

Afterlife as Motivation for Later Life Education among Elderly Women: Evidence from Bauchi Emirate North-Eastern Nigeria

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Abstract

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This study explores the motivation for later life education among elderly women (60+) in Northeastern Nigeria. Intrinsic and extrinsic dimensions of motivation were explored in relation to personal, historical, and institutional influences based on an orientation of Activity, Life-course, and Gerotranscendence theories. To achieve the research aims, three research questions were posed. First, what are the historical and institutional basis of motivation for later life education among elderly women? Secondly, how do intrinsic and extrinsic dimensions of motivation influence later life education among elderly women? Thirdly, how can improvement in later life education result in better coping among elderly women? Information was obtained using qualitative methods. Findings reveal that extrinsic motivation stems from historical links between Bauchi Emirate and Sokoto Caliphate as a center for Islamic civilization. Further, since the social institutions in the Bauchi emirate were a replication of the model of society promoted by the Jihad and the caliphate administration, later life education among elderly women is encouraged. As evident from the data generated on personal motivation factors, the majority of elderly women see later life education as an important coping prerequisite arising from intrinsic motivation with the most common reasons given as spiritual and religious benefits. A major finding of the present study relates to how motivation for later-life learning is regarded as a means of perfection in spiritual engagement for a successful transition to the afterlife. The study offers a number of recommendations for improved motivation for later life education among elderly women.

INTRODUCTION

One of the first recommendations at the United Nations World Assembly on Ageing in 1983 was the acknowledgment of education as a basic human right to be available without discrimination against the elderly¹. At the Second United Nations World Assembly on Ageing in 2002, the World Health Organization worked out an International Plan for active ageing as a way of enhancing the quality of life, through educational policies all over the world². Similarly, the concern for learning in later life was highlighted by the EU in its publication on Adult learning, emphasizing that it is never too late to learn³. Such developments were responsible for our conception of education as a life-long process, implying education as moving beyond the classroom to include the ability to adjust oneself to changing patterns through the life course.

However, the attainment of the capacity to adjust entails further development of an individual's capabilities for appropriate control over the life course and the accomplishment of possibilities that improves their wellbeing in later life. Thus, later life education may indicate the acquisition of knowledge and new skills in a conscious and targeted manner to enhance the capacity of older adults to stay physically, mentally, and socially well⁴. A central argument of this paper is that the place of education as a desirable activity in later life depends on Motivation as a factor that is in turn dependent on two dimensions of extrinsic or intrinsic motivation. In the present work, motivation refers to all those factors; Psycho, Bio, Spiritual, Religious, and Institutional that affect patterns of behavior related to later life education. Further, the relevance of the social structure to later life experience means that an interpretive conceptualization of older adults' education should include historical and structural processes exerting influence on later life social participation.

¹ ONU, "World Population, Ageing," *Suggested Citation: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2015). World Population Ageing United Nat*, no. (ST/ESA/SER.A/390 (2015): 164, <https://doi.org/ST/ESA/SER.A/390>.

² Peter Lloyd-Sherlock, "Population Ageing and Health," *Population Ageing and International Development*, 2018, 91-116, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt9qgsfc.11>.

³ Jolanta Mackowicz and Joanna Wnek-Gozdek, "It's Never Too Late to Learn'-How Does the Polish U3A Change the Quality of Life for Seniors?," *Educational Gerontology* 42, no. 3 (2016): 186-97, <https://doi.org/10.1080/03601277.2015.1085789>; C Sommervold, M Goodwin - Learning & Leading with Technology, and undefined 2012, "Never Too Late to Learn.," *ERIC*, 2012.

⁴ B Schmidt-Hertha, M Formosa, and AF Almeida, "Active Ageing, Social Inclusion and Wellbeing: Benefits of Learning in Later Life," *RELA*, 2019.

Literature Review

Two changes occurred in the history of educational gerontology. The first was policy responses to ageing in the 1980s and 1990s that shifted strategic planning from a demand-oriented approach to a rights-based approach.⁵ The second was a change of focus within policy and practice from rights of every citizen to quality of life in older age⁶. As earlier noted by Jenkins⁷, well-being is the desirable state in old age, and serves as motivation for continuous learning. Moreover, recent studies in the UK and elsewhere have established the wider benefits of learning that directly or indirectly influence wellbeing and motivate later-life learning. Motivation commonly arises corpulent to identified factors like self-efficacy and confidence, autonomy, social competencies, civic engagement, sense of agency, empowerment or control over one's own life, and health maintenance.⁸ Overall, the conclusion from the available studies is nevertheless that older adult learning has positive direct effects on wellbeing.

