

**AN INTERNATIONAL CURRICULUM FOR GLOBAL
AWARENESS**

BY

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Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D)
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November 1995

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Abstract

The aim of an International Curriculum is to ensure that the stipulated pedagogical objectives, content of instruction, teaching-learning strategies and materials will lead to educational achievement. Thus, its role is to outline the social impact on educational systems and highlight the political role that education can play, as it will provide a basis of action for the future, with the aim of improving the curriculum and, by extension, helping people to accept change and diversity within a multiracial and multicultural society.

Chapter I explores how inequality is rooted in and reproduced by economic, political and ideological forms and how the educational system contributes to hegemony. The object of Chapter II in studying French and English Educational Systems has been, on the one hand, to use a comparative analysis to find out what social factors generally are at the root of the development of these distinctive forms of schooling, and on the other hand, to explore specific national differences in the chronology and forms of the development of state schooling. Chapter III highlights colonialism as a vitally important part of the heritage of most Third World countries and, in many instances - e.g. politics and education - influences relations between Madagascar and these countries: Britain and France. Chapter IV points out that underachievement is not a fate and highlights the phenomenon of underachievement as the effect of diverse factors such as social environment, socio-economic, socio-discrimination and institutional aspects. Chapter V makes mention of the educational partnership with politics and socio-economics from which the reconstruction of the family nucleus, the fight against any kind of discrimination and the reconciliation of family with schools can be achieved. Chapter VI reiterates that the fundamental purpose of an International Curriculum is to emphasize co-operation among learners rather than competition, to develop awareness, an appreciation of and respect for all cultures represented within any society. The international curriculum's aim is to promote the development of the full potential of the individuals, to ensure equality of opportunity by combating all forms of prejudice and by eliminating all forms of unfair discrimination. It also intends to foster contact and understanding between the schools and members of different communities regionally, nationally and in other countries.

Acknowledgements

Misaotra an'Andriamanitra sy ny razana manome hery sy tanjaka nahafahana nanantontosa ity tezy ity.

Ho fahatsiarovana ny raiko izay nankahery sy nampiezaka anay amin'ny fianarana sy ny fahombiazana .

Ho an'ny renibeko noho ny fitiavana, ny fanampiana ara-tsaina sy ny fivavahana.

Ho an'ny mama noho ny fitiavana mitafotafo, ny fihafiana ary koa ny firariany amin'ny fahombiazana sy ny fahendrena.

Atolotro manokana ho azy ity asa ity ho fisaorana azy manotrana anay mandrakariva.

Ho an'ny Tantine Simone noho ny fanampiana ara-tsaina sy ny fivavahana.

Ho an'ireo iray-tampo amiko sy iero taranany izay miray lalana amiko mandrakariva na am-pifaliana na am-pahoriana.

Maniry antsika mianakavy mba ho tafita amin'ny avo indrindra ka hifanatitra aminireo taranaka.

Ho an'ireo reny rehetra sy ny vehivavy eran-tany izay mitolona ho an'ny fahafahana, sy mihafy mba hahatafita ireo faramandimbiny.

Without the help and encouragement of Professor Lyall of Scottish Literature, this research would not have come to fruition. To Kemal, whose eagerness to be of assistance, helped me greatly. Special thanks to Anne Currie and Nancy McKinnon, Mrs M.K. Bedi and Jaswinder Bedi who have been more than friends and provided the kindness and support which offset doubts and exasperating low spirits. I would also like to thank Odile Barbot, David Hamilton, Grant Kinniburgh and Joyce Watson, the staff and all the students of the Department of Education for their friendly and helpful assistance.

At a different but as important level, I would like to thank Ms E. Vince and Ms I. Pattie who helped me through mountains of proof reading. Finally thanks to Professor Nigel Grant who believed in me and patiently advised me to bring this research to its accomplishment and I wish to express my appreciation.

I am grateful to my family and C. Schaller for their unwavering support without which this thesis would have been more difficult to complete.

Last but by no means least, I would like to dedicate this work to mothers and sisters who are fighting for their rights and all children who are deprived of education and training.

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Poem for a Militant

Mother.
I have an iron rifle
your son,
the one you saw chained
one day
(When you cried as if
the chains bound and battered
your hands and feet)
Your boy is free now
Mother.
Your boy has an iron rifle.
My rifle
will break the chains
will open the prisons
will kill the tyrans
will win back our land
Mother,
Beauty is to fight for freedom,
Justice rings in my every shot
and ancient dreams awaken like birds.
Fighting, on the front,
Your image descends.
I fight for you,
Mother
to dry the tears
of your eyes.

- Jorge Rebelo: Mozambique -
(from the Penguin Book of Modern African Poetry)

INTRODUCTION

On October 24th 1945, after six years of death and destruction caused by the Second World War, an International Organisation called the "United Nations" was established at the San-Francisco Conference of World-Peace. Its aims were as follows:

- to maintain " International " Peace and Security;
- to develop Friendly Relations among Nations based on the principles of equal rights and self-determination of Peoples;
- to achieve "International" co-operation in solving "International" problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian nature;
- to promote and encourage Human Rights and Fundamental Freedom;
- and to be a centre for harmonising the action of Nations in the attainment of these common ends.

Towards the fulfilment of the above aims, 1946 saw the United Nations create different branches such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organizations, known as U.N.E.S.C.O. Its object was to assist, support and complement the national efforts of member-states in the elimination of illiteracy, the extension of free education and to encourage the free exchange of ideas, information and services.

However, today, children are paying the price for years of apparent internal contradiction on the part of the super-powers, as the so-called democratic and civilized peace-loving nations have for too long engaged in a frightening arms-trade with friendly regimes in the Third World. Profit came first before people and now our children are bearing the consequences.

At present people live in the heart of a recession where worldwide education is

facing problems such as an increase in the numbers of pupils leaving school early, the increasingly fragmented and divided educational services struggling in disadvantaged areas, the disparity of educational opportunities in secondary schools and higher education, women's access to education, the proper financing of state schools and education in general and a shortage of teachers leading to overcrowded schools. These problems raise common educational interests and concerns all over the world.

Education has to respond to social and individual needs. On the one hand, it has to create a climate in which each individual will be accepted and allowed to become an active member of society. On the other hand, it has to seek, through wise and constructive steps, to develop in each individual a spirit of awareness and tolerance to enable him/her to face the multiracial and multicultural realities of society. The crucial issues here are the unstable equilibrium of the world and an ever impoverished social environment.

Without exception, in each country of the world, some children suffer every day, the causes of suffering include hunger, poverty, racial and sexual harassment, discrimination, exploitation, harsh treatment and the break up of the family nucleus ... More than one million children are forced to enter the world of work for survival and are used for menial and repetitive tasks (L'évènement du Jeudi - 1989). These children, as a result, are deprived of education and training, and will inevitably drift into unemployment. Every day more than forty thousand children die because of a lack of care or food, while others resort to begging, stealing and soliciting in the street; their childhood is either wasted or non-existent. People must not, however, believe that poverty is the sole property of the third world. A new poverty, that the young homeless, known as the "Quart-Monde" (fourth world) - an expression attributed to Père Joseph Wresinski, initiator of the association "Aide à toute détresse (ADT)-Quart-Monde (help to all fourth world poverty) - is gaining ground in various industrialised countries.

Similarly, there is the factor of national and international conflicts to be considered. Over one million children get caught up in the machinery of today's wars. Wars do not only destroy populations but also our future. Children are always the prime victims and to recover from a war, a nation needs at least twenty years stability. The consequences of war lead to abnormal situations; for example, children growing up under occupation have no horizons other than the negation of their culture, resulting in implying the destruction of their cultural space and environment; the buildings put to other uses or abandoned, and are constantly under the threat of warring groups, or are transformed into places of interrogation or some form of emergency centre. In the meantime children are deprived of their education

The formation of an organization such as U.N.E.S.C.O was aimed at counterbalancing educational injustices occurring within such climates of conflict. However, during the 1980s, U.N.E.S.C.O faced mounting criticism for its overtly politicized approach to cultural and other issues and because of this sustained approach to educational expansion, the United States withdrew from the organization on December 31, 1984 with the United Kingdom following exactly one year later. Despite these setbacks, U.N.E.S.C.O has carried on its work on an "International " scale, and since 1989, illiteracy has come under close international scrutiny with worldwide programmes being organized to teach children and adults alike (Le Monde, 6 Janvier 1986).

New problems affecting education in many countries cause our immediate attention to be focused on such issues as the interrelationship of teachers, the question of salaries and social status. The shortage of teachers all over the world clearly illustrates that the role of teachers in school and in society has to be reexamined if chaos is to be avoided in school systems.

The apparent race among industrialized nations during the 60's and 70's to train the most and the best scientists and engineers, because of the persistence of the "cold

war" and developments in nuclear physics, has seriously caused the neglect of cultural and social fields of study. And yet, the crux of the problem continues to be swept under the carpet; namely that of the education of those who are denied access to equal educational opportunity and the expansion of free secondary and higher education for all people.

The contentious issue of the correct relationship between Church and State in educational matters has also created discord in many places and resulted in the constant disruption of children's education. While many observers in the field of education may have concluded long ago that the Church-State problem in education was settled, it is clear from events in Europe and the African/Asian diaspora today that this is not the case.

It goes without saying that socio-economic factors also play a key-role in determining the level of motivation and performance of each student. In order to learn and develop well, a young child needs to receive support from his/her environment and a firm sense of security in his/her relationships. This confidence can only come from living in a world which gives him/her some degree of order and reliability as well as flexibility and the freedom to experiment, explore and cope with new and unfamiliar situations.

No other period of people's history has been so marked by the need to foster interdependence and positive interactions among people of diverse ethnic and linguistic groups. Cultural contact is a reality brought through modernization, communication and urbanization. It is also a reality at local, national and international levels.

People's future is with the young children of today and tomorrow - an important aspect in this future scenario is their right to education . Accordingly, educational institutions take as their starting point the assertion that education is to ensure equal educational opportunity and endorse children's right to:

- belong to a community and live with his/her parents;
- receive an education which is favourable to the environment of the child, allowing him/her to value his/her culture, and preparing him/her for a vocation and for the execution of his/her responsibilities as a **man/woman** and a **citizen**;
- be protected against **malnutrition, exploitation, poverty, violence and discrimination**.

To this end, each nation should therefore review its national, international, social and political policies so as to ensure that all children in the world have access to equal educational opportunities, and to promote the development of the full potential of the individuals and instill awareness of the world in which they live. It could be argued that each nation could ensure **equality** before the law of **all citizens** without discrimination of **sex, background, race or religion**, and must encourage respect for **all beliefs**.

However, the education system must not be expected to carry the whole burden of implementing and monitoring educational changes, even although schools in particular are entrusted with a key role in transmitting values which govern the attitudes and behaviour of human beings. If education must involve more than learning about the cultures and lifestyles of various social classes and ethnic groups, it must also seek to develop in all children, both majority and minority groups without distinction of race, sex and background, an open mind and an ability to accept and welcome the nature of today's and tomorrow's society. Given the radical changes currently affecting our society, should we disregard the socio-educational status of a certain section of the population, without even evaluating institutions and social frameworks, especially educational establishments or should we clearly define the inadequacies, limits and priorities of educational systems and their social environments?

Education is one of the major, if not the most important element in the future

development of a multiracial and multicultural society and in the maintenance of the well being of all those concerned. Yet, left to its own devices, education will not be able to confront such a diversity of issues. In this respect, on a local, national and international level, governments and educational bodies must demonstrate their commitment to the evolution of an educational system which will ensure that all children achieve their full potential.

The reality of today's society now and in the future is that a variety of social and ethnic groups, with their own distinct lifestyles and value systems, are and will be living together. Thus, local, national and international governments and educational institutions must guarantee an appropriate and suitable family environment and provide necessary resources to this end. Even, if in the future, educational institutions cease to represent all social and educational networks, at least they should be at the very core of such networks - a core which should make a great impact on social life and which would have to accept considerable influence from outside. This issue will be dealt in chapter V, for each social activity would include a component of training, leading to society itself becoming a society of information, if not a society of education in the broad sense of the term.

CHAPTER I. Towards an International Curriculum

If people's education is to ensure that education is not only to put an end to the politics of all forms of unfair discrimination in education, but is to be instrumental also in creating a more just society by eliminating injustices based on class, race and sex, this will result in moving beyond the common formula for mass education to an understanding of how reform in education is related to a fundamental redistribution of power, wealth and privilege in society. It will be necessary to identify the link between the educational systems and the existing social institutions. The identification will attempt to lead to a definition of an International Curriculum with reference to practices and policies developed at all levels of the educational system. Its intention is to identify and review the present curriculum and the social barriers which restrain children from developing their potential to the full. It also intends to highlight and describe factors, strategies and approaches which have been pursued and appear to be ineffective in promoting cultural equality and equal educational opportunity within various areas of the educational process.

The result of the identification will lead to the recognition of the relationship between policy and education as in this regard one must be aware of the relationship between policy and the implementation of the curriculum. The international curriculum needs to acknowledge the multiracial and multicultural realities within the world context. Moreover, children need to be educated to accept the principle that some different points of view can be equally valid.

The introduction of an international curriculum will mean the realization of an international awareness and the introduction of an anti-racist and anti-sexist policy within the education system in a global context. It will also mean that the teaching of some subjects - languages, history and geography, religious education and arts - needs to be reassessed in terms of the ethnocentric bias which has dominated much

of the teaching of these subjects. That means not only that there would be an identification which would ensure the removal of all forms of unfair discrimination, but it would cover the whole range of cultural criteria of the society. In short, the first will consider the curriculum with a view to defining the needs of all children growing up in multiracial societies, regardless of their presence in multiracial schools. This cannot be achieved without taking account of the multiracial and multicultural realities facing children.

The international curriculum will be discussed in chapter VI; prior to that this chapter will attempt to identify the link between the educational systems and the existing social institutions.

A. Recognizing the need for an enhancement of existing curricula

In any educational system, whether it is formal or informal, decisions must be taken on what and how children will learn in the institutionalized setting in which they will participate.

According to the Schools Council:

"Assimilation is difficult to achieve for some cultural groups now in Britain. Many of these groups are closely referred to as 'ethnic minorities'....Skin colour and language differences make some minority groups visibly and audibly distinctive; differences in religious belief and practice may reduce social interaction and inter-marriage. Groups which may seem strange or unfamiliar are easy prey for prejudice, hostility and discrimination." (1)

For many years, assimilation/integration has been the principal current behind any nation's tradition. Today, one must admit that this concept has now lost credibility following its failure to realise and consolidate the traditional dream of the "melting pot". The expectation of each nation was that the cultures of minority groups would disintegrate into the mainstream culture. They totally ignored the fact that to forsake pluralism was to deprive the dominant cultures of a source of potential enrichment of the culture and traditions of the society. In addition, with regard to the declara-

tion of human rights established by the United Nations:

" The child shall enjoy all the rights set forth in this Declaration. Every child, without any exception whatsoever, shall be entitled to these rights, without distinction or discrimination on account of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status, whether of himself or his family. Principle 1

The child shall be protected from practices which may foster racial, religious and any other form of discrimination. He shall be brought up in a spirit of understanding, tolerance, friendship among peoples, peace and universal brotherhood, and in full consciousness that his energy and talents should be devoted to the service of his fellow men." Principle 10 (2)

such an expectation is in fact a breach of human rights given the failure of the curriculum to recognize minority group rights. This has inevitably in the short and long term created a damaging effect on the identity and self-image of minority group children.

The 1977 Green Paper 'Education in Schools' - a consultative document produced under a Labour government - laid out very clearly government expectations of the role of the curriculum in a new kind of British society:

"Our society is a multi-cultural and multi-racial one and the curriculum should reflect a sympathetic understanding of the different cultures and races that now make up our society. We also live in a complex interdependent world and many of our problems in Britain require international solutions, the curriculum should therefore reflect our need to know about and understand other countries." (3)

Like the Green Paper, the Schools Council states:

"The goal is a plural society where cultural groups can maintain their own identity, but where there are sufficient shared experiences and values for social cohesion and sufficient understanding of each other's culture for stability." (4)

In the light of the above facts, the school must not only characterize the ideal multi-racial and multicultural society but its own role should be to bring such a society into being. Any educational system must reflect the multiracial and multicultural composition of our society. Its policies, organisation and curriculum must be such as to accommodate as many choices as possible for all groups concerned. All children need to be able to distinguish their group as well as having their individual identities confirmed in school, and it must be the right of all children to have their

cultures and languages acknowledged and valued in the classroom.

In its 1987 "Guidelines for Education - In and For a Multicultural Society", Lothian Region, Scotland, identified the need to challenge the injustice and exploitation which results from racism and other forms of stereotyping through the recognition of the "structure and distribution of power within society and to discover ways of replacing injustice with freedom and enlightenment"...and the "examination of the assumptions and institutions which maintain and control the fabric of a Democratic Society" (5). On that account, the goals of an international curriculum are therefore not only concerned with the acquisition of knowledge, but with the development of positive attitudes and skills. There is a need to encourage in children the acceptance of change and diversity within a multiracial society, the ability to detect and reject stereotyping in all that they see and read. For, if they are to cope with a continually expanding platform of knowledge and unprecedented social change, they need to understand underlying concepts and structures and to develop their knowledge and understanding to take control of their own learning.

One cannot disassociate content from methodology. Content does make an impact and a difference, and nowhere more so than in an international curriculum. If children regardless of their background are to learn to respect the cultures of other social classes and racial groups, they need to have access to accurate information on cultures, languages, histories and accomplishments. The accessibility to such culturally diverse knowledge must be a necessity rather than a tokenistic effort if we want to reach this goal of respect.

"Pupils are misinformed and intolerant about many things, but ... they are not just misinformed but dangerously so. If anyone means it when they say that Britain is a multicultural society then these comments - highly typical of white British children - have to be taken as giving clear imperatives for the curriculum." Chris Gaine (6)

The content of the curriculum must, however, be representative of the world cultures which the school serves. An international curriculum affords space and status to the minority cultures represented in any nation and to the other cultures in

the world. Hence, it aspires schools to help disadvantaged children to develop pride in their identity as well as encourage children from the more privileged children to see their disadvantaged classmates in a more positive light. By contrast, a curriculum which confines its selection to the dominant culture - to, in effect, what is known as the ruling class, developed or industrialized countries or super-powers - is rightly entitled 'ethnocentric'. When all the cultures concerned figure prominently in the multiplicity of resources servicing the formal curriculum (i.e topic cards - posters, illustrations, reading material) then children will be familiar with something significantly different from that of the present day.

B. What is curriculum evaluation?

There are wide variations in both the educators' use of the word and definitions found in literature on the subject; these range from reference to subjects on the time table to everything which takes place in the school. It is an area which abounds with concepts such as "formative", "summative", "responsive" and "illuminative" evaluation. For Scriven, "formative evaluation" refers to the gathering of evidence during the process of developing parts of the curriculum. Its task is to determine the adequacy of the materials as well as the kinds of evidence which can be used to determine, in some detail, what needs to be revised, and why and where the revision is needed. As for "summative evaluation", it refers to the effectiveness and quality of a curriculum with a view to making improvement and adjustments which ought to be introduced in the education system.

For Stake, "responsive evaluation" is a model which stresses the relationship between evaluator and clients. He suggests that the evaluator has to attempt to increase clients' awareness of the issues and their understanding of their needs. Parlett and Hamilton point out that "illuminative evaluation" is a type of evaluation in which the evaluator contributes to decision making by providing information, comments and analysis to increase relevant knowledge and awareness.

Curriculum evaluation has come to have different meanings; Stake and Denny, for example, have this to say:

"Considered broadly, evaluation is the discovery of the nature and worth of something. In relation to education, we may evaluate students, teachers, curriculum, administrators, systems, programs and nations. The purpose of evaluation may be many, but always evaluation attempts to describe something and to indicate its perceived merits and short comings.... Evaluation is not a search for cause and effect, an inventory of present status, or a prediction of future success. It is something of all of these but only as they contribute to understanding substance, function and worth." (7)

Stake and Denny attempt to emphasize that evaluation plays an increasingly important role in the development and improvement of educational projects and courses, and indicate that it is, therefore, important to claim that critical objectives should be tempered with humane values rather than narrowly technocratic or bureaucratic concerns. In fact, the definition of evaluation can be interpreted as the process of accumulating information and arguments which should enable the educational policy makers and evaluators to participate in the critical debate about the curriculum.

Hence, evaluation will be guided by the desire to understand and to act on the basis of awareness. Accordingly, its major role will be to express justifications for action which refer in the main to judgements made about the educational process itself (what happens in schools) - though judgements about the actual product may also be included (what students have learned).

Curriculum evaluation, also, refers to varied and numerous appraisal mechanisms which are directly related to the aims of education and the programmes and activities of learning provided to meet these very aims. According to Immanuel Kant:

" ... the whole mechanism of education has no coherence if it is not designed in agreement with a well-weighed plan, ... it might behoove the state likewise to reform itself, from time to time and, attempting evolution instead of revolution, progress perpetually toward the better." (8)

As evaluation deals with people's lives - not only the lives of young people, but of teachers and other adults, it deliberately tries to change them. It interferes with their

lives as it is convinced that it is helping them toward something better. In this way, evaluation is concerned with establishing how things have come to be as they are and with providing information and arguments which can justify intended actions.

Thanks to sociologists, the curriculum evaluation approach can be extended further. For we can include in our assessment the intentions which lie behind actions, forces and factors in and around the environment, which in turn will facilitate or complicate the realization of the educational programme. We may define evaluation broadly as the collection and use of information to make decisions about an educational programme. Cronbach (House, E - 1986) identifies that evaluation is used for the course improvement, decisions about individuals and administrative regulations. Hence, curriculum evaluation is the process of obtaining and providing information useful for making decisions and judgements about curriculum.

Evaluation also focuses on the provision of information for decisions-makers:

"When a curriculum development project is formed, it is a community of self-interests - it represents the self-interests of all participants within its terms of reference. The evaluator has a responsibility to illuminate the extent of commonality and conflict among the values and interests of participants in this community." (9)

Kemmis (House, E - 1986) suggests that individual self-interests, which exist outside the terms of reference of the community, are irrelevant to it unless conflicts of interest prejudice the interests of the community itself. He stresses the fact that, any judgement of the values of a project or programme ought to be responsive to the community concerns, and to provide information which is appropriate and valued most highly as evidence according to the community conviction. The evaluation of the curriculum has to look to the good of the community and make way for common ground. This is indispensable to educational strategies in any society but this is particularly so in a multiracial and multicultural society where cultural experiences prior to entry to school can be so diverse. Accordingly, in order to provide the critical debate about the programme and to clarify it, an evaluation must engage the

perspectives of a variety of audiences. The evaluation will refer to teachers and professors as well as parents. It must regard parents and teachers as builders of the nest and the prime mover of education. In short, evaluation has to consider everything important, as enablers as well as initiators and it is only in this light that curriculum evaluation can be understood, - that is to say, it cannot be separated from social and environmental issues.

MacDonald (Hamilton, D - 1976) also argues that evaluation must not serve the interest of government agencies, programme sponsors and policy makers, or be autocratic evaluation which serves the interests of the academic research community (Cronbach, Lee J - 1982 - Hamilton, D - 1976). He considers that:

"... democratic evaluation is an information service to the community about the characteristics of an educational programme. It recognises value-pluralism and seeks to represent a range of interests in its issue formulation. The basic value is an informed citizenry, and the evaluator acts as broker in exchanges of information between differing groups." MacDonald (10)

He believes that evaluation must be free from "autocratic" aspiration and the concerns of some parties must not be left out of the debate if they seek policy legitimation. It must also demonstrate that his/her evaluation is realistic and fulfil the expectation of all parties. Furthermore, he advocates that evaluation ought to involve each member of the community to make them aware of the issues and allow them to judge the legitimacy of the evaluation.

The method of appraisal involved in curriculum evaluation is not wholly confined to an examination of pupil performance, although ultimately success may be judged primarily by the extent to which pupils have learned what they have been expected to learn. While it does include examination of a kind, evaluation is also concerned with many factors which tend to influence pupil achievement, such as classroom-conditions, the provision of appropriate materials and the attitudes of both teachers and pupils. As can be seen however, there must be a serious re-examination of the basic problem of definition of which social phenomena reinforce and keep the

curriculum alive, how they are related to other social conditions and processes, and how the total configuration of forces have overwhelmed past programme efforts.

On the other hand, there is the problem of giving an accurate definition from the very outset and finding that it excludes something which appears to be important later on. Despite this difficulty, a definition of the evaluation will address the following:

b.1. Emphasis on curriculum content with a particular interest in updating the curriculum; eg. the promotion of bilingualism as a reality, history and geography viewed as a catalyst and the bridging of the community and school cultures. The subjects within the curriculum have to be drawn from a wide range of human achievements and avoid presenting Euro- or Afro- centric views of the world. In short, each pupil's knowledge of the world in which they live has to be enlarged so he/she can learn to appreciate the unity and diversity of mankind. This results from a desire to reaffirm the multiracial and multicultural reality prevalent in almost all countries of the world.

b.2. Emphasis on the effect of the "hidden" curriculum which teaches social attitudes that turn children into obedient citizens. According to Sharpe, the hidden curriculum - also known as the hidden agenda - is differentiated by social class and gender, in that different types of students are encouraged to develop orientations which are specific to their likely future citizen-roles. Sharpe documents how boys and girls are treated differently:

"Boys' activities are granted higher status than girls'. boisterous and aggressive behaviour is less tolerated in girls, etc." (11)

Sharpe, also, suggests that teachers reinforce feminine stereotypes, expecting girls to be quiet and submissive, and assuming that the most central element of their future adult lives will be as wives and mothers rather than as employees in the formal economy. Furthermore, Marion Reid points out that:

"Now, the education of girls, whatever facts it may teach them, does not, we think, tend to expand and develop their minds, but to cramp and confine them. Far from being

encouraged to use their own faculties, any symptom of independent thought is quickly repressed. The consequence, as might be expected, is, that the majority of girls are subdued into mere automatons, - their very excellencies are not made their own, by being powerfully grasped by their own minds; they are rather the physical effect of example and habit, than the result of the exercise of their own moral and intellectual nature" (12)

In transmitting ideas, beliefs, values and meaning throughout the curriculum, it is necessary to ask what exactly are the aims of the school institutions. It is important to examine how the school curriculum reproduces sex and race divisions in society by means of the material used at schools. As for Gramsci, he argued that the hegemonic function of the school system lies in its organisation rather than in its curriculum, or in the "hidden curriculum" implicit in teaching method (Entwistle, H - 1979):

"The traditional school was oligarchic because it was intended for the new generation of the ruling class, destined to rule in its turn: but it was not oligarchic in its mode of teaching. It is not the fact that pupils learn how to rule there, nor the fact that it tends to produce gifted men, which gives a particular school its social character. This social character is determined by the fact that each social group has its type of school, intended to perpetuate a specific traditional function, ruling or subordinate. If one wishes to break this pattern one needs, instead of multiplying and grading different types of vocational schools, to create a single type of formative school (primary-secondary) which would take the child up to the threshold of his choice of job, forming him during this time as a person capable of thinking, studying and ruling - or controlling those who rule." Gramsci, A. (13)

He suggested that the school serves and maintains the existing hegemony not because of what or how it teaches, but because it denies a traditional humanistic education to children of the lower classes. He recognized that state schooling was class structured, part of the ideological apparatus of the bourgeois State and contributor to bourgeois hegemony. Gramsci (1971) claimed that the educational system produces intellectuals which give the bourgeoisie "homogeneity and an awareness of its function not only in the economic but also in the social and political fields" (14).

Entwistle believed that Gramsci denounced the traditional classical school as a bourgeois organism in the worse sense of the word because it represented a perverted ideal and Gramsci was clear that its perversion consisted in being a class

school, available to children of the bourgeoisie and denied to those of the working class (Entwistle, H - 1979). The evaluation has to highlight the hidden programme design which is to make people believe that the way in which institutions operate is correct and the manner in which human beings behave is part of human nature.

b.3. Emphasis on the interaction of political and economic structures with cultural systems and their influences on educational institutions, i.e the influence of social factors on school performances and the impact of racism and sex-discrimination within the state and schools. S. Bowles and H. Gintis argue that there is a structural link between the educational system and the economic order. They state that:

"Schools foster legitimate inequality through the ostensibly meritocratic manner by which they reward and promote students, and allocate them to distinct positions in the occupational hierarchy. They create and reinforce patterns of social class, racial and sexual identification among students which allow them to relate 'properly' to their eventual standing in the hierarchy of authority and status in the production process. Schools foster types of personal development compatible with the relationships of dominance and subordination in the economic sphere, and finally, schools create surpluses of skilled labor sufficiently extensive to render effective the prime weapon of the employer in disciplining labor - the power to hire and fire." (15)

In short they believe that schooling prepares individuals for the world of work and forms the skills and attitudes that workers are supposed to have; it cultivates and rewards certain personality traits: passivity, submission to authority or perseverance. They, also, consider that individual responsibility is emphasized for middle-class children and close supervision for working-class children.

This view of the curriculum implies that curriculum evaluation is concerned with questions regarding what should be taught as well as with finding out what happens in the classroom. A definition of evaluation based solely on measuring the achievement of curriculum objectives will not provide educationalists with sufficient evidence to determine why those issues are arising, nor is it likely to be able to help them build up a more appropriate picture of education. Thus, they are committed to looking at evaluation not just from the perspective of the classroom and what goes

on in it, but from the point of view of evaluating whole school curricula issues. In short, the upgrading of the curriculum intends to adopt the stance of cultural pluralism and reinforce the validity of different groupings and viewpoints. Its central idea is that all groups concerned have an equal right to be heard. The upgrading process attempts to provide an analysis of the relationship of the State and education, on the basis of which future priorities can be identified and decisions can be taken about the feasibility, effectiveness and educational value of the curriculum.

C. Education and the nature of the Society.

This section will investigate both the curriculum and the culture of schools which have an impact on students' life chances and highlight the ties schools have to surrounding social order; thus it will be necessary to consider identification of the link between the educational systems and the existing social institutions within its political science discourse.

To date, education is defined as the formal mechanism which leads to the process of socialization. Kant believes that individualism has to be restrained:

"in man those natural capacities which are directed to the use of his reason are to be fully developed only in the race, not in the individual ... The means employed by Nature to bring about the development of all of men in their antagonism in society, so far as this is, in the end, the cause of lawful order among men." (16)

Kant also considers the state as the means by which the invisible force which is inherent in nature's provision for progress can be actualised:

" The history of mankind can be seen in the large as the realisation of Nature's secret plan to bring forth a perfectly constituted state as the only condition in which the capacities of mankind can be fully developed, and also bring forth that external relation among states which is perfectly to this end." (17)

He argues that the essence of progress is a condition impossible without the state. He believes that the government is the actualisation in society of what is hidden, desirable and inevitable in nature's provision for progress.

In any society, schools have a duty to preserve cultural heritage, while at the same time for the individual, schools transmit information and create a sense of commitment to the "dominant pattern".

"The school has, above all, the function of linking the child to this society ... the school is the only moral agent through which the child is able systematically to learn to know and love his country. It is precisely this fact that lends preeminent significance to the part played by the school today in the shaping of national morality." (18)

For Durkheim, society is the source of authority and it is for the sake of society that moral rules exist in the first place. In Durkheim's eyes, education seems to mean the way in which children are acculturated or made into full members of a social group. Accordingly, education could play a central role in fostering social integration in societies. On the one hand, its roles and functions are to act as an agency of socialization transmitting social rules and values; on the other hand, it could be a channel for selecting and training people to fill the many occupations of industrial economics.

The socialization of the young requires, in part, that they learn to appreciate shared meanings and values that exist in the culture at large, and that they internalize these beliefs and values as guides for the conduct of their own future lives. In this case, educational institutions can be seen to be a reflection of the social order, therefore one would expect them to change as society's basic nature changes.

Educational institutions prescribe the process for role-learning and role-taking which is not just based on general knowledge, but they also provide several roles such as those which are consistent with our assumptions about the culture in which we live and our experiences with the social structure we encounter.

"Without a shadow of doubt the most formative influence upon the procedures of socialization, from a sociological point of view, is social class. The class structure influences work and educational roles and brings families into a special relationship with each other and deeply penetrates the structure of life experiences within the family. The class system has deeply marked the distribution of knowledge within society. It has given differential access to the sense that the world is permeable. It has sealed off communities from each other and has ranked these communities on a scale of invidious worth." B. Bernstein (19)

B. Bernstein recognizes that differences in knowledge and differences in class and background, combined with exclusion and rooted in different material well-being, act upon the forms of control and change in the process of socialization of different social classes.

Therefore, it cannot be denied that educational institutions exist within political and economic environments which characterize all societies. As an agency influenced and controlled by the economic and political system, education in any country serves particularly the special interests of groups with power which enforce any kind of system. Thus, schools inculcate in all children a generally benevolent view of the political and economic system governed by societal ideologies, and of the ways the system appears to work to the benefit of all people.

c.1. Societal level.

In any society, where the possession and control of cultural capital is a major determinant of privilege, much of the resources and energy of the state machinery is deployed to ensure that the conditions required for a "normal" and "universal" (Bourdieu & Passeron-1970) culture are reproduced. Bourdieu and Passeron suggest that in society, an "institutionalised cultural capital" constitutes the major form of wealth, thus the middle class and bourgeoisie have a major interest in education.

Bowles and Gintis state:

"... the splintered consciousness of a subordinate class is not the product of cultural phenomena alone, but must be reproduced through the experience of daily life. (20)

To reproduce the social relations of production, the educational system must try to teach people to be properly subordinate and render them sufficiently fragmented in consciousness to preclude their getting together to shape their own material existence." (21)

In Bowles and Gintis's view, there are very specific conditions of life that are central to the human condition itself, in particular, the ownership and control of

essential resources. Furthermore, Marx said:

" In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations which are indispensable and independent of their will; ... The sum total of these relations of production constitutes... the real foundation on which rise legal and political super-structures, and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness". Karl Marx (22)

Marx viewed the material conditions of a society as the basis of its social structure and of human consciousness. His critique of the capitalist economy is that the process of capital accumulation - in the workplace and in schools - consists in effective control over means of production, the process of production and products. Since the bourgeoisie has a particular control over labour in the production process, it also extends this power relation to the State and to other social institutions. As a consequence, Bowles and Gintis considered that these differences in the social relationships - further reinforced by inequalities in financial resources, among and within schools - reflect both the social backgrounds of the students and their likely future economic position. In short, the function and nature of schools are intimately connected with the operation of the economic structure.

Bowles argues that:

"- schools have evolved in the United States not as part of a pursuit of equality, but rather to meet the needs of capitalist employers for a disciplined and skilled labor force, and to provide a mechanism for social control in the interests of political stability.

- as the economic importance of skilled and well educated labor has grown, inequalities in the school system have become increasingly important in reproducing the class structure from one generation to the next." (23)

He acknowledges that the unequal distribution of political power serves to maintain inequalities in education. He also emphasizes the fact that inequalities in education are part of the network of capitalist society and are likely to remain as long as capitalism survives.

Hence, educational philosophies and structures serve ideological functions, maintaining and legitimising the existing structure of dominance. This directs the attention to the structural features of educational institutions which are influenced by

the structure of dominance in society, particularly political and economic dominances, which in turn have important influences upon educational outcomes.

Furthermore, S. Bowles defines the social division of labour - based on the hierarchical structure of production - as responsible to the rise of distinct class sub-cultures:

"The values, personality traits, and expectations characteristic of each subculture are transmitted from generation to generation through class differences in family socialization and complementary differences in the type and amount of schooling ordinarily attained by children of various class positions. These class differences in schooling are maintained in large measure through the capacity of the upper class to control the basic principles of school finance, pupil evaluation, and educational objectives."(24)

He admits that pupils and parents' aspirations and expectations concerning both the type and the amount of schooling are strongly related to social class.

Further, Apple puts an analysis of the political and ideological powers at work in or through a society. He especially considers institutions, and in particular schools, as ideological breeding grounds. In "Ideology and Curriculum" (Apple, M - 1979), he presents a synthesis of the political issues which permeate the day-to-day curricular and pedagogic theories and practices. He suggests that the structuring of knowledge and symbol in educational institutions is intimately related to the principles of social and cultural control in a society. However, he implies that:

"... one of our basic problems as educators and as political beings, then, is to begin to grapple with ways of understanding how the kinds of cultural resources and symbols schools select and organize are dialectically related to the kinds of normative and conceptual consciousness 'required' by a stratified society." (25)

He argues that mobility, selection and the reproduction of the division of labour are important but he believes that they provide an inadequate appraisal of the way these outcomes are created by schooling. He advocates that schools maintain social control and the unequal or stratified society:

"... there also seems to be symbolic property - cultural capital - which schools preserve and distribute. Thus, we can now begin to get a more thorough understanding of how institutions of cultural preservation and distribution like schools create and recreate forms of consciousness that enable social control to be maintained without the necessity of dominant groups having to resort to overt mechanisms of domination." (26)

He develops this by suggesting that one must situate: (1) the school as an institution, (2) the knowledge forms, and (3) the educator him or herself within the larger nexus of relations of which it is a constitutive part. Apple turns to Raymond Williams and concurs with his view that the concept of hegemony is the key to understanding how social control and the stratified society are maintained:

"It is Gramsci's great contribution to have emphasized hegemony, and also to have understood it at a depth which is, I think, rare. For hegemony supposes the existence of something which is truly total, which is not merely secondary or superstructural, like the weak sense of ideology, but which is lived at such depth, which saturates the society to such an extent, and which, as Gramsci put it, even constitutes the limit of commonsense for most people under its sway, that it corresponds to the reality of social experience very much more clearly than any notions derived from the formula of base and superstructure. For if ideology were merely some abstract imposed notion, if our social and political and cultural ideas and assumptions and habits were merely the result of specific manipulation, of a kind of overt training which might be simply ended or withdrawn, then the society would be very much easier to move and to change than in practice it has been or is. This notion of hegemony as deeply saturating the consciousness of society seems to be fundamental... [It] emphasizes the facts of domination." Raymond Williams (27)

He indicates that hegemony impregnates the economic and social world and interacts with and the commonsense interpretations people put on it so that it becomes the world tout court, the only world or the only way of viewing the world. He puts an emphasis on the concept of relations, what he advocates is a "relational analysis" that will help to highlight how social action, cultural and educational issues and artefacts are given value rationally by their complex ties and connections to how a society is organised and controlled. His thinking could be interpreted as a theory of social justice which would require the progressive articulation of and commitment to a social order which was based on the maximisation of economic, social and educational equality and not on the accumulation of productions, profits and credentials.

The educational researcher is urged, by Apple, to see how schools operate first hand, to comprehend how the day-to-day regularities of teaching and learning in schools produce the political, social, ethical and economic interests and commitments which are easily accepted as the way life really is. The researcher, he advocates, must have peculiarly Marxist sensitivity to the present as history, to see the

historical roots and conflicts which caused these institutions to be what they are today.

"Without this dual understanding, it is that much more difficult to comprehend completely the economic and cultural 'functions' of our educational institutions." (28)

Apple asserts that it is difficult to understand the past and the present problems of the form and content of curriculum without disclosing the complex network linking cultural and economic reproduction. He recognizes that hegemony and ideological stability is reproduced through the interplay between curriculum knowledge, the "legitimate culture" and the social relations of classroom life. He claims that given the existing economic and political forms which now provide the principles upon which so much people's everyday lives are organized, this reproductive process is a "logical necessity" for the continued maintenance of the unequal social order.

Apple regards schools as institutions which embody collective traditions and human interactions which, in turn, are the products of identifiable social and economic ideologies. He states that the curriculum responds to and represents ideological and cultural resources which come from somewhere. Yet, not all groups' values are represented and not all groups' values are responded to. He asks

"how, then, do schools act to distribute this cultural capital? Whose reality 'stalks' in the corridors and classrooms of American schools?" (29)

In his analysis, he describes the historical process through which certain values became the school values and consequently have the weight of decades of acceptance behind them. From a study of kindergarten experience, he gives evidence to the influential and staging power of these particular values. He suggests that schools in their teaching of cultural and economic values and attitudes which are supposedly shared by all, are used for hegemonic purposes, while at the same time, they guarantee that only a specified number of students are selected for higher education because of their ability to contribute to the maximisation of the production of technical knowledge required by the economy..

