?" *International Journal of Middle East Studies*.
- Watson, JKP. (2009) "The Monastic Tradition of Education in Thailand." *International Journal of the History of Education*. See also Cleary, Stephen. March 14, 2009. "Buddhist Schools Play Vital Role in Rural Thailand." *South China Morning Post*.
- Woodberry, Robert D. (2012). "The Missionary Roots of Liberal Democracy." *American Political Science Review*. Also see Nunn, Nathan. 2012. "Gender and Missionary Influence in Colonial Africa." In Akyeampong, Emmanuel, Robert H. Bates, Nathan Nunn and James A. Robinson, eds. 2014. "Africa's Development in Historical Perspective."