Motivation is essential for learning to take place.⁹ Earlier studies have pointed to later life education as arising from intrinsic motivation.¹⁰ In classic research of 1965, Johnstone and Rivera categorized the motivation for later life education as search for new employment, promotion in the current working environment, further updating, recreational leisure, home-centered occupations, coping with daily routine, making new

⁵ Sengee Enkhmandal, "Development of Gerontology and Geriatrics in Mongolia," *Research Results in Biomedicine* 7, no. 1 (2021): 72-79, <https://doi.org/10.18413/2658-6533-2020-7-1-0-7>; DK Dunaway - Revista Tempo e Argumento and undefined 2018, "The Development of Oral History in the United States: The Evolution toward Interdisciplinary," *Redalyc.Org*, n.d.; Arya Hamedanchi et al., "Phenomenology in Gerontology: From Philosophy to Method," *Current Psychiatry Research and Reviews* 17, no. 4 (2021): 220-30, <https://doi.org/10.2174/2666082217666211105091239>.

⁶ A Sarlo, F Bagnato, and F Martinelli, "Ageing in Place and the Built Environment. Implications for the Quality of Life and the Risks of Isolation of Frail of Older People," 2019; Gunta Grinberga-zalite, Evija Liepa, and Vilma Atkočiūnienė, "Society Aging Problems and Their Solutions," *Regional Formation and Development Studies* 3, no. 17 (2015): 51-59.

⁷ Jenkins (2011)

⁸ B Findsen and M Formosa, *Lifelong Learning in Later Life*, 2012.

⁹ JR Albrecht, SA Karabenick - The Journal of Experimental, and undefined 2018, "Relevance for Learning and Motivation in Education," *Taylor & Francis* 86, no. 1 (January 2, 2018): 1-10, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220973.2017.1380593>.

¹⁰ Arthur Aubret, Laetitia Matignon, and Salima Hassas, "A Survey on Intrinsic Motivation in Reinforcement Learning," August 19, 2019.

acquaintances, escape from the routine of everyday life and something else.¹¹ Little (2012), found that motivation for older adults seeking education includes improvement of self-esteem, reduction of some adverse effects of aging, facilitating a sense of caring, and providing a new focus while grieving. Furthermore, Graham & Donaldson¹³ indicated that education experiences were a stimulus for a change in attitudes, values, and interests for older adults.¹⁴ In a number of studies, the learning motives, the eagerness to learn more, and maintaining an active mind rank highest among the reported motivation for older people as continuing studies and participation in learning activities.¹⁵ A study by Bindoff has shown that later-life university study was motivated by the desire for improvement in cognitive trajectories, which may preserve cognitive function, specifically for functions associated with communication, social interaction, and maintaining independence.¹⁶ Similarly, Vicerra et al, established that education was found to be statistically significantly associated with better cognitive ageing.¹⁷ Bouret argued that the significance of experienced benefits of motivation to later life education depends on the overall expectations of the person concerned.¹⁸

Other studies have categorized motivation for later life education as extrinsic determined by social institutions around historical issues, social Inclusion, participation in political activities, counteracting the risk of poverty, improvement in the equalization of intergenerational opportunities, and minimizing the challenges associated with

¹¹ EA Locke, K Schattke - Motivation Science, and undefined 2019, "Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation: Time for Expansion and Clarification.," *Psycnet.Apa.Org*, n.d.; Edwin A Locke and Kaspar Schattke, "Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation: Time for Expansion and Clarification Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation 2," 2018, <https://doi.org/10.1037/mot0000116>.

¹² V Sasidharan, L Payne, and E Orsega-Smith, "Older Adults' Physical Activity Participation and Perceptions of Wellbeing: Examining the Role of Social Support for Leisure," *Managing*, 2006; W Little, S Vyain, and G Scaramuzzo, *Introduction to Sociology-1st Canadian Edition*, *Academia.Edu*, vol. BC Open, 2012.