Apple's work shows how ideological considerations have an effect on and permeate the society through its economics, culture and institutions. He highlights how schools are of paramount importance in this process by creating, recreating and distributing these dominant ideologies which results in a artificial consensus, that is to say where people accept and agree that this is the way the world really is. He claims that hegemony is more than a system allocating cultural capital through the schools. For Apple, hegemony also integrates the production of cultural capital required by a collective society.

c.2. Institutional level.

Members of society have to accept the formal curriculum in order to succeed within the school system initially, and later in life. The successful absorption of the formal curriculum is only achieved at the expense of personal interest, research, curiosity and creativity. Simultaneously, the curriculum engenders a sort of fear in the child that he/she must conform to institutional definitions, otherwise he/she will fail. It is obvious that school is indeed a training for future life, not because it teaches the 3Rs, but because it inculcates both essential cultural aspirations to succeed and a fear of failure.

In transmitting ideas, beliefs, values and meaning throughout the curriculum, it is necessary to ask what exactly are the aims of the school?. Up until now, school has always reproduced the structure of the socio-economic group considered to be the "cultivated" norm. By this very fact, the transmission of the values and beliefs of the dominant culture places children from an affluent background in a more favourable position for policy making and so the curriculum is used to their advantage.

"Ainsi, dans une société où l'obtention des privilèges sociaux dépend de plus en plus étroitement de la possession de titres scolaires, l'Ecole n'a pas seulement pour fonction d'assurer la succession discrète à des droits de bourgeoisie qui ne sauraient plus se transmettre d'une manière directe et déclarée. Instrument privilégié de la sociodicée bourgeoise qui confère aux privilégiés le privilège suprême de ne pas s'apparaître comme privilégiés, elle parvient d'autant plus facilement à convaincre les déshérités qu'ils doivent leur destin scolaire et social à leur défaut de dons ou de mérites qu'en matière de culture la

dépossession absolue exclut la conscience de la dépossession." Pierre Bourdieu* (30)

Pierre Bourdieu points out that the structure of societal dominance and ideologies are related to prevailing educational ideologies and ideas and that social reality is established in this manner. He is of the opinion that the school system has the function of legitimizing, and at the same time perpetuating privileges conditioned by social "merit" or by status or class. In his view, the educational system assures the continued transference of a cultural privilege, thus maintaining an established hierarchy within social classes; this reality can be further extended to include the established international hierarchy within world nations. He also suggests that education embodies the most effective and influential means of preserving the existing social pattern, and notes that while the educational system recognizes cultural tradition, this can in turn provide an apparent justification for social inequalities; - for "social privileges" are often considered as "natural" gifts. Consequently, the educational philosophy and concept such as "merit" and "equal opportunity", the concept and practice of IQ testing, the concept of "cultural deprivation", and the definition of curriculum and achievement must be seen as being socially moulded and conditioned (Bourdieu, Pierre-1970 - Bernstein, B-1974).

Like Bourdieu, Bowles and Gintis admit that educational institutions' aims are to endorse the social mechanism of the hereditary transmission of cultural principals. In this respect, we can refer to the key concept of Bourdieu's work which is " Symbolic power ", a power which is on a par with another key concept; " Symbolic violence ". Symbolic violence is an unknown violence, that is to say, a violence which is acknowledged, implicitly or explicitly, as legitimate. He maintains that, while the entire population may not be oppressed, they are all the same completely

* Thus, in a society in which the obtaining of social privileges depends more and more closely on the possession of academic titles, the school does not just have the function of ensuring discreet succession to bourgeois rights which cannot be transmitted directly and openly. This privileged instrument of the bourgeois sociodicy which confers on the privileged the supreme privilege of not seeing themselves as privileged manages the more easily to convince the disinherited that they owe their scholastic and social destiny to their lack of gifts or merit, because in matters of culture absolute dispossession excludes awareness of being disposed.

restrained by the laws and regulations which confine them. Thus prevailing ideas and practices are supported by the claims that they are based on "cultivated" norms and an unbiased reality.

According to this perspective, the entire normalizing mechanism and the site of this normalization are considered to be the family home, the classroom, the office, the university and the church. Therefore, educational institutions promulgate their power by shaping individuals into a unified, obedient and militant force and by disciplining all children into behaving "normally" and "reasonably".

At this point, the study of the institutional level can examine the "hidden curriculum" which communicates a hidden programme of attitudes and perceptions. As to B. Bernstein, he argues that:

"The basic difference between visible and invisible pedagogies is in the manner in which criteria are transmitted and in the degree of specificity of the criteria... The more implicit the manner of transmission and the more diffuse the criteria, the more invisible the pedagogy, the more specific the criteria, the more explicit the manner of their transmission, the more visible the pedagogy." (31)

He suggests that the hidden curriculum is designed to make people believe that the way in which institutions operate is correct and the manner in which human beings behave is part of human nature. In the school, the hidden curriculum's function is essentially to have pupils acquire an ability to use and master time, accept the judgments of teachers, learn to give the teachers what they want, to be able to command the language of the classroom....

It is appropriate at this juncture to consider specific issues relating to the political role that examinations can play in social evaluation. In the examination system, specific subject groups are awarded higher status than others. Today, the memorisation of facts is still a major requirement for success in exams. The aptitude of pupils is measured by the efficiency of their powers of recall. Examinations not only indicate socially valued knowledge, but they also act as regulators in the

school system. In fact they act as filters because of the common view that only a certain intellect can benefit from academic education coupled with the notion that only a certain proportion of the population retains such an ability. Consequently, the selection procedures are used to divert a wide range of children to non-academic schooling.

D. The motive for an enhancement of curricula in the educational process.

The motive for an enhancement is to provide some form of assurance that the stipulated pedagogical objectives, content of instruction, teaching-learning strategies and planned materials will lead to the achievement of outlined educational goals. This will help to define how well activities have been selected and presented which in turn will ensure the elimination of shortcomings and make up for inadequacies in planning and development, thus saving both the investment of human and financial resources in the piloting of activities and materials.

"Even though there is an increased demand for equality of educational opportunity from minorities and an increased demand from majorities (given that both women and the working class are majorities of any population)... at the same time the economic climate, the recession, unemployment, fewer jobs, make this difficult. While changing technologies require more education, while there is the likelihood of increased leisure, of people living longer, all these trends pointing towards greater provision of education for adults; at the same time the financial side is restricted. Does paying for education depend on increasing the wealth of the country or (more cynically) will it be cheap at the price to allow people to have more education when we haven't enough jobs to occupy them?"
Naomi McIntosh (32)

From Naomi McIntosh's point of view, the general assumption is that education is the fundamental process of acquiring knowledge and the more one gets of it the better-off one will be. Yet, it is not only a question of improving everyone's chance to compete within the actual world, but also of requiring a radical change in the nature of what is being offered. Hence, by looking at change within its societal context, one can, therefore, further pursue the social implications of an enhancement of the curriculum. Its role is to outline the social impact on the educational system and demonstrate the political role that education can play. Change will

provide a basis of action for the future, with the motive for an enhancement of the curriculum and by extension helping people to live better. It is concerned with the effectiveness of the curriculum being implemented and it represents efforts made which determine the impact of innovation.

The role of change is then to create a sense of responsibility with a view to clarifying objectives, and thus to provide information about ways of assisting teachers understand the meaning of these objectives:

"Over the years more and more people of different cultures and nationalities have settled in the United Kingdom providing a diversity of races, religious beliefs, traditions, art forms and languages, all of which play a part in the enrichment of the culture and traditions of British society. The multicultural nature of our society has implications for the education of all children, young people and adults and, accordingly, all schools, colleges of further education and community education centres have a responsibility to play a part in ensuring that all individuals have an understanding of what is meant by living in a multicultural society.

Lothian Region Department of Education is committed to encouraging arrangements which promote equality of opportunity in respect of educational, social and recreational activities for all age groups. This includes the fostering of good relations between people of different racial groups and active discouragement of adverse attitudes and activities."
Lothian Region (33)

That is to say, such an enhancement must equip teachers with the necessary tools for educating all pupils from different backgrounds or communities, give them a knowledge and understanding of the issues so that they can evaluate materials and activities with a view to developing a pluralist approach to the curriculum, to countering the influence of underachievement and discrimination and to challenging inherited myths and stereotypes already embodied in institutional practices.

In this respect, change assumes a major responsibility in determining whether or not a particular programme will continue to be effective in fulfilling its original educational objectives. At the sign of any significant shortcoming in the curriculum, change will define whether it is totally or partly, inadequate, whether it is unintended or intended, or if it is a combination of all of these factors.

To do so, it must therefore be able to identify the cause or source of deficiency by means of precise data collection and analysis. Sometimes, the causes will be evident, i.e teachers failing to implement a proposed method or policy, institutions refusing to admit the close correlation of school performance with socio-economic status and social class or the curriculum remaining untouched and unchanged despite the presence of minority groups. In other cases, inadequacies could be caused by some built-in but hidden characteristic of the educational programme itself. Without knowledge of the cause and source of such shortcomings, it will be difficult to work out any relevant and effective solutions.

Once this is identified, however, and measures are taken to improve the effectiveness of an inadequate programme or method, change will create the necessary steps to investigate the efficacy of reparable measures. It will also continue to provide the decision makers and curriculum developers with relevant and appropriate information.

In short, it is advisable to outline the specific motive for an enhancement of the curriculum in terms of decision-oriented activities which implies three major functions:

d.1. selection of the content of the programme.

Questions must be asked concerning what should be taught, what should be included in the programme, and what strategies should be employed.

d.2. adjustment of particular aspects of the programme .

Some elements of the curriculum are overtly biased which can only result in a detrimental effect on children and students. The process of change will bring such problems to light and will also help educationalists improve the pedagogical programmes by raising awareness of such issues and thereby placing them on the educational agenda for action.

d.3. definition of the use of the programme.

The object of change will be to recommend how and under what conditions the new

programme should be used. Guidelines will need to be given regarding teacher training, improvement of materials, involvement and support of the local, national and international community, and so on. Meanwhile, the stipulation of conditions will constitute a basis for selection or rejection of a particular programme/materials.

E. Aims and objectives of an International Curriculum.

The Swann report - "Education for All" - Chairman: Lord Swann FRSE (1985) - suggests that education ought to be changed and restructured to reduce tensions and conflicts between groups of young people growing up in an ethnically diverse society.

"... a failure to broaden the perspectives presented to all pupils - particularly those from the ethnic majority community - through their education not only leaves them inadequately prepared for adult life but also constitutes a fundamental mis-education, in failing to reflect the diversity which is now a fact of life in this country." (34)

For this reason, the motive for an enhancement of the curriculum is to create a cohesive society within the cultural diversity. It must emphasize the acquisition and understanding of the common values of each society, and the appreciation, understanding of and respect for cultures represented within the latter, that is to say of both majority and minority ethnic groups. Its strategy is to concentrate on the allocation of resources, but also to address structural reforms, as the practice of multi-culturalism must match policy intention.

The enhancement of the curriculum must also consider the effective redistribution of income and power thus implying that the key concern of change is to pave major steps towards incorporating an international curriculum into the broader reform of any national and international educational system. It can therefore be seen to be principally concerned with giving access to, and encouraging the working class, disadvantaged and minority ethnic groups to participate on an equal basis not only in education but also in political and economic activities in any given Society....

The Swann Report has strongly argued for the notion of "Education for All". It claims:

" We believe it is essential to change fundamentally the terms of the debate about the educational response to today's multi-racial society and to look ahead to educating **all** children from whatever ethnic group, to an understanding of the shared values of our society as a whole as well as to an appreciation of the diversity of lifestyles and cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds which make up this society and the wider world ."
(35)

The Swann Report clearly advocates and promotes the concept of "Education for All". Yet, it must also be the motive for enhancement of the curriculum not only to promote in each society or nation the concept of education for all, but multicultural education must also be directed towards social reconstruction rather than leading to the maintenance of the status quo. If education for cultural pluralism is to be effective, change must stress not only the special needs of the working class, disadvantaged and minority ethnic groups but also the education of the majority in terms of their values and the way they relate to working class, disadvantaged and minority ethnic groups. It must attempt to ease and encourage the co-habitation of both the majority and minorities with the aim of living in a free society, sharing equal rights and privileges as well as maintaining the right to cultural diversity within a political and economic framework.

For these aims to be achieved, the change process must convince the ruling powers (national and international) to face up to this unavoidable fact in education. International policies must be prioritised, in order to ensure that the working class, disadvantaged and minority ethnic groups will be able to obtain access to educational and broader social equality. Similarly, the right of any group to secure their own legitimate and distinctive cultures, within the context of national and international institutions must be equally respected. This implies the acceptance of common shared values such as the commitment to justice and human rights, as well as a commitment to improved human relations through dialogue rather than by means of any kind of violence, not only within their own nation state, but internationally as well.

Accordingly, the major results of an enhancement of the curriculum may be defined as addressing the following issues:

1- the provision of a route for all children to obtain educational equality of opportunity and develop their potential to the full within the educational system regardless of "race", gender and class,

2- the enhancement of cultural diversity as opposed to the sole maintenance of existing cultures,

3- emphasis on the development of an international curriculum at local, national and international levels geared towards the promotion and expansion of global school programmes,

4- the necessity for local, national and international initiatives to improve resource allocation to deprived areas in a consistent manner,

5- the identification of the need to maintain active educational debate on the matter at a local, national and international level,

6- the promotion of a sense of shared values, rights and access to political power and economic success,

7- pluralism - the acceptance and tolerance of the working class, disadvantaged and minority ethnic groups by dominant and majority groups or communities.

"People at the top should be publicly stating that racism is evil and ... those schools trying their best, in sensitive ways, to change racism should be commended. On the other hand, teachers must cease to give the impression that they are acting in a maverick way - they must consult at every level in a democratic way on any proposal for curriculum change in schools." (36)

Roberts in 1987, deplored the lack of consultation over multicultural issues in the national curriculum and the lack of leadership offered by senior Ministers.

As for Madan Sarup, he suggests that:

"There will have to be an attempt to involve everyone in a form of politics concerned with the democratization of educational institutions and practices. An attempt must be

made to build on the diverse initiatives of different groups of peoples; women's groups, black organizations, tenant associations, trades councils, shop stewards committees, socialist centres and bookshops, local action committees. Alliances will have to be made linking as many of these diverse extra parliamentary movements as possible." (37)

It would be, however, naive to assume that an international curriculum will itself put right the social, cultural, political and economic disadvantages faced by a great number of the world's population, especially the working classes, disadvantaged and minority ethnic groups in industrialized and third world countries. Yet, the fundamental basis for and intertwining of attitudes fostered in schools through an effective international curriculum can indeed contribute to a steady change in the behaviour of individuals from different backgrounds, sex and ethnic groups and thus point the way towards better relations. At a rally in the New Orleans Superdome, Jesse Jackson, to a multi-racial audience, insisted upon:

"The mountain you must conquer is the mountain of effort. Nobody can save us from us, for us but us. There is nothing more powerful in the world than development of the mind and a strong character." (38)

The main goals of an international curriculum within the educational context must be to provide all teachers, students and pupils with the skills, knowledge and attitudes they need if they are to function effectively in our present and future society. Every one must be aware that cultural diversity is a fact of life in almost all countries of the World today and is not as seen by some to be an optional aspect of the educational debate. To begin with, international bodies - E.E.C, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (O.E.C.D.)..., with the help of the governments, local authorities and the U.N.E.S.C.O., should build up a bank of knowledge for different subjects such as language, history, geography and cultural issues which should be in charge of controlling and (re) editing teaching materials, verifying and accelerating the change of materials in close conjunction with the changes of curricula, as well as supplying countries whose needs have priority.

Chapter I: Evaluation

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CHAPTER II. Educational Systems: France - England and Wales.

This study is to explain the historical causes of the different patterns of education which have emerged in France and England and Wales; and to draw attention to the important implication of social action to change educational institutions and the social order. It aims to highlight the reasoning behind the separate systems; also to determine what social and political factors have underlain the development of the two distinctive systems.

This chapter will look at the differing educational systems in France and England and Wales because the two countries were colonial powers and many of the world educational systems are based on these two. The international curriculum will cover class, gender as well as race, and the case study will also highlight how the class system and the low status of women were perpetuated through the education systems. Chapter III will consider the education system which exists in Madagascar - a system which was influenced by both England and France.

It is suggested by many that the motivation behind imperialism is economic, as Paul Leroy-Beaulieu summed it up in 1874:

"The most useful function which colonies perform... is to supply the mother country's trade with a ready made market to get its industry going and maintain it, and to supply the inhabitants of the mother country - whether as industrialists, workers or consumers - with increased profits, wages or commodities." (1)

through the exploitation of cheap labour and resources, and the opening up of new markets. Others suggest that non-economic factors are involved including nationalism, racism and the pursuit of international power.

"It is not industrial progress that demands the opening up of new markets and areas of investment, but maldistribution of consuming power which prevents the absorption of commodities and capital within the country. The struggle for markets, the greater eagerness of producers to sell than of consumers to buy, is the crowning proof of a false economy of distribution. Imperialism is the fruit of this false economy; 'social reform' is its remedy." J.A Hobson (2)

Hobson was the first to link imperialism with restriction generated by the limited interior market. The main era of imperialism fell between 1880-1914, and can be

defined as a belief in the desirability of establishing European direct rule on territories in Africa and Asia. Nowadays, although the outward signs of a European empire have largely disappeared, there is an increasing number of countries which are still subjugated by the economic and cultural powers of the industrialized countries, through not by direct rule.

Education, one of many institutions, initiated the conditions of dependency and the inevitable relationship to colonialism. The domination of one nation by another has been exercised for the conqueror's end by the establishment of schools to fit in with the European concepts. The Quakers made their points very clear to their missionaries; although education had its place in the mission, at no time was it to take precedence over the evangelising programme;

"Educational work is considered to be secondary to the main purpose of a mission, but it is intended to be largely instrumental in the furtherance of the Gospel, and it is understood that all educational work is undertaken with that end in view." (3)

The most important intervention of education was in the cultural alienation which was to establish itself and to affect the conquered nations, even until nowadays.

One must realize the importance of history and its potential as a means of illustrating the Western imperial thrust and the psychological urge to unify the entire globe under the domination of a single regional centre, such as "the North". The monocultural bias is evident in what the schools teach and the way they teach. The history curriculum concentrates on the history of France or Britain, and to some extent, parts of Europe and America and treats the civilizations of the "South" in a superficial manner. In order to clarify and illuminate both a certain tradition of thought on race and race relations in European intellectual and political life and establish the links between imperial race ideology and educational dependency and more recent phases of issues on the "New World Order" and cultural domination.

This chapter intends to demonstrate that the evolution of "international relations" and world education are inextricably linked to certain facts drawn from history and from present reality. In doing so, it, therefore, invites policy makers, educa-

tionalists, parents and students to broaden their understanding in a way that might well improve human relations.

A. Why focus on these countries?

Gramsci employs the concept of hegemony to denote a form of social and political control which integrates physical force or pressure with intellectual, moral and cultural persuasion or consent. In the context of complex western societies, Gramsci views the consensual aspect of this dual strategy as particularly important:

"The methodological criterion on which our study must be based is the following: that the supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as "domination" and as "intellectual and moral leadership". A social group dominates antagonistic groups, which it tends to "liquidate" or to subjugate perhaps even by armed force; it leads kindred and allied groups. A social group can, and indeed must, already exercise "leadership" before winning governmental power (this indeed is one of the principal conditions for the winning of such power); it subsequently becomes dominant when it exercises power, but even if it holds it firmly in its grasp, it must continue to "lead" as well." Gramsci, A. (4)

There is therefore a polemical strategy available to the dominant group in society. Either it can use direct physical force by such means as the army and the penal system to overcome its opponents, or it can gain their support as it were "willingly" by persuading them to accept and assimilate the norms and values of its own prevailing world-view. On the one hand, it appears that hegemony calls for and requires "leadership", which means that hegemonic social control does not arise spontaneously but has to be actively created. On the other hand, if a social group is to be successful in its aims, it must exercise leadership before the critical moment of social upheaval. In short, Gramsci's concept of hegemony suggests that social control is maintained by a combination of force and consent, and that although these forms of control are usually associated with the State - army, judiciary... - and the institutions of civil society - family, educational system... - respectively, either means of social control is available within both institutional state. However, hegemony exercised intellectually through the institutions of civil society is defined by Gramsci as the consensual control which arises when individuals "willingly" or "voluntarily" assimilate the world-view or hegemony of the dominant group; an assimilation which allows that group to be hegemonic.

Accordingly, the understanding of the development of educational systems in France and England and Wales can only be achieved in relation to the process of state formation which gives weight to the construction of the political and administrative apparatus of the nations mentioned, but also the formation of ideologies and collective beliefs which legitimate state power. The development of both educational systems occurred in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but it developed in different ways and it is in the specific national forms of state formation, of which educational development is a part, that the key to the variable and distinctive development of educational systems lies. There can be no doubt about the existence of certain traditionally recognised differences - French "intelligence and chauvinism" and British "phlegm and tenacity" - Europe in the nineteenth century was dominated by these two imperial and major industrializing forces.

"...European powers including Britain, France and Italy had carved off bits of it (a combination of indigenous and external forms of government) as colonies or protectorates of their own, while afterwards Britain and France ruled most of the remaining Arab territories in conjunction with local dynasties." Christopher Clapham (5)

The legacy of imperialism nevertheless remains a strong influence upon African's place - i.e. Madagascar - in contemporary world politics. France and Great Britain were the most intrepid colonizers while Madagascar, in its attempt at state-building, developed a British connection to counterbalance the more insistent pressures of the French. Since 1817, British officers had trained the army, members of the London Missionary Society had established an educational system and a treaty with Britain had recognized the Merina claim to control the whole island. The French had claimed jurisdiction over all or part of the island since the beginning of the century, and these claims were pressed with growing insistence under the Third Republic in response to the development of imperialist competition in Europe.

In the second half of the century, Prussia and the United States became serious competitors. While the French Revolution of 1789 led to the declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, the Industrial Revolution in England marked the advent of machinery, thus completing the picture of the Contemporary scene.

It is indisputable that the Glorious Revolution in 1688 and the French Revolution in 1789 brought fundamental changes for the middle class and the bourgeoisie. In France, noble privilege and seigneurialism were abolished. Gone was the system of indirect rule in which the affairs of the absolutist state were handled by local officials drawn from the church and nobility. The Revolutions had created a massive state edifice which continued to represent a powerful pole attraction for sections of the bourgeoisie seeking social advancement in a state which was now open to privilege and elitism.

"La ruine de l'aristocratie foncière et de ses privilèges a été poursuivie par la bourgeoisie révolutionnaire, aidée par la paysannerie et la sans-culotterie, avec un acharnement multiplié par les résistances." A. Soboul* (6)

While in England, M. Ashley recognized that:

"...understandably the ordinary English people in the late seventeenth century hesitated to take part in another civil war. But they looked for leadership and accepted it when it was offered." (7)

Both the English and French Revolutions had evolved from coalitions of popular movements from below with bourgeois forces to carry through political revolutions, vital to the further advancement of capitalism in both countries. The coalition of small producers and the Bourgeoisie was a crucial factor in the overthrow of the "ancien Régime".

In England, a new type of state was coming into being by the end of the seventeenth century. Unlike the French state, the English state no longer served as a vehicle for the aristocracy to extract economic surpluses from a subject peasantry through taxation and office holding. A constitutional monarchy was financially subordinate to Parliament; in other words, local government was in the hands of the national rulers and discipline was imposed on the lower orders by a church subordinated to Parliament. In France, the most immediate achievement was the destruction of the feudal basis of the ancien régime thus paving the way for the development of these bourgeois principles which were emerging in the earlier period. It culminated in the centralized and elitist bourgeois state of the Napoleonic

* The ruin of the landed aristocracy and its privileges has been carried on by the revolutionary bourgeoisie, helped by the peasantry and the 'sans-culotterie' (the republicans), with an increased determination to resist.

Empire.

The transformation of the ruling elite had, undoubtedly, important political implications for each country, but in many ways it was the refashioned bureaucracy that became the crucial agent of the modern state. In this respect, England and France differ greatly. The development of the French administrative apparatus, rooted in the "ancien régime", preceded political change and the rudimentary political parties of the nineteenth century. The beginning of the revolutionary upheavals in France coincided with the centenary of the Glorious Revolution of 1688-89, which had formed the climax of the constitutional struggles within seventeenth century England, from the time of the creation of modern France, its growth and national self-image had been conditioned by rivalry with the monarchy of the United Kingdom.

The fortunes of the two countries had also been inextricably interwoven as had their cultural development. The history of one cannot be understood without the history of the other. Only six years before the Revolution, France had been a principal instrument in the destruction of the British Empire in North America. Nothing that happened in France could leave Britain indifferent, as was to be proved throughout the nineteenth century. After Waterloo, Britain was never again in direct conflict with France, though there were, it has to be said, some near misses.

I. The route to a centralized system of education in France

1. The French revolution.

"La Révolution française ne s'en situe pas moins au coeur même de l'histoire du monde contemporain, au carrefour des divers courants sociaux et politiques qui ont partagé les nations et les partagent encore. Révolution française, elle constitue par l'abolition sans compromis de la féodalité et du privilège aristocratique, le point de départ de la société moderne capitaliste et du système représentatif dans l'histoire de la France... Révolution paysanne et populaire, la Révolution française tendit par deux fois à dépasser ses limites bourgeoises... Ainsi s'expliquent sans doute ces vains efforts pour nier à la Révolution française, précédent dangereux, sa réalité historique ou sa spécificité sociale et nationale. Mais aussi s'expliquent aussi le tressaillement qu'a ressenti le monde et le retentissement

de la Révolution française dans la conscience des hommes de notre siècle". A. Soboul* (8)

The outbreak of revolution in a country long regarded as the prime example of an absolute monarchy was hailed as convincing proof that a new age of liberty was at hand. The revolution produced a political earthquake sending seismic shocks throughout Europe.

It abolished all titles of nobility and hereditary distinctions. Some Frenchmen had in principle the basic rights of citizenship, though not all had the vote. Legislative power was to be in the hands of a freely elected Legislative Assembly; supreme executive power was delegated by the nation to the monarchy whose title was fixed by primogeniture in the male line of the reigning family; judicial power was put in the hands of popularly elected judges. Within a few short months the strongest monarch in Europe was humiliated by his subjects; the established privileges of the aristocracy were refuted, the church was placed under secular control; the "inalienable Rights of Man" were proclaimed and a representative assembly was charged with drawing up a new Constitution.

2. The making of Bourgeois France

At its upper level, the French nobility suffered a severe challenge from a minority whose conditions of life drew them to the bourgeoisie and gave them liberal ideas. This minority was envious of the English Lords who enriched themselves in bourgeois ways and who by sitting in Parliament formed the ministry and government of the country (Crossley & Small-1989). At a lower level the nobility also suffered from dissatisfaction. Many younger sons dreamed of a new order in which they should have a place; disappointed with their uneventful life, they longed for

* The French Revolution lies at the very heart of contemporary world history at a crossroads of the various social and political currents which have divided - and still do - nation against nation. A classic bourgeois revolution, its uncompromising abolition of the feudal system and the seigniorial 'regime' make it the starting point for capitalist society and the liberal representative system in the history of France. A revolution of both peasants and the popular masses, it twice went beyond its bourgeois limits... Herein undoubtedly lies the explanation of the vain attempts to deny the French Revolution - that dangerous precedent - its historical reality and its specific social and national character. It also accounts for the way it shook the world and the way it still echoes in the mind of men, an event to inspire and stir the spirit.

adventure and were concerned with establishing the precise nature of the new elite. France saw a struggle for power between groups who felt entitled to have a say in how France should henceforth be governed.

"Par la destruction des structures féodales et la proclamation de la liberté économique, la révolution a déblayé le terrain devant le capitalisme dont elle a accéléré l'évolution ... Pour rallier les classes populaires, elle dut porter un premier plan le principe de l'égalité des droits qu'elle n'avait d'abord invoqué qu'à l'encontre de l'aristocratie ... La Révolution est à l'origine de la société et de l'Etat bourgeois ..." A. Soboul* (9)

The Bourgeoisie was eager to create new social and political forms with the help, if need be, of the people. The growing radicalism of the Revolution was the realization of the Bourgeoisie's unrelenting desire as a coherent class to destroy feudalism (Soboul-1970-1983). This goal which had implied a series of bourgeois concessions in both the town and country to the popular masses without whose support the Bourgeoisie could never have destroyed the monarchy and the nobility, the two bulwarks of the traditional feudal social order. The broad majority of the French Bourgeoisie and aristocracy increasingly came together as a new social elite expressing itself unequivocally through an ideology that placed capitalism above the defence of the community and whose foundations lay in a commitment to individualism and property (Soboul-1970-1983).

3. The moulding of the French educational system

i. On an institutional and ideological level

The outbreak of the revolution in France marked a new era of state formation and the development of education was inevitably closely interwoven with this process.

"Bien entendu, un tel genre de vie comporte des inconvénients d'ordre intellectuel et moral. Horizon étroit, comme celui qui borne la vue: c'est à l'éducateur à le corriger, en ouvrant autour du clocher, les perspectives les plus vastes de la nation, de la patrie, avec toutes les grandes idées qu'elles évoquent." A. Dauzat* (10)

The most immediate achievement of the Revolution was the destruction of the

* By the destruction of the feudal structures and the announcement of economic freedom, the revolution cleared the ground before capitalism and accelerated its evolution... To win over the people, it had, in the first place, to bring the principle of equal right which, at first, was only put forward against the aristocracy... The Revolution is the source of the bourgeois society and state.

* Of course, such a course of life produces some disadvantages in the intellectual and moral order. A narrow horizon like this one restricts the view: it is up to the educator to correct it, by opening up the parochial view to the widest perspectives of the nation, of homeland, with all the great ideas which they evoke.

feudal basis of the "Ancien Régime", thus paving the way for the development of the bourgeois principles which had emerged in the earlier period. As Antonio Gramsci defined:

"La classe bourgeoise se pose elle-même comme un organisme en continuel mouvement, capable d'absorber toute la société, en l'assimilant à son niveau culturel et économique: toute la fonction de l'Etat est transformée: l'Etat devient 'éducateur'."** (11)

It, therefore, culminated in the centralized and elitist bourgeois state of the Napoleonic Empire and it was in this context that the apparatus of national education first emerged with the creation of the Napoleonic University. Education was acknowledged to be an indispensable instrument for forging national unity, supplying the state with its trained cadres and for raising popular consciousness of the ideologies of the new classes (Edwy Plenel-1977).

The Revolution, thus, consolidated the principle of secular, state controlled education whose object was to serve the state and foster national and republican ideals.

"L'éducation doit être sous l'inspection de la puissance publique parce qu'elle doit être toute dirigée pour l'utilité générale et pour le bien de l'Etat, elle ne doit point éprouver les variations de vue d'une administration particulière." Lamoignon; the first president of the Parliament of Paris*** (12)

It, then, continued and reinforced the tradition of technical and vocational training through state institutions, developed a model of a modern meritocratic secondary school, and finally, established an ideology of education as a right - a vehicle of social equality. The significance of centralization in French education was to project bourgeois culture as the universal norm, but also it provided a potent vehicle of bourgeois hegemony in France (Edwy Plenel-1977). Louis-Henri Parias argued that centralization played a major role in the securing of bourgeois hegemony in the way in which it constructed classes occupationally and in the manner in which instruction was given. The single most important contribution of French education to bourgeois society was probably its role in fostering the idea of national unity

** The bourgeois class poses itself as a body in constant movement, able to absorb all society, by assimilating it into its cultural and economic level: the whole function of the State is transformed: the State becomes 'educator'.

*** Education must be under the inspection of public power because it must all be directed to general benefit and good of the State, it must not test the changes of view of a particular administration.

through its assiduous cultivation of patriotic values and of a particular concept of French nationhood.

The necessity of a state system was proclaimed by successive revolutionary Assemblies. The legislative provision for primary instruction in 1793 and primary level education was thus essentially an instrument of social conformity. Its effect on the class structure was regulatory and consolidative, specially designed to counter excessive ambition and to limit social mobility. Thus, education was designed to limit not promote (Louis-Henri Parias-1981).

The "écoles centrales" in 1795 (secondary education) , however, were a different matter and stood in a different relation to the process of class formation. The difference lay chiefly in that secondary education was, in a sense, a vehicle of social transformation. It was one of the means by which the Bourgeoisie was formed as a class. It stood for careers open to talent and the means by which the Middle class could ensure its continued social ascendancy. It had to proclaim itself meritocratic because through this route only could it remain a rampart against aristocratic privilege. In this sense it continued to represent the principle of 1789 (Louis-Henri Parias-1981 - Andy Green-1990).

In defending the status of the middle class, the "Lycée" and state College excelled. They had to be more efficient than the private Catholic schools, still frequented by the aristocracy, and usually were, precisely because their "raison d'être" was to win the credential race for the middle class which would secure positions for the middle-class - thus, guaranteeing their status. Whilst the Catholic schools remained popular, particularly with the aristocracy, because they developed character and moral values and were thought to provide better pastoral care and a more sympathetic boarding atmosphere, the state schools were much more effective in their preparation for examinations and thus maintained the loyalty of the majority of the bourgeoisie (Andy Green-1990 - A. Soboul-1970-1983).

"Si l'oeuvre de la Révolution en matière d'enseignement apparaît importante, elle demeure toutefois incomplète. Le monopole de l'église a été supprimé. L'enseignement a

été laïcisé et modernisé: socialement, il reste le privilège d'une minorité". A Soboul* (13)

Secondary schools not only had to protect the bourgeoisie from above, but also from below, that is to say, from the masses who were pressing at their heels. It was this desire to keep ahead that gave the classical programme its phenomenal appeal amongst sons of the industrial, professional and petit bourgeois strata alike. Far from being associated exclusively with the aristocracy, as in England, classicism was the insurance policy of the bourgeoisie, an exclusive badge of status, a medium of social advancement, and the sign of social distinction from the lower orders. Education had become increasingly important in the process of occupational selection and thus in the forming of classes. Although advancement in business careers still depended largely on influence, patronage and demonstrated ability, entrance into professional careers and into state service now required educational credentials. Thus, the baccalauréat was to become the new symbol of meritocracy of the middle class elite.

"En trois ans (1792-1795), toutes les questions que le XIX^e siècle devait à son tour reprendre et tenter de les résoudre ont été évoquées, discutées, clarifiées: liberté et monopole, gratuité, obligation, laïcité, rapports entre les degrés d'études, accès aux degrés supérieurs, programmes, méthodes, équilibre entre la culture technique et la culture libérale, relation entre la recherche et l'enseignement, et par dessus tout, esprit et destination du système pédagogique." R.Hubert* (14)

The French government's decision to impose a national culture was conveyed by means of civic education. Great efforts were made to promote a national language and literature. The political importance of encouraging the spread of standard French at the expense of local "patois" was the main preoccupation of the ruling elite. The concern for identity at each educational stage corresponded to a determined need to eradicate local cultural and linguistic feature:

"Le fédéralisme et la superstition parlent bas-breton; l'émigration et la haine de la République parlent allemand... La monarchie avait des raisons de ressembler à la tour de Babel; dans la démocratie, laisser les citoyens ignorants de la langue nationale, incapables

* If the work of the Revolution, as far education is concerned, appears important, it remains, however, unfinished. The church monopoly has been abolished. education has been secularized and modernized: socially, it remains the privilege of a minority.

* In three years, all the issues that the nineteenth century had in its turn to take up again and try to resolve have been recalled, discussed, clarified: freedom and monopoly, free education, obligation, secularity, relationships between educational grades, access to higher education, curricula, methods, the balance between technical and liberal cultures, the relationship between research and education, and above all, the spirit and purpose of the pedagogical system.

de contrôler ce pouvoir, c'est trahir la patrie... Le français qui a eu l'honneur de servir à la Déclaration des droits de l'homme, doit devenir la langue de tous les français. Nous devons aux citoyens l'instrument de la pensée publique, l'agent le plus sûr de la Révolution".
Barère* (15)

Thus, the main aim of the Convention in its primary school policy was to eliminate "dialects" and provincial traditions. For the Republic to be united and indivisible, the citizens had to be imbued with a common culture. This element of uniformity was not only dictated by a sense of nationalism, but also by a desire to implement a sort of egalitarian education:

"Les plus belles écoles, les plus utiles, les plus simples, où la jeunesse puisse recevoir une éducation vraiment républicaine, ce sont, n'en doutez pas, les séances publiques des départements, des districts, des municipalités, des tribunaux, et surtout des sociétés populaires." Bouquier's report** (16)

French primary education was designed to impart a limited version of the national culture which would encourage political loyalty and civic obedience amongst the working class, providing a minimum amount of useful and appropriate skills without encouraging excessive ambition for social advancement. Whether they were church schools or municipal schools did not seem to make much difference. Both were concerned with what was essentially moral education. Catholic schools laid great stress on teaching the catechism and preparing children for their first communion. They sought to inculcate a pious receptive attitude and to instil Christian virtues, but avoided exciting any worldly ambitions. Traditional Catholic teaching was designed not to awaken the child but to teach him/her that desire could never be satisfied, except in the next world. It sought to fill the child with humility and to warn him/her of God's severity as well as of his justice and mercy (Andy Green 1990).

* Federalism and superstition speak low-Breton; emigration and hate of the Republic speak German... The monarchy had grounds for too resembling the tower of babel ; in a democracy, to leave citizens ignorant of the national language, incapable of controlling this power, is to betray the country... The French language which had the honour of being used in the declaration of Human Rights, must become the language of all French people. We owe the citizens the instrument of public thought, the most effective agent of the Revolution.

**The best schools, the most useful, the simplest, where young people can get a really republican education, are, without a doubt, the public sessions of the departments, the districts, the town councils, the courts, and above all of popular societies.

ii. On an instructional level

The "Décret sur les Ecoles Primaires" (decree on primary schools) of 17th November 1794, on Lakanal's recommendation, required the establishment of one six-year primary school for every town of 1.000 inhabitants for boys and girls, to teach reading, writing, arithmetic and the French language, and to inculcate republican principles, the Rights of man and the French constitution. However, education was not put on a compulsory and gratuitous basis which were contradictory to the earlier principles.

On 16 December 1794, the decree for the establishment of the "écoles centrales" was voted to replace the Jesuit and other religious colleges. They were set up in each major town. According to the new decree, the new curriculum was to introduce subjects relating to facts and nature instead of practising for years the elements of dead languages - Latin and Greek. The teaching of grammar was a substitute for old logic - the value of coherent linked ideas and right reasoning with a view to training how to reason and argue. As for history, it had to move away from the teaching of the calendar of events. It had to become an exemplary and moral code. History was to be the anthology from which teachers of the legislation would draw their material, establishing from the facts an anthology of moral and political principles, as well as some knowledge for the improvement of the arts.

The classics, however, were reduced. The authorities did not expect the students to speak Latin fluently. At most, they expected either an element of comparison with a knowledge of the French language, or a teaching of the "belles lettres" (literature) where they would teach the rules of literary aesthetics. Pupils were also to learn maths, physics and chemistry, natural sciences and drawing, which was considered as the eyes of geometry. The lack of coordination between the primary and secondary schools was to become a real barrier for the future of the "écoles centrales". The non-existence of coordination between lessons was deeply felt. The inability to find a variety of books in all schools, to establish a dialogue between teachers in the same field, from one end of France to the other, gave a picture of a

very diverse institution (Louis-Henri Parias-1981).

iii. Girls'education

a) Disparate education

Theories and descriptions of the educational system and legislation, until 1850, applied mainly to the boys' world. Separate instruction was deliberate and kept alive throughout the century and the difference also reflected another aspect: a difference which society intended to maintain between the destiny of boys and girls. Girls were expected to become the future protectors of the family; to be brought up for domestic life. On the other hand, it was also as a safeguard of Church morality which was opposed to mixed schools:

"L'Eglise, gardienne et vengeresse de l'intégrité de la foi et qui, en vertu de la mission qu'elle a reçue de Dieu, son auteur, doit appeler à la vérité chrétienne toutes les nations et surveiller avec soin les enseignements donnés à la jeunesse placée sous son autorité, l'Eglise a toujours condamné ouvertement les écoles appelées mixtes ou neutres et a maintes fois averti les pères de famille afin que, sur ce point si important, ils demeurent toujours vigilants, toujours sur leurs gardes." Léon XIII* (17)

As a result, mixed schools were prohibited and villages, referring to Guizot's decree, invested mainly in boys' schools which were obliged to open in rural areas. With a very few exceptions, girls were admitted. In fact, girls' schools existed in insufficient numbers, especially since it was not usual to appoint male primary teachers to girls' schools while female teacher training did not exist, although it was becoming more and more necessary at this time.

Girls' education was to develop values of another kind from that of boys, such as learning feminine acts and needlework which were considered as primarily necessary for girls' education. Girls' basic education, from a general point of view, was to stay within the responsibility of the family, to be of private initiative and to be restricted to the home sphere.

* The Church, guardian and avenger of the integrity of faith and who, by virtue of the mission she has received from God, her Creator, must call all nations to the Christian truth and carefully oversee the teaching given to the young people under her authority, the Church has always openly condemned mixed schools and on many times has warned fathers of families, on this very important point, that they stand vigilant, always on their guard.

b) The inadequacy of girls' education

"Les garçons apprendront à lire, écrire, compter, & il leur sera donné les premières notions du mesurage & de l'arpentage.

Leur mémoire sera cultivé & développé; on leur fera apprendre par coeur quelques chants civiques, & le récit des traits les plus frappants de l'histoire des peuples libres & et de celle de la révolution française.

Ils recevront aussi des notions de la constitution de leur pays, de la morale universelle, & de l'économie rurale & domestique. Article XI

Les filles apprendront à lire, à écrire, et à compter.

Leur mémoire sera cultivée par l'étude des chants civiques, & de quelques traits de l'histoire, propre à développer les vertus de leur sexe.

Elles recevront aussi des notions de morale & d'économie domestique & rurale. Article XII*

La principale partie de la journée sera employée par les enfants de l'un & l'autre sexe au travail des mains.

Les garçons seront employés à des travaux analogues à leur âge, soit dans les ateliers des manufactures qui se trouveroient à portée des maisons d'éducation nationale, soit à des ouvrages qui pourroient s'exécuter dans l'intérieur même de la maison; tous seront exercés à travailler la terre.

Les filles apprendront à filer, à coudre & à blanchir; elles pourront être employées dans les ateliers de manufactures qui seront voisines, ou à des ouvrages qui pourront s'exécuter dans l'intérieur de la maison d'éducation." Article XIII - Robespierre** (18)

Like the boys' education, the elementary education for girls was divided into two categories. Girls' education focussed on the elementary form of "Arts d'agrémens" (accomplishments), drawing and singing were necessarily included instead of the legal system of weights and measures. With regard to middle class and well-off girls, the institutions, all private, were the object of specific rules. According to Louis-Henri Parias, the Charter of March 7 1837 set up two types of institutions: "les Pensions" (boarding schools) and "les Institutions" (private schools).

* Boys will learn to read, write and count, and will be given the basic knowledge of measurement and land-surveying.

Their memory will be cultivated and developed; they will learn some civic songs by heart, and the narration of the most striking lines of the history of free peoples and those of the French revolution .

They will also receive some knowledge of the constitution of their country, of universal morality, and of the rural and domestic economy.

The girls will learn to read, write and count. Their memory will be cultivated by the study of civic songs, and some aspects of history, peculiar to its development of the virtues of their sex. They will also receive some knowledge of morality and domestic and rural economy.

** The main part of the day will be used, by the children of both sexes, for manual work.

The boys' time will be devoted to work suitable to their age, either in the factory workshops which would be within reach of the national education buildings, or tasks which could be completed themselves within the house; all will be trained to till the land.

The girls will learn to spin, sew and bleach; they will be able to be employed in the workshops of factories which will be nearby, or in tasks which could be done within the school house.

Boarding schools were considered of "inferior" order while private schools were of "superior" order. These schools did not only give the basics of instruction, but they also taught the essential elements and the history of French literature, with grammar and style, ancient and contemporary history, ancient geography and the essential elements of cosmography (Louis-Henri Parias-1981).

This "higher" education for girls aimed to be called "secondary" education while boys' secondary education was based on the teaching of the humanities, rhetoric (eloquence), crowned with philosophical studies. The girls did not have access either to Latin or philosophical studies, regarded as dangerous to the girls' modesty and for the development of their spirit.

"Notre éducation à toutes n'est pas la moitié assez forte pour en donner une bonne, ainsi, si l'on voulait se fortifier soi-même dans les études qu'on doit enseigner, le temps serait plus que pris". Duchesse de Broglie*** (19)

The Duchesse was stressing the difficulty she was facing in the teaching of her own children. The main achievement of girls' education was its inadequacy.

"La vérité pénible que je veux dire ici, c'est que l'éducation, même religieuse, ne donne pas toujours, donne trop rarement aux jeunes filles et aux jeunes femmes le goût sérieux du travail.

Les préjugés du monde qui poussent à la mutilation de l'éducation de la femme, à l'étouffement de telle ou telle de ses facultés sont odieux et barbares. Mais quelque chose encore de plus odieux, je ne craindrai pas de le dire, c'est la complicité qu'on voudrait établir parfois entre ces préjugés mondains et la piété, je veux dire la fausse piété". Mgr Dupanloup* (20)

Mgr Dupanloup stressed the meeting between the state of mind of the century which was still most hostile to a genuine intellectual education for girls. Girls very well trained in the habits of submissiveness and ignorance which were scrupulously preserved or only affected by the education of reason and freedom.

The act of the "Conseil Supérieur" (high council) of the public education, in charge

*** Our education is far from adequate in order to teach, so, if one wanted to improve in the studies which one had to teach, the one's self time would be more than filled.

* The painful truth which I want to say here, is that education, even religious education, does not always give, very rarely gives a serious taste for work to young girls and young women. The prejudices of the world which drive to the mutilation of women's education, to the suppressing of lowering one or other of their abilities are revolting and barbaric. But something more revolting, I will not be frightened to say it, is the complicity which is sometimes established sometimes between these worldly prejudices and piety, I mean false piety.

of elaborating the decrees of implementation, confined the content of the teaching to the curriculum which was the core of the higher elementary education. The girls learnt French and at least a modern foreign language, ancient and modern literature, national history and a fair idea of general history, hygiene, "économie domestique" (home economic), needlework, drawing, music and gymnastic. The teaching of arithmetic, geometry, chemistry, physics and natural history elements was just an introduction. In reality, Sciences had always the reputation: "de dessécher les esprits féminins et leur ôter leur grâce" (Louis-Henri Parias-1981).

Girls' education did not make available the teaching of philosophy in conformity with the tradition of the nineteenth century, instead the teaching of moral code emerged as the only philosophical essential element: the conscience, the moral responsibility and the duty.

c) Secondary education

Girls' secondary education was shorter than boys' education - the decree did not indicate its length, specializing in literature, but without the learning of dead languages. The teaching of the "économie domestique" did not enjoy a great success because no staff were trained to teach the subject. Needlework, musics (reduced to song), and drawing were the only subjects which had their place in the girls' curriculum because they came within the tradition and enjoyed the family favours. Not content with reducing the length of girls' secondary education with regard to its male counterpart, the high council at Paul Bert's inspiration, divided it from the outset into two cycles. The institution was exactly the same of the boys'. There were then girls' "Lycées" and "Collèges" (secondary school); the differences related to who controlled and financed them; the management expenses of the "Lycées" were provided by the State; in the case of "Collèges", they were provided by the town council (Louis-Henri Parias-1981).

Secondary education continued to maintain the social and biological differences between girls' and boys' education (Louis-Henri Parias-1981). Out of necessity,

** of drying up the female mind and removing their grace.

exams took precedence over educational outcome. Gradually, girls' education absorbed, more and more, the subjects found in boys' education. Compulsory education was accepted for the boys as well as for the girls.

Girls' education was general; that was the case of girls coming from the lower middle class who were advised to work as primary teachers, secretaries, commercial clerks or civil servants.

"Messieurs, je suis profondément convaincu, quant à moi, de la supériorité naturelle de la femme en matière d'enseignement... Il y a des pères qui sont capables de montrer la tendresse, le dévouement, la délicatesse d'une mère; il y a des pédagogues qui peuvent avoir, et les grands pédagogues ont tous en eux quelque chose de maternel; mais enfin la loi générale, c'est que le sentiment maternel est le plus profond ressort de l'éducation, c'est que l'épouse, la mère qui se fait enseignante, apporte à l'éducation des conseils et les révélations de sa propre et précieuse expérience, c'est que l'institutrice qui reste fille trouve dans l'éducation des enfants d'autrui la satisfaction de ce sentiment maternel, de ce grand instinct de sacrifice que toute femme porte en elle, que la nature a gravé profondément dans vos coeurs, mesdames, et qui fait la noblesse, la dignité et la puissance de votre action sociale". Jules Ferry* (21)

The rise of industry during the Second Empire highlighted the need for a specific answer to the continuing demand for girls' education for which the state still refused to take responsibility. The decree which established official secondary education for girls was the work of Camille Sée who believed that it was necessary to grasp the nettle of girls' education.

Respectueuse de la liberté de conscience, notre commission est d'avis que l'enseignement religieux, ne doit pas trouver place dans les classes. C'est là un enseignement qui doit être donné à domicile par les soins des parents." Camille Sée* (22)

* Gentlemen, I am firmly convinced, in my experience, of the natural superiority of woman as far as education is concerned. There are fathers who are capable of demonstrating the affection, devotion and tenderness of a mother; there are teachers who can, and the great teachers have in all of them something maternal; but after all, the general rule is that maternal feeling is the deepest force of education, that is because the wife, the mother who becomes the teacher, brings to education the results and the revelations of her own invaluable experience, that is because the female primary teacher who remains unmarried discovers in the education of other people's children the satisfaction of this maternal feeling, of this great instinct of sacrifice that every woman has within her, that nature has deeply engraved in your heart, ladies, and which engenders the noblesse, the dignity and the power of your social action.

*Respectful of the freedom of conscience, our commission is of the opinion that religious education, must not find room in the classrooms. That is an education which ought to be entrusted to parents.

However, with respect to standard, an inequality in aims and values was identified. It was only from the 1930s that, in reality, arose a real secondary education for girls in the private institutions in the provinces which, until that time, had only been available in the major towns and the biggest conglomerations.

4. The French Education Act (23)

In 1989, Lionel Jospin, the Minister of Education took up the challenge to assist pupils in their programme of studies and to reorganize, ease and give guidance on their route towards future goals. To this end, he introduced two proposals known as the Revision and Reappraisal of the Educational System.

The Revision of the Educational System introduces four aims; namely that:

- no young pupil should leave school without a minimum qualification, such as Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnelle (Certificate of Professional Aptitude) or Brevet d'Etudes Professionnelles (Certificate of Vocational Education),
- four pupils out of five should reach the Baccalauréat level,
- all students who pass the Baccalauréat, be given the opportunity to continue into Further Education if they so wish,
- education be more open in its methodology and content in forging a European identity as well as maintaining International Cooperation.

The Minister's policy will affect the whole educational system and it is worth highlighting some of the most striking factors of the proposals:

- schools should aim to be more open to the outside community and by extension to the international environment. The learning of a modern foreign language from primary school, and the establishment of exchanges between teachers, pupils and students, is recommended,

- the Contract for Education must reflect the rights and duties of the pupils and their families. It should not only uphold the rules of the institutions, but must also influence pedagogical issues concerning extra curricular activities and means of conveying academic outcomes,

- guidance must be part of the Contract for Education. It will result from regular meetings aiming to ensure that careers guidance recommended by the institution will coincide with the wish of the pupil and his/her parents. "Bridges" will be made available to aid pupils over different and various routes to success. The pupil must be assessed not only on his/her intellectual achievement, but also on his/her progress,

- the practice of "les Redoublements" (repeating a year in the same class) must be used only in exceptional cases. However, if a pupil has not reached his/her educational goal by the end of 4th year, the second stage for secondary education in France, the school will offer him/her an additional year, placing the student back to the academic level where he/she is encountering difficulties. Repeating a year in the same class will not be accepted without the agreement of the parents. This policy is supposed to save the child with learning difficulties from going through an identical year (parents have the right, within fifteen days, to appeal against the decision reached by the Council),

- the number of examinations must be reduced and their organisation must be simplified. More consideration should be given to assessment without necessarily abandoning written and oral tests.

The policy of reappraisal concerns teachers and recommends the following:

- that their educational role must be reinforced. Teachers must pay particular attention to following each pupil individually, to assisting him/her in self-evaluation and appraisal, and to assure general pedagogical support,

- regarding recruitment, prospective candidates in the entrance examination for

secondary school teachers must be holders of a Bachelor's Degree, for the primary school a "Diplome d'Etudes Universitaires Générales" (DEUG) or an equivalent Degree. Students who are admitted to teacher training should be able to benefit from a grant. In return, they will be expected to contribute to the running of schools and these years will be taken into consideration throughout their career,

- establishment of graded promotion, that is to say the principle of three grades. Progress from one grade to another will be governed by commonly defined criteria. In reality, the grade of "merit" still exists and teachers can progress in their career as a result of a good recommendation by the inspectorate; without the latter the options are limited in spite of the number of years of service.

The Education Reform Act of July 1989 put an end to the reign of the "Inspecteurs Généraux" (General School Inspectors). No longer do they assess teachers or are involved in curriculum development (the latter now being the responsibility of a "Conseil National" - National Council - of twenty experts). Instead, their new task is to measure the success of the educational system. They will have the authority to determine the strong and the weak points of school institutions, and to inform and advise the Minister of Education accordingly. In short, they will become the "intelligence" branch of the Ministry of Education.

In the same year, the Advisory Act was to urge the establishment of:

- the "Cycle des Apprentissages Premiers"(first learning stage) to involve all nursery schools (1st, 2nd and 3rd Section) with the aims of allowing teachers to take into account more the psychological and physiological evolution of the child regardless of age and background (Le Monde de l'Education-Septembre 1991),
- the "Cycle des Apprentissages Fondamentaux" (fundamental learning stage) which begins from the final section of the Nursery School and also includes the "Cours Préparatoire", (CP = primary 3) and the "Cours Élémentaire1, (CE1 = primary 4). The final section of the Nursery School acts as a period of transition as well as a structuring stage. It is supposed to allow children, who are ready, to

start basic learning in the final section of Nursery School (Ibid),

- the "Cycle des Approfondissements"(Further learning stage) groups together the classes of "Cours Élémentaire 2", (CE 2 = primary 5), "Cours Moyen 1" (CM 1) and "Cours Moyen 2" (CM 2), (primary 6 & 7). This stage should last on average three years. These three academic years could be eventually achieved in two or four years according to the pace of the child (Ibid),

- the lengthening or shortening of the academic process will only happen once in primary school. A council made up of teachers of the various stages, the Head-teacher, the class teacher concerned and members of the educational psychology network, will decide at the end of the academic stage, if the child has achieved the knowledge required to enable him/her to move up to the next academic class (Ibid).

Subjects will then fall into three main disciplines for which a weekly maximum and minimum time-table will be established. Teachers will be able to adjust these schedules during the week and the year, according to the needs of the child:

- the first group of subjects will include French, History and Geography, and Civic Education for the Fundamental Learning Stage; (Stage 2) and the Further Learning Stage (Stage 3),

- the second group will incorporate Mathematics, Science and Technology for Stages 2 and 3,

- the third group will involve Physical Education and Art Education for Stages 2 and 3.

Each school is free to choose the appropriate structure of classes according to the pupils' needs, results and also to local pressures.

The "Rénovation Pédagogique du Lycée" (the educational reform of the secondary school) were due to take place from the beginning of the new term in 1992. Its aims

are not only to tackle the hierarchy between the educational modules, but also to respond to issues created by the growing diversity of secondary school pupils. The Minister of Education decided to reduce in a radical way the number of academic routes and to confront the matter foremost in the minds of teachers and students, that of disparity in educational provision.

The "Classe de Seconde" (5th year) becomes the "Seconde de Détermination" (the decisive year). Immediately, at the beginning of the new term, after an evaluation test, pupils experiencing difficulty are offered, until 1st November an opportunity to catch up on required academic standards via "d'appropriation des méthodes de travail" (allocation of methods of study). Then, after six months of "normal" studies, another assessment takes place before Easter. The last three months are dedicated to supporting students who run the likely risk of failing.

In Première (6th year) and "Terminale" (7th-final year), the academic set A (Arts), B (Economy), C (Maths) and D (Science) are reduced to three options: Literature (L), Science (S), Economic and Social Studies (ES). Business studies, science and technical options have been improved in part. Technological studies are merged with Science and Industrial Technology options (STI). Added to the new jargon came three important changes in the summer of 1991:

- "Les Matières Dominantes" (the core subjects) which form the core of each course and constitute more than half of the Baccalauréat Examination,
- "Les Matières Complémentaires de Formation Générale" (complementary subjects for general education) which have the primary objective of directing students away from narrow and specialised fields,
- "Les Modules" (the modules) which are additional and optional subjects and must not be regarded as having no connection with the rest of the whole curriculum. They help develop skills for instance in theatre studies, philosophical methodology, and information technology or revise some concepts or methods learned previously. In the 5th and 6th year, but also in the classes leading to the

"Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle - B.E.P - ('O' Level), the modules allow teachers to cope better with the disparity of classes. These hours (three in 5th and 6th year and two in final year), on the one hand, allow each pupil to develop his/her individual work and a sense of autonomy, and on the other support pupils with learning difficulties especially in relation to the Core Subjects.

The teachers are expected to implement the new programmes of study according to the needs and the weakness of each pupil and a national evaluation takes place before entering the "Lycée" (5th year).

The purpose of reducing the number of options is to increase the possible routes for pupils in determining their future studies. Pupils are able to build up a diverse career profile. Thus, an Art student may introduce an artistic or mathematical angle to his/her course. In ES, the pupil has the choice of working towards studies in "l'Echange et la Communication" (exchange et communication) with an important languages programme, a strong mathematical emphasis for those who wish to embark on a career in economics or finally with advanced studies in economics and Social Sciences for those who have a particular interest in Law or Politics.

In the option S, the range of subjects in Applied Science is much wider as it absorbs all pupils from a number of original options; namely C (dominated by Maths), D (Natural Science), D' (Agronomy) and E (Industrial Technology). But they are prevented from adding languages to the cocktail. According to the Minister of Education, the programme of study should be built up gradually, with each pupil having the opportunity to adjust his/her course. But, the 5th year, more than ever, should be the decisive class providing not only a common field of study but also a wider range of options for general and technological education. Each pupil must study two of the options offered. However, their choice should not be a deciding factor in the transfer to the 6th year. Some classes, in fact, will be accommodated for those who have mistakenly assessed their direction. In short, the 5th year appears to be the "patchwork" class.

In order to limit possible shortcomings in the new approach, a link between "Lycées Professionnels" (Vocational schools) and Technological schools is maintained. This is the "Première d'Adaptation" (6th year - Adjustment class). The organization of the modules may, however, prove to be difficult as a whole since the core subjects, under which each module will come, must run parallel in groups of two. Pupils are divided according to this parallel system. Transferring pupils to modules for assistance according to their needs may be feasible, but there is no indication about what should be offered to advanced and intermediate pupils, or what they should attain during this process of assistance. In effect, it is the teacher who knows the strong and weak points of each pupil, and who can influence his/her success.

However, does the Minister intend to implement three parallel units offering three different levels of the same subjects, but also with three different teachers at the same time, respecting a flexible system which has to conform to the personal progress of each pupil? Should this be the case, how will this affect the working conditions of teachers and how will it be resolved, given that he/she must interrupt the teaching process in order to respond to the pupil's needs?

The new organization recommended by the Minister intends, by means of complementary and optional subjects, to diversify rather than tighten up the content of courses. While a pupil in the 6th year (L) may have the opportunity to select, both Cinema and Media studies for his/her complementary subject and Plastic Arts as an option, how many school educational establishments will be sufficiently resourced to offer this kind of programme?

To conclude, in the final year, with the new system, pupils have the chance to further their knowledge of one subject. A student in option S may opt for eight hours of Physics and Chemistry by combining core subjects, modules and options (4 hours). As for someone in Economics and Social studies, he/she is able to absorb three times more Applied Mathematics. This scheme could be beneficial in

the sense that it might assist the pupil to take into account his/her future vocational training. But once again, the Minister has not clearly defined what kind of tests will be designed for the Baccalauréat, and the tuition pupils receive in different subjects may be unequal.

II. The avenue for a decentralized system in England and Wales

1. The Glorious Revolution

"Whether that was to make this historic episode into a Glorious Revolution is a question of opinion or of definition. It undoubtedly contributed to the evolution of parliamentary democracy in England and of a balanced constitution in the United States of America." M. Ashley (24)

Pride in the Glorious Revolution was widespread among all classes in England, and was believed to distinguish them from the rest of the people of Europe.

"As to the question whether a revolution was in fact achieved, it is perfectly true that there was no such complete destruction of a form of government or of society in 1688 as there was to be during the French, Russian, Chinese or Cuban revolutions of later times... The power of the monarch was, however, in fact reduced. The restrictions and conditions that William III was compelled to accept, such as the regular meeting of Parliaments (which he did not like) and the independence of the judiciary, which he accepted, meant that the 'mixed monarchy', which up till this time had been largely a form of words bandied about by political theorists, was in the process of becoming a constitutional and political reality". M. Ashley (25)

As it transpired, the development resulting from the Glorious Revolution was the transformation by William III of England's place in Europe and the wars that this involved, which led to a crucial loss of Royal power and the establishment of English Parliamentary supremacy. The Triennial Act of 1694 required the English Parliament to be summoned every three years, and thus prevented future monarchs from ruling. The upper classes regarded it as a guarantee of their position, their privileges, and their power (Ashley-1968 - Crossley & Small-1989).

2. The emergence of the Middle class in England

"Of the political and moral importance of this class there can be but one opinion. It is the strength of the community. It contains beyond all comparison, the greatest portion of intelligence, industry and wealth in the state. In it are the heads that invent, and the hands that execute; the enterprise that project and the capital by which these projects are carried into operation... The people of the class below are the instruments with which they work; and those of the class above, though they may be called their governors, and may recall sometimes seem to rule them, are much more often, more truly, and more completely under their control. In this country at least, it is this class which gives the nation its character." Westminster Review (26)

The French Revolution stimulated intense political debate within Britain and deeply polarized opinion on the question of reforming the English Constitution. English reformers of all shades of opinion were galvanised into action. The events in France, undoubtedly, prompted the campaign in England for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. Developments in France were believed to have made reform in England more urgent than ever, if the excesses in the Continent were to be avoided, timely concessions to the propertied middle classes would have to be made. It also had a profound impact on administration, finance and politics and made Great Britain a major European power capable of using her military and naval might to defend and extend her colonial empire.

The influence operating on English thought was in the areas of statecraft and policies. It, then, gave rise in England to a major debate about political and social reform and the methods of achieving them. The middle classes involved in trade, banking and manufacturing, however, gave to their contemporaries a class consciousness and influenced them with their overt opposition to the privileges of the aristocracy. The middle class was at that time to become richer, better educated and culturally more secure. While, on the one hand the aristocracy became insecure, on the other, the middle class became itself more established and self-confident. In some ways, the desirability of creating a new elite based on merit was to be embodied by both the middle class and nobility (C.Crossley & I. Small-1989).

The organisational machinery of the reform movement remained firmly in the hands of men of property and education drawn from the middle ranks of society. They resented the excessive influence of the great landowner and were determined to increase their own representation in Parliament, but they did not expect the poor to govern nor did they anticipate that poor men would actually sit in the House of Commons. Moreover, while they were prepared to reform the electoral system, they still regarded the ideal constitution as a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy achieved through the careful balance of King, Lords and Commons. There was no desire to undermine monarchical government or to establish aristo-

cratic privileges. There was no serious campaign to alter the social hierarchy or to redistribute the nation's wealth more equitably. There was very little in their programme which had a direct appeal and a compelling attraction for the lower orders of society.

While in England, MP Arthur Roebuck was more precise when he argued the case for popular education to make England safe for democracy as the working class was a growing political force:

"Anyone who will look before him must see the growing political importance of the mass of the population. They will have a power. In a very short time they will be paramount. I wish them to be enlightened, in order that they may use that power which they will inevitably obtain." (27)

Leonard Horner believed that the education of the working class was a necessity in order to police the poor.

"To put the necessity of properly educating the children of the working classes on its lowest footing, it is loudly called for as a matter of police, to prevent a multitude of immoral and vicious beings, the offspring of ignorance, from growing up around us, to be a pest and a nuisance to society; it is necessary in order to render the great body of the working class governable by reason." L.Horner (28)

The overwhelming influence of society and institutions has, in fact, played a primordial role in the moulding of the English educational and political programme. The familiar institutions and practices of both countries are fundamentally different; the long tradition of French intellectualism has caused them to believe that "ils ont toujours raison" (they are always right), and on the other, the British, proud of their bold ventures, feel sure they can "go one better" than anyone else.

3. The institutional and ideological end

i. The English tradition

The development of a national public system of education in England and Wales lagged behind France. A public system only took place in 1870 while compulsory attendance was not effected in most areas until the 1880s. In 1902, when the Education Act was issued, there was no real system of Education in England and Wales but a mixture of contributions by a number of uncoordinated authorities. This Act was to prompt the creation of state secondary schools and the consolidation of a

fully integrated educational administration. The development of public education contrasted with France and the dominant tradition in education remained, during the nineteenth century, the voluntary system, a form of school organization based on private initiative and independent control. Conflicting groups introduced education for their own purposes, and there were three distinct systems in England, integrated with different parts of the social structure: the Anglican schools, which were dominated by the gentry and integrated with the conservative state apparatus; the middle-class schools which were articulated with industry; and independent working-class schools which arising in tandem with working-class political organizations and institutions of self-help (Green, A-1990). This pluralistic form of assertion was to lead to a state system.

"It must be already clear that up to the time of the Industrial Revolution educational opportunities for the lower classes were extremely limited. The State did not concern itself with schools; their provision was left to individuals and charitable bodies. But the number of poor children who could be accommodated on this voluntary basis was small. The nineteenth century, however saw a significant changes. By 1900 a compulsory system of national elementary schooling had been established, although there were still few opportunities for working-class children to receive a grammar or secondary education"
Alan Dures (29)

The dominant tradition in education in England was based on a voluntary system, a form of school organization founded on private initiative and independent control. England was the last of the major nineteenth century powers to create a national system of education and the most reluctant to put it under public control. The foundations of a national system were not laid until 1870, and even then this remained a compromise with past voluntary traditions. It was only in 1899 that a single authority was created to oversee education and State secondary schools were not created until 1902.

While England was a nation which bore the reputation of being amongst the most open and liberal of all states during the eighteenth century, which pioneered the Industrial Revolution, and which by 1860, was at the high point of Victorian capitalism and enjoyed yet unchallenged economic supremacy, it however provided a limited education. A society which took pride in its industry and liberal values appeared somewhat contradictory. In his comparison of the educational structures

in England and Germany, David Landes noted:

"One of the strangest paradoxes of modern history: on the one hand, a liberal society (England) standing out from others in the 18th century for equality and mobility of status, should have lost something of these during the very period of its progressive political democratization, while on the other hand, a far more authoritarian society (Germany), characterized in the pre-industrial period by a clearly defined, fairly rigid hierarchy of rank, should have developed a more open structure without corresponding political change." (30)

The demographic change which occurred early in England, with the population reaching an urban majority by 1850, brought with it all societal conflicts. At the same time, there was a rising middle class which was fully aware of its historical importance and which recognized the value of education in its battle for ideological hegemony over groups. England offered the most explicit example of the use of schooling by a dominant class as a means of winning hegemony over subordinate groups. Anglicans were reluctant to renounce control over education which they considered the hereditary and natural prerogative of the established church (H.C. Barnard-1969). They feared that state control would lead to secularism or increased influence for dissent. Anglicanism was by and large the religion of the establishment. It was espoused by the landowning classes who were dominant in Parliament during the first half of the century and who also continued to dominate cabinets until the end of it (A. Green-1990 & M.S. Archer-1979).

Dissent on the other hand, was largely concentrated in urban areas, embracing large sections of the manufacturing middle class and also of the "respectable" working class. The clash of churches was thus also a clash of class and cultural politics. This more or less explained the impasse in educational development which highlighted the irreconcilable nature of middle class and established cultures and the educational objectives. The landowner's opposition to educational improvement in the early decade of the century emphasized the aristocratic prejudices against educating these rising resolute groups.

ii. Voluntary school.

"The voluntary system of public instruction, with no central guide, aid or control, has not only worked well, but worked nearly as ill as any system well could." Thomas Wyse (31)

With the rising tempo of class struggle and increasing signs of urban social unrest, the middle class increasingly looked to education as a means of social participation and amelioration. If national education never quite took root in English soil during this period, there was an alternative policy made adaptable to the domestic political climate, and that was "voluntaryism" (H.C Barnard-1969). The word was to be often used by contemporaries and described a mode of educational development free of state control, which relied on independent initiative, the funding of private individuals and organizations and on the uncompelled attendance of children. In 1808, the Royal Lancasterian Society was inaugurated, later it became the British and Foreign Schools Society. It was backed by an influential group of educational sponsors and drew support from Baptists, Quakers, Evangelical Anglicans, leading Whig aristocrats, Utilitarians, and Independent Liberal politicians. From the outset, it was committed to interdenominational education.

In 1811, the Anglican church matched the Dissenters' initiative with their own National Society, dominated by bishops, and thereby declared their intention to maintain the church's traditional dominance in the field of popular education. With the formation of these two societies, the pattern of religious rivalry in the provision of schools began, which initially stimulated growth and later helped to block the emergence of further provision until 1870 (H.C. Barnard-1969).

The period from 1840 to 1870 was an era of confident and secure capitalist hegemony. Middle class policy and ideology were ascending, both in the organs of state and in civil society.

"All this means is that a young man, if he has spent his time wisely, leaves the college after ten years - among the most precious years of his life - with a very imperfect knowledge of a dead language and with precepts of rhetoric and principles of philosophy which he should endeavour to forget; often with impaired health, which is the least of the effects of the corruption of morals; sometimes with principles of misunderstood worship; but more frequently with such a superficial knowledge of religion that he succumbs to the first blasphemous conversation, the first dangerous reading." D'Alembert (32)

Given the failure of legislation for national education, elementary schooling continued to operate throughout this period, on an essentially voluntary basis. However, a central administrative authority was gradually developing which

reflected the desire of that growing body of experts for greater coordination and central control, and this increasingly motivated, encouraged and, occasionally urged the voluntary system to adopt new measures. Not only did the system instruct little beyond the most rudimentary of skills, but it did little to enhance the status of teachers. By 1850, there were only 1173 certified teachers in England and Wales, which was less than one for each school. By the mid 1860s, elementary education was thus an exceptionally narrow and limited affair (H.C. Barnard-1969).

iii. The 1870 Education Act of England and Wales

The 1860s were, however, to mark a decisive period of transition in English education. Attitudes towards state education changed, amongst the middle class, with the softening of non-conformist hostility towards state education, and the realization of the political and economic benefits of extended elementary education. There was a growing consensus on the virtues of reform. The trade union movement was increasingly calling for a national system of non-sectarian education. The product of these converging forces was a new educational alliance: the National Education League, founded in 1869 by radical Liberals and Dissenters, led by Joseph Chamberlain whose demand was for a free, compulsory, non-sectarian and rate-aided national system of education. Campaigning against them for the claims of the Anglican church was the rival National Education Union (Murphy -1971 - A. Green -1990).

Finally, in 1870, Parliament after long, acrimonious debates passed an Elementary Education Act for England and Wales. In February 1870, Foster introduced a Bill in which he proposed:

"to complete the present voluntary system, to fill up gaps, sparing the public money where it can be done without, procuring as much as we can the assistance of the parents, and welcoming as much as we rightly can the cooperation and aid of those benevolent men who desire to assist their neighbours." (33)

This Act was the result of these new forces and represented a crucial turning point in educational legislation. For the first time government was accepting responsi-

bility for ensuring universal elementary instruction. The most important feature of the Act was the provision for locally elected School Boards, empowered to reinforce the policy of elementary schooling. The country was divided into school districts corresponding to boroughs and parishes. The Act was designed to fill the gaps in voluntary provision and to create a national system worthy of its name.

For the defence of the Bill in the House, Foster made his proposal quite clear:

"We must take care not to destroy in building up not to destroy the existing system in introducing a new one ... our object is to complete the voluntary system, to fill up the gaps, procuring as much as we rightly can the co-operation and aid of those benevolent who desire to assist their neighbours." (34)

The Act, however, provided neither free nor compulsory education at elementary level, nor did it attempt to create an integrated and unified system. It was essentially a compromise between the voluntary system and a foundation upon which the English educational system was to be built. Religious teaching and worship were the crucial issues in the debate. But concerning the religious instruction, some safeguards were imposed to ensure as far as possible that no child would receive religious teaching which was at variance with the wishes of his/her parents, since grant-aided schools were obliged to exempt children, who so wished from religious observance and lessons on a particular dogma. It was left to the School Boards to decide on an individual basis whether to make elementary education compulsory in their districts. After 1870 education remained fragmented, both in terms of administration and provision; it was only in 1880 that elementary education was made compulsory throughout England and Wales, and in 1891 fees were abolished in all but a few elementary schools.

iv. The 1902 Balfour Act.

The 1902 Balfour Act scarcely changed the situation. It replaced the School Boards by the new Local Education Authorities, which were required to:

"Consider the educational needs of their area and take such step as seem to them desirable, after consultation with the Board of Education, to supply or aid the supply of education other than elementary, and to promote the general co-ordination of all forms of education." in accordance with the recommendations of the Bryce Commission (35)

thus weakening the movement towards popular control which had occurred under the School Boards. It strengthened the hand of the voluntary lobby by providing rate aid for church schools as long as these accepted Local Authority representation on their boards. Finally, it created the first state secondary schools. The autonomous and elitist nature of independent secondary schools were preserved, whilst the new state grammar schools were kept deliberately separate from elementary schooling to discourage any notion that the majority of children could transfer into secondary education.

The Act also introduced a legal ceiling of fifteen years for elementary schools and effectively killed off the higher grade schools, which had come under the old School Boards to offer secondary education for working class pupils. A hierarchical structure of educational institutions was inherited from the eighteenth century and were divided into three distinct groups: primary, secondary and higher institutions. However, there was no link between the stages. On the contrary, each level tended to be the final stage for pupils. Thus, children from primary schools only exceptionally progressed to secondary education. The secondary institutions were largely composed of endowed and public schools. They did not require primary school attendance before enrolment but tended to rely on previous private tuition in the home. Nor was secondary school attendance a prerequisite for university entrance.

Robert Morant was later to reinforce the separation of elementary and secondary education by having the grammar schools adopt an academic curriculum on the public school model. Effectively, two education systems had now been created where the majority of working class children would leave at 13 or 14, while the middle class would monopolize secondary education. With the passing of the 1902 Act, a national education system was finally consolidated.

"Administrative unification of the education system had been partially achieved without there being any serious attempt to integrate its parts in an educational sense." Andy Green (36)

England and Wales were at last brought into the line with the rest of Europe.

although the independent secondary schools were more elitist than any of their overseas counterparts, reflecting an obsession with caste exclusiveness.

Change in nineteenth century education in England was brought about by the struggle between different educational interest groups. The traditional nature of English education meant that instruction confirmed rather than determined the existing system of social stratification. Its task was mainly twofold; inspiring the upper class with a sense of their future role as a social and political elite, or conditioning the lower classes to a passive acceptance of their station in life.

"I do not hesitate to say that one of the great recommendations of the change (to competitive recruitment) in my eyes would be that it would be its tendency to strengthen and multiply the ties between the higher classes and the administrative power... I have a strong impression that the aristocracy of this country are even superior in natural gifts, on the average, to the mass; but it is plain that with their acquired advantages, their insensible education, irrespective of book-learning, they have an immense superiority."
Gladstone (37)

Secondary schooling in mid-Victorian England was notable for its elitism, its resistance to modern curricula and its segmented and hierarchical structure. But what was most distinctive was the level of differentiation between the types of schools. Contrary to the French system, all English secondary schools remained financially independent of the state and within this independent system, manifold distinctions of rank and prestige developed, reflecting the byzantine social divisions in the middle and upper echelons of the English class structure. The majority of secondary schools, including the public, grammar and private schools, remained predominantly classical in orientation and even the poorer schools remained under the influence of an ethos developed by the gentry.

4. The instructional aim

The English curriculum in both the National Society and British and Foreign School Society schools did little more than inculcate the 3R's and Christian morality. The main textbook was the Bible, sometimes supplemented by religious tracts and publications from the Society for the Promotion of Christian knowledge, or texts written by evangelicals. After 1830, religious societies began to employ inspectors in their schools and the curriculum began to include more secular

education, but this was mainly to teach "correct" moral and political thinking. In 1840, the British and Foreign School Society reading series, for instance, included a special section on political economy, warning against the dangers of challenging the economic order. By the end of this period, voluntary initiatives had developed a network, both in elementary and secondary levels. Schools expanded fast, particularly after government grants became available in 1833. They were spread unevenly and their standards were variable but they and their advocates could claim that they were on the road to creating a national network.

At no stage did education provide for the interests of the mainstream middle class, except in those exceptional private schools which continued the traditions of the dissenting academies. Of all the schools, the public school was the most alien to the middle class mentality. Largely patronized by the landed and clerical groups up until the middle of the century, the ethos of the public schools reflected the culture of the rural upper class; they had little interest in the promotion of "useful knowledge" and regarded their very distance from wordly affairs and industrious pursuits as a mark of social status and honour (A. Green-1990). Most valued and were concerned with the preparation for a life of genteel leisure, where they aspired to public service, within an ethos which exalted careers, coloured by ideals of honour and public leadership in the military, in politics and colonial administration, and, latterly, in the professions and the civil services. Within this framework the pursuit of intellectual excellence and particularly scientific knowledge was regarded with some contempt, either as unworthy or positively dangerous, whilst classical learning was celebrated as a symbol of status and a mechanism of social exclusion.

Throughout the mid nineteenth century, the dominance of classical culture in the English public school was almost total. In practice, it meant little more than the rote learning of Latin and Greek. But the Classics occupied four-fifths of the time-table even in 1870, and this, despite the fact that it was often extremely poorly taught. It was strongly defended by headmasters as the preeminent mental discipline and the

classical class was praised as the crucible of civilized culture. The public school thus, prided itself upon the development of character, its hallmark being classical studies, religious and moral principles, gentlemanly conduct and intellectual ability.

Secondary schooling both reflected and entrenched these social and cultural divisions within the dominant classes. The public school provided the social connection for this fusion of class cultures which created the ruling elite in Victorian England. Drawing the majority of its students from the landed class, it increasingly absorbed those from the upper industrial and professional classes and provided their intersocialization with the aristocracy. It trained them neither for industry, trade nor commerce, but primarily for leadership, in politics, the military and administration (Green, A-1990).

"During the early industrial phase, the public schools were notoriously the most aristocratic institutions of secondary education to be found in Europe and probably in the world." F.K Ringer (38)

The remaining secondary schools, the endowed grammar schools and the new private schools, catered for the broad mass of the middle class but hardly on their own terms. The grammar school continued to be controlled in the main, by the gentry and the Anglican church, providing classical education which constantly aped the public school. In this they reflected the continuing sway of the landed class both politically and culturally (A. Green-1990 - James Bowen-1981).

5. Girls' education

i. The Society for Promoting christian knowledge.

Little thought was given to the education of the majority of English girls - the daughters of the poor. Before the state system was operative in the 1870s, it was difficult for poor girls to get even an elementary education - that is reading, writing and some arithmetic. The idea of introducing the poor to elementary learning was an extension of the evangelizing function of the Church, which stood to gain a higher proportion of genuine converts from a citizenry that was sufficiently literate to understand a few of the subtler interpretations of the christian message. In most of the schools which accepted both sexes, some attempt was made to produce a girls' curriculum which was distinctly feminine. It was only the girls considered the

brightest who were taught to write and to handle simple accounts.