¹³ Graham & Donaldson, (1999)

¹⁴ Clemens Tesch-Roemer, "ACTIVE AGEING AND QUALITY OF LIFE IN OLD AGE" (New York and Geneva , 2012).

¹⁵ Sean Courtney, "Why Adults Learn: Towards a Theory of Participation in Adult Education," *Why Adults Learn: Towards a Theory of Participation in Adult Education*, January 1, 2018, 1-191, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429435751/ADULTS-LEARN-SEAN-COURTNEY>.

¹⁶ Aidan D. Bindoff et al., "Studying at University in Later Life Slows Cognitive Decline: A Long-term Prospective Study," *Alzheimer's & Dementia: Translational Research & Clinical Interventions* 7, no. 1 (January 2021), <https://doi.org/10.1002/TRC2.12207>.

¹⁷ Paolo Miguel Manalang Vicerra and Wiraporn Pothisiri, "Trajectories of Cognitive Ageing among Thai Later-Life Adults: The Role of Education Using the Characteristics Approach," *Journal of Population and Social Studies* 28, no. 4 (2020): 276-86, <https://doi.org/10.25133/JPSSV28N4.019>.

¹⁸ Cameron Richards, Jitra Makaphol, and Thomas Kuan, "'Lifelong Education' Versus 'Learning in Later Life': A University of the Third Age Formula for the Thailand Context?," 2019, 247-56, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-21515-6_20.

negative images of ageing. A number of studies have recently highlighted the influence of the social structure on later life education for spiritual engagements and consequent influence on motivation for learning¹⁹. Social institutions like the *Pondok* or *Pesantren* in the Malay world have historically influenced later life learning by serving as Traditional Islamic Educational centers and a place for elderlies to seek continuous religious education within a sociable and supportive environment after retirement for spiritual wellbeing.²⁰ Despite agreeing with the above positions, specific studies related to spiritual and religious motivation for later life education are scarce.

Theoretical Directions

Activity and Continuity theories

Theoretical approaches to older adult learning exist from diverse traditions namely; liberalism, progressivism, behaviorism, radicalism, and humanism.²¹ Humanism with its emphasis on freedom, autonomy, individual growth, and self-actualization is regarded as most appropriate for prevailing issues of elderly wellbeing. In this regard, Activity and Continuity theories point to the importance of continuing activity and learning as a prerequisite for successful aging.²² These rationales for later-life learning seem to have become part of common knowledge and adopted by the elderly themselves.²³ As evident in the life course theories, the basic predisposition to learn exists in the human being and endures throughout the course of life. Studies have clearly demonstrated that participation in learning activities and adaptive development as theorized within life course perspectives meet the needs of older people and promote their wellbeing. Thus, Life course perspectives offer insights into the motives for participation and the meaning learning has for older people.

¹⁹ Aziz Rahman and Abubakar Yakubu, "Jeedo Practice Among Elderly Women in Bauchi: A Social Capital Prospects Study," *International Journal of Social Science and Economic Research* 2, no. 12 (2017): 5627-47; A. Yakubu and M. M. Namadi, "The Spiritual And Religious Practice Of ' Jeedo ' Among Elderly Women In Bauchi Emirate Of North Eastern Nigeria," *Penerbit.Uthm.Edu.My* 1 (2018): 1-14.

²⁰ A. Yakubu, I. Solahuddin, and A. Abdulrahman, "Pondok, Tsangaya and Spiritual Wellbeing in Old Age," in *4th International Islamic Studies Conference Organized by Centre for Islamic Studies (CIS) Prince Songkhla University Thailand in 24-26 July 2017*, 2017.

²¹ V STERLING, "Edited by Tonette S. Rocco, M Cecil Smith, Robert C. Mizzi, Lisa R. Merriweather, and Joshua D. Hawley," 2021.

²² JBC Chukwuorji, MB Nwoke, and MO Ebere, "Stressful Life Events, Family Support and Successful Ageing in the Biafran War Generation," *Aging & Mental Health*, 2017.

²³ Richards, Makaphol, and Kuan, "'Lifelong Education' Versus 'Learning in Later Life': A University of the Third Age Formula for the Thailand Context?"