"As soon as the Boys can Read completely well... teach them to write a fair legible Hand, with the Grounds of Arithmetic, to fit them for Services or apprenticeships. Note the Girls learn to read etc and generally to knit their Stockings and Gloves; to Mark, sew, Make and Mend their Cloaths; and several learn to Wrire, and some to Spin their Cloaths." The Society for the Promotion of Christian knowledge (39)

Several notable girls' schools were founded in the early years of the charity movement: the Greycoat Hospital was opened at Westminster in 1699, the Burlington Girls' School in 1698, the Bishopsgate Ward School (later the central Foundation Girls' School) in 1718, Lady Eleanor Holles' School in 1711 and St Martin-in-the-Fields High School in 1700 (B. Turner-1974). It was, however, rare for the standard of teaching to meet the aptitudes of the students. This was because the administrators were stuck with their belief that a little education was good for the social and moral health of the nation but too much education would create dissatisfaction among the masses (B. Turner-1974). Schools of industry were favoured in which they could learn to spin, knit, sew and cobble shoes.

ii. Sunday Schools

In 1785, the Society for Establishment and support of Sunday Schools was founded with the cooperation of the Established Church and the Nonconformists. In the first half of the nineteenth century, Sunday Schools were an important form of part-time education - especially, as only a minority of girls attended day schools. Two women were mainly responsible for their rapid growth, Sarah Trimmer and Hannah More who wrote moral tales for the young. It would appear that during the period 1834-43, the great majority of girls and boys in Sunday Schools in the manufacturing centres and mining villages received no other elementary education, half or nearly half of those receiving any education were receiving it on Sundays only. In the Sunday school, a working-class girl might learn to read and if lucky, to write. The teaching of writing was a controversial issue, often seen as secular, rather than religious instruction, and especially so by the Anglican church; consequently, writing was often confined to a weekday class:

"They learn of week-days such coarse works as may fit them for servants. I allow of no writing. My object has not been to teach dogmas and opinions, but to form the lower class to habits of industry and virtue. I know no way of teaching morals but by infusing principles of christianity, nor of teaching christianity without a thorough knowledge of

Scripture... To make good members of society (and this can only be done by making good christians) has been my aim. Principles not opinions are what I labour to give them".
Hannah More (40)

Hannah's Sunday School was more concerned with maintaining the culture of religion and respectability. Elementary textbooks used to teach pupils to read and write were primarily religious, many teachers using extracts from Bible stories. The aim was to wean pupils' from such textbooks as soon as possible so that they could read the Bible or the New Testament (B. Turner-1974).

iii. Dame Schools

Some working-class girls went to Dame Schools, run by women in their own homes. Dame School pupils were taught reading but knitting and sewing occupied most of the day:

"It was indeed a good school, thoroughness being the aim in the few things that were professed to be taught, as well as almost faultless discipline and good manners. A girl's education at that time consisted principally of needlework of various descriptions... Parents were prouder of their daughters's pieces of needlework than of their scholarship".
Mary Smith (41)

The chief weakness, however, was the quality of the education offered. The fault was principally with the teachers, and despite all the time and money spent on them, the majority of children ended their elementary education still not really masters of reading, writing and arithmetic.

iv. Weekday schools

The two main providers of weekday schools in the nineteenth century were the British and Foreign Society (1808) and the National Society (1811): they carried the stigma of "charity" and were seen as an "imposition" upon working class life, and "provided" by the middle class (June Purvis-1991).

The aims of the two religious societies were not just to impart basic knowledge and religious instruction but also to instil certain habits and manners considered appropriate for the "lower" orders (June Purvis-1991). The aims of the National Society were to communicate to the poor such knowledge and habits as were sufficient to guide them through life

"in their proper stations, especially to teach the doctrine of religion, according to the principles of the Established Church and to train them to the performance of their religious duties by early disciplines." National Society (42)

The schools were usually mixed but in those that catered for girls, it was common practice to set the girls to work on sewing or cleaning to accustom them to their future domestic role, in short, the working class girls were to become a "good" servants, wives and mothers. By 1841, the National Society stipulated that female pupils should be taught

"to be sober, to love their husbands, to love their children, to be discreet, chaste, keepers at home, obedient to their husbands that the world of God be not blasphemed." (43)

Similarly, the Ladies' Committee for the British Society noted in the Society's Report for 1822 and 1833, that working-class girls should ideally be taught "useful knowledge" that would qualify them to become "industrious servants" who would one day be "the wives and mothers of industrious and intelligent mechanics"(44).

The separate division between girls and boys were most pronounced in regard to curricula:

"Mixed schools devote normally about an hour and half, girls' schools about an hour and three quarters, to this purpose daily; and, as in a majority of cases, by a stupid arrangement, the needlework lesson is given only in the afternoon, a mill girl may, during her afternoon turn, lasting a week or a month, as the case may be, have not more than an hour a day for intellectual instruction. Indeed, in not a few private, and some public schools, needlework takes up the whole afternoon, and the girls may be left for a whole month without even having a reading lesson..." P.H.J.H Gosden. (45)

At the National Society's Central Schools both boys and girls were taught the same subjects in the mornings - prayers, ciphering, religious exercises, writing and reading - but in the afternoon, the girls did needlework and knitting till half past four and then arithmetic till five o'clock, while the boys continued with ciphering, writing, reading and arithmetic. Similarly the British schools offered both boys and girls the 3Rs and religious knowledge with needlework only for girls (June Purvis-1991 - B. Turner-1974)

So far the idea that the state might itself run schools with no particular religious bias had very few supporters in the second half of the nineteenth century. But the state had, indirectly, helped the two religious societies for instance, with the building of

schools, by providing free postage for fund-raising campaigns. The suggestion of direct government involvement in education led to interminable debates that centred on the deep-rooted aversion to state interference in matters of social conscience and the fear of sectarian entanglements (June Purvis-1991- B. Turner-1974).

v. Secondary schools

Secondary schooling for girls was still extremely limited during this period and when it could be found, was more concerned with the cultivation of genteel manners than with education as such. Secondary education was therefore confined to the middle and upper-classes. Where it existed, the education of girls in secondary schools was clearly far removed from the experience of boys. Its main objective was to cultivate domestic skills, graceful accomplishments and an ethos of service, in line with the Victorian middle-class notions of femininity. What the girls' school did share with its male counter part was a super-sensitivity towards class distinction. Girls were discouraged from mixing with anyone below their social rank, and girls' schools assiduously attempted to maintain their social exclusivity. Social snobbery formed part of the hidden curriculum of the school and this was the main object of most girls' schools (A. Green-1990).

The pioneers of girls' education were Frances Buss and Dorothea Beale, who were responsible for the success of the North London Collegiate School for Girls (a day establishment founded in 1850) and Cheltenham Ladies' College (a boarding school founded in 1854). The contrast in attitudes was reflected in the policies of the two most famous girls' schools. At the North London Collegiate, Frances Mary Buss took a lead in proving that girls were every bit as capable as boys. She adopted the curriculum applied in boys' schools and emphasized the virtue of competition in sport and work.

On the other hand, Dorothea Beale, Principal of Cheltenham Ladies College, developed a curriculum and teaching techniques that she thought were especially appropriate to girls. The subjects taught at Cheltenham Ladies' College at its founda-

tion included that range common in many girls' private schools: holy scripture and liturgy, history, geography, grammar, arithmetic, French, music, drawing and needlework, with German and Italian as "extras". Dorothea Beale opposed competitive sport and claimed that girls had unique emotional and intellectual needs related to their future family responsibilities. She was, nevertheless, keen to offer a sound intellectual education to pupils. Eventually she came to agree with Frances Mary Buss and Emily Davies that public examinations were one of the most effective ways of exposing the poor state of education for middle-class girls and of increasing the pressure for reform.

Thus in 1863, Miss Beale invited the Oxford examiners to inspect her pupils' work and from this time onwards, the College was brought into close connection with every educational reform in England. Pupils were entered for either Oxford or Cambridge local examinations, educational standards at the College were raised and the curriculum was extended to include mathematics, science, Latin and Greek (B. Turner-1974 - June Purvis-1991).

The aim of the North London Collegiate School for Girls was to provide a sound and liberal education, based upon religious principles, for the "Daughters... of Professional Gentlemen of limited means, Clerks in public and private Offices, and Persons engaged in Trade and other pursuits" (46), from Prospectus of 1850 for the North London Collegiate School for Ladies. Ms Buss took a strong interest in the broader issues of girls' education and believed that intelligent girls made the best wives and mothers, but realized that even if they never had the chance to be either, they still needed to be intellectually equipped for decent careers. She was keen that girls should show that they could match the boys' academic prowess.

Several features of the North London College influenced the subsequent development and shape of girls' high schools. Although the North London College was Anglican, Ms Buss allowed parents the right of withdrawing their daughters from the Church of England catechism or any part of the religious teaching they objected

to. She also believed that family life was of supreme importance for her pupils, lessons were organized in the mornings so that afternoons could be spent at home learning "domestic and social virtues" which she held to be part of a full education.

Emily Davies was also an uncompromising pioneer in the higher education of women. At Girton College, opened in 1870, she insisted that the female students should study exactly the same course as men, and within the same time limits, despite the fact that their schooling had ill prepared them for this.

If Cheltenham Ladies' College was the forerunner for the best of the girls' boarding schools, the pattern for middle-class day education was established by the North London Collegiate. Ms Buss, Ms Beale and Ms Davies had in common an obsession with the education of girls to transform secondary education for middle-class girls. They aimed at offering girls an education every bit as good as that offered to boys. Thus they overcame the prejudice which up till this time had interfered with projects for girls' education.

6. The 1988 Education Act of England and Wales (47)

On the 25 September 1987, Kenneth Baker declared:

"I see the National Curriculum as a way of increasing our social coherence. There is so much distraction, variety and uncertainty in the modern world that in our country today our children are in danger of losing any sense at all of a common culture and a common heritage. The cohesive role of the National Curriculum will provide our society with a greater sense of identity." The Times Educational Supplement (48)

Following this declaration, on 7 June 1988, the Minister of Education, Kenneth Baker announced to Parliament the establishment of the 1988 Education Act. The Education Reform Act was to deliver a New National Curriculum which was to completely change the educational situation in England and Wales.

The so-called National Curriculum consists of nine subjects plus a modern language to be studied by all children. The subjects are classified as Core Subjects which include English, Maths and Science, and Foundation Subjects composed of Tech-

nology and Design, History, Geography, Music, Art and Physical Education, plus a modern foreign Language. The main difference between Core and Foundation Subjects is that pupils have to devote more time each week to the former. Religious Education must be provided by all schools and students are also to be given the opportunity to study subjects outside the national curriculum such as a second modern language.

All National Curriculum subjects incorporate Attainment Targets (goals which are supposed to establish what children are expected to know, understand and be able to do at the ages of 7, 11, 14 and 16 in each stage of the National Curriculum subject); the Secretary of States asserts:

"By 'attainment targets' I have in mind clearly specified objectives for what pupils should know, understand and be able to do which can be related to what might be expected of pupils of different abilities and maturities at or around the end of the academic year in which they reach the ages of 7, 11, 14 and 16. It is essential that attainment targets provide specific enough objectives for pupils, teachers, parents and others to have a clear idea of what is expected and to produce a sound basis for assessment and testing. They should represent current best practice and achievement." (49)

and demands Programmes of Study; (descriptions of what they should be taught to help them achieve the Attainment Targets). He also requires:

"Programmes of Study to provide a detailed description of the content, skills and processes which all pupils need to be taught so they can develop the knowledge and understanding they will need to progress through school and eventually to adult life and employment..." (50)

This process also involves Standard Assessment Tasks which are defined as a series of tests administered at four stages considered to be Key Stages. Pupils' performance will be assessed and reported at the ages of 7, 11, 14 and 16 which will be a combination of both National external tests and Teacher assessments. At 16, the main form of tests, especially in English, Mathematics and Science, will be the GCSE.

This new legislation places central control over education, and imposes a subject defined curriculum which is attempting to encourage girls and young women into scientific and technical vocations. This approach, however, is not the result of egalitarian principles alone, but is linked to demands from industry.

The National Curriculum 5-16 consultation documents state that "All pupils, regardless of sex, ethnic origin and geographical location will have access to broadly the same good and relevant curriculum" (C. Emerson & I. Goddard-1989) which at first sight implies equal access to all. But until sexism and racism are tackled within the educational institutions as well as within the state and political institutions, the disparity between white and black people, and men and women in senior positions, and in the teaching profession as a whole, will not be completely removed.

"The curriculum is to further the aims of the Technical and Vocational education Initiative - making the curriculum more practical and relevant to adult and working life and emphasising personal development, careers guidance and work experience." (51)

The National Curriculum is expected to raise educational standards to meet the needs of the economy and of industry, in short, it is bound by assumptions and priorities concerning the economy, technology and education. It aims to invest in high technological industries and priority is given to such subjects as maths, science and technology, subjects which still incorporate a hidden curriculum on race and gender. For many years, science has tended to be gender specific, reflecting distinctly masculine modes of thought and understanding. The emphasis on science will continue to stereotype those subjects which currently attract girls - eg Art, Music or chemistry, while, on the other hand, the so-called male dominated areas of achievement - such as Maths or Technical studies - will gain an ever higher status than before.

"The curriculum should also reflect the culturally diverse society to which pupils belong and in which they will grow up. The curriculum should prepare them for all aspects of adulthood - in the home and as a parent; in employment; and in the community and society, locally, nationally and internationally." (52)

The Education Reform Act intends to promote equal opportunities, but it does not take into consideration the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences, which most disadvantaged children face in adult life. Equality of opportunity cannot be fulfilled until the very nature of society changes - a society in which the working class, ethnic minorities and women are systematically subordinated to the ruling class. In her praise of the National Curriculum, Ms Angela Rumbold, Education

Minister, declared:

"In reality, our proposals reflect a deep-seated conviction that a vital aspect of education is to pass on to school children our common moral, cultural and spiritual heritage. We want all pupils to understand, love and value this. It seems to me that pupils are sometimes taught to be critical before they fully understand what it is that has been handed on to them, and I deplore the all-purpose cynicism which can result from this ... Pupils should be able to absorb our national heritage and be prepared for adult life and citizenship." The Sunday Times (53)

This Act is founded on socio-economic grounds, with a hidden agenda of not only protecting the elite, but also of promoting a "National" identity through them. Multicultural education, if it exists at all, will be left to the schools attended by children from working class and ethnic minority backgrounds - the symbolic and ideological objective being the promotion of a white and elite British national identity - for example French, Italian, Spanish, Welsh and Gaelic are part of the curriculum.

The Education Reform Act also aims to increase parental freedom of choice, but once again class and race divisions will come into play. Social inequalities will only be strengthened and those families who do not have the means will be automatically marginalised - i.e:

"Most parents will sympathize with those rebelling against the Kirklees Education Authority. The parents, mainly white, who do not wish their children to go to school where 85 per cent of the pupils are Asian are simply thinking of their educational and cultural well being. And what parents do not care passionately about that? Race has nothing to do with the argument, say the parents. But of course it does. It is silly to pretend otherwise. Mr Ray Honeyford, the former Bradford headmaster, who has had bitter experience in these matters, understand their concern. He says: 'the education of the children from the majority British culture tends to suffer in schools dominated by children from ethnic minorities.'" Daily Express (54)

Consequently, the National Curriculum will further encourage sexist and racist attitudes - parents will have the chance to opt out from multiracial schools (the Dewsbury issue), thus, labelling schools attended by children from working class and/or ethnic minority backgrounds as "bad schools". In short, the Act merely affirms the elitist policy of the government, and reinforces an already individualistic, competitive and racist education system. In this way, let C. MacNeil conclude:

"... the proposed National Curriculum reflects an imperialist and eurocentric concept of a static anglo-saxon culture which no longer exists. No matter how it is put together, it will inevitably ignore the contributions to knowledge (be it in mathematics, science or literature) of Black people that have helped to shape today's society." (55)

B. The logic behind both national systems

The degree of difference in change which occurred in the two countries reflected the relative success of their respective assertive groups in challenging religious domination over education and in reducing its monopoly. These two groups differed fundamentally since their assertion was derived from a matter of necessity. The French Bourgeoisie realized that the powerful monopoly of the church could only be challenged by a means of a policy of restriction enforced by the state, since they were lacking resources. In England, during the eighteenth century, the virtual exclusion of the middle class from political participation and their failure to implement a policy of state restriction, coincided with the possession of sufficient wealth to establish substitution (A. Green-1990).

"Thus the assertive group succeeds in bringing about replacement not through the supplies it provides itself but by use of its political authority to mobilize the necessary resources. It has gained educational control, not on the old basis of monopoly ownership of facilities but by virtue of its legislative power. Control ceases to be entrepreneurial and becomes managerial for although education remains subordinate, it is dependent upon resources owned and supplied by the State, not by a dominant group. The capacity to define instruction becomes firmly linked to political position, and, what is completely novel, can be lost with the declining political fortunes of a group." M. S. Archer (56)

The creation of public education systems involved a precise break with the traditional clerical domination of schooling. The national education systems were not simply elaborated networks of schools of the early type; they were qualitatively distinct. What characterized the national education system was its "universality" and specific orientation towards the secular needs of the state and civil society (M.S. Archer 1979). This is not to say that religion ceased to be an important influence. In all countries the church and religious sects made strenuous efforts to retain their influences, either through maintaining independent schools or by giving their services in public institutions. However, public institutions steadily overtook the independent schools and became the dominant sector even in England, where this took a long time. According to James Bowen:

"Throughout the first phase of revolutionary concern for education two complementary sequences were in operation: the dismantling of church schools as part of a policy of anti-clericalism, and the substitution of an alternative national system drawn from a synthesis of the most acceptable ideas generated during the previous four decades. Attacks upon the church were easily initiated." (57)

The churches were, in fact, the major spur towards the development of schools from the sixteenth century through to the early nineteenth century throughout Europe. The vast majority of schools in Europe were organised by churches and religious societies, and initially served largely ecclesiastical interests - eg.

"The religious element ... I found, was considered essential, and that element consists in reading the Bible. The mass of the poor have no notion as to any distinction beyond that between Roman Catholics and Protestants... I am satisfied that the working class people would insist upon having their children taught the text of the Bible, but that they are willing to permit any man professing Protestant opinion to explain it." Newcastle Commission (58)

The onset of the Protestant Reformation primarily galvanized the development of education. The particular importance of education in Protestant communities was in the nature of the religion and in the indoctrinating spirit of the Reformation. Believing that a "right understanding" depended on a close study of the scriptures, the early Protestants were anxious to spread a knowledge of the Bible, and the importance of mass literacy to this end was their aim:

"The primary impetus for this development (mass education) came from the early recognition of Protestants, from the Reformation onwards, of the powers of education as a vehicle of proselytization." A. Green-1990 (59)

Catholicism, on the other hand, remained a culture of the image, of paintings, saints and sacred ornaments, whilst Protestantism was a culture of the book.

"The prerequisites of educational domination become more complex once one is concerned with the maintenance of control and the continuity of a given definition of instruction in the face of opposition.

For the dominant group to retain its position of exclusive control it must continue to be the only supplier of the resources upon which educational operations depends." M. S Archer (60)

The objectives of English and French elites in political socialization and the reproduction of the class structure, were well served by church-education. These were challenged by new "assertive groups" drawn from those who were obstructed by existing education, either because they were denied access to it, or because the content of existing education was irrelevant to their needs - i.e. Montesquieu satirized French morals and education:

"Le roi est un grand magicien: il exerce son emprise sur l'esprit même de ses sujets, il les fait penser comme il veut... Il y a un autre magicien, plus fort que lui, qui n'est pas moins maître de son esprit qu'il l'est lui-même de l'esprit des autres. Ce magicien s'appelle le pape. Tantôt il lui fait croire que trois ne sont qu'un, que le pain qu'on mange n'est pas

du pain, ou que le vin qu'on boit n'est pas du vin, et mille autres choses de cette espèce."
Montesquieu* (61)

The French "assertive group" was then drawn largely from the professional and commercial Bourgeoisie which owned insufficient wealth to compete with the church in the educational market, but did have sufficient political influence to initiate restrictions, whilst the English "assertive group", drawn largely from the industrial middle class, lacked political power for restriction but had sufficient wealth to adopt a policy of substitution.

"The middle class, in all its sections, except the mere learned professions, finds no instruction which can suit their special middle class wants. They are fed with dry husks of ancient learning, when they should be taking sound and substantial of food from the great treasury of modern discovery." MP Thomas Wyse (62)

The policy of substitution involved creating rival institutions to ensure an educational provision compatible with their needs. As for the strategy of restriction, it involved destroying the monopoly of the dominant group through legal constraints and subsequent replacement of it through state provision.

"Education has the characteristics it does because of the goals pursued by those who control it ... Change occurs because new educational goals are pursued by those who have the power to modify previous practices." M. S. Archer (63)

According to M.S Archer, the adopted strategy, therefore, depended on the nature of the social forces in play, and in particular on the social distribution of resources. In order to employ restriction the "assertive group" had to have access to the national legislative machinery.

"It is however unintended consequence, for the diversification of educational outputs in order to service a multiplicity of operations is the price the assertive group pays for the mobilization of resources. It is the cost of control without ownership." M. S. Archer (64)

Groups adopting substitutive strategies, were, on the other hand required to have sufficient wealth in order to finance alternative educational institutions. Thus, the "assertive groups" adopting substitution tended to be the economic elite, whilst the "assertive group" adopting restriction tended to be the political elite.

"... a political elite sought financial support to develop national education: (...), educational entrepreneurs seek political support to consolidate their control... In the former, a powerful elite founds a national educational system in order to serve its various

"The king is a great magician: he exerts his power over even the minds of his subjects, he makes them think as he wants... There is another magician, stronger than him, who is no less master of his mind than he himself is of the others' minds. This magician is called the pope. Sometimes, he makes him believe that three are just one, that the bread we eat is not bread, or that the wine we drink is not wine, and a thousand other things of this kind.

goals: in the latter, educational networks already serving different goals become incorporated to form a national educational system." M. S. Archer (65)

The future course of educational development in these countries followed from the structural implications of adopting the chosen strategy.

As a result, the French policy in relation to education was based on their hegemony in the revolutionary legislative Assemblies and subsequently on their control of key administrative positions under the Empire and the July Monarchy:

"Temporary revival of popular support had been essential for the proclamation of the July Monarchy and was sufficient for the new bourgeois political elite to transform educational services to meet economic ends." M. S. Archer (66)

Their ideology stressed secular nationalism and administrative efficiency. The old institutions had been abolished and replaced by new ones established by the state. Complete educational restriction was achieved, to the extent that the previous Catholic monopoly of educational facilities was devalued, with any enduring church activities in this field only occurring if sanctioned by the state.

"The difference between these processes is, metaphorically, the difference between imperialism and confederation." M. S. Archer (67)

As a result of their new found economic wealth, the English middle class was to devalue the former Church of Scotland educational monopoly by creating alternative institutions in the form of private schools, either on a proprietary basis or through voluntary subscription (M.S. Archer-1979). Thus, the nature and interests of the two assertive groups which were professional and bureaucratic in France and entrepreneurial and non-conformist in England, both led to an attack on the educational domination of the established churches.

C. Gender and Education

The English and French Revolutions have been considered as the turning point in the foundation of their states, and above all their educational systems, systems which were to perpetuate social relations, based on class, gender and race divisions. Schooling and education policy were and still are instruments for the justification and maintenance of the ruling bourgeoisie or middle classes, and schools have since served to channel young people into status and occupational

roles that support the existing power structure. They have also conditioned the minds of students to accepting designations of inferiority which has served the ruling class system.

To question the dominant ideology, we have to take on a whole system of beliefs and must ask how students learn, and how they come to accept certain values. Formal education, like all other social institutions, has been defined by a group of policy makers, largely men; while women's and black peoples' participation in the educational process at all levels has increased in this century, their contribution is still very different from that of men who continue to control the policy making and decision making apparatus in the educational systems.

Although, we now know a great deal more than we did about the participation of women in, for instance, the French or English Revolutions, such knowledge is often either confined to books about women, or referred to in general works as a single index reference. By placing a special emphasis on revolutions, within the general context of politics and the state, it is however, possible to go beyond the exploration of absence and/or oppression of women. For it seems to be a peculiarity of revolutions in Europe that women were often unusually present. Visible and active, they were generally welcomed, at least in the early stage of any revolution, as proof that the "people", the real people, including families and children, were involved, thus profoundly legitimising revolutionary action. The women's march on Versailles and the role of women during all the societal conflicts in England in 1850s, were perhaps the best known examples, both connected with women's role as mothers and food distributors - i.e Dame Schools described to the parliamentary commission of inquiry, under the Duke of Newcastle as Chairman:

"The usual scene of these schools is a cottage kitchen, in which the mistress divides her time between her pupils and her domestic duties. The children sit round the room, often so thickly stowed as to occupy every available corner, and spend the greater part of their time in knitting and sewing. At intervals, the mistress calls them up, one or two at a time, and teaches the alphabet and easy words.

The dames most commonly have only one room for every purpose and their scholars may often been sitting round the sides of a four-post bed...

I have seen the children as closely packed as birds in a nest, and tumbling over each other like puppies in a kennel." (68)

As in France, Janet, a liberal, admitted that:

"... plus délicates, elles doivent être élevées pour la simplicité de la vie domestique, pour l'obéissance, pour la piété, pour les vertus douces et timides; ce qui est un bien pour les hommes, est un danger pour elles."* (69)

In England, as in France, a special curriculum for girls was organised around preparation for family life and motherhood. A deeply rooted popular mythology expanded the division of emotional and intellectual activity. Women were seen as the guarantors and protectors of the personal, the emotional, the particular, whereas the field, par excellence, of the impersonal, the rational and the general, was the preserve of men. That exclusion itself was a symptom of a wider and deeper gulf between male and female, subjectivity and objectivity, and indeed between love and power.

"So! Since when have people been allowed to renounce their sex? Since when has it been acceptable to see women abandon the pious duties of their households, their children's cradles, to appear in public, to take the floor and to make speeches, to come before the Senate? ... Nature has said to woman, be a woman: the tender cares due to infancy, the details of the household, the sweet inquietudes of maternity, here are your tasks ... Oh, impudent women who wish to become men ... what more do you want? ... Is it right for women to make motions? Is it for women to place themselves at the head of our armies?"

A speech made by Anoxagoras Chaumette, the Prosecutor of the Commune (70)

The French Revolution reflected a revolution in the minds of men, and only demanded a new system of government to be adopted; despite the historic gains of the French Revolution, the National Convention excluded women from their deliberations. The exclusion of women, in spite of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which had proclaimed the equality of all individuals, came from the Bourgeoisie who denied the political capacity of women:

"The world has always belonged to the males... One might expect the French Revolution to have changed women's lot. It did nothing of the kind. That bourgeois revolution was full of respect for bourgeois institutions and bourgeois values; and it was made almost exclusively by men." Simone de Beauvoir (71)

The veto was justified by the old arguments, which were renewed with vigour and drawn upon the discoveries of medicine and biology, insisting on the existence of two "species" with different aptitudes and attributes: men were credited with intelligence, clear-sighted reason, the capacity to take decisions, whilst women were identified with the heart, sensibility and feelings.

* ... being more delicate, they ought to be brought up for the simplicity of domestic life, for obedience, for piety, for gentle and modest virtues; what is good for men, is a danger for them.

"...she is qualified by nature for ministrations of love and kindness to unfortunate and suffering members of the human family. The female sex are universally acknowledged to be better suited to perform errands of mercy than males. Their tenderness, sensibility, and fervent sympathies and affection, adapt them to such merciful errands." W. M. Thayer (72)

As a consequence, women could not hold public office as they were intended for caring and domestic life and if they were placed at the head of any institutions, the state would be in danger. Men were seen as people who had their real and substantial life in the State. Science and other activities of the same kind, in short they were the right people for struggle and hard work.

"... lower races stand in the same relation to higher races that children do to adults. Their minds are so far different from the former, that there is no basis of organic equality between the two.

I think it is clear, therefore, that we are justified in debarring any order of persons from the franchise if they, as an order, indicate an inferiority based on an organic difference which is likely to render their co-operation in political or administrative life a danger or disadvantage to the community as a whole ... Now the question arises, are we to regard women as possessing a deep lying organic difference, involving inferiority, to men? If so, we shall be eo-ipso justified in opposing woman-suffrage on the ground that the well-being of the community as a whole would be endangered thereby." Belford Bax (73)

Belford Bax argued from the assumption that women like people of the lower races, were inferior. Consequently, in both countries, the organization of schooling introduced the way society was divided on the basis of gender. In these societies, girls were socialised in the expectation that their primary role would be one of wife and mother and once this expectation was accepted and internalised, the continuation of the existing sexual division of labour was ensured.

The internalisation of sexist ideology began in the home, but it was also reinforced through state agencies like the school and the Church.

"J'irais, Messieurs, beaucoup plus loin que vous dans cette voie, si l'on ne devait, en matière si délicate, tenir compte des idées qui ont longtemps régné... mais, quand il s'agit de la petite classe, des petits enfants, ah! ne transigeons pas, et tenons-nous fermes sur ce principe que le véritable éducateur, c'est la femme, c'est l'institutrice." Jules Ferry* (74)

The dominant class which held the decision making posts in the schools, predominantly controlled subject areas seen as of greater status; i.e maths and science.

* I would go, Gentlemen, much further than you in this step, if we ought not, in this sensitive issue, to take into account ideas which have long prevailed... but, when it concerns the elementary class, young children, then, we make no compromise, we hold firm to the principle that the real educator, is the woman, she is the primary teacher

while other subject areas like languages, domestic science, humanities and needle work, were connected with women as they were defined as subjects requiring less demanding processes of initiation. These subjects were believed to be an extension of the natural female function as housewives and were tied up with the idea of training girls to fulfill this role more efficiently.

Up until the First World War, a significant proportion of upper class girls never went to school at all, being educated at home under the wing of governesses - the expense of sending a boy to school was normally considered to be a more vital investment. Where income allowed, visiting masters could also be expected to polish up the accomplishments of their young charges in dancing, singing or painting, and if the family cared enough for intellectual accomplishments, they might tutor young girls in some mathematics, classics and science, but parents who considered such subjects of any use to their daughters were rare.

" Au lieu de faire aimer à la femme le rôle secondaire, inférieur, mais encore si grand qui est le sien propre, on lui répète qu'elle a droit à partager avec l'homme le premier rôle... c'est là tout simplement le renversement des lois de la nature, et c'est un véritable oubli des conditions d'une société régulière telle que la religion catholique l'institue..." Janet**
(75)

After leaving school, at any time between the age of thirteen and seventeen, daughters of bourgeois, middle or lower middle class families, in either England or France, were expected to stay at home and attend to the kind of social duties such as housework and the whole business of maintaining the family's reputation in society. In short; family life taught girls growing up in the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries about a sexual division of labour in which men were regarded as the major breadwinners and women were generally occupied at home (see B. Turner and June Purvis). Men worked, women did not. Boys and girls were treated differently and girls were likely to perceive the male world as distant, authoritative and closed to them.

Relationships between mothers and daughters were extremely important. Mothers

** Instead of making woman love the secondary inferior role, but yet which is her own, we repeat that she has the right to share with man the first role... that is quite simply the overthrow of the laws of the nature, and it is a real omission of in the conditions of a normal society such as that set up by the catholic religion.

provided daughters with some image of how their own lives might take shape. Their daughters also learned that women were expected to serve; this was seen as "natural" and "femininity" was socially defined in terms of dependency, self sacrifice and service. Families played a major part in moulding personalities and it is not surprising that so many women accepted what they were taught.

By the end of the nineteenth century, French and English girls started to frequent private schools where they were taught mathematics and some Latin, not even botany or physical geography. The aim of such schools was not primarily to develop intellectual ability, thus the girls were discouraged from showing any interest in controversies of the day of a political or social nature. They were discouraged from discussing politics at all .

As for Madeleine MacDonald, she states:

"Given that a strong sexual division of labour exists within capitalism it is not surprising that the dominant gender code of schooling in Britain is that of strong classifications which reproduces the power relations of male-female hierarchy and strong framing where teachers play a large part in determining gender definition and control." (76)

The sexual division of knowledge in French and English schools was not noticeably explicit. Some policy makers or teachers directly stated that women were suited to one area and men to another, and the model was there for the students to emulate. It was quite clear that some students were trained in skills appropriate to the division of labour, but they were also trained in accepting that this division was legitimate, that it was natural that, within the school, a great number of cleaners, helpers and secretaries were female and they served as models for the students. Sexist ideology was transmitted unconsciously, as the ideology of men as bread winners and women as homemakers came to the surface much more directly when secondary school pupils had to make their subject choices at the end of the compulsory schooling. In fact, despite the possibility of all girls studying subjects usually associated with boys - Science and Maths - female and male students tend to follow different educational routes. In these tendencies, we can see reflections from the past and it would be fair to say that the patterns of gender differences established in girls' and women's education in the eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries are still

in existence today.

Male domination did not exclusively rely upon the proof of physical strength. The male domination relied, perhaps mainly, upon traditions, customs, moral principles, religious and philosophical beliefs. A range of agents and institutions, from the family to the church and the school, have for many generations imposed this process of domination. From their childhood, obedience and subordination were inculcated in young girls, by talks, gestures, customs, common sayings, and examples. This education was also to inflict on the female sex a kind of deterrent to go beyond the relationship of the ruler and the dominated.

After the Second World War, the educational expansion or educational reform gave the impression of introducing equality of opportunity. If the vision of equal opportunities relied upon meritocracy, it never guaranteed equality of success for everyone, for this was determined by health and environment, and a super-competitive society. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, policies for the education of girls and women were translated into a school curriculum designed to ensure that women would commit their lives to domestic duties as servants, as wives and as mothers. Their education was far less rigorous, less focussed upon scientific and technical skills, but more bound by domestic concerns, than that of men.

Systematic education was not, at that time, advocated as an essential aspect of the ideal of the ladylike wife and mother. Indeed, since women, in comparison with men, were generally believed to be less original in their thinking, less creative and less capable of reasoning, their intellectual attainments were not praised. Intellectual education was supposed to make a woman into that monstrous being, a "blue-stocking", whose erudition frightened men and made her apparently physically unattractive - for example, these male attitudes were brilliantly satirized in Molière's play of 1672:

"Il n'est pas bien honnête, et pour beaucoup de causes,
Qu'une femme étudie, et sache tant de choses.
Former aux bonnes mœurs l'esprit de ses enfants,

Faire aller son ménage, avoir l'oeil sur ses gens,
Et régler la dépense avec économie,
Doit être son étude et sa philosophie ..." Molière* (77)

Chris Gaine believes that:

"Racism, sexism and 'class prejudice' are more than just prejudices because they are forms of oppression which lead to structured inequality. This is not to say that 'ageism' or prejudice against the disabled do not produce inequality, obviously they do, but 'race', sex and class have much more explicitly political pedigrees, they have been used and are used in the mainstream of political life as key elements in the beliefs of our social order." (78)

Education, in fact, has tended to act as a vehicle for the reproduction of patterns of subordination and domination which has always characterised any society. It has created conditions for the reproduction of gender and inequality in two ways. Firstly, schooling was to mould the consciousness of pupils, investing them with patterns of thought and practice which would be required of them in their adult lives, and those groups (i.e girls) who were expected to perform routine tasks were denied opportunities in school to exercise responsibility or develop initiative. Secondly, though not directly creating gender and inequality, the imbalance was legitimised through and made to appear natural and acceptable by pupils. Schooling was to shape the consciousness of the subordinate groups in such a way that girls were accustomed, at every level of the educational hierarchy, to accepting their inferiority status. The supposed system of achieving success through merit was to serve, moreover, to legitimize and bolster sexual inequalities in economic, personal and political life.

D. "C'est bonnet blanc et blanc bonnet" **

Both new Education Reform Acts by United Kingdom for England and Wales and in France have given rise to concern among ethnic minority parents about the lack of provision for multicultural and anti-racist teaching in schools, particularly given the alarming growth of racism in Europe. The French Act states that everyone

*It is not fair for many reasons,

That women should have the opportunity to study and gain knowledge.

To instil good values in children's minds,

To run a home, to look after her children,

And regulate spending economically,

Should be her study and her philosophy.

** It amounts to the same thing.

should be more open to the immediate and international communities, but it only offers European languages as a second or third language. In England and Wales, Welsh is part of the core subjects in Welsh speaking schools, and a foundation subject in other Welsh schools. The absence of other relevant community languages highlights the lack of commitment of the British and French governments, in addressing equality in education as a whole.

The attitude of both countries merely reflects imperialist principles. The French have launched the challenge to become the new European elite by encouraging people to study European languages. As for Britain, they still consider them-selves as the centre of interest, already leading the European community given their imperial past, but also due to the place the English language enjoys in the fields of business and politics.

With regard to France, the promotion of European languages does nothing but reinforce the policy of integration which in reality barely conceals the assimilationist doctrine. She remains more concerned with the glorious image of the prime mover of the European Community and certainly does not intend to be outstripped by others. Britain, in spite of all the fine words on multicultural and anti-racist education, is only safeguarding a lifelong monocultural and monolingual policy. However, both countries have been a melting pot in which races fused and shaped the nations - eg. Celts, Latins, Germanic peoples, Danes etc...

Both Acts make clear that their central concern will be to secure for all pupils a curriculum which will equip them with the knowledge, skills and understanding required for adult life and employment. There is an obvious indication that educational provision is to be planned according to the needs of each country, rather than that of the child; the education of the latter is conceived as a period of preparation for the realization of the European Market as well as the establishment of a European elite. To achieve these aims, the policy makers of each country have carefully selected the core and foundation and complementary subjects to form the

curricula which will be directed at achieving economic and political ends. The French may give the impression of undermining the Maths hierarchy, but it is difficult to deny the importance given to the superiority of Science or Maths compared with Literary or Artistic studies.

Both approaches are elitist in essence as the curricula are based on specific subjects defined in terms of what must be taught and on a precise schedule of study. The content of the curricula reflects the intentions of the curricula planners rather than the needs of the pupils who are the recipients. They do not consider at all the values of different social and ethnic groups. At this point, it is, therefore, important to take into account some broad and general aspects of the Acts which may well affect the schooling of the working class, girls and ethnic minority groups:

- The first aspect is the incompatibility between the background of values, attitudes, customs and languages and the nature of the tests themselves. Difficulties will be created by the language used in examinations for those pupils whose language is "restricted" because of their social background. It is clear that pupils for whom French or English is a second language may not do themselves justice in examinations conducted in French or English. Reasons for underachievement, through a detailed study, will be later highlighted.

- It could be suggested that while success generates success, failure leads to further failure. Pupils who may fail tests at 7, 11, 14 and 16 or are already allocated to a slow stream will, perhaps unintentionally, fall away and have constantly lower expectations. Once labelled "below average" or "slow learner" these pupils will tend to continue to produce below average performances and their teachers will settle for such a level expecting little more of them. As a result, the gaps in levels of performance between pupils in different streams, schools or options will become even greater. One reason for this is that those who perform badly will lose heart and become demotivated, given that they appear to be unable to succeed.

- When pupils are required to study subjects which have been planned without reference to their social, ethnic or cultural background, there is every possibility

that they will perform unsatisfactorily, not through any lack of ability, intelligence, innate capacities or any other such qualities we may wish to name, but because what they are offered is not designed to draw their ability out, to exploit their intelligence or to develop such capacities. This is yet another source of elitism.

Both Acts wish to give the impression of assuring equality in education for all children regardless of background, race, gender or religion and are concerned by maintaining the image of a "Democratic Society". The intention of the two Acts is to promote equal opportunity in education; unfortunately it tends to reproduce patterns of subordination and domination which characterise both societies as well as the relationship in terms of the power struggle between the North and South. Only the future will perhaps tell us who was right in promoting their policies and beliefs. Meanwhile, this does not prevent me from expressing a personal concern as well as a sense of disappointment. Education is being used to ensure the economy and health of both societies as well as to reinforce the power of the ruling classes, all at the expense of social cohesion.

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CHAPTER III. Africa, field of action for European expansion.

The following chapter will attempt to highlight what happened to the African continent and its people under colonization. In order to look at this situation in detail, I have chosen Madagascar as example because of my experience of the country.