Selective optimization with compensation and gerotranscendence

Selective optimization with compensation theory developed by Baltes assumes that when individuals reach states of increased vulnerability; they invest in efforts that are oriented explicitly towards regulating and compensating such losses and deficits. Baltes identified three fundamental mechanisms or strategies of life management and successful aging: selection, optimization, and compensation (SOC).²⁴

Towards the end of his life, Erikson, together with his wife Joan, constructed the theory of gerotranscendence, for the latest phase of life (Erikson & Erikson, 1997). Joan Erikson indicated that this state of transcendence was something to be achieved by older people. It required a stage where people were set free from daily cares and oriented themselves towards finding inner peace and satisfaction.²⁵ It could also mean a tendency towards spirituality and going beyond the here and now and the rational and material world. The Swedish researcher in gerontology Tornstam, who has elaborated a theory of gerotranscendence views development in later life as a natural progression toward maturation and wisdom, which lead to satisfaction and harmony.²⁶ In Tornstam's theory of gerotranscendence, older age represents a qualitatively different developmental stage characterized by a transformation into a new and wiser way of seeing life and the whole world. He strongly believes in the possibilities of successful and positive aging, which he equates with 'spiritual' aging and leading to a phase of wisdom Raeesi Dehkordi, F., Eslami, A. A., Zamani Alavijeh, F., & Matlabi, H. The theory as faulted by this study is one that overlooked and thus less emphasized the need for later education. However, the theory is useful in pointing to the importance of maturity to human aging as a potential, which provides a new outlook on, and understanding of life. Gerotranscendence implies a shift in meta-perspective, from a materialistic and rational

²⁴ Vern L. Bengtson and Marguerite DeLiema, "Theories of Aging and Social Gerontology: Explaining How Social Factors Influence Well-Being in Later Life," *Gerontology: Changes, Challenges, and Solutions [2 Volumes]: Changes, Challenges, and Solutions*, 2016, 25-56.

²⁵ Richard A Settersten and VL Bengston, "Theoretical Perspectives on Biodemography of Aging and Longevity," in *Hand Book of Theories of Aging*, 2006, 26; J Baars et al., *Aging, Globalization and Inequality: The New Critical Gerontology*, 2016; Takashi Yamashita et al., "Education, Lifelong Learning and Self-Rated Health in Later Life in the USA," *Health Education Journal* 78, no. 3 (April 1, 2019): 328-39, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0017896918809500>.

²⁶ L Tornstam, *Gerotranscendence: A Developmental Theory of Positive Aging*, 2005.

view of the world to a more cosmic and transcendent one, normally accompanied by an increase in life satisfaction.²⁷

The attainment of Gerotranscendence as motivation for later life education has been an understudied area despite the stance of the theory on ageing as a natural development process in which there is a change in the way people see things as they age. A reinvention of the theory should enable us to take a stand on later life education as the redefinition of reality, which begins to change in the individual's mind with age Wadensten. In regards to later education, the theory can put the elderly in a reality of life, which makes them develop a belief that they can still move on with life and play their previous roles even in the presence of all the challenging stressors on their way. Since as noted by Tornstom, the mindset determines the will of an individual and gerotranscendence is a state of change in people's minds manifest in changing people's thoughts and actions. Therefore, Gerotranscendence as a focus on changing people's minds can explain the motivation for education along the way they see objects, life, and death in relation to coping with their present situation. (1) What is the historical and institutional basis of motivation for later life education among elderly women in northeastern Nigeria? (2) What are the intrinsic and extrinsic dimensions of motivation influencing later life education among elderly women? (3) How can improvement in later life education results in better coping with later life for the older women?

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

This study used qualitative research methodology to explore later life education and its prospect for eldercare. The role of the researcher was that of an interviewer, observer, and analyzer; in other words, the researcher interviewed the selected members of the group and took his time to analyze the phenomenon. The techniques of data collection were, interviews based on the responses of the interviewees. The population of this study encompasses a total of 31 elderly women and teachers who were interviewed according to their convenience. The methods of analysis for the data generated by this study involve thematic analysis. Therefore, the thematic analysis offers

²⁷ Safiya George Dalmida et al., "Examination of the Role of Religious and Psychosocial Factors in HIV Medication Adherence Rates," *Journal of Religion and Health* 56, no. 6 (December 11, 2017): 2144-61, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10943-017-0377-1>.

an avenue for both interpretation and involvement of the researcher in the analysis. The focuses were on the identification of codes and themes.²⁸

RESULTS

Profile of the participants

Interviews were conducted among a women's congregation involving, 24 elderly women at different venues and times.