During the second half of the eighteenth century, Africa entered the international scene and became the object of competition between the European powers. The earliest important impact on Africa was the slave-trade, and the period of its dominance lasted about two centuries, and during this era the frontiers of European influence in Africa were established on the basis of African manpower. The French Revolution seemed to show great concern about the rights of man and the inhumanity of the slave trade. The beginning of the Industrial Revolution, however, was to speed up the establishment, on a large scale, of European control. The history of Africa, Asia and South America, then, traced the gradual transition from the era of the slave trade towards colonial partition.

Colonial partition was to convert the inhuman slave trade into a new form of political and economical exploitation. Economic factors and chauvinism of the new European elites - the belief in the superiority of their culture and the duty to "civilize" the heathen - were to influence the imperial conquest. The most significant factor in giving imperialist expansion its major boost was, after all, the rivalry which developed between the powers. The British, often called themselves the "reluctant colonisers" and justified their presence in Africa as a means of seeking the establishment of a sphere of influence rather than colonies. The maritime empire which England intended to build, required the establishment of strong ports of call along all the maritime routes, to assure the indispensable provisioning of the ships and commercial loading. France, the continental power, was obliged to seek further afield than in Europe, where she was facing strong rivalry from Britain and her allies.

"Every relationship of "hegemony" is necessarily an educational relationship and occurs not only within a nation, between the various forces of which the nation is composed, but in the international and world-wide field, between complexes of national and

continental civilisations." Gramsci, A (1)

Historically, hegemonies are established by powerful states which have gone a thorough social and economic revolution - e.g. France and Great Britain. The revolution not only modifies the internal economic and political structures of the state in question but also delivers energies which extend beyond the state's boundaries - i.e. Britain ruled supreme at sea and had the capacity to enforce obedience by peripheral countries to the rule of the market. A world hegemony is thus, in its origins, an outward expansion of the national hegemony established by a dominant social class.

The economic and social institutions, the culture, the technology associated with this national hegemony become objectives for competition abroad. Hegemony at the international level is thus not merely an order among states. It is an order within a world economy with a dominant mode of production which penetrates into all countries and links into other subordinate modes of production. World hegemony can be understood as a social structure, an economic structure and political structure and it cannot be simply one of these factors but are all three.

When education is a subordinate institution, one can see that its control and the power to define the nature of instruction rests in the hands of a particular social group which considers itself as the educationally dominant group. What happened in Madagascar was markedly influenced by external powers - France and Great Britain. At the purely foreign policy level, great powers have relative freedom to determine their foreign policies in response to domestic interests, while smaller powers - i.e. Madagascar - have less autonomy. The economic life of subordinate nations is penetrated by and intertwined with that of powerful nations.

The most important factors behind Madagascar's difficulty in installing a coherent and viable educational system can be explained by two factors: economic dependency and cultural alienation. Imperial expansion appears to be a response to the emergence of the growth of capitalism in Europe which was in search of raw materials for their new factories, the desire to create new markets, the quest for

new land for large scale plantations and the interest of cheap labour in distant countries. The alleged development, however, if it has brought substantial advantages to colonial enterprises, has only meant for the great majority of Malagasy people impoverishment and subjection:

"Ce que les dirigeants actuels appellent leurs réalisations, va à l'encontre des réalisations économiques du pays, à tel point que les travaux n'étant pas finis, les sources de financement sont déjà taries. Ou dans le meilleur des cas, les travaux sont finis, l'usine tourne tout au plus une année. Et pourtant, ce sont des sommes empruntées à l'extérieur qui sont exploitées dans ces réalisations. De toutes les usines réalisées par le pouvoir actuel, les 4/5 ne fonctionnent pas, mais, bien entendu, les dettes énormes contractées pour les constituer pour les construire, elles tournent." Monja Joana* (2)

In fact, few policy makers in Europe doubted that the political and economic establishments in Madagascar were to last. Instead of having direct rule over the Malagasy affairs, the expatriation of business firms, foreign investment and advisers have become the major instruments of control.

However, this desire to control is not only influenced by economic necessity. There was, at the beginning, a cultural imperative. First, Christian missionaries contributed to the mainspring of colonization as they were concerned to lighten the dark continent by bringing the Bible for the enlightenment of the natives'spirit. Later, the secular control had to be connected to the notion of spreading western civilization and also of transforming the natives and imbuing them with western culture and values to keep them under their yoke. Nowadays, the French policy of assimilation has continued to hold weight within the educational domain since Madagascar's independence. Fewer concessions were made to Malagasy culture and institutions and schools for a long period showed a total lack of concern for them.

A.Slave-trade.

"Depuis deux siècles, quatre-vingt mille nègres annuellement arrachés à l'Afrique, allaient souffrir et périr en Amérique sous le fouet sanglant de quelques Européens. Depuis deux siècles, l'humanité dénonçait ce forfait à l'univers; mais la raison, la justice, luttant contre

*What the current leaders call their achievements, run counter to the economic achievements of the country, to such a point that works are not finished and the financial support has already run dry. Or at best, when the work is finished, the factory only functions for one year. And yet, these sums are borrowed from outside for these achievements. Out of all the factories built by the current government, 4 out of 5 do not work, but, of course, the huge debt taken on in order to build them, mounts.

l'intérêt, éprouvait toujours que si la fortune est aveugle, la cupidité est sourde et la férocité sans entrailles." Citoyen Grégoire* (3)

Pope Nicolas V's order in 1452 empowered the King of Portugal "to despoil and sell into slavery all Moslems, heathen and other foes of Christ" (4). The Pope bestowed upon the Portuguese crown all the lands in Africa discovered by the King's subjects, and promised that any man who died in exploration or conquest would have remission of all sins. He set the seal of respectability and approval on the trade by formally authorising the Portuguese to bring into perpetual slavery "the Moors, heathens and other enemies of Christ"(4') who dwelt South of Cape Bogador, including the whole coast of Guinea. The development was exploited with remarkable profit. Slavery was accepted in Portugal and Spain, where slave markets flourished. The captives were sold by public auction in the summer of 1444. All were baptised, nevertheless their servitude was total, and those desolate men and women who were sold that summer day were the forerunners of many millions of Africans, who in succeeding centuries, were to be torn from their homes, stowed like animals in the stifling holds of European ships and sold into perpetual bondage in a strange land. The African slave trade had been born and it grew rapidly.

"Our West Indies and African trades are the most nationally beneficial of any we carry on... the Negro trade... may be justly esteemed an inexhaustible fund of the wealth and naval power of this country" A Pamphlet of 1749 (5)

Just as Britain was the source of much of the Christian power in the civilizing mission of the West, France was the major source of the secular philosophy of natural rights which prompted the enlightenment belief that the political and social rights of Europeans should be extended to all men everywhere. After the substitution of the Compagnie du Sénégal by the Compagnie des Indes Orientales, the decree defined its right and duty such as:

"Les côtes d'Afrique depuis le Cap-Vert jusqu'au cap de Bonne-Esperance... tant et si avant qu'elle pourra s'étendre dans les terres, soit que les dits pays nous appartiennent, soit que la compagnie s'y établisse en chassant les sauvages et naturels du pays, ou les autres

* For two centuries, eighty thousand niggers annually dragged away from Africa, were going to suffer and die in America under the bloody whip of some Europeans. For two centuries, humanity denounced this infamy to the world; but reason, justice, fighting against profit, always felt that if the fortune is blind, greed is deaf and ferocity heartless

nations qui ne sont pas dans notre alliance."* (6)

As in Britain, the slave trade, during the eighteenth century, carried weight with the development of some ports engaged in overseas shipping. Lancaster's trade, among others, was going to be largely responsible for the growth of the overseas shipping. Its commercial success has been inseparably bound up with slavery:

"The slave trade gave new commercial investors a means to benefit from the wealth of the planters and from the produce of their plantations, at a time when local conditions made opportunities in bilateral colonial trade less accessible or attractive for them.

... Slave traders also played an active role in their Port Commission, which was committed to developing and improving Lancaster's port facilities and to promoting its representation in trading matters of national importance. The dedication of this commission was to lead to the building of a fine pier and water basin at Glasson as well as to the construction of a canal designed to make Lancaster more accessible to suppliers to the north and south." Melinda Elder (7)

The slave trade was largely channelled to the British Caribbean and French West Indies colonies, and to Brazil and Cuba for the cultivation of sugar-cane and cotton. Britain and France's wealth was built upon the suffering of Africans, and for 200 years or more the ships carried these wretched cargoes to the New World. Altogether, something like 15 million Africans endured the horrors of the slave trade. Slavery increasingly became the most important source of labour in the West Indies and Caribbean as the cultivation of sugar-cane and cotton took precedence over all other crops in these regions.

"Le commerce particulier ... prit un développement qu'il n'a jamais eu ... De 1670 à 1672 on vit pour la première fois, plus de 3.000 nègres par an transportés aux Antilles sous pavillons français." C. Dupontes* (8)

In short, the period from 1670 to the 1860s brought the gamut of expression of the highest and most elevated religious, moral and political ideals to action which resulted in the worst degradation of millions of human beings up to that time. In this period, some westerners enslaved millions of Africans, imposed forced labour upon millions of Amerindians and Asians, and established racial systems of

* The African coasts from Cape-Verde to Cape of Good Hope... as much and even beyond which it will be able to stretch into the lands, whether the said countries belong to us, whether the company established itself by driving out the savages and natives of the country, or the other nations which are not within our alliance.

*Private trade, reached a development which it had never had ... from 1670 to 1672, for the first time we saw more than 3.000 black people per year taken to the French West Indies under the French flag.

exclusion and discrimination against millions of black people. As the Governor of Barbados stated: "Three blacks work better and cheaper than one white man." (9). While slavery had been practiced in all previous civilizations without serious questioning, it was carried to particularly brutal extremes in the British and French colonies of the Caribbean, West Indies and the Southern colonies of North America. Slavery was to stimulate the commercial and industrial aspects of modernization in the eighteenth century.

"Dans les colonies qui nous sont rendues par le traité d'Amiens, [et] les îles de France et de la Réunion, qui, sans avoir été conquises se sont également conservées."

- Article Premier: "L'esclavage sera maintenu conformément aux lois et règlements antérieurs à 1789"

- Article 2. "La traite des noirs et leur importation dans les dites colonies auront lieu conformément aux lois et règlements existant avant cette époque de 1789."* (10)

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen was a historical document both for what it included and omitted, and for the unequal importance which it obviously placed on different principles. When the question of slavery arose, the relativism in the Declaration became apparent; it was judged impossible to transfer the "Negroes" abruptly, without apprenticeship in freedom, from slavery to the full status of citizenship.

"Il n' était pas seulement opportun, mais nécessaire, mais urgent de poser les bases d'émancipation. Pourquoi les colonies qui devaient périr par la suppression de la traite, doivent périr encore par la suppression de l'esclavage... Libre de fait; avant d'être déclaré libre de droit; et cela vaut mieux ce me semble que de déclarer libres de droit des hommes qu'on est obligé de conserver esclaves de fait." Agénor de Gasparin** (11)

Gasparin demanded, as a first step, a progressive emancipation implying religious principles and education. He believed in the superiority of enfranchisement, either on a voluntary basis, or by forced redemption. While Brougham declared:

"We have the greatest sympathy for the 'unmerited sufferings of the unhappy negroes', but the interests of the British colonists had to be considered. The blacks were the 'common enemy of civilised society, 'more terrible than Tartars or Cossacks'. To save, therefore,

* In the colonies which have been returned to us by Amiens Treaty, [and] the islands of France and la Réunion, which without being conquered have been kept:

- 'First Article. - Slavery will be maintained in conformity with the laws and rules prior to 1789.

- 'Second Article. - The slave trade and their importation to the said colonies will take place in conformity with laws and rules existing before 1789.

**It was not only appropriate, but necessary, but urgent to lay down the foundation for emancipation. Why the colonies which had to die by the abolition of slave trade, have once again to die by the abolition of slavery... Free by fact; before being free by right, and this is worth more, I believe, than declaring free by right men that we are obliged to maintain as slaves in fact.

'from all the hottors of negro warfare one of the fairest portions of the habitable globe', all the colonial powers should coalesce and supply France with troops a subsidies." (12)

The abolition of the slave-trade by Europe was not just a change in goods traded, but a change in the concept of man as well. European missionaries came with the traders to spread a philosophy and moral code which was derived from European historical development.

"In his opening comments on the Emancipation Bill, Stanley described British abolition as a 'mighty experiment'. Could 800.000 slaves in 19 colonies be set free without violence? Once free, would they sustain a plantation economy and its related institutions. These were momentous questions evoking the interest of people throughout the Atlantic basin. Before they could be put to the test, however, the freedmen were compelled to serve a painful and troubled apprenticeship." William. A Green. (13)

They transported to Africa the ideal of the individualistic, capital accumulating, small farmer who raised goods demanded by the European market. Africa was to be saved from the slave trade by becoming part of the European economy and culture, just as the African as a slave had been part of that economy. Whenever Africans resisted, missionaries and traders found it reasonable and imperative to crush their resistance with arms. Europe established a marked presence on the coast from which traders and missionaries spread European goods and values. When necessary, both the British and French relied on their military power to enforce the right of these traders and missionaries to operate.

B. British and French colonial expansion: 1880-1914.

The abolition of the slave-trade could be seen as a blend of humanitarianism, but it was largely a disguise for economic motives. Europe's so-called bad conscience concerning the disgraceful and abominable treatment of the black natives was about to legitimise the seizure of their lands and subsequent wars. After the war of the Spanish Succession it was mainly Britain and France which carried on a colonial quarrel. By the end of the 1870s, Franco-British colonial rivalry has accelerated the imperialist movement. The French Minister of the Navy told the Senate on 17 February 1881:

"We have ... implacable rivals who constantly seek to counter the influence we exercise in the Senegal." (14)

While the head of the African department in the British Foreign Office, H. Percy Anderson, wrote in a memorandum in June 1883:

"If there is one thing clearer than another, it seems to be that the French have a settled policy in Africa, both on the East and West coast, and that policy is antagonistic to us."
(15)

The manifestation of the French desire for rehabilitation, of the yearning to regain the former great power status, became almost a ritual in public gatherings, in political meetings, during scholarly banquets and the like. Colonization and Imperialism were regarded as a means of moral and national regeneration. Apart from the defeat of 1870-71, French imperialism was psychologically affected and promoted by the serious set-backs in the colonial sphere vis-à-vis Britain. French, Italian and Russian imperialism intended to maintain and restore national prestige. Britain's imperialism intended to maintain and raise the prestige gained in the past. However, imperialism was, also for Britain and France a question of status as a great power, or rather as world powers (Winfried Baumgart-1982).

Furthermore, Anderson explained the British reaction to France's activities in West Africa in his memorandum of June 1883:

"Action seems to be forced on us... Only one course seems possible; that is to take on ourselves the Protectorate of the native States at the mouth of the Oil Rivers, and on the adjoining coast." (16)

In the meantime, Jules Ferry wrote in his book edited in 1890:

"An irresistible movement drives the great European nations to conquer new territories. It is like a steeple chase moving head long towards an unknown destination." (17)

He characterized colonial policy as the "international manifestation of the eternal laws of competition". Hence, the motive for further colonial expansion after about 1830 falls into three categories: political objectives relating to strategy or diplomacy; economic objectives, including trade, emigration and investment; and spiritual objectives, characteristic of missionary enterprise.

b.1. The political aspect of imperialism.

The predominant feature of the age of imperialism was the idea that the ascendant powers, as they had developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, would

maintain their great power status only by increasing their strength, demonstrated by expanding beyond their frontiers, especially overseas. The Frenchman Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé clearly expressed his view:

"Diplomacy used to be concerned with the Mediterranean and the Bosphorus; now it has to do with China, the Niger and the Congo ... The great states of Europe are dividing up the other continents of Africa and Asia, in the same manner they would divide such countries as Italy or Poland ... What used to be a European balance of power is now a world balance of power, but it is subject to the same laws, and any country which does not wish to become less important must obtain as much new territory relatively as our rivals are doing." (18)

Imperialism was, therefore, rooted in by the balance of power as well as pursued for the purpose of capitalist exploitation and for displaying military force; it corresponded first and foremost with the greedy desire of the bourgeoisie, no longer content with exploiting the home market, to seek new opportunities and with the desire for new markets which each country tried to usurp.

"It would be difficult, said the newspaper *"La République française"*, to provide a complete list of the agricultural and mineral resources of the Congo region. In the valley of the Niari copper and lead were said *"abondent en quantités fabuleuses"* (to abound in fabulous quantities), numerous ore deposits were described as lying almost everywhere between Vivi and Stanley Pool (the rich copper-mines of Katanga several hundreds of miles away were not known of at that time). Gold, too had been discovered in numerous cases. Ivory and rubber were plentiful. The forests were real treasures: the natives were burning big logs of ebony and rose wood in their fire places. The extremely fertile soil would permit the growth of the most varied products." Stengers, Jean (19)

Chamberlain, on 18 March 1901, also declared in the House of Commons:

"From the moment we undertook responsibility for these spheres of influence (the British colonies in Africa) ... we made it our business to establish once and for all that Great Britannica which we established in India." (20)

Statesmen had favoured colonies which provided bases from which to attack foreign rivals or which dominated important sea routes, and had used war and peace negotiations to acquire what they sought. Colonies had also been used as cards at the peace tables, but after 1815, conditions were different: Britain and France were now the only major powers with overseas colonies. So long as these states were on good terms - which was the consistent aim of both from 1830 until at least the 1870s - colonies were seldom a matter of political contention between them; for example the Malagasy case - The British left Madagascar in the hands of the French colonizers, while in return the British got Zanzibar. The states recognised a responsibility to make commercial treaties providing the most favourable

conditions for their nationals and to support bond-holders and others who had a legitimate grievance against foreign governments, especially where governmental agreement or principles of "international law" were involved; in short, to ensure that merchants and investors enjoyed equal opportunities vis-à-vis foreign rivals.

" to establish such a policy of civil and military power, and create and secure a large revenue to maintain both... as may be the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English dominion in India for all time to come." Sir Josiah Child, Governor of the Company. (21)

Pursuit of these limited but important objectives certainly required formal territorial control to assure support for the maritime powers which were in general expected to enforce the treaties and agreements with non-European countries and also to impose "international policies" such as anti-slaving conventions, but as a general rule they were to provide support for their nationals. Also, in terms of strategy and maritime commerce, North Africa constituted a first class political interest for France and Britain, and once the Suez Canal was completed in 1869, it became the vital gateway to or guardian of the Indian Ocean.

"for the power, the supremacy and the greatness of the British Empire... The Daily Mail is the embodiment and mouthpiece of the imperial idea. Those who launched this journal had one definite aim in view... to be the articulate voice of British progress and domination. We believe in England. We know that the advance of the Union Jack means protection for weaker races, justice for the oppressed, liberty for the down-trodden. Our Empire has not exhausted itself." The Daily Mail (22)

On the one hand, to be a world power, one needed bases in all continents, otherwise one's nationals were at the mercy of other colonial governments. On the other hand, the second aspect of great power status in an age of "international rivalry" was the need for secure strategic raw materials as no great industrial country could afford to depend on others when rivalry and intensified protectionism were reaching their peak in Europe. The establishment of a closer union between the colonizers and the colonies had to be created to promote trade measures with a view to increasing the participation of these colonies in the defence contribution of the mother country, as well as a search for greater security of their market because of the market competition becoming particularly relentless.

Contrary to the slave trade, more colonies provided more prestige, more bases for their navies, so more protection for their nationals, new sources of strategic raw materials and more opportunities for emigrants to conquer the African lands to make their fortune. Colonial expansion was an area of major national interest which had to be protected - e.g. Sir Josiah Child, Governor of the Company said: "Profit and Power do jointly go together" (23).

At that time, Europe was extremely poor, but it was to become worse following wars and infectious diseases. The disturbed state of Europe in 1792-93 led to an economic depression in Britain and France, resulting in widespread unemployment and lower wages. Foreign trade and domestic industry were increasingly dislocated by the long, bitter and enormously expensive military conflict which broke out between Britain and France in early 1793. The war not only seriously interrupted trade, but placed a steadily growing tax burden on the middle and lower orders as vast sums were raised by indirect taxes on items of popular consumption. Thus, the socio-political function of imperialism was closely connected with the domestic one. Social imperialism was a means of ruling the nation since the progressive forces pressing for emancipation could be diverted abroad. Diversion of social tensions overseas via imperialism was the means by which the traditional social and power hierarchy in the industrial age could be conserved.

b.2. Economic and social forces.

The cotton industry imposed on the colonies a custom policy fit to brush aside any competition and to protect its structures - i.e.

"Nous constatons que ce sont nos colonies protégées seules qui consomment nos produits, c'est à dire celles à qui nous les imposons par la force. Incapable de lutter avec des industries étrangères, écrivait-on dès 1905, la France ne peut vendre qu'à l'abri des barrières douanières à Tananarive et à Saïgon."* (24)

Emigration, trade and capital investment were the spearhead of the empire building forces. Emigration was predictably the strongest of these. The first empire in America after all had been built by emigrants who almost claimed the right to fly

* We notice that only our protected colonies consume our products, that is to say, to those we impose on by force. Incapable to contesting foreign industries, we have said since 1905, France can only sell under the cover of custom barriers to Antananarivo and Saïgon.

the national flag wherever they established colonies. By 1830, the British and French were more and more likely to emigrate to regions that offered temperate climates and ample lands, in both countries, there were strong supporters of planned emigration which was regarded as a solution to problems of unemployment and poverty. Emigration was undoubtedly considered as a primordial Eurocentric colonial method.

"Legitimate 'civilizing trade' should take the place of the abominable slave trade." H. Brunschwig (25)

Furthermore, Samuel Crowder, stated in a report in 1857 on one of the Poruba tribes:

"Their head chiefs could not help confessing to me that, aged persons, never remembered anytime during the slave trade that so much wealth was brought to their country as has been since the commencement of the palm-oil trade for the last four years; that they were perfectly satisfied with legitimate trade and with proceedings of the British governments (i.e. with the cutting off the slave trade originating in Lagos)." (26)

At the beginning, trade with the Tropics was carried out between indigenous societies safely and profitably within the European economic systems, traders were seldom interested in political control. The organization of the "international economical relationships" was to increase the internationalization of the world economic system, thus the whole of mankind was to be governed by rules established by the "developed countries" and orientated towards their own national interests. To achieve this new "international economic order", the trading commodities could only be produced by the European penetration of African territories which systematically led to formal occupation. The immediate prospect was that trade could expand widely in most areas generating formal control by Europe. The significance of Africa as a growing point for further European colonialization was that settlement created the base for several varieties of enterprise, including whaling, trading and missionary activity - e.g. The missionary and explorer, David Livingstone, was often heard saying: "religious instruction and economic development - christianity, commerce and Civilization must go hand in hand." (27)

b.3. Missions: pioneers of colonization.

"With no roads, no wheeled vehicles, no system of government except universal

'fanompoana'* , no equitable legal administration, and in many cases no law at all except Lynch Law; with no machinery, no manufactures worthy of the name, and scarcely any trade or commerce to bring them into contact with the Great World outside them, Christianity has, at present, to do everything for the people, working upon them singlehanded without those helps which her hand maids science and civilisation in more enlightened countries afford." Rev. Charles F. Moss (28)

Christian missions were possibly the most characteristic of all forms of European enterprise in Africa and Asia during this period of colonialism. In 1830, the missionary movement had barely been formed and there was little penetration in depth; but during the next forty years the missions were to penetrate virtually every part of Africa, Asia and the Pacific. Christian missionary societies were the great artisans of colonial expansion and the connection between missionary and economical interests was not only the way to strengthen their establishment but also spread their religion. The long range effect of the "civilizing work" of the missionaries, through their introduction of the European educational system, was the creation of a large number of indigenous lower-ranking administrative officials, without whom the imperial machinery would not have worked. Their importance as a channel for European influence is unquestionable.

The British claimed that their original purpose was to put an end to the slave trade perpetuated by other countries and the power of the Royal Navy was to support them. They justified establishing secure lines of communication with India, but ironically, their influence never stopped growing, for this motive brought them into Egypt and later the Sudan and Kenya, culminating finally in the formal introduction of British rule.

"The Malagasy must come up to our standard as we have no notion of lowering it to them. The Governor is an adulterer and if possible worse, and the heathen here know that a true Christian is strenuously opposed to adultery and polygamy" Rev. Thomas Campbell (29)

The British thought that they could convert Africans to Christianity and free-trade capitalism as well as have them accept the so-called gains of integration within the British system. Imperialism was not only in the form of occupation; and both the British and French felt that it was their right to impose and protect their commercial

* Duty

interests in Africa. Even though, the styles of conquest by the British and French differed, and the influence on and administration of African territories bore the different stamps of British and French culture, the results for the African were very much the same: he was subject to European power and commercial incursion and control. Cecil Rhodes, presented imperialism as the remedy to the social issues which were the result of capitalism:

"J'étais hier à East End (quartier ouvrier de Londres) et j'ai assisté à une réunion de sans-travail. J'y ai entendu des discours forcenés. Ce n'était qu'un cri: du pain, du pain! Je revivais toute la scène en revenant et me sentais de plus en plus convaincu de l'importance de l'impérialisme... Mon idée la plus chère, c'est la solution du problème social, à savoir: pour sauver les quarante millions d'habitants du Royaume-Uni d'une guerre civile meurtrière, nous, les politiques coloniaux, devons acquérir des terres nouvelles pour y installer l'excédent de notre population, où nous puissions trouver de nouveaux débouchés pour les produits de nos fabriques et de nos mines. L'Empire, ai-je toujours dit, est une question de ventre. Si vous voulez éviter la guerre civile, il vous faut devenir impérialistes." Cecil Rhodes* (30)

While in France, the viscount Melchior de Vogüé stated in the House:

Jamais, en histoire générale, on n'a vu deux grands phénomènes dominer un temps sans qu'il y eût entre eux une corrélation étroite, immédiate. Or, deux phénomènes dominent notre temps, et non seulement notre pays, mais toutes les nations de ce temps: d'une part, une crise sociale aiguë, plus aiguë ou tout au moins plus impatiemment supportée, ce qui revient au même, que celles dont ont souffert les générations précédentes; et, d'autre part, ce mouvement universel qui précipite l'Europe sur d'autres continents, sur des mondes nouveaux, ou du moins récemment explorés. Qu'il y ait une corrélation entre ces deux phénomènes, qu'il y ait par conséquent dans l'un un remède à l'autre, nous pouvons en être certains...Voilà pourquoi je suis partisan de l'expansion extérieure." Melchior de Vogüé* (31)

Life began to depend on the price of goods in Europe rather than the demand and supply among Africans. Under the British, commercial treaties determined who

* Yesterday, I was in the East End (the working class area of London) and I attended a meeting of unemployed people. There, I heard frenzied speeches. There was only one cry: bread, bread! When I went home, I lived again the whole scene and I felt more and more convinced of the importance of imperialism... My dearest plan is the solution of the social problem: to save the forty million inhabitants of the United Kingdom from a deadly civil war, we, the colonial politicians, must acquire new lands to install the surplus of our population, where we would be able to find new outlets for the products of our factories and our mines. The Empire, I have always said, is a question of stomach. If you want to avoid civil war, you must become imperialist.

* Never, in general history, we have seen two huge phenomena dominate a time but that there is between them a tight connection, in direct contact. Now, two phenomena dominate our time, and not only our country, but all the nations of this time: on the one hand, a acute social crisis, more acute or more or less more impatiently borne, which amounts to the same thing, than those which the previous generations have endured; and, on the other hand, this universal impulse which pushes Europe forward towards other countries, towards new worlds, or at least recently explored ones. That there is a correlation between these two phenomena, that there is consequently in one a remedy for the other, of that we can be sure... That is why I am in favour of the outside expansion.

owned African land, under the French, it was military treaties; in both cases, African control over land was lost.

b.4. "Mission civilisatrice" and "Civilizing mission".

The revolutions of France and the United States, and the continued conditions of embryonic rebellion in Britain, were stimulated by massive discontent among the emerging middle classes and growing republican sentiment. While the Western nations were struggling to modernize their societies and their educational systems at home, they were also transplanting their societies to new ground, influencing other people who remained at least nominally independent of their control and simultaneously brought vast areas of the world under the direct control of their government.

"Should education follow the patterns of the local intellectual culture and tradition, or should it be entirely Western in concept and language of instruction? Should it be 'industrial' or 'literary'? Nor was the 'civilizing mission' entirely a matter of governmental effort. A large part of the educational establishment in Asian and African empires was actually in the hands of the missionary societies, and the missions' primary aim of religious theory conversion was itself a form of education." Philip. D Curtin (32)

Above all, the so-called "mission civilisatrice" or "civilizing mission" centred upon a growing feeling that the particular style of society, culture, and thought being achieved by Westerners was somehow superior to that of peoples of the "Old World" of Asia and Africa as well as to that of indigenous peoples of the "New World" of America and Australasia. Thus, the Westerners felt impelled to carry their civilization to the rest of the world, and if need be, to impose it upon others for their good as well as for the good of the West.

This mission was to have its roots in education. It was not only a reaction against the poverty and inhumanities wrought by the new industrial urbanization, but was also evidence of a growing confidence by the West in the superiority of its own Christian civilization. The civilizing mission was composed of nationalistic pride, commercial aggressiveness, religious evangelism and a belief in natural rights. All of this was summed up by the British as their "civilizing mission" and by the French as their "mission civilisatrice". The civilizing mission of the West in its

educational aspects was an integral part of the modernization process.

"More important still was the Christian tradition, which laid great stress on proselytism from the time of Saint Paul onward. If religious superiority carried an obligation to convert the heathen, cultural superiority might easily carry an obligation to convert the barbarian to civilization. The belief in this obligation, and the effort to carry it out, is sometimes called "conversionism", and conversionism was broadly dominant in Western imperial thought during the first half of the nineteenth century, both in France and in England." Philip. D. Curtin (33)

Perhaps colonialism has differed from one geographical area to another, depending on which powers were involved. It was inevitable that policies differed according to the political convictions of the colonizing nation. The French sought domination, as they believed that they had a strong sense of "mission civilisatrice", also that their task and duty was to create African, Asian and Arab Frenchmen with the same views and outlooks as the metropolitan Frenchmen. The French politicians and administrators believed in the superiority of French culture, the French language, literature and administrative structure.

"Dès mon arrivée, écrit Gallieni, je traçai la ligne de conduite à suivre à cet égard à tous ceux qui détenaient une part quelconque d'autorité: la langue française, disais-je dans une de mes premières circulaires, doit devenir la base de l'enseignement dans toutes les écoles de l'île. Les programmes seront remaniés et établis d'une manière simple, en revêtant surtout un caractère professionnel, de façon que les écoles fournissent aussitôt que possible des auxiliaires aux entreprises agricoles et industrielles de nos colons."* (34)

The French language was to be used as a means of colonial domination and control while the indigenous languages were scorned. Gradually, they designed their colonies in West Africa, North Africa and the West Indies as "Department d'Outre Mer" (Overseas Departments).

As for the British, the "reluctant colonizer", they justified the acquisition of India, Singapore, Malaysia, the Pacific Islands and some of the Caribbean territories as a means of preventing others from getting control over them. Thus, in Central and Southern Africa, there was a much more deliberate policy of getting there first and of civilizing the natives.

"Our people, when they go into the possession of a new territory, carry with them such a power of initiative, such an extraordinary courage and resource in the solving of new

* From my arrival, wrote Gallieni, I outlined the line of actions to be followed by all people who held some part of authority: the French language, I stated in one of my circulars, must become the foundation of the teaching in all schools of the island. The curricula will be reorganised and established in a simple way, by assuming above all a professional character, in order that the schools offer as soon as possible auxiliaries to agricultural and industrial firms of our settlers.

problems and the facing of new difficulties, that if they are pitted against an equal number - I care not what race it is, or what the part of the world it is - and if you keep politics and negotiations off them, it will be our people that will be masters, it will be our commerce that will prevail, it will be our capital that will rule, though not a sword has been unsheathed, and though not a blow has been struck in their defence." Lord Salisbury (35)

Their "civilizing mission" appeared not to have a common colonial policy and varied from colony to colony according to the different racial and ethnic group involved. Frequently, concern was expressed that certain groups such as Muslim in Northern Nigeria should not be corrupted by contact with Western civilisation. The power of the Muslim Emirs, believed to be deep-seated, was assumed to require only some form of 'indirect' rule. Accordingly, the social and political structures were to be maintained as a means of preserving them from the worst effects of European influence. At the same time, the British rulers believed that they had the mission to 'improve' the social and political structures by eliminating practices considered to be morally unacceptable and introducing useful European exports, such as education and 'honest' administration (D. K Fieldhouse-1982).

For example Lugard's was to introduce a close supervision of 'direct' with 'indirect' rules tolerance of indigenous social and political structures. His first principle was that African colonies had to be supervised by a strong central British government, but that actual administration was to be left to native authorities, preferably hereditary chiefs, who must be both 'unfettered' and yet 'subordinate'. By 'unfettered', Lugard meant that they were to be largely autonomous with their own treasuries, courts, laws, etc. On the other hand, 'subordinate' implied that they lost control over foreign relations, obeyed laws made by the colonial government and the orders of British officials, and contributed their revenues to the colonial treasury (D.K Fieldhouse-1982)

Just as Britain was the source of much of the Christian catalyst to the civilizing mission of the west, France was the major source of secular philosophy of natural rights which prompted the belief that the political and social rights of Europeans should be extended to all men everywhere.

"Cultural conquest leads to the cultural inauthenticity of those who are invaded; they begin to respond to the values, the standards, and the goals of the invaders... In cultural

invasion it is essential that those who are invaded come to see their reality with the outlook of the invaders rather than their own; for the more they mimic the invaders, the more stable the position of the latter becomes." Paulo Freire (36)

They personified the enlightenment philosophy that while slavery was contrary to nature, the benefits of Western civilization nevertheless should be carried to the "less civilized" societies of the French colonies. They even argued that certain young people should be selected for special instruction in the values of Western civilization so that they could form an elite corps of political missionaries to convert on behalf of the European society.

Consideration of another aspect of the civilizing mission, will lead us to realize that the Industrial Revolution would not have happened without the manipulation of the environment which in turn gave way to the launch of the agricultural and demographic revolutions, the construction of canals, roads and railways, the speeding up of the stride of the technical programme and the colonial expansion. From this emerged an economic planning, the establishment of the hierarchical scale of dominance, with new countries coming into sight and classified according to their economic progress as; "followers", "backward industrialization", "dominated" or "belated". The civilizing mission was to accelerate the disruption of the African or Asian system by the destruction, the eviction or the emasculation of the indigenous civilisations, which was to prove to be one of the factors in maintaining the "backwardness", the impoverishment and the difficulties of the Third World as we know it today.

The civilizing mission was justified by Europe in two ways:

- to give to the European populations new sources of wealth which would give access to raw materials and the establishment of a market which would facilitate the outflow of industrial products,

- to contribute to the good fortune of the African populations by introducing "civilization" to them.

"Once Britain and France annexed West Africa, they controlled educational policies in the areas under their jurisdiction. French colonial policy is usually characterized as 'assimilationist' - a policy of having Africans conform to a highly centralized French education,

using the same curriculum and language as in France... All Africans going to school were therefore educated to become 'black Frenchmen'. British policy, on the other hand, is characterized as 'adaptive' - a policy that evolved through Buxton, the Education Committee of the Privy Council to the Colonial Office in 1847... The British believed that the African had to be transformed and that education would be the vehicle of this transformation. But the African was not to become British; rather, he was to be educated to be a cultivator, in keeping with the British view of local African conditions, present and future." Martin Carnoy (37)

The proclaimed humanitarian intention was, therefore, to disguise economic interests, for the wish to dominate was hardly in accordance with the "liberal and democratic ideals" of which the European powers claimed to be the upholders.

C. The transplanting of educational systems on Africa

"To most colonial educators, cultural development meant the expansion of a replicative school system that measured cultural scientific advance by the number of students who could clearly demonstrate (by examination) that they had been pumped full of a foreign heritage." Halifax, N.S (38)

c.1. Early education in Africa.

Before Western nations came to Africa, forms of education existed, such as education for life which was part of the community or the tribe in which the younger generation was prepared for their role in society through organised patterns and systematic instruction. Young people learnt to accept the authority of elders, as well as specific skills in hunting, fishing or cultivation. They also learnt the wisdom of the community through stories and proverbs, forms of address and praises given in honour of the chief or distinguished personal figures of the community. Proper behaviour and a sense of responsibility towards the community as successors of the older generation were similarly taught. In short, they were prepared to play their part in the building of the nation.

"Indigenous African education was relevant and closely linked to the spiritual and material aspects of social life before colonization by European imperial powers. There was little separation of learning and productive labor nor any consequent division between physical and intellectual labor. This educational process reflected the realities of African society and produced people with an education which equipped them to meet the material, spiritual, and social needs of the society." Julius K. Nyerere (39)

The development of these earliest forms of education was ruthlessly interrupted by slavery and the slave trade which carried away millions of able-bodied men and women. Later on, the expansion of colonial enterprise swept away the remaining

strength of these civilisations and planted in their place a new Western civilization. From this period on, we can see the significance and place of education in the manifold processes which have shaped the African or Asian continents, with the building of the Christian communities, the expansion of Western imperial influence through territorial acquisition and the establishment of strong and viable Western educational systems.

c.2. Slave education

"In the colonial society, education is such that it serves the colonialist. In a regime of slavery, education was but one instruction for forming slaves." Statement of Mozambique Liberation Front (40)

From the moment the slaves arrived in the West Indies and Carribean plantations, the general rule was to break the spirit of the Africans. This was achieved by the separation of tribes, kinsmen, friends and families. The slaves were deprived of any meaningful kinship relationship or links with their roots. Africans lost their own languages and were forced to adopt the language of their masters in order to communicate even with each other. In addition, the planters felt that for their own safety, they had to disperse the slaves of the same tribal or ethnic group to different plantations so that they could not easily understand each other and thus consort to plan an uprising. As long as they were necessary only as slaves, no need was seen for education, religion or otherwise. Their only education lay in flogging, degradation and brainwashing until their life in Africa was washed out from them along with any thoughts of happiness.

"Je suis venu avec tous les préjugés d'Europe en faveur de l'instruction qu'on leur doit par les principes de notre religion. Mais si la saine politique et les considérations humaines les plus fortes s'y opposent. La sureté des blancs exige qu'on tienne les nègres dans la plus profonde ignorance. Je suis parvenu à croire fermement qu'il faut mener les nègres comme des bêtes." Fénelon* (41)

Not only did the whites judge African culture unworthy, but they also wanted to ensure that the entire non-white population including the slaves, accepted the superiority of white culture, including the values which they espoused, although they

*I came with all European prejudices towards education which we owe them by the principles of our religion. But sound politics and the strongest human considerations are opposed to it. The white people's safety demands that we keep the black people in complete ignorance. I have come to believe firmly, that we must deal with the black people as animals.

did not necessarily live by those values. They forced them to admit that white men were wiser and better than the black men and women and trained them to believe that once they recognized whites to be their superior in understanding they were likely to benefit from their example and instruction. This was assumed to represent one of the great steps towards civilization. In other words, any success in an attempt to socialize the slaves into the norms and values which they preached, depended largely on an approach which would convince them of their own inferiority and the superiority of the whites.

"I am persuaded that it is neither my business nor in my power to deliver them (the slaves) from the bondage of men. I have always conceived it my duty to endeavour thro' divine assistance to direct the poor negroes, how they may be delivered from the bondage of sin and Satan, and to teach them the pure principles of Christianity, which will not only lead them to sobriety, industry and fidelity; but will make them loyal subjects, obedient servants and children... I not only endeavour to avoid any expression which might be misunderstood in this respect but always endeavour to endear them to each other, and particularly their employers, in fact all who have authority over them." Rev. Elliot (42)

The outcome of such efforts was that the slaves came to imitate their masters in every action and expression, seeming to subscribe to the view that "Massa can do no wrong".

While the politics of dispersal made it difficult for the slaves to preserve their own cultural heritage, including their African languages, they began however to develop their own local culture, including a language, "creole" or "patois", and their own forms of entertainment which were "basically African in character" but had acquired a "European overlay". They would recall the folk tales, dances and music of the particular African tribes from which they had come and attempted through oral transmission to keep them alive.