Table 1: Age Characteristics of the older women educational congregation

Age Characteristics of the older women educational congregation		
Age Range	Frequency	Percentage (%)
60-65	1	4%
65-69	4	17%
70-75	6	25%
76-79	9	37%
80+104	4	16%
Total	24	100

From the above table the age of the Elderly women ranged from 60-64 (4%), 65-69 (17%), 70-75 (25%), 76-79 (37%), 80+ (8%) and 80+104 (8%). The group with the highest motivation for LLE are the age group of 76 - 79, (35%), followed by the age group 70-75(25%), and next is 65-69 with 17% and the oldest old with 16% while the age group 60-64 was 4%. Although the population characteristics is in line the general demographic trends of the Nigerian population, motivation for later life education starts below the conventional age of sixty in Bauchi. This implies early preparation for late adulthood in line with life course theory of ageing.

²⁸ (Joffe, H. 2012 Abubakr 2017)

Table 2. Interview Responses

Theme	Subtheme	Sample statements
Bases for motivation in LLE		Education among us is an activity originally based on Islamic motives, so most of the societies are rooted in the jihad brought about by the caliphate. The caliphate has a system of later life education especially for women to attain gender balance in education
Intrinsic Motivational basis of LLE		Later life education is centered around religious activities and spiritual reward in terms of what each member can appease and obtain certain reward from Allah. Every time I feel worried or encounter a problem from my children or grandchildren, I report to the Mallam and prayers are offered which solve our problems we are always happy about this. (PD3-1-INF36)
Extrinsic motivation for LLE		This school is important to me because in the past I was worshipping in ignorance, but now I have improved in knowledge and my character as well because I have stopped doing bad things I was engaged in the past. I am now stronger and healthier, and my legs are better. (PD3-1-INF 37)
Spiritual reward and After life expectation		My problem is that of anxiety all the time. but every time I feel worried or encounter a problem from my children or grandchildren I report to the Mallam and prayers are offered which solve our problems we are always happy about this. (OR1- member 5)
		Later life education is not for worldly gains its main purpose is spirituality, based on the belief of a reward from Allah in the hereafter. The more one engages in the pursuit of Later life education the more reward that accumulate (lada) for use in the afterlife.
		The school plays the role of social capital by linking the members with sources of religious information which serves as both information and instrumental support for the Elderly women congregation

HISTORICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL BASIS OF MOTIVATION FOR LATER LIFE EDUCATION

The Later life educational system has thrived for over two centuries in the northeastern Nigerian city of Bauchi. It is a system that allows older women to engage in learning within the emirate through various avenues such as the old women’s school

known through the *Jeedo institution*. The most striking feature of this system is the institutionalized recognition of the female gender. The female dimension has remained an imitation of the way the position of women in education was upheld throughout Sokoto Caliphate both during and after the demise of Caliph Usman bin Fodio. In Bauchi, later life education among elderly women relates to how Fodio's daughter Nana Asma'u kept women active by leading the way for education based on the tradition started by her father. After his demise, Asma'u started a class called "**iyantaru**" made up of females in menopause. "**iyantaru**" means congregation of women in menopause. In addition to Islamic lessons, Nana Asma'u preached upon the *iyantaru* as women who are beyond formal school age. As such, instead of referring to them as students or scholars, she called them **iyantaru** meaning a class of elderly women learners. This was copied in the Bauchi emirate as part of the larger system of education in the caliphate. Later life education is therefore linked to the Islamic institutions found in the caliphate. As evident from the information obtained, in Bauchi, successive wives of different Emirs in the history of the emirate made significant contributions to the development of later-life education among elderly women.