Music and dancing were their principal diversions from the hardships of slave life. In the evenings, or on Sundays or on holidays, there was always dancing to the beat of drums in the slave quarters. Singing was popular among them and their songs were usually improvised. They also sang funeral dirges, the content of which suggested that they considered "death not only as a welcome and happy release from the calamities of their condition but also a passport to their place of

nativity". African religious beliefs had to be kept secret, because to the whites, and especially to the missionaries, they were signs not only of heathenism but of moral decadence.

c.3. The prelude to colonial education

After the slave trade was abolished, missionaries and traders were given an important motivation to stimulate trade in other products, such as palm oil, cocoa, and ground nuts, to "civilize the Savage" and make him into a producer of "legitimate" trade goods - an end to the human trade but the beginning of human exploitation in a different form.

Slavery and the new religious mission in Africa were no longer compatible - a new form of domination was sought. Christianity which was a well structured system was to be the spearhead of colonization and in the name of their so-called "Religious Faith", the missionaries were to disrupt the structure already in place in order to impose their own. As a result, early education in Africa was part of the history of the establishment of the Christian church and education, in the form of evangelism which formed an integral part of Western missionary enterprise methods. Building church-schools was not only for the purpose of creating literate Christian communities, but also for the expansion of Christianity.

"In civilized [European] countries, the office of the missionary is simple and well defined. In the discharge of his duty, he has to follow the example of Christ and His Apostles, preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom of God; but when the missionary has to reclaim the people, whom he is sent to instruct from a wandering life, to collect them together into villages, and to elevate them into a state of civilization, in the management of his arduous undertaking, he is left to little more than the fruit of his own observation and experience." John Philip (43)

The history of the London Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society and the Catholic Church were part of the history of African educational developments. These societies were connected with some of the early ventures in educating Africans. The establishment of the Bible Society in 1804 also had considerable significance for education and evangelising as it promoted the circulation of the scriptures. The translation of portions of the scriptures involved a great number of indigenous Africans or Asians and was in itself an educational process of enormous

importance (A. Rajaonarison-1985).

A case in point and one worthy of analysis is the evolution of the political and educational systems in Madagascar, which reflected the philosophy and ideology of either the Missionary Societies, the Catholic Church or the colonial powers and were designed to serve the needs and interests of these groups as perceived by them.

D. The case of Madagascar

d.1 The advent of the Merina kingdom

i. Andrianampoinimerina: the father of the Merina Kingdom

Through internal migrations, tribal warfares and treaties, Madagascar gradually reached some political and social cohesion. Madagascar was divided into many kingdoms but dominated by the Merina* , the Sakalava** and the Betsimisaraka*** kingdoms, which controlled large areas in the centre, on the west and east coast respectively of the island.

In 1787 came to the throne of Imerina Andrianampoinimerina who made it his duty to enforce a programme of administrative reform, to conquer and expand the Imerina* territorial; "Ny riaka no valamparihiko"** reflected, already, the idea of national unity (Boiteau, P-1958). At the beginning, the "Hauts Plateaux" were divided into numerous small kingdoms, but as a good lawmaker, a good administrator as well as an expert and tireless strategist, he brought all the central region of the "Hauts Plateaux" under his sway. While Andrianampoinimerina strengthened the Imerina foundations by a series of innovations which were realized within the

* "Merina" also known as the "Hova" were the inhabitants of the Imerina, situated in the central regions. Because of the numerical superiority of the Hova class, all the inhabitants of Imerina and the rest of the island were generally referred to as the Hova people. Today the terms "Merina" and "Hova" are practically synonymous.

** The "Sakalava" are the inhabitants of the west coast.

*** The "Betsimisaraka" are the inhabitants of the east coast.

* The "Imerina" or the "Hauts Plateaux" were the central region.

** The sea is the limit of my paddy field.

context of Merina ancestral traditions, with diplomacy and strength he extended the frontiers of his kingdom. The excellent administrative, judicial and fiscal reforms were to lead the Merina Kingdom to a stratified society and regularise the roles of various members of the Imerina kingdom. At the top of the social hierarchy and directly under the monarch were the "Andriana" (nobles) - they were introduced by many local traditions as foreigners: "Tsy mba manana tanidrazana any"*** (44). The descendants of the first King enjoyed some limited privileges of which the most important was exemption from royal drudgery.

The next major group in Merina society was the "Hova" (free men) and they constituted the rising class of that period. Most of them became significantly rich by trade. They were middle class of traders, craftsmen and well-off farmers. The Hova had their own caste divisions; some Hova became "tsy-maty-manoto" owing to the services they had done - these Hova and their descendants enjoyed certain immunities and could not be sentenced to death or reduced to slavery. The "Hova-vao" - freed slave after the payment of a very high sum of money; the "Zaza-Hova" - former Hova reduced to slavery for debt or for certain condemnations -, some "Zaza-Hova" were ransomed by the King and became "Tandonaka" - servants of the palace; the "Tsiarondahy" - royal slaves who were, in general, prisoners of war and really considered as the royal slaves. Even ransomed, they were forbidden to become allied to Hova, and formed the army corps and enjoyed a relatively favourable situation . If they were brave and fought well, they were allowed to buy some properties; the last were the "Andevo" - namely slaves who were captives of war or imported blacks from outside as well as their descendants. Royal drudgery, which lasted for certain people up to four days, was forced upon farmers and craftsmen (Boiteau, P-1958 - Gow, Bonar A -1979).

"Les luttes et rivalités entre clans étant à jamais terminées, je veux que dorénavant la lutte ait lieu sur le terrain du travail et de l'industrie. Les provinces de ceux de mes sujets qui faibliront à leur tâche seront condamnées à payer une amende de 1.000 piastres, le loknam-panompoana, au profit de celles dont les habitants se seront fait remarquer par leur

*** We do not have ancestral land at this place.

zèle et leur ardeur." Andrianampoinimerina* (45)

Andrianampoinimerina did not restrict his task to the unification and the improvement of the Merina kingdom, aware of the importance of the trade and industry, he created the "Tsena" (big trading market) and ensured the safety of trade. In return for the security he provided, the King required his people to give their labour for the building of roads, bridges and dykes, to perform military service, and pay rent for the land they farmed. His major goal was the boosting of agricultural production and he repeatedly encouraged his subjects to work. The expansion of the kingdom and security, which became far less unstable in time, allowed during his reign a growth, without precedent, of the trading markets - e.g. Mayeur stated:

"On trouve dans ces tsènes généralement toutes les productions de cette grande île et même beaucoup de marchandises de l'Inde qu'y importent les Européens et les Indiens de Surate. C'est purement et simplement un commerce d'échange avec les naturels du pays dans lequel ils emploient peu de numéraire... Les objets qui trafiquent sont déjà connus: ils consistent en boeufs vivants et viande fraîche et boucanée, moutons, riz, fer ou fonte, fer ouvragé, bois de construction, et en cordes, raffia, soie écrue et filée, coton, noix de tanguin, écorces ou indigo pour teintures, tourbe, oies, canards, poules, pigeons, sel marin de Mouzangaye (Majunga), sel de bois, outils d'agriculture et ustensiles de ménage, poteries et pagnes de toute espèce, bijoux d'argent et de cuivre, corail, etc., toilerie et soieries de Surate, étain, cuivre jaune, drap écarlate, borax, soudure, creusets, etc. Les marchands d'esclaves sont presque les seuls qui emploient les piastres que les Européens répandent chaque année à Madagascar..."* (46)

With a wide range of livestock and agricultural products and an iron industry based on ample supplies of ore and wood from the forests of the Bezanozano, Imerina was self-sufficient in everything except firearms and ammunition. Agriculture, especially rice-growing was encouraged with the support of the people and their cooperation in irrigation and other public works.

* Wars and rivalries between clans being for good brought to an end, I want from now on the fight to take place in the area of work and industry. Those of my subjects who ease off in their duty will be condemned to pay a fine of 1.000 piastres, a kind of duty-tax, for the benefit of those whose inhabitants who will be noticeable by their zeal and their ardour.

* We find in these trading markets, generally, all the productions of this large island and even a lot of goods from India which are imported by Europeans and the Indians of Surate. It is purely and simply a trade of exchange with the natives of the country within they use little currency... The goods which are traded are already known: they consist of oxen and fresh and smoked meat, sheep and muttons, rice, iron or melting, iron finely worked, timber, and goods made with cord and raffia, raw and spun silk, cotton, tanginnut, bark or indigo for dye, peat, geese, ducks, chickens, pigeons, sea salt of Majunga, potash salt, tools for farming and household cleaning stuff, pottery and loincloth of all kinds, silver and copper jewellery, coral, etc., textile manufactures and silk from Surate, pewter and brass, scarlat wollen cloth, borax, solder, crucibles, etc. The slave traders are almost the only people who use the piastres which the Europeans distribute every year in Madagascar...

A culture was also already present in Imerina. Mayeur noted that:

Toutes ces subdivisions qui supposent au premier abord des calculs difficiles et des négociations lentes, n'arrêtent cependant pas les Hovas. Il semble au contraire qu'elles disposent leur esprit à la science de l'arithmétique, en même temps qu'elles le rompent à l'habitude et à la facilité des négociations. J'ai souvent été étonné de la justesse et de la précision avec laquelle ils calculaient une affaire. Enfin, il est rare qu'ils commettent entre eux des erreurs de comptes et de paiements."** (47)

The King had also the opportunity to be introduced to the "Sorabe" (Arabic script) and aware of its importance, he sent for eleven well educated Muslims among the most famous ones to become the private-tutors of his son, the future Radama. As a result, the first laws, not written yet, which had to become a means of the government, were released from and codified. The medicine relied upon the virtues of the plants and the sellers of plants were subjected to a preliminary exam before obtaining the right to practice.

Andrianampoinimerina had raised the Merina kingdom from a group of petty kings to the foremost military power in the island. The king, not to isolate himself from the people, created a general council, to advise him. This council was constituted of three groups of notables: the "fifty" were the royal agents known as "vadin-tany" (hubsbands of the earth); there were chosen from all free castes and acted as wandering inspectors and judges of the king, along with an inner council of twelve great chiefs; known as the "twelve", chosen from those who contributed to his ascension to the throne, and they had to travel throughout the kingdom to convey the king's wishes, judge the more serious disputes, collect taxes and ensure that the public works were carried out; and the "seventy", known as "Tsindranolahy" who were engaged as his personal guards (Boiteau, P-1958 - Raison-Jourde-1991).

"Ils avaient la confiance d'Andrianampoinimerina et constituaient ses conseillers dans le royaume, ses hommes de confiance dans les délibérations relatives aux affaires de l'état... Quand Andrianampoinimerina formait un projet. Il leur disait: "Exprimez votre façon de voir sur ce que nous avons à faire". Et chacun donnait son avis. Ils étaient nombreux, ceux qui prenaient part à la délibération. Tels étaient ceux qu'Andrianampoinimerina,

** All these subdivisions which presume at first sight difficult calculations and slow negotiations, do not, however, stop the Hova. On the contrary, it seems that they incline their spirit to the science of arithmetic, at the same time, that they develop the habit and the skill of negotiations. I have been surprised at the accuracy and the precision with which they worked out a business. In conclusion, it is rare that they make, between them, mistakes in accounts and payments.

consultait quant il demandait conseil au peuple." Callet, F* (48)

The king, however, communicated directly with the people by means of Kabary**.

"Si le souverain règne, c'est à cause du peuple... si la population jouit de la paix, c'est grâce au souverain, si le peuple et le Roi se rapprochent, la population jouit de la paix, car ils ressemblent à des perles étayées par de l'or, qui se rapprochent pour former un collier." *** (49)

Andrianampoinimerina cemented the Merina into one united people and during his reign he heavily relied on the "fokonolona" (the council of elders) which regulated the affairs of the village, especially those concerned with the apportionment and use of land and other prominent members of the Hova class, who had assisted him in the conquest of the "Hauts Palteaux" and in the consolidation of his authority in Imerina (Heseltine, Nigel 1971).

The policy of unification carried out by Andrianampoinimerina had certainly a determining influence on the evolution of the Imerina. On the occasion of a Kabary Andrianampoinimerina stated:

Dama, tu es l'héritier des douzes rois et le mien. Et vous autres compagnons, vous vous efforcerez d'agrandir le royaume, afin que Laidama ait le coeur comblé et fasse le bonheur de vos femmes et de vos enfants. Si le royaume s'étend au loin, on vénèrera votre roi et sa volonté sera respectée. Ne laissez donc pas au seul Laidama la charge de ce pays, parce que le nom d'un père célèbre est un lourd fardeau, et il est malaisé de faire régner un roi. N'envoyez pas mon fils à la tête des armées, je vous l'ai déjà dit; je le rappelle, afin qu'il vous en reste un souvenir constant. Laidama ne servira pas de modèle: il sera un roi, libre de toute obligation. Vous ne direz pas à son égard: 'Malheur à la jeune pousse, qui n'atteint pas la hauteur de l'arbre majestueux'. Vous ne porterez pas ombrage à celui qui vous commande. Vous ne prendrez pas la mesure de votre roi, parce qu'il a pour partage la terre et la grandeur royale. Quant à toi, Laidama, en presence de tout l'Imerina ici rassemblé, je t'assigne la mer comme frontière de ton domaine, mais je voudrai qu'Imavo

* Andrianampoinimerina had faith in them and they formed his advisers in the kingdom, his reliable men in the debate on state affairs... When Andrianampoinimerina had the idea of doing something... He told them: 'Express your ways of seeing what we have to achieve'. And everyone gave his advice. Those who took part in the debate were numerous. Such were those whom Andrianampoinimerina consulted when he sought advice from the people.

** Public meeting. The Kabary was a driving force of the Malagasy political life and it represented the decisive opportunity for the exercise of collaboration between the king and the people's representatives.

***If the sovereign reigns, that is because of the people...if the population enjoys peace, it is thanks to the sovereign, if the subjects and the King come together, the population enjoys peace, because they are like pearls supported by gold, which come together to form a necklace.

recueille ton héritage.* (50)

Andrianampoinimerina, who trained Radama to the kingship and entrusted him with a symbolic command of two small expeditions, designated him as his successor which was approved by the people.

ii. Radama I and the British involvement.

Radama I, to achieve his ends, modernised and reorganised the Merina army with the help of Brady - an English mixed-raced from Jamaica -, Hastie - a former non-commissioned officer of the Mauritius garrison -, and Robin - a French lance corporal who has served in the Imperial armies (Gow, Bonar A-1979 - Boiteau, P-1958). James Hastie had little difficulty of convincing Radama I of the benefits of European technology. On 13 October 1817 was signed the first Malagasy-British:

In the treaty which the English Governor of Mauritius entered into with madagascar in 1817, and which was renewed in 1819, he relinquished all territorial claims in Madagascar, regarding and designating Radama King of Madagascar. The British Governor also declared by proclamation that he considered Madagascar at that time 'an independent power, united to England by treaty of friendship and alliance, on whose territories no nation had any right', and further, that the power in Madagascar to whom we were thus bound by treaty had notified the Government of Mauritius, and the British naval officers on the coast, that it did not acknowledge any rights of property in the soil of Madagascar on the part of any European Power." Foreign Office official (51)

The treaty referred to Radama I as the "King of Madagascar", it also agreed to supply firearms, ammunitions, military stores and a sum of money; it specified that some of Radama I's subjects were to be trained in arts of blacksmithing, silver-smithing and other trades in Britain and Mauritius. In return, the King agreed to abolish the slave trade and because of Sir Robert Farquhar's - the British Governor in Mauritius - insistance, Radama I allowed the arrival of missionaries because of

* Dama, you are the heir of the twelve kings and me. And you other companions, you shall endeavour to expand the kingdom, in order that Laidama has an overjoyed heart and brings happiness to your wives and your children. If the kingdom stretches far off, they will venerate your king and his wish will be respected. Then, do not leave to only Laidama the responsibility of this country, because the name of a famous father is a heavy burden, and it is difficult to make a king reign. Do not send my son at the head of the armies, I have already said this; I recall it, in order that you will constantly have it in our memory. Laidama shall not serve as a model: he will be a king free from all obligations. You shall not say in this respect: 'woe betide the young shoot, which does not reach the height of the majestic tree'. You shall not offend the one who commands you, you shall not size you king up because he has the earth and royal greatness. As for you as a gift, Laidama, in the presence of the all Imerina here gathered, I set you the sea as the frontier of your estate, but I will like Imavo to reap your inheritance.

their technological abilities but he was not absolutely interested in the religious aspect:

"Quant à l'article où vous me parlez pour la religion, la civilisation..., comme je vous l'ai écrit à la Société missionnaire, cela ne peut se faire avant d'apprendre à travailler mon peuple,...avant tous les métiers et les arts doivent être pour le moment le plus à considérer."* (52)

Radama I wanted European technology but not European Christianity because conversion to Christianity would have meant the renouncement of his traditional religion while he was the representative of the royal ancestors, and the protector of the ancestors of his subjects, as well as the guardian of the national "sampy" (talismen). In 1820, the London Missionary Society (L.M.S), which was to prove the decisive factor in gaining a favoured position for Great Britain at the Merina court, sent four missionary-artisans to Antananarivo (Capital of Madagascar): one carpenter, one blacksmith, one weaver and one tanner-shoemender. In 1826, two other missionary workers arrived but Cameron was to play an important role in the training of Malagasy craftsmen (Boiteau, P-1958).

The fruits of his reforms and innovations reflected in his campaigns: he extended his kingdom to the east coast at the expense of the Betsimisaraka and installed military post in the Sakalava kingdom. Further north, he was acknowledged as the supreme sovereign by two rulers. He also conquered the south east of the island and established military posts, with Merina governors, in the outlying provinces; at Fort-Dauphin, Tamatave, Mahabo and Marovoay. The extension of his kingdom made necessary the transmission of written orders and these settlements also acted as trading posts for imported goods and they secured the income of the state because of the increase in trade with the outside. Despite his education by Arabs teachers, Radama I found that Arabic did not suit the Malagasy mode of speech, and that it was only written with difficulty by himself and his subjects (Bonar A. Gow-1979). He, then, agreed to base the written language on the Latin rather than the Arabic alphabet. A Committee was formed by the King in person who pointed out that he was encountering difficulties in the English language such as distin-

* As for the article in which you inform me of religion, civilization.. as I have written to the Missionary Society, this can not be done before we teach my people how to work, before everything else skills and arts must for the time being, have the first consideration.

guishing different sounds of the same letter. Thus he stated that the Malagasy language would use English consonants and French vowels. The written culture of Madagascar was instituted, based on the London Missionary Society and the first school was opened on December 3rd 1820 in Antananarivo, by the English Reverends Jones and Griffiths of the London Missionary Society (Mervyn Brown-1978).

The decision on the alphabet was to spread the Malagasy texts and lessons for use in the schools and what was for Jones and Griffiths the essential task, the translation of the Bible and the creation of a dictionary. Aware of the importance of the task, Jones requested more men from the L.M.S which reacted promptly to the request. On the one hand, the king asked Jones to continue with his school for royal and notable children - the Palace School created in 1820, known later as the Royal Academy. And on the other hand, Griffiths opened a new school, known as the Public School, for the children who were personally selected by Radama I which included a number of girls. By the beginning of 1826, five years after their arrival, the missionaries had not only created a considerable network of schools in and around Imerina, but had completed the translation of the New Testament and substantial portions of the Old. All this was the achievement of David Jones and Griffiths.

It was not until September 1826 that further help arrived; Reverend David Johns and Joseph Freeman, who arrived a year later, made a valuable contribution to the work of translating the Bible and to the preparation of the first comprehensive English-Malagasy dictionary. A printing-press and two more artisans, Cummins (a cotton spinner) and Cameron (a carpenter) were to contribute to the new drive of the work of the missionary-artisans. The teaching in English was only abandoned in 1822, in favour of the Malagasy language. They come to that decision because they believed that Malagasy would be much more effective and of special importance for teaching students the concept of obeying and serving their sovereign:

"... that it is the very thing that we inculcate upon them everyday (when) we tell them that they will sin against Good if they do not honour their king." Griffiths (53)

Rapid progress in learning was noticed and every child was believed to be able to read and write Malagasy, while a few could write English. Griffiths and Jones were eager to expand and to begin employing these students as teachers and catechists and to complete the work of the missionaries.

Of all the changes made during Radama I's reign, the most far reaching in its efforts was the introduction of British missionaries; Radama I gave every support to the work of the missionaries in teaching, the spreading of the written Malagasy language and the increase in useful crafts. All these activities impeded the L.M.S main purpose, spreading the Gospel and converting the heathens; e.g: "... proud, jealous, extremely ignorant and superstitious" (54). Radama wanted European technology to achieve his aim but did not show any encouragement for the religious teaching.

When Griffiths and Jones decided to:

"... petition the king for a law enforcing his people to cease from labour on the sabbath, when it will be judged prudent and advisable to do so; an enactment from His majesty appointing that persons should be properly married, and that divorce should not be made as it is done here for all trifling causes..." (55)

The king resisted the petition but his band was forbidden to play any tune other than "God Save the Queen" on Sunday, while he made no attempt to modify the marriage or divorce laws, nor did he forbid all activities on the Christian sabbath. Great Britain was the main instrument of Radama I's policy and his friendly reception of Europeans did not speed up the reception Christianity and its message. On the contrary, by tolerating the existence of Christianity, he allowed the development of schools which were to allow the emergence of new elites in the service of the state. Teaching was to become an ideological means in the service of the king as it affected a very restricted group. The missionaries, by stressing obedience and service to the king on the Merina young elites, were to play an important role in the justification and the spread of the spirit of conquest. The extension of the Merina authority over the island was the principal aim of the king and this required the creation of a well organised and disciplined army.

While the British influence became more and more important, France was not

inactive. Aware of the importance of two Frenchmen working for Radama I - Robin who won Radama I's confidence, became his personal secretary and tutor; taught him to read and write French and set up a classroom in the Palace to teach some of the royal children, and Louis Gros who set up a workshop, trained a number of apprentices in carpentry, joinery and cabinetmaking and was also responsible for the building of the king's Palace - France protested vigorously against Farquhar's assumption of authority over Madagascar after the treaty of 1817. As Westminster had little interest in acquiring new responsibilities in Madagascar, and even less willingness to have a row with France, the British government agreed with France that former French establishments in Madagascar had to be handed back (Mervyn Brown-1978).

iii. Rainilaiarivony : A political approach of equilibrium.

Being conscious of the aspiration for wealth and the desire for settlement of Great Britain and France, the Merina monarchs, since the beginning of the nineteenth century had practiced a policy which consisted in not giving foreigners the possibility to come and settle down in Madagascar. The article 85 was then inserted into the fundamental code of laws promulgated by the Queen Ranavalona II on the 29 March 1881:

"les terres malgaches ne peuvent être vendues, ni hypothéquées aux étrangers, ni à qui que ce soit, excepté entre les Malgaches, et celui qui les vendrait ou les hypothéquerait serait condamnés aux fers à perpétuité..."* (56)

This article constituted one of the major work of the Hova diplomacy against the policy of the European powers. Accordingly in the Malagasy-British treaty signed on 27 June 1865, it issued the article V:

"les sujets britanniques auront au même titre que ceux de la nation la plus favorisée et dans les formes légales, le droit d'acheter, de prendre ou de céder à louage des terres, des maisons et des magasins, dans les limites du royaume et dans les lieux soumis à l'autorité d'un gouvernement dûment reconnu par le Gouvernement central...etc" Article V* (57)

* The Malagasy lands cannot be sold, or to be secured by mortgage to foreigners, or at any body, except between the Malagasy people, and the one who would sell them or would mortgage them should be clapped in irons for life.

* The British subjects will have in the same way as those the most privileged of the nation and within the legal forms, the right to buy, to take or to lease lands, houses and shops, within the limits of the kingdom and within the areas subjected to the authority of a governor duly recognised by the central Government.

While the Malagasy-French treaty was signed on 8 August 1868 and issued the article IV:

"Les Français à Madagascar jouiront d'une complète protection pour leurs personnes et leurs propriétés; ils pourront, comme les sujets de la nation la plus favorisée, et conformément aux lois et règlements du pays, s'établir partout où ils le jugeront convenable, prendre à bail et acquérir toute espèce de biens meubles et immeubles, et se livrer à toutes les opérations commerciales et industrielles qui ne sont pas interdites par la législation intérieure..." Article IV ** (58)

These treaties were expressed in the same spirit to advantage the friendly and commercial relations and to straighten out the diplomatic relations between the foreign powers and Madagascar. The Malagasy land being the whole possession of the Queen, it could not be turned away. The sale of land between Malagasy was allowed, because it was only an exchange of rights of use and they were the Queen's subjects. But the sale of land by a Malagasy to a foreigner would not have the same effect, because the European was not the Queen's subject and the Malagasy land would go to a foreigner, hence the ban on this transaction (Randrianarisoa, P-1970).

On the other hand, with a view of maintaining the independence of the island as a whole, and that any bits of its ground would not go into a foreigner's hand, the monarchs used every possible means to conquer the island. The Hova Prime Minister Rainilaiarivony, by all means, tried to favour and defend this policy. When he came into office, the colonial development was at its height. In 1885, at the Brussels Conference, the great powers decided to share Africa between them, hence Great Britain and France, which had always tried to take possession of Madagascar, became more and more pressing and aggressive. The Prime Minister was obliged to fight with more firmness than his predecessors against European imperialism. Despite his distrust of foreigners and western power, he recognized their strength and the impossibility of keeping Madagascar isolated from the outside world. He was also aware of the rivalry between France and Great Britain and tried

** The French in Madagascar will have complete protection for their persons and their properties; they will be able, like the most privileged subjects of the nation, in conformity with the laws and rules of the nation, to settle wherever they will judge appropriate, to lease and acquire all kind of properties furniture and buildings, and to be engaged in commercial and industrial deals which are not forbidden by the domestic legislations.

to play off France against Great Britain to preserve the independence of Madagascar

With numerous reforms, in the field of the internal administrations and the judicial system, he transformed the Merina political organization. He set up a modern administrative system well adapted to the Malagasy traditions, customs and diverse features. On the other hand, he wanted the foreigners to recognise that the Hova government was, on its own, capable of leading its people towards progress, prosperity and peace (Randrianarisoa, P-1970). The Malagasy Law of 305 articles issued in 1881 was to give concrete expression to Ranilaiarivony's will to promote Madagascar to the rank of modern society. This Law was to mark a real progress of the Hova government in the judicial, the administrative and the economic systems of the country.

In the meanwhile, France became more and more hard to please which did not leave the Prime Minister much room to implement fully his internal reforms which would have allowed him to strengthen his administrations. The 1883-85 war was to worsen the situation. Following the slaughter of the crew of the ship "Le Touële" - proved to be Arab smugglers flying the French flag, by the Sakalava of Boéni (near Majunga - north-west coast) - the Merina government was forced to pay a compensation to the French government:

"Le temps est maintenant venu d'exécuter les promesses que vous avez faites à la France. Le peuple sakalave doit être châtié et dans le but de lui apprendre la valeur de la vie de quatre sujets français, il est nécessaire que quatre des principaux coupables paient de leur vie le crime qu'ils ont commis à Marambitsy.

C'est la première satisfaction que j'ai le droit d'exiger au nom du gouvernement de la République pour l'insulte faite au drapeau. En ce qui concerne l'objet pratique de notre réclamation, je vous ferai observer, Monsieur le Ministre, que la France ne peut attendre indéfiniment le résultat d'une expédition qui n'est même pas encore organisée. Le prix du sang doit être payé dans le délai le plus court. Le commandant Vallon l'estime à 400 boeufs en bon état, etc.

...En donnant satisfaction à ces deux demandes, le gouvernement de Sa Majesté prouvera au monde civilisé qu'il sait faire respecter son autorité aussi bien sur la côte ouest que sur la côte est, en un mot dans toute l'étendue du royaume, car je le répète, la reine de Madagascar ne peut tolérer que de tels crimes soient perpétrés sur son territoire." Meyer, T

This was to have far reaching repercussions on the Malagasy-French relations. France, by forcing the Merina government to pay a compensation and assert its authority fully on the west coast and redress of the Sakalava's wrong, recognised without ambiguity the Hova sovereignty over the Sakalava as well as over the whole island, including the north west of Madagascar. On the other hand, the Hova government had always contested the right acknowledged by the French over some territories on the north west:

"la reine des Merina était reconnue reine de Madagascar, que les installations passagères de la France dans ces régions ne donnaient pas de droits politiques, et que des garnisons hova y firent l'occupation depuis Radama I."** (60)

Economically, France was the beneficiary, but the Merina government, by paying the compensation, was to deliver a diplomatic humiliation to the French government:

"pouvoir faire admettre au Gouvernement français que les Hova étaient réellement les maîtres incontestés dans les coins de Madagascar et qu'ils devaient et pouvaient en supporter les conséquences." *** (61)

Madagascar was to sign a new treaty with France on 17 December 1885, in which the word "protectorate" was not quoted:

"Article premier. - Le gouvernement de la République française représentera Madagascar dans toutes ses relations extérieures.

Article 2. - Un résident, représentant le gouvernement de la République, présidera aux relations extérieures de Madagascar, sans s'immiscer dans l'administration intérieure des Etats de Sa Majesté la Reine.

Article 3. - Il résidera à Tananarive avec une escorte militaire. Il aura droit d'audience

* Time has now come to fulfil the promises you gave to France. The Sakalava people must be punished and with the aim of teaching them the value of the lives of the four French subjects', it is necessary that four of the principal culprits shall expiate by death the crime perpetrated by them at Marambitsy.

This is the first satisfaction which I have the right to demand in the name of the government of the Republic for the insult done to the flag. As to the practical matter of our complaint, I shall point out, Mr Minister, that France cannot wait indefinitely the results of an expedition which is not yet organized. The price of blood must be paid within the shortest time. Commandant Vallon evaluates it at 400 oxen in good condition.

By giving satisfaction to these two requests, the government of Her Majesty will prove to the civilized world that she knows how to make her authority respected on the west coast as well as on the east coast, in short, in the whole area of the kingdom, because I say it again, the Queen of Madagascar should not tolerate that such crimes could be perpetrated within her territory.

** The Queen of Madagascar was recognised as the Queen of Madagascar, that the temporary French settlements in these regions, did not give them political rights, and that Hova garnisons had occupied the regions since Radama I.

*** To have the power to make the French government admit that the Hova were really the uncontested leaders within all corners of Madagascar and they would and could put up with all the consequences.

privée et personnelle auprès de Sa Majesté la Reine."* (62)

Madagascar, in fact, lost its autonomy as the Prime Minister had to grant France the strategic base of Diego-Suarez (north of Madagascar) while the French government decided furthermore, unilaterally, to maintain the occupation of Tamatave, by giving the pretext, as a guarantee to the enforcement of the treaty (Boiteau, P-1958). Following the new treaty, a series of provoking incidents marred relations between the Malagasy government and the French. Many tensions developed between the Prime Minister and the aggressive French and the conversion of the Queen and the Prime Minister to Christianity - followed by many members of the nobility - were to precipitate the conquest of Madagascar. The conversion proved to favour Great Britain at the expense of the political balance which Rainilaiarivony tried to hold between France and Great Britain.

With the conversion of the Hova government, Rainilaiarivony might have sought the entire support from Great Britain in case France would decide to take over the island:

"Le gouvernement de Sa Majesté reconnaît la reine de Madagascar comme souveraine absolue de toute l'île, excepté Mayotte et Nosy-Be actuellement occupées par les Français en vertu de laquelle le gouvernement français aurait acquis un droit de juridiction territoriale sur une partie quelconque de l'île elle-même. Les gouvernements britanniques et français se sont accordés pour agir toujours de concert à Madagascar et le gouvernement de Sa Majesté verrait avec regret la France émettre des prétentions territoriales nouvelles de nature à troubler la bonne entente antérieure." * (63)

But the competition which was established between France and Great Britain was not exclusive of certain agreements between them for the partition of the world. On 5 August 1890, Rainilaiarivony's last chance fell in ruins with the signing of the

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- * - The government of the French Republic will represent Madagascar in all its foreign policies.
 - A foreign resident, representing the government of the Republic, will chair the foreign policies of Madagascar, without interfering with the domestic administration of the State of Her Majesty the Queen.
 - He will reside in Antananarivo with a military escort. He will have the right to private and personal audience with Her Majesty the Queen.

* The government of His Majesty recognises the queen of Madagascar as the absolute sovereign of the whole island, except Mayotte and Nosy-Be at present occupied by the French, and until now refuses all dealings in accordance with which the French government would have acquired a right of territorial jurisdiction over a part of the island itself. The French and British governments have agreed to always take actions in Madagascar in concert and the government of His Majesty would see with regret France voicing new territorial claims likely to disrupt the earlier good understanding.

Franco-British convention which, for the British protectorate over Zanzibar and Pemba, recognised:

"the Government of Her Britannic Majesty recognises the protectorate of France over the Island of Madagascar, with its consequences, especially as regards the exequaturs of British consuls and agents, which must be applied for through the intermediary of the french Resident General." (64)

The Franco-British treaty was the final blow to Rainilaiarivony who realized that to have the British as an ally was already to have a knife in his back. They pretended to help Madagascar to save its independence, but as a colonizing nation, they worked to ease the seizure of Madagascar by the French, appropriately conveyed in the famous Malagasy proverb by the Prime Minister of the time; "Vazaha mody miady"***. In 1894, when the French tried to formalize their protectorate, the Merina Queen Ranaivalona III refused to recognize the claim. In 1895, a French expeditionary force quickly conquered the Merina Capital, Antananarivo and the Island became a French colony the next year.

d.2. The evolution of education.

Closely associated with the evangelization was the educational work of the Christian missions. Education was to become a means to break down the Malagasy traditions and customs and to bring them to an understanding of Christianity:

"The handmaiden to the evangelising programmes was the literacy campaign; and all four British Protestant missions emphasised the need for every Christian and prospective Christian to be able to read. The literacy campaign was meant to teach each person how to read his or her own Bible, and through it to gain a greater knowledge and understanding of Christianity. The Bible was important to these Protestants because it was the word of God communicated to man, and as much it was the perfect guide to righteous living in this life. To place this sacred book in the hands of every man and women in Madagascar, and then to teach them how to read it, was a step in the general direction of making the Malagasy a truly religious people." Gow (65)

In fact, the elimination of illiteracy was the fundamental key to lead the Malagasy people to the Bible and the interaction between conversion and access to the reading of text could be traced in the spirit of the first missionaries who came to Madagascar. The schooling of the young Malagasy was the main evident answer to the substantial conversion. The educational enterprise was started by the Rev. William Ellis but did not gain full growth. Around the 1870s, six elementary

** Foreigners or Europeans pretending to be quarrelling.

schools were functioning but were in neglected state as the privileged families continued to direct their interests to the Palace School or the Central School. Primary education in the village was still a complement to the local church or chapel, with the Malagasy working as a preacher and teacher at the same time. Later, separate schools were built and supplied with Malagasy teachers who were trained at the Central Teacher Training establishment. The great bulk of the schools were in the "Hauts-Plateaux" areas; the lack of communication and the sparseness of population put at a disadvantage the people in the remotest parts of the island, especially in the south and west.

The Code of laws of 1881 decreed that all children over the age of seven ought to attend schools, but the state continued to rely on the missions for the financing and organization of the schools, the training of teachers and the holding of annual examinations in reading, writing and arithmetic. One of the basic objectives of the London Missionary Society in Madagascar was to maintain its links with the top of the social hierarchy, hence they concentrated their efforts on the Palace School, Colleges, the Central School and the Normal School (Teacher Training College). For the London Missionary Society this represented a means of reaching the greatest number of people, the real aim being to select the most gifted pupils, have them assimilate the instruction given and subsequently redistribute it (A. Rajaonarison-1985).

The Central School (mixed school) was to be the centre of grouping together the gifted pupils from primary schools under the responsibility of a genuine and good teacher such as Richardson - a qualified teacher, who arrived in August 1872. He was to develop the Central School towards the status of "Normal School". Students were taught reading, writing, grammar, geography, arithmetic and English, and many of the males later went on to study at the Normal School or the Theological College. The aim was to maintain the recruiting for a College and to add a certain number of classrooms for the training of teachers. The Normal School was to recruit young pupils through a competitive examination within the whole Imerina

who would commit themselves, after three or four years of training, to teaching in the L.M.S school network. To the trainee-teachers selected after the competitive examination, at the request of the Queen and the Prime Minister, forty young pupils, known as the "Efapololahy" were to be included. They were selected by the Evangelists of the Palace with regard to their respective responsibility and were trained for the State administrative apparatus. At the end of their studies, these "Efapololahy" went back to their district of origin and their "fanompoana" (corvée) was to teach (Raison-Jourde-1991).

In 1884, a system of examination for teachers' certificates was devised by the missions, and in order to gain a first class certificate, a candidate was required to pass two-thirds of all of his subjects. A student could obtain a second class certificate when one-half to two-thirds of the subjects were passed. For an honours certificate an examination was set in English, but because English was not taught by most of some missionary schools, this reduced the number of honours students. Reading, writing, geography, scripture, grammar and sentence analysis and school management were the subjects for the examination (Gow, Bonar A-1979).

The L.M.S Theological College (founded 1870) and St Paul's College (founded by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1878) were meant to function as the cornerstone of the indigenous church in Madagascar. In 1880, however, the emphasis was changed and young men from the upper classes and ruling elite, designed for government offices, were accepted as students. The L.M.S College was henceforth to give a high education suitable to the upper classes and a prominent place was to be given to the English language, English history and law, political economy and some branches of science (Gow, Bonar A-1979). Initially the College offered a four year programme which in 1884 was extended to five years. At first, only some reading, writing, and arithmetic, algebra, dictation and geography were taught to the students and the major emphasis was placed on a history of the apostolic church, the life of Christ, Biblical interpretation, galatians, and Old Testament history. With the introduction of secular students in

1886, this structure changed radically because the Malagasy government and the new students required more than theology. Pressed by Rainilaiarivony, the L.M.S Imerina District Committee had to expand the curriculum and introduce a wide range of secular subjects such as astronomy, physics, physical and general geography, algebra, Greek history, logic, English, comets, railways, the nervous system, and fire (Gow, Bonar A-1979).

The S.P.G mission did not enjoy the support of the government, nonetheless their students were exempted from government service during their College course, like those of the L.M.S College. Its curriculum consisted of the theological subjects and church history, but it also included English, mathematics, Euclid, algebra, geography and physical geography, physiology, political economy and music. This course of study lasted for two years with a third year being set aside for one or two exceptional students. Those who had managed to complete their two years of study were sent out to serve as catechists, and if they were considered acceptable by their European missionary and the bishop, they were ordained as deacons (Gow, Bonar A-1979).

The Palace School, because of its connection with the Queen and above all with the Hova high ranked officer, the L.M.S offered private tuition at the Palace. At the beginning, the missionary came to teach English but the demand increased and the curriculum was diversified. The L.M.S missionaries recognized its influence in the future:

"Cette remarque s'applique... plus spécialement aux classes les plus hautes... Il me semble que tous les grands officiers du palais reçoivent de l'instruction de l'un ou de l'autre d'entre nous; la Reine s'enquiert presque tous les jours de ceux que nous enseignons et nous savons qu'elle est infatigable dans ses efforts pour s'améliorer; un des instructeurs m'a dit qu'elle était anxieuse d'apprendre et qu'elle travaillait dur." Barker* (66)

The Palace School, in reality, represented an important influence for maintaining connection with the government and its members, and when Barker decided to

* This remark applies to... more specially to the highest classes... it appears to me that the high ranked officers of the palace undertake tuition from one or other of us; the Queen inquires, almost every day, after those we are teaching and we know that she is tireless in her efforts to improve herself, one of our teachers told me that she was anxious to learn and she was working hard.

leave, the S.P.G and the Lutherans offered their candidature to carry on the teaching

The increasing number of literate persons in Imerina was to please the missionaries because the more graduates gained positions at the palace, the more they had supporters; e.g: "all education, therefore, should be directed to forming the public opinion of the future..." (67). Students from the L.M.S College were to occupy the senior civil service posts or to be employed as an aide-de-camp or to be a private secretary to a cabinet minister. The progress made by the Merina was also to impress some of the European missionaries:

"... We have been favoured, and the punctuality, regular attendance, dilligence, and advance of a good proportion of the young men has been most pleasing. There are, as in all similar institutions, a few of the less promising and lazier sort, but they are the few, and not the many. Outside the students are also gaining exceptions... They are beginning to write short papers for our monthly magazine 'Teny Soa'..." G. Cousins (68)

If the Malagasy, particularly the Merina, were considered to be capable of manifesting intelligence and initiative equal to that of a European and were recognised by other missionaries, not all would admit it. The Rev. Frances Gregory, a teacher at St Paul's College maintained that while the Merina students might be up to the entrance standards of the College:

"...in intellectual attainments,... it (was) hard to tell how they (were) likely to develop, as the Malagasy often seem (ed) to reach a point beyond which they (could not) progress." (69)

or Barker believed that:

" ... that the Malagasy (were) not largely developed in the inventive faculty, but they (were) uncommonly clever to initiate when they (had) a model before them." (70)

The ability and educational abilities of the Malagasy people would not earn unanimous agreement; meanwhile, more Malagasy apprentices gradually assumed more responsible roles. This epoch saw, anyway, the development of the first generation of Malagasy intellectuals: e.g Rabezandrina and Randriamampianina put forward the "Tantara sy Fombadrazana" (traditions and customs of the ancestors) the collection of the popular history and traditions in Madagascar. Doctor Rajaonah, a former student of the University of Edinburgh, had not only had a great impact on the young Malagasy medical body, but he was also a talented writer for the "Mpanolo-Tsaina" (The Counsellor), in which he tackled most current political and

social issues and Ravohinahitriniarivo who compiled from 1864 to 1868 his "Boky milaza ny fomban'ny fanafody ary ny aretina samihafa" (Book dealing with the medicines and diverse diseases) (Boiteau, P-1958).