Further clarification about later life education in Bauchi as explained by our informant proved that the practice was started by one of the wives of Mallam Yakubu the founder of Bauchi emirate. She was called "**Yaya**" who is the daughter of the Emir of "kauran Namoda" known as "Muhammdu Namoda". She is also a granddaughter to the Caliph Usman bin Fodio. It happened that, while Mallam Yakubu was studying at the Shehu's School as young man, he was an outstanding student as noticed by the Shehu, and eventually was made to stay within Shehu's household and Shehu got him married to his granddaughter Yaya. After the jihad and conquest of Bauchi, there was a good rapport between Yaya and Nana Asma'u, which lasted throughout their lives. Such rapport includes constant correspondence between them. Yaya was also well educated and she copied the *iyantaru* as well. Hence, every Friday she offered lessons, and then the women will enter the mosque, clean it and supply water. Afterwards they will enter the main compound where the graveyard of the founder of Bauchi emirate Mallam Yakubu to sanitize and put things in order within the compound.

The historical bases for later life education stems heavily from the influence of history and prevailing Islamic structures in Bauchi emirate. The relevance of historical

process and social structure to later life education provides the evidence as to who define what counts as education in relation the position of women in education. Further data from the study prove evidence as to how motivation for later life education is possible where the power structures of society are willing and committed. From the study, it is evident that members of society who control most of the resources control the possibility of later life education. Thus, women of all ages can learn when the character of educational provision is based on an approach that suits the socio-cultural context and emancipates later life-learners. The influence of institutions on motivation for later life education among the subjects of this research falls in line with the life course perspective, however, the life course is furthered by the present study to include a subjective view of education in old age as a position towards spirituality and ultimately the afterlife. All the participants demonstrated an understanding of ageing as a lifelong process, using the *principle of seven (sab'a)* to describe the life course as upheld by Islamic teachings. Among the subjects in the study, the pursuit of education in later years enables a choice of action towards attaining the desired state for the end of life. Thus, later life education serves as an opportunity to address previous constraints and shortcomings encountered earlier in the life course that restricted choice and opportunities due to social circumstances.

INTRINSIC AND EXTRINSIC MOTIVATION FOR LATER LIFE EDUCATION AMONG THE ELDERLY WOMEN

Islamic religious teaching about the afterlife (*Akhira*) serves as intrinsic motivation for later life education among elderly women. Most Elderly women interviewed testified to intensive learning since they started attending the learning congregation. The old women testified to participation in a wide range of activities ranging from recitation of the Qur'an to a wide variety of other lessons. As a result, most of them were highly motivated due to the satisfaction derived in form of improvements in how they perform prayer rituals more correctly than before. This raises their hopes for meeting the creator with better deeds and hope for paradise in the afterlife. For the women, this implies the attainment of knowledge, which translate into Gerotranscendence as a status towards the attainment of a peaceful exit to the afterlife. Evidently, Gerotranscendence manifests among the women as a redefinition of reality that manifests in activities of social work across various dimensions like care of orphans,

cleaning of burial grounds, settlement of family disputes alms, charity, care and arrangement of corpses, etc. The elderly in reality, therefore, have acquired knowledge and the application of which makes them develop a belief that they can still move on with life and play positive roles for the benefit of others before their ultimate ends. In line with Tornstom, the mindset determines the will of an individual and gerotranscendence is a state of change in people's mind manifest in changing people's thoughts and actions.

Extrinsic motives for later life education is also rooted in the present institutions found in Bauchi which is modeled after the society adopted by Usman bin Fodio, who was very explicit in following of Prophet Mohammed's (SAW) teachings.²⁹ This implies how later life education is an expression of the interdependence between social-historical influences and networks of relationships. Thus, the history, meaning, origin, and institutional motivation for later life education follow the replication of institutions from Sokoto as the center of the caliphate.

CONCLUSION

Later life education has enabled Active coping among older women in Bauchi. The educational system allows the elderly women towards gaining control of both spiritual and material aspects of living. Through such education change from unfavorable conditions to more favorable ones are created in dealing with emotional issues through the availability of beneficial information and spiritual control over life. This is done by seeking constant engagement with devotion and social work with different categories of people.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Participating in later life education can play an important role in the preservation of autonomy and encouragement of social participation in later life. However, the elderly n are faced with a declined state of health, which often disables them from being motivated for active participation in educational pursuits. To pursue the old people to participate, their thoughts have to be raised through further sensitization and the creation of a comfortable environment.

²⁹ Van Beek, "Intensive Slave Raiding in the Colonial Interstice: Hamman Yaji and the Mandara Mountains (North Cameroon and North-Eastern Nigeria)No Title," *The Journal of African History* 53, no. 03 (2012): 301-23.

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