"Un petit nombre de publications d'un caractère laïque dut son existence à ces imprimeries protestantes. On peut mentionner l'Isankeritoana, édité par celle de Faravohitra qui se rattache à la mission des Amis* . Cette revue était déjà fort remarquable par la variété de son information: sciences, voyages, ethnographie, histoire, biographie, culture, élevage faisaient au total un assez joli bagage." Chapus ** (71)

The great expansion of education was also facilitated by the large out-put of the printing-presses set up by the missions, with the L.M.S leading the way. Their publications, mainly in the Malagasy language, covered a wide range of religious works, hymn-books, dictionaries and school textbooks. The L.M.S press also produced in 1886 the first periodicals to appear in Madagascar, a monthly "Teny Soa" (Good words) which carried notices of Bible classes, preaching sessions, school examinations, quaterly meetings, births, deaths, marriages and news from different districts. It was followed later by a quaterly "Mpanolo-Tsaina" (The Counsellor) which discussed theological questions, and several newspapers also emerged; the Madagascar Times in English and Malagasy (1882), the "Gazety Malagasy" (The Malagasy newspaper) a government newspaper (1883) (Gow, Bonar A-1979 - Raison-Jourde 1991).

On one of the basic objectives, therefore, of the London Missionary Society in Madagascar was to reach the top of the social hierarchy, but this kind of approach was judged by the Catholics to be contrary to Christians work, as they considered that religion was not the attribute of the privileged alone. When the Catholics undertook their work of spreading the Gospel and education, they applied a different policy - taking root in a social class which had for them the advantage of size, such as the rural masses or tribes in opposition to the King. Similarly they were happy to welcome the opposition members of the regime, who belonged to the upper

* Association des Amis des Missions étrangères (Friends Foreign Missions Association)

** A small number of publications of secular character owed their existence to these same Protestant printing-presses. We can mention the "Isankeritaona" (the Annual), published by the printing-press of Faravohitra which has ties with the Friends. This review was already remarkable by the diversity of its information: sciences, travels, ethnography, history, biography, culture, breeding which, in total, symbolized a quite handsome stock of knowledge.

echelons of society, reserving them seats of honour in the Parish church (A. Rajaonarison-1985).

In the meantime, the Catholics, handicapped in their religious work by the dissatisfaction caused by the the French government's aggressive policies, maintained minimal contact with the Royal family, in spite of the difficulties encountered. The great bulk of the schools, like the churches, were in the Imerina. The Roman Catholics opened an "Ecole Apostolique" in 1873, and enforced stricter standards for the priesthood, it was not until long after the other missions had native pastors that the first Malagasy Catholic priest appeared (Gow, Bonar A-1979). They also established one "Ecole Normale" in Antananarivo which was to supply school-teachers, civil servants and interpreters to the government and to the French, which in fact did nothing but perpetuate the catechismal dogma. Studies lasted four years starting with one year preparatory course, including a Latin course which was reserved for a very small number. All teaching was in French, except for the preparatory class and religious instruction which ran for three years at the rate of one hour a day.

The lack of personnel was to force the Catholic missionaries to gather all their pupils which were scattered in different parishes, into one school at Antananarivo. This early centralization was to represent an asset for the Catholic school. A strict system of school inspectorate was gradually set up and in 1882 efficiently managed to create the districts inspectorates. They also established quarterly meetings during which teachers were graded according to their performance. The inspectorate's grading took into consideration the tidiness of the classroom, furniture, the control of the Catholic Sunday meeting, the running of the religious class by the teacher and his religious knowledge, the quality of the basic teaching: reading, writing, grammar, mathematics, geography and French. From 1870, some public sessions of oral examinations took place and the government was invited to attend the meetings (Raison-Jourde-1991). Like all minority threatened by being inhibited by the L.M.S establishments, the Catholic schools had to prove their ability and efficiency.

In 1869 the Catholic printing-press was set up which published school textbooks and a small bulletin in Malagasy the "Resaka" (What is said). In 1872, the printing-press of the Friends Foreign Missions Association expanded and a workshop for lithography was attached. It tried to publish a newspaper but it was seized by the government before going on sale.

d.3. Girls' education.

Girls' education was very early; 1864 for the L.M.S and 1868 for the Catholic "Soeurs de Cluny" (the Sisters of Cluny). At the beginning, the L.M.S enforced a selective enrolment because there was only one school and its premises were small:

Nous ne devons pas recevoir à l'Ecole Centrale de filles qui ne lisent pas le Nouveau Testament d'une manière courante, rapide, ni celles qui ne pourraient venir en classe matin et après midi.* (72)

The royal demand for a Palace School for girls was refused by the L.M.S. The Central School for girls was administrated by British teachers. A general culture was provided with training for embroidery and sewing. The good manners of the pastor' or evangelist's wives were inculcated in the wives of the students who came to Antananarivo to be educated at the Normal School; modesty, avoidance of malicious gossip, but showing kindness. They were also asked to wear pale clothes: grey, beige or white, the dress or skirt to reach the ankle, and to renounce any jewellery. This appearance was to encourage the girls in a social role indicating puritanism and of being a moralizing influence (Raison-Jourde-1991).

The same outcome was sought by the Lutherans and by creating a boarding school in 1872, they aimed at cutting the girls off from their family circle from an early age and were only allowed some very occasional visits. They hoped, in this way, to create an elite who would internalize the "feminine values": purity, innocence and devotion (Raison-Jourde-1991).

The Catholic school, represented by the "Soeurs de Cluny" aimed at increasing social activity. The eldest pupils were chosen to be the leader of each division to act

* We must not accept at the Central School girls who cannot read the New Testament fluently and fast, or those who could not come to school in the morning and afternoon.

as teacher-assistants. The Catholic school, in this way provided on-the-job training for their students who later would teach in the country. Every month, they came to Antananarivo for a training in educational methods. The girls' schooling was also involved in training in cutting-out, sewing and embroidery (Raison-Jourde-1991).

From Andrianampoinimerina to Rainilaiarivony, the Merina Kingdom attempted to establish the national unity of the island. Radama I, without denying his traditions and customs, used the European's tools to fulfil his task. As for Rainilaiarivony, pressed by the French aggressiveness, he converted with the Queen to Christianity. Was this conversion politic - to press the British to commit themselves, or faith in Christianity - or recognition of the real civilization? While politically Madagascar was able to foil the British and French wishes to seize the Island, intellectually she was under the influence of both countries. The establishment of education was one of the innovations introduced to Madagascar by Radama I and the missionaries were to play an increasingly important role in the education and the fall of the island. Each mission boasted it would bring the "civilization" to Madagascar:

"La civilisation du pays, l'ascension du pays tout entier dans l'échelle sociale... Le but de la mission n'est pas de convertir une personne ici et une autre là. Dans les prophéties messianiques, nous lisons que la terre toute entière verra l'avènement du royaume de Dieu."* (73)

The missionaries were not willing to accommodate themselves to the Malagasy traditions and customs (Ancestors worship) which were seen as uncivilized and subject to racist remark:

"Clothing was a subject always connected with morality. In their heathen state a dirty hemp or "rofia lamba" suffices for the great mass of the Malagasy, but as soon as Christian congregations gathered, a great change comes over the outward aspect of the people. Every woman must have her neat jacket and skirt and the men their pantaloons, as well as the flowing outer dress or lamba (common to both sexes) of European calico. Wherever Christianity comes, there immediately springs up a demand for foreign manufactured goods, and the trader follows in the wake of the missionary... it would not be too much to say that each missionary represents a value of from £2,000 to £3,000 per annum in foreign goods." Rev. Sibree (74)

For the missionaries, they sought to transform the Malagasy society and the means for transformation had to be substituted by their own judgement. Hence the tools for

* The civilization of the nation, the rise of the whole nation in the social scale... The aim of the mission is not to convert one person here and another there. In the messianic prophecies, we read that the whole world will see the coming of God Kingdom.

changes were connected to schools, to literacy and to the spreading of the Bible which had to become the book par excellence. Skilled and trustworthy collaborators (the young men trained in the mission schools) were to become good right hand man of the missionaries. Education, always connected with missions, had the function of propagating Christianity as the missionaries relied heavily on their schools for prospective converts. Education was also in response to demand from the ruling elites for the state apparatus and the missionaries were to train the personnels in questions. Hence, despite the missions' claims of religious ideals, it had become increasingly difficult for the vast majority of the Malagasy to gain relevant traditional culture and values.

Reliance on British support proved to be worthless, the British missionaries worked like ants, gnawing the Malagasy ground to weaken it and divide the Merina elite, which contributed to the destruction of the Hova state. While the French, from the beginning, were to use their strength as the owners of the island, as if the Merina were the usurpers. A political approach of equilibrium between the two foreign powers failed because of the wave of imperialism and the French decided, in defiance of the Malagasy rights and of their legitimate feelings of national independence, to destroy the power of the Merina kingdom to satisfy its imperialist desire:

"Oui, nous avons une politique coloniale, une politique d'expansion coloniale qui est fondée sur un système...

La question coloniale, c'est pour les pays voués par la nature même de leur industrie à une grande exportation, la question même des débouchés... Dans la crise que traversent toutes les industries européennes, la fondation d'une colonie c'est la création d'un débouché...

Je dis que la politique coloniale de la France, que la politique d'expansion coloniale - celle qui nous a fait aller, sous l'Empire, à Saïgon, en Cochinchine, celle qui nous conduit en Tunisie, celle qui nous a amenés à Madagascar - je dis que cette politique d'expansion coloniale s'est inspirée d'une vérité sur laquelle il faut pourtant appeler un instant votre attention, à savoir qu'une marine comme la nôtre ne peut pas se passer sur la surface des mers d'abris solides, de défenses, de centres de ravitaillement.

Et pour cela qu'il nous fallait la Tunisie, c'est pour cela qu'il nous fallait Saïgon et la Cochinchine, c'est pour cela qu'il nous faut Madagascar et que nous sommes à Diégo-

Suarez, et que nous ne les quitterons jamais! Jules Ferry* (75)

The characteristic features of colonialism, above all, was the desire to reverse the way of the labour system that the abolition of slave trade made ineffective: instead of conveying the workers to the work, it was to carry the work to the workers. It did not try to go back to slavery but started on the exploitation on the colonies for the development of the foreign powers' economies.

d.4. Colonial education.

i. Galliéni's policy.

For the French in such colonies as Madagascar, the main policy was to reduce the number and thereby the influence of the L.M.S. As a result, Galliéni, General Governor of Madagascar, who lived in great hopes of realising many of his aims, stated on his arrival in Madagascar:

"To make Madagascar French, to undermine the British influence and to bring down the Hova [sic] pride and power." (76)

Galliéni's principal concern was to make French interests dominant in Madagascar's trade and culture. As a promoter of French culture, he decided to undercut the educational role of the British missionaries which monopolized educational facilities in Madagascar. He forced them to use French as the linguistic vehicle in their schools and forbade them to teach in English or in Malagasy. To break the British influence and because of the Franco-British agreement of August 1890 which guaranteed religious freedom to the British missionaries, he invited the representatives of the "Paris Société des Missions évangéliques" to come and work in Madagascar.

* Yes, we have a colonial policy, a policy of colonial expansion which is based on a system...The colonial issue, it is for the nations devoted by nature itself of their industry to a great expansion, the matter of outlets itself...In the crisis which all European countries live through, the foundation of a colony is the creation of an outlet.

I say that the French colonial policy, that the policy of colonial expansion - the one which has sent us, under the Empire, to Saïgon, to Cochin-China, the one which takes us to Tunisia, the one which has led us to Madagascar - I say that this colonial policy of expansion has drawn its inspiration from a truth on which we must, however, draw for a moment your attention, namely that a navy like ours cannot manage without strong shelters, defence, resupplying centres on the sea surface

And that is why we needed Tunisia, that is why we needed Saïgon and Cochin-China, that is why we need Madagascar and that we are in Diégo-Suarez, and we will never leave them.

In 1899, while the missions continued their educational programmes, Galliéni began to develop secular education. As a result, missions schools required soliciting official subsidies, to adapt their curricula to that of the state schools and to teach in French. He appointed a Director of Education, Pierre Deschamps, under whom were rapidly created a large number of "Ecoles Officielles Laïques" (Official secular primary schools) with Malagasy teachers trained in regional teacher training colleges (Heseltine, N-1971).

Galliéni decided to locate most of the "Ecoles régionales" (regional administrative training schools) in the coastal regions with a view of neutralizing the British missionary education as well as restraining the Merina's seizure of the Malagasy administration. The Ecoles régionales were created to supply Malagasy subordinate staff for the French colonial administration, and employees with a minimum technical training who were to work as overseers and accountants for the settlers and in local commercial firms:

"Notre enseignement aux colonies doit tendre simplement à former des jeunes gens à l'âme française susceptibles de devenir de bons ouvriers d'art ou agricoles, auxiliaires précieux de nos colons. Aujourd'hui (1902), l'indigène qui sait lire et compter se croit supérieur à ses congénères et indigne de travailler (...) Il faut montrer aux indigènes que le travail manuel est aussi noble que le travail intellectuel. Il faut leur donner seulement des principes élémentaires de lecture, de calcul, d'écriture, en leur inculquant le maniement des outils et des instruments aratoires." Galliéni* (77)

In Galliéni's view, there was no intention to train Malagasy for senior posts, which were reserved for many years for French colonial servants.

The secular schools established by Galliéni were grouped in two systems and each subdivided into three degrees. The system designed for French children duplicated that of the Metropole and ended with the baccalaureate granted at Antananarivo by the two colleges called the "Lycée Galliéni" (for boys) and the "Lycée Jules Ferry" (for girls). In the other system, exclusively for Malagasy, at the primary level, Malagasy was the language of instruction, although a very large place was allocated

*Our education in the colonies must aim simply to train young people to have a French soul likely to become good art or agricultural workers, invaluable auxiliaries for our colonists. Nowadays, the native who can read and count thinks he/she is superior to his/her fellows and not obliged to work. We must show the natives that manual work is as noble as intellectual work. We must only give them the elementary principles of reading, arithmetic, writing, in inculcating the handling of tools and ploughing implements.

to the teaching of French, and the stress was upon training pupils to develop their abilities in the traditional environment. Primary children who were successful in a competitive examination could enter a regional school (Thompson, V-1965).

In regional schools, pupils were boarders and for three years, they were exclusively taught in French and were given some general education along with practical training. At this level, Galliéni created vocational classes in which they were taught the basic principles and practice of agriculture, animal husbandry and handicrafts. At the highest third degree of the Malagasy system came the professional and medical schools and the "Ecole Le Myre de Vilers" all located in Antananarivo. The latter was to constitute the rise of the Malagasy system, it offered two year courses for the training of minor civil servants, primary teachers and candidates for the medical school. Girls' education had a special place in the Malagasy system, and at the regional school of Avaradrova (Antananarivo), young women were trained to become primary teachers, or prepared for admission to the school for nurses and midwives at Antananarivo (Thompson, V-1965).

ii. Agagneur's secular policy.

This dramatic change in the government-mission share of education took place between 1900 and 1910. French insistence on centralised control, academic standards and secularisation of education was likewise translated into the colonial scene. Secular education became stronger and more secure. Victor Augagneur who distinguished himself as anti-clerical, replaced Général Galliéni, issued decrees which aimed to protect the secularity of the schools and to supervise the tuition given by the missions to the young Malagasy. Educational policy was boldly stated in the official statements of the Governor General.

" I have forbidden the use of churches or temples as schools: these buildings are in fact state property, as proclaimed by a decree of Général Galliéni in 1901" Decree of March 1906 (78)

The Governor General was determined to ensure a more elaborate development of French influence on the young subjects and this policy was to cause the suppression, in 1906, of almost all religious schools in the poorer districts on the

pretext that worship was being practised in place of tuition and yet, almost all Protestant churches, in rural areas, were used as classrooms. As a result of these various measures, many Malagasy children were deprived of their chance for an education, since the state was unable to replace the mission schools with state-run institutions. He also put an end to all official subsidies to the Catholic schools.

Later on, mission schools became "private schools" and consequently came under the stipulation of 1922 decree, which required, among other things, an authorization by the government for the opening of such schools, that the teaching had to be in French, and that the teachers were to have the same qualifications as government teachers. Under these circumstances, it was difficult for new mission schools to open and for some of those already established to continue. Augagneur's educational policy served to reduce the Malagasy's opportunities for any formal education. He put an end to the "Ecoles régionales" and concentrated at Antananarivo the training of all administrative personnel. The intellectual elite were almost all Merina and gradually they started to occupy some key positions and replaced the local government officials in the coastal regions (Thompson, V-1965 - Heseltine, N-1971).

In 1909, Augagneur issued a decree, under which certain Malagasy who spoke French and fulfilled other conditions could apply for and received French citizenship with full civil rights. Most of those granted citizenship were intellectuals, professional men and minor civil servants. Many of them became fervent partisans of France and French culture (Heseltine, N-1971).

iii. Education for a few elite.

The presence of many settlers in Madagascar and the organisation of the colonial administration, together with the French's attitudes towards the advancement of colonial peoples, did not favour the advancement of Malagasy beyond a certain point. While October 1933 saw a new Decree concerning the official education in Madagascar, it was to reorganise the regional schools. Under the decree, education

for Malagasy was divided into three stages. First, the elementary schooling was to involve the teaching of French. Second, the regional schools presented two branches: preparation for further special education; and preparation of specialised workers for employment in industry and commerce. Third, there was the Ecole Le Myre de Vilers, which trained candidates for the colonial civil service in Madagascar and industrial apprentices. In this school the subjects taught were French, Malagasy, geography, mathematics, natural science, chemistry and physics. Despite apparent barriers, a small number of Malagasy elite studied in French Lycées (Heseltine, N-1971).

In 1951, a Conseil Consultatif de l'Enseignement (Educational Advisory Council) with substantial representation was set up by Governor-General Bargues; this was followed by a Decree in 1951 aiming at reorganising the educational system and this time abolishing the division between French and Malagasy systems which were practised in the respective schools. Under this reorganisation, the regional schools became Cours Complémentaires (a form of preliminary secondary schooling) while the "Ecole le Myre de Vilers" was to become an administrative college with six sections: teacher training, medicine, judiciary, post-office, technical and administrative, for preliminary training for government or private employment in specific jobs. Under this reform, the same examinations were established for Malagasy and French, but the accent was still on the training of "middle-grade" civil servants, who could not rise beyond a certain grade (Heseltine, N-1971).

In line with the new colonial policies laid down at the Brazzaville Conference of 1944, the Medical Academy founded by the Protestant missions in 1886, was in 1946 transformed into a School of Medicine (the first in the French Union) and a School of Laws and School of Agriculture were opened in Antananarivo in the same year (Heseltine, N-1971).

The French approach was therefore markedly different from that of the British. While, French administrators believed that their "mission civilisatrice" was:

"d'affirmer et de garantir l'unité infrangible du monde français*" (79) at least to assimilate "culturally " black people, to make them think and behave like Frenchmen, their real concern was to train and educate indigenous leaders who were to co-operate and be associated with French colonial officials in administering the colonial territory:

"Les fins de l'oeuvre de colonisation accomplie par la France dans les colonies écartent toute idée d'autonomie, toute possibilité d'évolution hors du bloc français de l'Empire; la formation éventuelle, même lointaine de self-governments dans les colonies est à rejeter."** (80)

Cessation of French control was never seriously considered and it was not until after the Second World War that the colonial relationship and by extension French policy began to change.

French policy was basically to develop dual societies, those who were French assimilated and those who were educated in the traditional school systems, especially in the rural and most coastal areas. Needless to say the latter were regarded with considerable disdain by Frenchmen. Furthermore, within the urban areas the policy was to provide one type of French school for French citizens which was based on the syllabus and curricula laid down for metropolitan schools by the Ministry of Public Instruction and Overseas Education, and another type of French school thought fit for such colonised peoples as the Malagasy, basically that of a watered down classical French education (A. Rajaonarison-1985).

In general, African demand for academic training became even more noticeable as the French political structures were imposed directly on the various regions. Obtaining higher status and higher paid employment was, as before, dependent on knowing a European language and being socialized into European culture. The schools taught these skills as they intended to convert Africans from "Barbarians" into "Civilized" humans, to prepare them to fill the role of agricultural producers instead of slaves in the European and world economic systems. Both the British

*To assert and secure the infrangible unity of the French world.

** The goal of the work of colonization by France in its colonies dismisses all idea of autonomy, all possibility of evolution outside the French Empire bloc; the possible formation, even far away, of self-governments in the colonies has to be turned down.

and French viewed the education of Africans as fulfilling the goal of transforming Africans into certain specific social roles.

"The means by which a colonial power justifies and exercises its power over those whom it has conquered tell one more perhaps about the colonisers than about the colonised.... Though this inevitably calls on some conception of 'civilisation', by which values of a supposedly universal superiority are transferred from the coloniser to the colonised, the nature of the values and their transfer can have a lasting effect on those who find themselves on the receiving end." Clapham, C (81)

Though inspired by the system in the "mother country", the intention was not to "educate" the subject people but to extend the language and policies of the colonizers. Both the missions and the political administrations wished to model the African man in accordance with their own needs and objectives. The religious missions were instrumental in introducing a European type of education. The colonial schools led to nowhere and they did not adequately prepare students for any role in society. They were selective, only a small percentage of the population attended them - for instance, in Madagascar the capital town of Tananarive had the most substantial school facilities (Walter Rodney-1972) (82) and as a result at the time of independence, most of the schools were located in the "Hauts-Palteaues" and the number of teachers was inadequate in relation to the number of pupils enrolled.

E. The transfer of power in Africa

"To view African independence as a victory of a nationalist movement over a colonial system is to narrow and presume a question which deserves detailed study. Independence can also be seen as a 'deal': a bargain struck between contending parties over the terms and conditions of independence." G. Wasserman (83)

e.1. The transfer of power

The end of formal empire bore a similarity to its beginning. In the 1950s and 1960s, just as at the height of the partition of Africa in the 1880s and 1890s, the European colonial powers responded to calculations of economic self-interest, strategic security and local crisis. At the time of the transfer of power, in the late 1950s through the 1970s, the British and the French, handed over an administrative apparatus, a judiciary and an educational system which were the twin sisters

of these countries. They were imperfect and fragile creations, designed for European purposes. What has become clear is that the time of the transfer of power marked a significant juncture in the Africans' management of their own affairs. Political power was transferred, though in economic terms the transfer was not complete and might never be.

Europeans ended the slave trade when it became less profitable to transport African labour overseas than to use the same labour in the homelands to serve the great new commodity trades of the nineteenth century. A similar procedure applied to European decolonization after 1945. Europe transferred political power but maintained close links with the fundamental means of the new state:

"The basic flaw was the result of the fundamental political purpose of the regime, the creation of a formally independent state in which the essentials of French presence would be maintained. The concret expression of this goal was the series of cooperation agreements signed by France and Madagascar. There were over a dozen such agreements, covering a diverse range of topics, but the four most important dealt with defence, foreign policy, economic policy and education." Covell, M (84)

The main function of colonization was, however, to restructure the economies of the so-called Third-World countries so that they would fit into their appropriate spaces in the newly emergent world system.

The French policy was essentially the same throughout the empire: political reforms were granted only as long as they preserved French rule. Demands for change which might ultimately destroy the French presence were immediately put down. In some African countries, the transfer of power was neither easy nor smooth, and was sometimes very abrupt (for example in Guinea or Algeria). These countries were ostracized, and their economies and administration were suddenly disrupted. France wanted this lesson to be clear to all Africa. Any independence without the consent of the French government would be dealt with accordingly.

Therefore, the idea behind the creation of the French "Communauté", later known as the "Francophonie" and the British "Commonwealth", although Britain and France followed different decolonization policies, was to promote a supernational

entity with integrated ties binding the former colonies and the home countries. In the political field, ties were reinforced by means of cooperative agreements ensuring the essential continuity of the colonial system in the domains of defence, currency, and higher education. By their presence in every mechanism of government, and under the umbrella of technical assistance, they denied genuine independence to the African continent.

e.2. The legacy of colonial power

"Quelle est la situation de Madagascar après plus de soixante ans de colonisation française? L'unification politique de l'Ile est certes réalisée autour de Tananarive, l'ancienne capitale de la monarchie merina. Mais l'intégration des différentes régions en un ensemble homogène n'existe pas pour autant; leurs disparités se sont même agrandies à la suite d'un inégal développement entre plateaux centraux et périphérie côtière.

Disparités aussi dans les structures de l'économie entre une agriculture archaïque de subsistance et une agriculture de plantations qui procure au pays l'essentiel de ses revenus extérieurs. L'industrialisation se limite à la transformation des récoltes et à l'extraction des minerais. Exportatrice de produits primaires, l'île achète des produits fabriqués. Les termes de l'échange constamment défavorables ne lui ont pas permis la constitution de ressources d'investissement.

Madagascar reste donc compartimenté à l'intérieur, sous-développé, étroitement subordonné à l'économie française qui le protège tant bien que mal des fortes vacillations des cours mondiaux.

La République aura fort à faire pour se construire dans l'unité et l'indépendance."
Professeur Isnard* (85)

At the time of colonization, education was viewed within a specific objective; forming an assimilated elite and the essential middlemen for the productive apparatus. To dispose of a subordinated administrative personnels or shift-agents in rural areas, the colonial authority provided an education capable of changing the Malagasy attitudes through French values and have a good command of French. It

* What is the situation of Madagascar after sixty years of colonization.

The political unification of the island is certainly realised around Antananarivo, the former capital of the Merina monarchy. But the integration of different regions within a homogenous unity does not exist for all that; their disparities have even widened following an unequal development between the Central Plateaux and the coastal peripheries.

Disparities also within the economical structures between an archaic agriculture of subsistence and an agriculture of plantations which provides the country with foreign incomes. The industrialization limits itself to the transformation of crops and to the extraction of minerals. Exporter of unfinished goods, the island buys manufactured goods. The trade terms, constantly unfavourable, did not allow the setting up of resources for investment.

Madagascar, then, stays partitioned inside, underdeveloped, closely subordinated to the French economy which protects it as well as can be expected because of the high shakiness of the world currencies.

The Republic will have a lot to do to build itself within unity and independence.

did not take into consideration the individual or collective psychology of the Malagasy people. It neglected the relations between the individual and its civilization, and did not bring out the relations which ought to exist between individuals of different social groups, on the contrary they applied the old principle: "diviser pour régner" (divide and rule). The introduction of a Western education system into Africa was to produce far reaching effects on the socio-economic developments in the colonial territories.

i. The new rulers

"Pour les autorités françaises de la fin des années 50, Tsiranana représente, en effet l'"homme de la situation": des ambitions politiques, la volonté de se hisser au rang de l'"élite merina", et de former une "élite côtière" capable de se mesurer avec celle-ci, la conscience de la nécessité de s'appuyer sur la France pour arriver à ses fins. Quant à la France, soutenir Tsiranana contre ces nationalistes tananariviens irréductibles, dont certains sont proches de Moscou, n'est-ce pas la solution idéale? Tsiranana n'a-t-il pas proclamé publiquement, avec d'autres chefs d'Etat Africains, à la mort du Général de Gaulle en 1970, que 'c'est ce dernier son 'père et sa mère' et que c'est lui qui l'a fait" Rabearimanana, L* (86)

From the military administration of Galliéni succeeded a civilian administration but the principles remained the same. During Galliéni's time, to undermine the power and the pride of the Merina, he applied the "politique des races" to the economic domain by taking away the land from the eminent Merina adversaries of the French and distributing much of it to their former slaves (Thompson, V-1965). The objective was to make these freed slaves more accommodating with whom he intended to constitute a devoted group to carry out his orders and destroy the Merina supremacy as well as to weaken the source of Merina upper-class wealth. On the other hand, in the Sakalava - the Menabe - and the Bara regions Galliéni maintained the local petty-kings - the traditional chiefs or native governors - on a political basis, creating some kind of internal protectorate, which in his mind, ought to contribute to maintain the tribal divisions. Galliéni stated:

* For the French authority in the late 50s, Tsiranana represents, in fact, the right man for the job: political ambitions, the will to pull himself to the rank of the 'Merina elite', and to form an 'elite of the people of the coastal regions' capable of challenging the 'Merina elite', to be aware of the prerequisite to rely on France to bring it to a successful end. As for France, to support Tsiranana against these implacable nationalists from Antananarivo, of which some were close to Moscow, was that not the ideal solution? Hadn't Tsiranana, publicly asserted, with the other African leaders, on the death of general de Gaulle in 1970, that 'the latter was his 'father and mother' and that it was he who made him'?

"Il faut recommandé d'une manière générale aux commandants de cercle de toujours se laisser guider par ces deux principes: politique de races et destruction de l'hégémonie hova."* (87)

His policy, of course, applied the old principle: "diviser pour régner" but his policy was to be a failure and on January 13, 1926, a Decree, was to suppress the internal protectorates and introduced the direct rule on the whole island (Boiteau, P-1958). Galliéni's successors who, however, favoured the better-educated and more experienced in politics were to open the door to the Merina, this at the expense of the people of the coastal regions. Most of the highest posts in the civil service open to Malagasy were again filled with the Merina (Thompson, V-1965).

In fact the choice of Tsiranana was just the continuation of the French policy as the colonial policy did not lead to the sudden death of the former leaders, but on the contrary it allowed the Merina to take advantage of the means available. On the other hand, Antananarivo constituted the place of publication and the centre of the spreading of papers specializing in politics. Hounded without respite by the colonial authority, it virtually represented the only means of expression of contesting the institution of the colonization (Rabearimanana, L-1992):

"Non, Madagascar ne sera jamais une 'île heureuse' tant qu'elle demeurera pantelante sous la griffe du féroce impérialisme français et qu'elle ne récupérera pas son indépendance. Les interdictions de séjour, les exils, l'organisation officielle de la famine et la misère physiologique, la peste, les persécutions administratives acharnées contre les malgaches indépendants et leurs défenseurs noirs ou blancs, le gaspillage des finances publiques, l'endettement de Madagascar, etc., sont autant de preuves de l'affection que le gouverneur général Cayla porte au peuple malgache." Ravoanhangy** (88)

Moreover, the first Malagasy nationalist parties, created in 1946 had its social head-quarter and its first implementation in Antananarivo, before implementing its branches in the whole island. The Malagasy nationalists who were in close collaboration with international democratic organisations as well as of the metropolis, were

* It had to be recommended, in a general manner, to commanders of cercle to always let themselves govern by these two principles: policy of races and destruction of the Hova hegemony.

** No, Madagascar will never be a happy island as long as it stays grasping for breath under the stamp of the French fierce imperialism and as long as it does not regain its independence. Those who have been expelled from the country, exiles, the official organisation of starvation and of the psychological poverty, the plague, the fierce administrative persecutions against the independent Malagasy and their black and white defenders, the squandering of public finances, the indebtedness of Madagascar, etc., are as much as proof of the affection that the General-Governor Cayla bears for the Malagasy people.

also the politicians from Antananarivo. France, therefore, intended to isolate and diminish the influence of these groups.

ii. The bureaucratic machinery

A French ordinance of 1899 stated that the purpose of schooling was:

"... to make the young Malagasy faithful and obedient subjects of France and to offer an education which would be industrial, agricultural and commercial, so as to ensure that the settlers and various public services of the colony can meet their personnel requirements."
(89)

The purpose of colonial education at secondary level was to train clerks, administrators, teachers, and doctors who could work within the colonial sphere, thus colonial education was to create a bureaucratic machinery. At the time of independence, the colonial rulers left the administrative machinery in the hands of those who had been trained to run and in many cases to plan the economy of the new states. While many moved into politics, many of the teachers because they were amongst the most educated people in the country, moved into bureaucratic posts to replace European colonial civil servants. In reality, they continued to enjoy all the trappings, traditions, working procedures, grades, salary scales, promotion procedures and prestige that their European predecessors had. Thus, the original model became an unchanging and unchangeable part of the social and political fabric.

iii. The emergence of a multiracial society

During colonial conquest, French governments brought in indentured labour, the Yemenese/Arabs were brought to Madagascar because shipping companies found the Malagasy unsuited to such labour. They considered well worth the expense of transporting them to and from Arabia as they were defined as capable and industrious. Galliéni, also in 1897, brought in some 3,000 Chinese from North Vietnam to work on the Antananarivo-Tamatave railwork. Under the French administration, Chinese immigration was restricted and was closely controlled, hence, each Chinese was required to belong to what was called a congregation which was, from the French point of view, a simple inexpensive and effective form of administration. The French organized the Indians who settled as traders, money-

lenders and collectors of agricultural produce in the small hinterland villages. The non-Malagasy element became larger with the development of a modern economy and administration: Europeans occupied the top posts in the government and in business, whereas the Asians captured much of the retail trade and in some places were landowners as well (Thompson, V-1965). As a result, the island found itself becoming a multiracial community, a plural society with different sections of the community living side by side, but separately, within the same political unit. At the same time, Western education systems were to help unleash a sense of nationalism amongst different groups. Discussion of the curriculum, often incidentally, of issues like democracy, nationalism, liberalism, elected government, justice, was to lead not only to a recognition of the incompatible relationship between colonisers and colonised, but to the desire for independence and national identity.

While some colonial officials were interested in the history, culture and religion of different peoples, and certain missionaries were writing about the latter in local languages, much of the curriculum in colonial schools dismissed indigenous languages and culture as inferior while stressing the superiority of European civilization. This policy was to lead many nationalist leaders to stress the past glories of their people and to revive a national culture, history and language. Attempts to establish national languages, such as Malagasy, Swahili, Bahasa Indonesia, Bahasa Malaysia or Hindi as a unifying force wherever possible, unfortunately, were to prove difficult, thus, European languages were maintained within the school system to create a sense of national unity amongst diverse ethnic and tribal groups.

iv. Education as a mirage

"... du côté malgache, il y a eu conflit entre ceux qui s'opposaient à l'école étrangère conçue en rupture avec l'éducation traditionnelle, ceux qui voulaient malgachiser l'enseignement afin de sauvegarder une culture nationale et ceux qui désiraient accéder à un statut supérieur par assimilation de la culture française. Lorsque après la seconde guerre mondiale, les lycées furent ouverts aux non-citoyens français, l'école est devenue le lieu

privilégié permettant l'ascension sociale." Hugon, P* (90)

The colonial institutions placed a certain value on schooling throughout the African continent, and as a result education came to be seen not only as an avenue to upward social mobility but as an instrument for social change and progress and a means of welding different ethnic and linguistic groups together. Leaders of independent nations without exception relied with confidence upon the role education could play in the socio-economic development of their country. Most newly independent countries simply expanded education programmes, especially at the base line of primary education, developed a few more secondary schools, and expanded higher education where feasible. But the trappings of these school systems, their ethos, methods of instruction, buildings, grade promotion, examinations, certifications, diploma and degrees, and at tertiary level all the apparatus of faculties, administrative structures and academic dress were true copies of their colonial creators.

v. The complete break between urban and rural world

"En résumé, le projet n'a pas apporté de contribution notable à l'économie de Madagascar et à ses 9 millions d'habitants. On a trop insisté sur l'irrigation et négligé certaines activités plus larges qui auraient contribué au développement de la région du Lac Alaotra. La gestion des sols tourbeux difficiles a posé de gros problèmes techniques. Chose encore plus grave, le projet a accru les tensions et bouleversé les liens et les règles de conduite traditionnels, à un moment où le pays connaissait des troubles politiques et sociaux. La distribution des terres à des étrangers a irrité les autochtones. Les valeurs traditionnelles de partage et de coopération au sein du village se sont émoussées et les habitants ont pris l'habitude de compter davantage sur l'Etat."** (91)

Another impact of colonialism on education was the effect of science on concepts of modernization separating the African world from its fundamental needs. Certain

* On the Malagasy side, there was a conflict between those who were opposed to foreign school viewed to be at odds with the traditional education, those who wanted to Malagasify the education in order to safeguard a national culture and those who wanted to accede to a superior status by the assimilation of the French culture. When after the World War II, the Lycées were opened to non-French citizens, the school became the privileged place allowing the rise in social status.

** In short, the project did not make a notable contribution to the economy of Madagascar and to its 9 millions inhabitants. We stressed too much on irrigation and neglected some wider activities which would have contributed to the development of the Lac Alaotra region. The management of the difficult peaty soil presented serious technical problems. Something more serious, the project increased the tensions and disrupted the links and the traditional rules of conduct, at a certain point when the country faced political and social disturbances. The giving out of lands to foreigners irritated the natives. The traditional values of sharing and cooperation within the village have lost their fine edge and the inhabitants got used to relying more and more on the state.

groups saw science, education and industry as a means of progress and development. This was to lead to a split up in communities between the urban educated, Westernised thinkers, who accepted scientific progress and the majority of rural peasants, scarcely affected by education, who distrusted scientific thinking. Western thought, science and industrialisation in the African context, has unambiguously undermined the old established traditional civilisation, accentuated the breakdown of the traditional and legitimate power of rulers, the creation of a sense of innovation and modernisation, and finally the creation of economies, and wealth based on trade of export crops and industrial development.

"En 1972, l'immense majorité des paysans continuait donc à retourner la terre avec l'angady et à débroussailler la forêt avec l'antsy. Conscient de n'avoir aucun avenir à la campagne, les jeunes ruraux venaient s'entasser dans les faubourgs des grands centres où faute de travail, ils grossissaient les rangs d'un lumpen-prolétariat désœuvré et misérable."* (92)

The scorn for manual work or for work in the rural areas has been one of the most disturbing consequence of the impact of Western education on African development, and on the attitudes of mind of pupils and parents alike.

vi. The most enduring legacy.

Since schooling was brought to non-Europeans as part of empires, it was integrated into an attempt to bring indigeneous peoples into colonial structure. Therefore, colonialism has disappeared and the great empires of the last century are dismantled, but educational systems in the former colonies remain largely intact after independence. Curriculum, language and in some cases, even the nationality of teachers themselves, are carried over from the colonial period. In many ways, the relationship between the former colonies and the ex-colonizers - i.e. Madagascar and France - is stronger economically and culturally than during administration. Once that economic, political and cultural dependency was established, the imperial nature of education was assured as the educational systems that developed in colonized countries were characterized by the fact that they were clearly designed to serve the needs of the colonizers, whether missionaries or administrators.

*In 1972, the vast majority of peasants continued to turn over the land with the spade, and to clear the forest with the knife. Aware of not having any future in the country, the young rural people came to pack into the suburbs of big centres where, through lack of employment, they increased the lines of a idle and impoverished lumpen-proletariat.

After independence, The Minister of Education, Mr Botokeky considered that schools were primarily places to develop vocational skills which fitted in with a societal objective of maximizing economic growth. He stated in his inaugural speech for the first teacher training centre, in March 28, 1962:

"Le premier Centre de Formation de maîtres ruraux est le point de départ d'une transformation fondamentale de l'Enseignement Public élémentaire de la République Malgache.

... Cette situation peut se résumer en deux mots: une scolarisation faible - un enseignement inadapté.

... Nous n'avons pas de conception à priori ou dogmatiques de l'enfant... Nous le considérons dans son existence, nous voulons l'éduquer en le regardant vivre, en l'aidant à vivre et cela dans les contextes permanent de son milieu physique, intellectuel et social. C'est pourquoi un des principaux soucis de l'éducation devra être l'intégration dans les normes de la civilisation actuelle.

... L'apprentissage des techniques, même élémentaire, est non seulement un facteur de progrès économique, mais aussi un facteur important de progrès humain. L'outil permet à l'homme de dominer la nature et d'affirmer sa puissance donc de prendre confiance en lui. Nous devons mettre notre enseignement sous le signe d'un véritable humanisme technique orienté (...) surtout vers l'agriculture.

... Compte tenu des impératifs économiques et sociaux et des perspectives du développement, les besoins essentiels des populations rurales, outre l'éducation, sont ceux qui touchent à l'agriculture, et à la santé, vus dans le contexte d'une planification de l'économie du pays.

... Ces écoles nouvelles seront appelées écoles rurales de premier cycle car elles dispenseront un enseignement de 4 années constituant ainsi le premier niveau de la scolarité...** (93)

As a result of the politico-economic system of the colonial government which provided the basis for the formation of a Malagasy elite, the division Merina and the peoples of the coastal regions became wider - without mentioning the division between the urban and rural areas. At independence, most of secondary and further education were, extremely, concentrated in and around Antananarivo. This, of course, had favoured the "Hauts-Palteaux" and effectively disadvantaged the people in the underprivileged areas. The Minister of Education, Mr Botokeky, in his

** The first teacher training centre for rural teachers is the starting point of a fundamental transformation of the state primary school of the Malagasy Republic - This situation (schooling) can be summarised in two words: a poor schooling - an unsuitable education - We do not have a priori or dogmatic conception of the child. We consider the child within his/her existence, we want to educate him/her by watching him/her live, by helping him/her to live, and this in the permanent context of his/her physical, intellectual and social environment. That is why, one of the principal worries shall be the integration of the individual within norms of the actual civilization - The apprenticeship of techniques, even elementary, is not only a factor of economic progress, but also an important factor of human progress. The tool allows man to dominate nature and to affirm his power, hence to get back his self-confidence. We must put our education under the sign of a real directed technical humanism (...) above all towards agriculture - In view of economic and social demands and future developments, the crucial needs of rural populations, besides education, are those which affect agriculture, and health, seen within the context of a planning of the national economy - These new schools will be called elementary rural schools because they will supply an education of 4 years constituting the first level of schooling.

speech, defined the "Ecoles rurales" as the state primary school with a new spirit which everyone will endeavour to provide schools and education to all populations who were barred from being educated:

"Si l'on parle d'Ecole Rurale, c'est que l'instruction pour tous; à Madagascar, manque surtout à la campagne, c'est aussi que cette école veut d'abord préparer des jeunes à une vie meilleure dans le cadre même des villages."** (94)

The decentralization of education at all levels was the major objective, which led to the creation of lycées in all provinces. With the decentralization of schooling to counterbalance those of the "Hauts-Plateaux", the Minister's policy was to reform what had to be taught in schools. He put the emphasis on the development of the country by the rural peoples as he believed that growth ought to be carried out by the peasants for them as well as with them. The main reason was that Madagascar represented a vast agricultural potential which remained to be exploited on a series of rivers spreading out over wide alluvial plains between Tulear (South) to Majunga (North-West). He, also, believed that agriculture could be the first wealth of the country, hence, his duty was to yield a profit from it which would give the prosperity to the island.

The reform of primary schools was based on the use of the Malagasy language which he considered to be more in keeping with the economic and social realities of the country:

"L'Ecole du 1er cycle ne se contente pas d'instruire les enfants de la campagne. L'instruction n'est pas un but qui se suffit à lui même. Dans tous les détails de la vie scolaire doit être présente cette inquiétude: l'instruction, pourquoi faire? Cela ne signifie pas que le calcul ou le langage seront engagés dans un seul but utilitaire: on doit laisser place par exemple au sentiment de beauté qui naît d'un texte ou d'un exercice de dessin, comme au jeu gratuit de l'esprit qu'implique le calcul. mais il s'agit d'orienter l'enseignement d'une façon nouvelle." Botokey* (95)

In his conviction, the school had a fundamental function; it must play an important

** If we talk about rural school, it is that schooling for all, in Madagascar, is lacking above all in the country, it is also that this school wants first to prepare the youngsters for a better life in the country.

* The elementary school does not content itself with educating the children in the country. The schooling is not an end which is self-sufficient. In all the details of school life this restlessness must be present: schooling, to do what? That does not mean that arithmetic or language will be taught for a simple utilitarian purpose: we must leave room, for example, for the feeling of beauty which is born from a text or from a drawing exercise, like in a free game for the mind which implies arithmetic. But it is a matter of directing the schooling in a new way.

role for the development of Malagasy people as well as of the nation but must not be the only factor for this objective, hence its action must be coordinated with the actions and effort of all responsible men, of all organisations of the region, in short all possible means must be used to make peasants' life better. His emphasis was on the fact that the maturity of Madagascar would require numerous and diverse efforts from everyone, but these efforts had to head in the same direction. In this perspective, the elementary school was to offer to the largest possible number of children a general knowledge, such as: reading, writing and the everyday usage of the mother tongue, practical arithmetic, the usual knowledge acquired by observation, an introduction to the knowledge of the Malagasy nation; Madagascar history directed towards the study of the Malagasy civilization, problems of the national unity, contact between Madagascar and foreign civilizations, the meaning of the colonial periods and the access to independence - to prepare the youngsters to a new spirit and new attitudes; it was a matter of initiating in them a sense of civic responsibility: of being aware of belonging to a free nation which stretched really beyond village or region boundaries. An indispensable effort by all and in all domains; cooperating in common tasks would give, at last, the will for change and progress, and the desirable improvement in farming.

The Minister of Education was aware that independence required the national education which ought to be adapted to the fundamental characteristic of the country which boys and girls would have benefited from:

Je sais que quelques esprits auraient souhaité une action plus massive et plus rapide. Je répondrai qu'à l'Education Nationale, nous avons eu le souci de construire quelque chose de solide."* (96)

But he did not want to head straight for failure with a precocious and spectacular reform. On the contrary, he decided to insert structures, imposed upon the minister by wisdom and the reality of the legacy of colonialism, which would equip the nation with an intellectual and economic growth in the future.

On the one hand, he conceived that the masses ought to be educated, and on the

* I know that some spirits would have wished for a stronger and faster action. I will answer that at the Ministry of Education, we were concerned about building a sound foundation.

other hand, he was faced with only one alternative, to make the most of education agreements with France. After the colonization, Madagascar was deprived of qualified teachers, faced a lack of supplies and equipment as well as schools building, people of the coastal regions had to catch up with those of the "Hauts-Plateaux", while the decentralization of the school system and the expansion of primary and secondary education put forward the tricky issue: how to obtain more and better teachers and school buildings.

Be that as it may, we know exactly that on the economic and political as well as the educational issues, the first Republic did not alter things a bit. The Malagasy people wanted to take in hand their destiny but the cooperation agreements with France and the legacy of the colonization were to ensure that French culture and presence would be felt. The Malagasification of the educational system could not be systematically carried out at the risk of undertaking it on the cheap and the government needed to recruit a large number of teachers for the primary level. The only alternative for its improvement, but above all to achieve progress at the provincial primary level, the government had to rely on French assistants. In secondary and higher education, the presence of the French assistants was felt as French was used while Malagasy could be taken as an optional subject either in the baccalaureate or as part of an arts degree in the "Faculté des Lettres". The question, which medium of instruction should be used in educating the Malagasy pupils, arose while the Minister of Education believed that there was no incompatibility in having both French and Malagasy as official languages and that the Malagasy children should learn both. The Act of April 1964 composed by a committee of Malagasy educators was looking at the issue and as a result tried to work out a curriculum which would give the Malagasy language its "due place" and at the same time not sacrifice the study of French (Thompson, V-1965).

However, government success in its policy depended on increasing the number of Malagasy qualified teachers as well as its ability to provide the means and the efficient support to help the children of the coastal regions to catch up. Apart from

these issues, the government faced a growing dissatisfaction from the students who were disadvantaged by the educational system. The state systems were in fact, in the majority, attended by the political and economic elite and the bourgeoisie children which left limited access to poorer families:

"The most crucial cut-off points were the entry examination to secondary school, the examination between the first and second levels of secondary education and the baccalaureate, which gave access to the summit of the university." Covell, M (97)

The second section of the Lycées which prepared for the baccalaureate with 75 per cent places allocated to students already in the first section, while students from the private schools and those who came from the state "Collèges d'Enseignement Générales" which did not offer the second section (the first section of the C.E.G was similar to the one at the Lycée) had to compete for the 25 per cent places left (Covell, M-1987).

It should be noted that the University trained students for the first parts of degree courses which were continued in France. The University of Madagascar was created almost entirely with funds supplied by the French and the teaching staff was mostly French: "Although 80 per cent of the 1,000 students were Malagasy, 200 of 250 professors were French" (98). In fact, the Malagasy educational system was responsible for ensuring that future elites would be Francophone and imbued with French culture and values:

Degrees given by the French university were French degrees and the research and teaching of the university reproduced that of a French establishment. The regional geography course used the Paris basin for its illustrations and the journal of the Faculty of Literature, *Lettres Malgaches*, published articles on Provençal poetry. Again, the point was clear: it was through learning about France, not Madagascar, that one had to pass to aspire to even the subordinate position in the system for which Malagasies were destined." Covell, M (99)

In 1972, the educational system was attacked for its role in perpetuating an elitist structure but also by excluding the others from it. The central objectives of 1972 movements were the recognition of the Malagasy sovereignty; Malagasification of the educational system, recognition of the Malagasy language as the medium of instruction and the Malagasification of the teaching staff. This demand was later widened by the request for the departure of the French and the puppet regime.

vii. Assimilation: the unbearable burden of colonialism.

"L'amour des conquêtes est le prétexte de nos guerres, et nous mêmes y sommes trompés. Toutefois le prosélytisme en est le plus ardent mobile. Le Français veut surtout imprimer sa personnalité aux vaincus, non comme sienne, mais comme type du bon et du bien; c'est sa croyance naïve. Il croit, lui, qu'il ne peut rien faire de plus profitable au monde que de lui donner ses idées, ses mœurs, ses modes. Il y convertira les autres peuples l'épée à la main, et après le combat, moitié fatuité, moitié sympathie, il leur expliquera tout ce qu'ils gagnent à devenir Français" Michelet* (100)

How different from Britain's policy.

"It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or retard it." T.B Maccaulay (101)

Once Britain and France annexed West Africa, educational policies in these areas, came totally under their jurisdiction. French colonial policy is usually characterized as being "assimilationist", that is to say having Africans conform to a highly centralized French education using the same curriculum and language as in France. All Africans going to school were therefore educated to become "black Frenchmen". British policy on the other hand, is characterized as "adaptive", a policy that evolved through Bruxton, the Education Committee of the Privy Council to the Colonial Office in 1847, and the Phelps-Stokes Reports of 1922 and 1925 (Carnoy Martin-1974).

The British believed that Africans had to be transformed and that education would be the vehicle of their transformation. But the African was not to become British, rather, he/she was to be educated to be a cultivator, in keeping with the British view of local African conditions, present and future. Education was supposed to be adapted to the mentality, attitudes, occupation and traditions of various peoples and was to maintain all elements considered sound and healthy in the fabric of their social life, transplanting them where necessary to changed circumstances and increasing needs, as an agent of natural growth and evolution.

* The love for conquests is the excuse of our wars, and we were wrong ourselves. Proselytism, however, is the most fervent motive for it. The French want above all to imprint their personality on the defeated groups, not like their own, but like some kind of good and beautiful; it is their naive belief. They believe, that they cannot do anything profitable to the world but to give it their ideas, their customs, their modes. They will convert people to it with sword in their hand, and after the fight half smug, half friendly, they will explain everything to be gained by becoming French.

The difference in British and French educational policies did not lie in colonial directives as such but actually in their own metropolitan systems. In both cases, the basic structures of the two systems were imposed in Africa. Thus, both were assimilationists since they forced the African to learn in the context of an imported European educational structure. The French system, as it was in France, was highly centralized, it brought academic education to sons of the new African elite and vocational education to sons of the lower classes.

The British system in Africa, as in Britain, was highly decentralized, and was based on the concept of formal schooling as a privilege to be privately acquired, or a duty to be individually performed. The result was a system of private institutions, aided by the state, but relying largely on self finance through school fees. There was public control of grant-aided institutions, but it was not great enough to restrict the number of graduates as in French administered areas. The decentralized British system was more subject to local demands than the French.

e.3. The dependency.

How did the dominant group impose a policy of integration forcing countries on the periphery to be swallowed by centralism and international relations?. Domination was to rely on the constitution and the application of six principal types of oligopoly. Involvement in the latter was to assent to the status of the dominant.

i. The dissuasive weapons

"It has been estimated that one-tenth of the expenditure involved in armaments would be enough to raise the whole of the less developed world to the level of a self-sustaining economy. The influence of the uncommitted nations must be exerted to the full to restore a proper sense of values to the world." Nkrumah (102)

As present day economies became more and more organised around the transaction of arms, the growth of commerce in this domain did nothing to reduce war-mongering tendencies.

ii. The scientific and technical research and modernization

"Les ministères 'techniques', ainsi que les éléments publics tels que Electricité de France,

ou la Société Nationale des chemins de fer et les autres organismes français publics ou privés qui concourent à l'élan de la coopération apportent, cela va sans dire, leur compétence technique non seulement à travers les hommes qu'ils mettent à disposition, mais aussi à l'aide de leurs outils spécialisés: écoles d'ingénieurs, de techniciens, organes d'études, laboratoires, etc.

... A cet égard, il est intéressant de souligner que le gouvernement français a souvent joué le rôle de chef de file dans le dialogue et l'harmonisation des coopérations, en raison de sa forte implantation sur le terrain et de sa connaissance des situations, même si son apport financier n'était pas prédominant." Bonnal, R* (103)

The potential for research and innovation is completely controlled by specific institutions, states and large enterprises which for the most part, belong to a small group of countries. Other countries are consequently totally dependent on the latter. This dependency is known as "technological transfer"; a transfer which involves language, technical and administrative norms, codes, cultural values and leads towards a society of production and consumption.

iii. Information

"Within the North American Government, opinion is divided. On the one hand, US Information Agency and the Office of Telecommunications Policy of the White House, are in favour of totally free flow of information, traffic without any restriction. On the other hand, institutions which have an educational and cultural mission. Agency for International Development, Ministry for Health, Education and Welfare, Council of Universities reckon that the United States has the moral obligation to respond to the disquiet of underdeveloped countries in this domain. Other government institutions concerned hold an intermediate position." (104)

The information spread around the World by various media are in the main gathered and broadcast by four press agencies answerable to three Western countries. Other means of gathering and broadcasting of information are also dominated by the institutions of a small number of "advanced" countries.

iv. The pattern of administration

"Nous recherchons en France la technologie, le savoir-faire et les moyens financiers." M. Solofoson, Minister of trade* (105)

* The technical ministers, as well as the public establishments such as Electricité de France or the National Society of railways and the other French public or private bodies which work towards the surge of the cooperation bring, without saying, their technical competence not only through the men whom they place at their disposal, but also the help of their specialized institutions: the schools of engineers, of technicians, the research network, laboratories, etc.

In this respect, it is interesting to underline that the French government has often played the role of the leading man of a file within the dialogue and the harmonization, because of its strong establishment on the ground and of its knowledges of situations, even if its financial contribution was not predominant.

* We seek in France technology, savoir-faire and financial support.

The mode of production dominating the world is the one which has been shaped by leading capitalist countries. Technical rules of production are also fixed by the techno-structures of the capitalist enterprises, especially by the multinationals. The latter generate an increase in the internationalization of methods and the process of production and commercialization by the imposition of norms, by so-called "official" exchanges, and by openly creating branches, subsidiaries and joint companies, or co-productions, with direct investment in foreign countries.

v. The world market

"Until now, the Third World country (defined by the author as the World of the under-privileged) has been penetrated by the developed world, culturally, economically and politically. The question which now arises is whether it is possible for some of the new resources of Third World countries to be used for counter-penetration into the major citadels of the economic powers in Western European and North America." (106)

With regard to commerce, a small number of countries exert a determining influence. The fact is that the "world" demand for wealth and services is mainly organized by the state techno-structures and those of the large enterprises answerable to a small number of the most leading industrial countries. Technical prices and norms of wealth are mostly fixed by the same techno-structures - state administration, important firms and the stock exchange - which own at least 30 per cent of the actual world market. As a result, the international market becomes less and less a trading ground for goods between the importer of one country and the exporter of another, but more of a network of branches in which the elements of products between firms flow combining multinational enterprises and branches established by these companies. Added to these large monopolistic subsystems within the international market, are schemes resulting from agreements or quasi agreements on reliable raw materials, on the construction of main public works, and accomplished products such as telecommunication networks or centers for nuclear energy.

vi. The financial oligopoly

"The structure of the country's balance of payments has started to improve following the introduction package of reform measures in 1988. However, Madagascar is vulnerable to external shocks and burdened by its high debt inherited from large borrowings on concessional terms in the 1970s. During 1984-88, the terms of trade decreased by an

annual average of 5.4%. The current account deficit before the debt relief was continued at about 11% of GDP, and at roughly 9% after debt relief during this period." Export Intelligence (107)

Nowadays, the world network for monetary and financial flow is almost entirely monopolized by Western financial institutions, such as large multinational commercial banks, central banks acting for the leading Western countries and some large institutional investors. Today, the world economic system represents a network of interdependent sub-systems, where a small number of countries act as the home or central countries. Some of their institutions are in reality rivals but business circumstances necessitate partnerships; these establish and regulate the essentials of commercial, financial and technical information which flows around the world where other countries and their institutions bear the status of dependents. The latter appear exposed, mainly with regard to their communication lines and above all to their supply of basic products.

Dependency between North and South itself involves one of two kinds of relationships. Colonies were perceived by the "mother country" as potential sources of raw materials, possible markets, or sources of labour or recipients of surplus population from Europe:

"In the historic situation in which dependency takes place, the structure of the world economy, to which the dependent countries belong, is favourable to the developed countries and unfavourable to the dependent countries. The social and economic structure of the dependent countries is geared up to fitting this unfavourable world economy, and this in and of itself contributes to slowing down development." Carnoy, M (108)

Technically therefore England and France were dependent on their own empires. The factors which made the difference in control at that time were political and military. By definition, the colonies were political dependencies of Great Britain and France and subject to their monopoly of physical force over their territories. But while the British and French were busy acquiring Africa's economic resources, they had little interest in cultural resources.

This introduces a fundamental difference between economic and cultural dependency; while economic dependency has always included a degree of influence on the part of the colony over the Mother Country (since the centre of authority needs

peripheral regions economically), cultural dependency has been much more of a one way traffic at an organized level: "While the education agreements were designed to perpetuate the whole system by ensuring that future elites would be Francophone and imbued with French culture and values" (109). The imperial power was prepared to dump its cultural goods on the African market, but it was not interested in purposefully importing African culture back into Europe. Whatever African culture has penetrated Europe has been due far less to organized European policies than to the activities of individual scholars, artists and antiquarians, and to the cultural impact of African slaves imported into the Western World.

Europe on the whole was prepared to offer its religion, languages and culture to Africans - but only in exchange for land, mines, labour, energy and other economic riches - African people were more profound than even they may have realized when they observed:

"When you came here we owned the land and you had the Bible: now we have the Bible and you own the land." (110)

It was a classic case of offering culture in exchange for material goods. By the time African universities were established, Africans themselves were all too eager to scramble for Western culture. It goes without saying that Africans felt a far greater need for western culture than the West felt it needed African culture. As Western institutions continued to exert uneven control over African institutions, cultural dependency was to become more and more pervasive:

"The university had a further significance as an essential component in the perpetuation of the neo-colonial basis of the Tsiranana regime and as a place where French domination of the regime was demonstrated even exaggerated." (111)

Cultural and technological inequalities between whites and blacks in Europe and in Africa has undoubtedly affected all areas of administration and performance as well as precipitated the emergence of a new elite. The last three centuries have seen the establishment of technological and cultural leadership by people of European extraction operating in Africa or Asia and have witnessed its use as a means of cajoling the continents into submission.

In spite of political independence for the majority of the world's former colonial territories, because of the inequitable international economic structures, the control of international banking supplies and the regulation of prices by the rich industrial countries of the North, economically the poor countries of the world have become more, not less, dependent on the rich industrial North. The nature of dependence is mainly conditioned by economic factors as well as being heavily influenced by political judgements:

"While Madagascar is less dependent economically on France, to a large degree the relationship has simply been transferred to the Western economic system as a whole, a diversification rather than an elimination of dependence. Trade with other socialist countries has not increased greatly, and aid only slightly more. The dependence on Western trade and aid has, of course, increased since the debt crisis, and the need to maintain the relationship has affected political foreign policy and economic domestic policy." Covell, M (112)

Increases in population were to be accompanied by a deterioration in many parts of the world's environment such as excessive deforestation, expansion of deserts, and also a tendency to concentrate problems in what has become known as the "South". Thus, the economic and financial recessions have become the domain of the poor countries.

The Western imperial thrust stimulated by modern technology and its accompanying economic expansion, as well as by a psychological urge born of a conviction of racial superiority has led to a global domination by European power and its economic infrastructure. This form of imperialism has attempted to unify the entire globe under the domination of a single regional centre. Largely because of the location and efflorescence of modern technology in a particular culture - a culture which has become more and more aggressive - technology has become a monster of exploitation and has continued to impose one reality over the other, namely that of North over South.

e.4. Malagasification in the dark.

When Ratsiraka took office in 1975, he promised to implement 'a general policy whose principles and methods would be based notably on the socialist revolution by means of an improved and updated "fokonolona" (Covell, M-1987). The goal

of education set by the new government was:

"Malagachisation, démocratisation et décentralisation, tels sont les thèmes qui constituent le trépied sur lequel doit reposer toute activité ayant trait à l'éducation. En ce qui concerne l'enseignement Primaire, il est dit dans le programme que l'on doit s'attacher à faire des enfants des jeunes 'conscients et responsables, entièrement solidaire de ses semblables, dans la lutte pour déboucher sur une société sans classes'. Pour cela l'enseignement doit viser avant tout de bien asseoir le patrimoine culturel national dans son vrai contexte de manière à lui rendre sa vraie valeur, pour qu'il puisse honnêtement garder sa place sur la scène internationale. L'enseignement doit s'attacher également à œuvrer pour l'élaboration du malgache commun à partir de bases immuables pour qu'il devienne un outil de développement efficace à la portée du peuple tout entier, sans pour autant lui faire perdre sa valeur par rapport à toutes les autres langues du monde."* (113)

Students of Malagasy, according to the curriculum, must emerge from the primary school, with a command of the language as a necessary tool for the acquisition of knowledge, but also as the principal means of communication with their peers and fellow men. An additional objective was the acquisition of the language as an instrument of analysis for a better knowledge of the environment in order to have a better control over it. Consequently, the primary school is called "Education de Base"

Rafaralahy-Bemananjara believes that the curriculum appears to be coherent although the aims seem to be too ambitious. He asks that the curriculum should not be criticised as it is because this is only a matter of laying landmarks to avoid any eventual aberrations and maintain a certain conformity to the whole system. He also puts forward some key points:

- to introduce grammar in the primary schooling is premature, above all in its existing form. Pupils are taught the rules of grammar which they have great difficulty in mastering. Furthermore, in the way it is taught, although a certain effort of adaptation to practical problems has been made, the grammar would lead the teacher to develop perfect teaching with a summary which he/she will dictate or will

* Malagasification, democratization and decentralization, such are the themes which constitute the tripod on which must stand any activity being connected to education. With regard to the primary education, it is mentioned in the curriculum that we must apply ourselves to bring up youngsters to become "conscious and responsible, standing by their fellow men, in the struggle to emerge into a classless society". For this, schooling must, above all, aim at establishing the national cultural inheritance within its true context in order to give it back its real value, to manage reasonably to keep its place on the international level. Schooling must equally strive for the development of the Malagasy language from immutable foundations so that it becomes a tool for effective growth which lies within everyone's grasp, without losing its value in relation to all the other world languages.

ask the pupils to copy. As a result, pupils will learn mechanically and will not have the opportunity to apply the rules. It is advisable to start, in primary school, with a basic explanation of the rules governing the structure of sentences while in secondary school they will be asked to look at this in more detail giving the pupils the opportunity to gain experience through constructing their own sentences.

- to set the goal for the improvement of the vocabulary as well as acquiring dialectal terms and expressions corresponding to those acquired previously or met at the stage of T4 - T5 (Primary 4 and 5), is a utopian goal because for the moment no primary teacher would be, himself/herself, able to do it. Furthermore, it is ambitious because the material conditions would prevent it being undertaken adequately. It is also illusory because this exercise has been in fact established for the purpose of leading the pupils towards the 'common Malagasy'. Such a way to tackle the issue is a priori destined to failure; it is rather a kind of nomenclature which, in this way, we will teach the pupils in a free approach. In all of this, the inadequacy, not to say the lack even, of materials must be considered. There is the type of training which the primary teacher receives of which the form and content, in the majority of cases, lack both materials and technical involvement which leaves a lot to be desired.

- the educational system suffers a lot because of the lack of publishing companies in Madagascar; the publication of textbooks is left to the private sector. Accordingly, the large circulation of quality textbooks, has little or no State control. In general, Malagasy educational materials are published without sound reference to fundamental aspects of the Malagasy language.

- with regard to teacher-training, it will require an enormous amount of work. It cannot wait as the situation may constantly worsen at any time.

- as for the methodology, there is not a method, strictly speaking, for teaching Malagasy. Its teaching has always been dependent on what has been accomplished

with the other languages. However, the situation, from a distance, is not catastrophic; it should improve, above all, by taking into consideration the adopted orientation with regard to the sociolinguistic situation which prevails today.

- the coordination of the teaching of Malagasy with the secondary level does not exist in practice. On paper, without mentioning the respective curriculum, the goals are the same. We also observe a cohesion in the progress above all of grammar. But in practice, primary teachers feel satisfied when they have managed to make their pupils, in large numbers, overcome the excessive requirement of the entrance examination for secondary school. On the other hand, secondary teachers are isolated from the primary level. Rafaralahy-Bemananjara believes that this is influenced by the excessive compartmentalization within the Ministry of Education itself: Direction de l'Education de Base (management of the basic education), Direction de l'Enseignement Secondaire (management of the secondary school) and Direction de l'Enseignement Technique et Professionnel (management of technical and professional education).

- last but by no means least, he brings out the lack of cooperation between foreign experts and the local personnel of Higher Education:

"Très souvent , le potentiel intellectuel des techniciens qui travaillent sur place ne sont généralement pas mis à contribution. Je viens de m'en rendre compte, à Tananarive, où une équipe d'experts est arrivée depuis plusieurs mois et œuvrent apparemment pour la planification de l'Education à Madagascar".* (114)

He deplored the fact that these experts from UNESCO, assisted by some new technicians in Education, did not consider that it would be advisable to contact and work with the local experts (teachers in Primary, Secondary and Further Education). As a matter of fact, would not it be wise to involve the local experts and collaborate with them in order to draw up measures which are necessary and fundamental to the whole educational system.

* Very often, they do not call upon the intellectual potential of technicians who work on the spot. I have just realised it, in Antananarivo, where a team of experts arrived many months ago and are working, apparently, for the planning of the Education in Madagascar.

Structurally, the new educational system is still connected with the metropolitan educational system. The desire to Malagasify the system cannot be fully achieved right away because of its lack of qualified teachers to teach Malagasy, the absence of adequate Malagasy textbooks, the non involvement of local experts in policy making with regard to education and the lack of coordination between teachers of both primary and secondary schools. The implementation of such a project needs the drawing up of a policy after mature reflection with the involvement of all people concerned; e.g. education authorities, teachers and parents.

However, the debate stays open about the use of Malagasy or French as medium of instruction; e.g:

"Il est sans doute temps, que l'Etat ou du moins les responsables de l'enseignement choisissent entre la langue malgache et française. L'une ou l'autre mais pas les deux à la fois. Le choix pris, tous doivent s'y conformer. Si l'Etat choisit le français, on enseignera les cours en français. Les explications seront données en français, et les examens seront traités uniquement en langue française. Si c'est le malgache qui est choisi, les mêmes impératifs doivent suivre. Mais en tout cas, pas de demi-mesures nuisibles comme c'est le cas." *Midi Madagascar** (115)

The wrong definition of the medium of instruction in the Lycées and Schools harms the pupils as well as worries parents and teachers. Parents spend a lot of money for private French tuition to allow their children to get ready for the baccalaureate and undertake properly, courses for higher education. On the other hand, lecturers and professeurs of universities complain about the students' low level in French and are worried about the mix up of languages which is such that it is reflected by the results of the baccalaureate examinations.

But this situation is becoming increasingly complicated as a great number of private schools and particularly Catholic schools have adopted French as the medium of instruction without waiting for the Minister of Education's authorization. On the other hand, the Protestant and Lutheran schools have decided to use Malagasy and

* No doubt it is time, that the state or at least those responsables for education choose between the Malagasy or French language. One language or the other should be adopted but not both at the same time. Once the choice is made, everyone must conform to it. If the state chooses French, we will teach in French. The explanations will be given in French, and the examinations will be set solely in French. If Malagasy is chosen, the same requirements must be followed in any case. No harmful half-measures as it is now.

act as spokesmen for the Malagasification:

"La malagachisation n'est nullement à l'origine de la baisse du niveau des élèves. Comment voulez-vous qu'on ait de bons élèves si dès l'enseignement de base ils ont été pris en charge par des jeunes du SN ou des enseignants qui n'ont pas reçu une formation valable? Discuter sur l'utilisation du Français ou du Malgache comme langue d'enseignement n'est qu'un faux problème. Tout est plutôt question d'enseignants et de conjoncture économique." Razafindrasananatranabo * (116)

They do not reject the learning of French but believe that the choice of Malagasy will promote the development of Malagasy children to their full potential. They intend to establish worthwhile academic norms for their schools and to adapt them to a bilingualism which will serve as an opening on the modern world.

What has to be decided, is which language, whether Malagasy or French, or bilingualism should be implemented in Madagascar? To further the confusion, since 1985, French is again considered as being part of the national inheritance, following the statement issued by the "L'Etat de la francophonie dans le monde" ** (117). In fact, it comes down to political will wake up the world of the education from its sleep.

* The Malagasification is not the cause of the fall of the standard of pupils' achievement. How do you expect to have good pupils if from the basic education they are taught by young people doing their National Service or teachers who did not get a worthwhile training. To discuss the use of French or Malagasy as a medium of instruction is just a non-issue, rather it is a question of teachers and of economic circumstances.

** The state of the Francophony in the world.

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CHAPTER IV. Underachievement

Education is a right and a necessity for all human beings and is all the more acutely felt in the disadvantaged and immigrant population living in an impoverished environment, and by those who reside in poverty-stricken nations. Underachievement constitutes for them a greater handicap which makes the task of fulfilling the needs of the individual ever more difficult as well as severely constraining his or her contribution to a society free from fear of prejudice.

"Mes garçons avaient des capacités pour faire des études mais l'orientation scolaire les a cassés. L'aîné, on l'a fait redoubler la sixième sans raison, parce qu'il était turbulent et ne revenait pas au prof. L'autre on l'a orienté en CAP alors que ces notes étaient loin d'être aussi mauvaises que celles d'autres camarades français, qui eux ont continué au Lycée. Moi, je me suis battue, mais ils sont les plus forts. J'ai voulu mettre l'aîné dans une école privée en cinquième, on lui a fait passer un examen et il l'a réussi, alors je suis allée voir le directeur du Lycée et lui ai dit, 'vous voyez, mon fils est capable d'entrer en cinquième, il n'a pas besoin de redoubler, vous avez refusé de le prendre parce qu'il est immigré.' Quelques jours après, l'école privée me fait savoir que, finalement, il n'y a pas de place pour mon fils. Je pense que le Lycée a dû leur téléphoner pour leur demander de ne pas le prendre, parce que je faisais des histoires, je n'étais pas la bonne immigrée qui ferme son bec. Depuis la maternelle on prépare les enfants immigrés à finir en CAP." Discourse held by a mother, of Spanish origin.* in Taboala Leonetti, I (1987) (1)

More often, underachievement has been treated as if it were singularly inherent in specific groups, such as the working class and immigrant populations or those in the poverty-stricken nations, as if it were part and parcel of their condition, not to say of their nature. People "with problems" are scrutinised by "experts" out of curiosity, who protest at the disgrace of injustice in society for party political reasons. Others have thought of the scourge of underachievement as if it were specific to a particular group in society, a weakness, a curse to be cured separately, without tackling, thoughtfully, the factors which are partly responsible for its existence and even to its

* My boys were able to carry on their studies but the educational adviser ruined them. They asked the eldest boy to repeat his first year without any reason, because he was unsettled and the teacher did not like him. They orientated the other one towards CAP while his marks were far from being as bad as his French classmates, who continued at the "Lycée" (secondary school). I, I fought against, but they were too strong. I intended to send the eldest to a private school for his 2nd year, they asked him to sit for an exam and he passed it. Then I went to see the Headmaster and told him; 'You see my son is capable of attending 2nd year. He does not need to repeat his first year. You refused to take him because he is an immigrant. A few days later, the private school let me know that, eventually, there was not a place for my son. I believe that the "Lycée" called them to ask them not to take him, because I made a whole lot of fuss, I was not the good immigrant who shut her trap. From the nursery school, they prepare the immigrant children to end up with diploma in vocational training.

intensification.

"Riches are not only inherited or made to be riches, they have to be unavailable to the vast majority of the population. A theory of riches depends not only on theories of acquisition - how much wealth is inherited, accumulated by entrepreneurial effort or by exercise of scarce skills. It depends also on theories of denial of access to health - through selective succession, testamentary concentration, limitation of entry to the professions, monopolization of capital and property or at least severe restriction on the opportunity to acquire land and property." Townsend (2)

Townsend (Abercrombie, N. & Warde, A.-1993) recognizes that an unequal distribution of income and wealth is not achieved by accident, but it requires active social processes to create and maintain it. In fact, it is not because they come from working class or immigrant families or live in poverty-stricken countries which makes these people "backward" and "under-developed"; it is because they belong to a disadvantaged and impoverished socio-economic environment. However, in addition to the handicaps all such people (including whites) suffer, other specific handicaps must be endured - inequality of opportunity in education, in training and in employment, together with problems of identity and security - above all by the non-European and non-indigenous people.

To understand underachievement, one will have to look at some of the problems which may implicitly or explicitly affect the performance of children in schools. This does not only affect children from ethnic minority groups, but also a wide section of the working class. This is because social deprivation and social discrimination are prevalent amongst various groups who will be affected in the same way, and this will in turn affect their education.

To come from working class or ethnic minority families seems to attract a great deal of attention. The attention has been drawn from the fact that they were located in the lower streams at school which means that there is something wrong with the way they are processed through the school system. Thus, this chapter will attempt to examine underachievement as a consequence of three factors: Impact of racism, social factors and the educational system itself.

A. Impact of racism

Debates and counter-debates on racism have put the emphasis at the level of theory and policy. The swing between concern with theory and concern with policy by educationalists has tended to ignore the crucial foundation of racism. This section is to determine the implication for the issues of racism and ethnocentrism which still complicate both race and society today.

a.1. Legitimization of racism

Maybe the Bible has been a major source feeding race and sexual discriminations. However, the Bible could not be held solely responsible for the spread of racism and gender in any society, or the denial of civil and equal rights to Black people and women by the state or nation.

"The most striking feature is undoubtedly the rise of racism as a widespread and deeply rooted element in European thought.

The role of slavery in promoting racist prejudice and ideology has been carefully studied in certain situations, especially in the U.S.A. The simple fact is that no people can enslave another for centuries without coming out with a notion of superiority, and when the color and other physical traits of those people were quite different it was inevitable that the prejudice should take a racist form. within Africa itself, the same can be said for the situation in the Cape Province of South Africa where white men have been establishing military and social superiority over non-whites since 1650." Walter Rodney (3)

The French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution were the turning points in the foundation of the "New state". The foundation of allegiance to the state rather than through the Church was to lead to new theses of racial graduation and ethnic division - e.g. the Church believed that it was their duty to christianize the black population although they did not believe in equality. Thus, the French writer and diplomat Gobineau (Martin Bernal-1991) distinguished three great and clearly marked types, the Black, the Yellow and the White and arranged them in a scale with the "lowest", the negro being hardly more than a mere brute, the yellow race committing none of the strange excesses so common among negroes but tending to mediocrity in everything, and at the top the white race, gifted with energetic intelligence perseverance and an instinct for order and a love of Liberty.

The Darwinian theory of the survival of the fittest:

"As all the inhabitants of each country are struggling together with nicely balanced forces, extremely slight modifications in the structure or habits of one inhabitant would often give it an advantage over others; and still further modifications of the same kind would often still further increase the advantage...

... If some of these many species become modified and improved, others will have to be improved in a corresponding degree or they will be exterminated." (4)

This was warmly welcomed by the whites as an argument for the idea of white superiority supporting and confirming their policy of expansion and aggression at the expense of the "inferior" peoples such as the Indians in America, the Black people in Africa and Asians. Darwin's theory was made public in the years in which the European powers were building their colonial Empires. Thus, it served to confirm Gobineau's theory and to justify the Europeans in their own eyes and before those of the rest of the world - that colonization or death brought to "inferior" human groups by European rifles and machine-guns was no more than the fulfilment of the theory of the replacement of an inferior by a superior human society. The notion that the stronger is biologically and scientifically absolved in destroying the weaker was to be applied as much to conflicts within as to those between nations.

In earlier times, the world system was involved in Christian versus non-Christian conflict. Today if we look at the geographical area designated in the nineteenth century by the term "civilized world" or "non-civilized world", they strongly coincide with what is today called the developed world, and the Third-World; the barbarians and heathens of the nineteenth century being today the developing societies of Africa and Asia. The function of doctrine on race was to legitimize the European dominance and to order a society recognising racial hierarchy which, in the eyes of the native Europeans, appeared to have a God-given mandate to rule, also in the relationship of masters to servants. Thus, masters and servants were confirmed in their roles: White people endorsed the power to govern and the non-Whites remained submissive, continuing the universal patterns of dominance and dependence.

"Pour préparer l'essor de la colonisation, la condition essentielle à cette époque était d'inculquer des habitudes de travail à la population indigène et d'amener les Malgaches, non seulement à s'employer dans les entreprises privées, mais encore à concourir à la création de l'outillage économique: routes, canaux, etc., sans lequel les transactions ne peuvent naître

et se développer." Galliéni* (5)

In any case, the causes of White men's aggression were fundamentally economic as the White powers appropriated the richer land inhabited by black populations and reduced the latter to slavery to secure a ready source of labour with a view to increasing the value of their recent acquisition. Racial philosophy has been based on superiority which has played and still plays an important role in the policy of the European and so-called Industrialized powers. It has been the excuse for cruelty and inhumanity. It has served as a pretext for the colonial expansion of Europe and for modern imperialism, sharpened race hatred and carried patriotism and nationalism to unreasonable lengths and promoted wars.

a.2. The hidden racism

We must bear in mind that there is not only one racism but distinct forms of racism, for there are as many forms of racism as there are groups which need to justify their existence. The term "hidden racism" is used to describe the historical process in which white people have dominated black people and to denote forms of racial discrimination in the institutions of society. As Smith (Abercrombie, N. & Warde, A (1987) admits, the black population in Great Britain has suffered a series of multiple disadvantages and is often, more-over, heavily geographically concentrated in inner-city areas:

"There is overwhelming evidence from the PEP survey to show that local concentrations of the racial minority groups are associated with poor housing, poor jobs and low incomes, and among Asians with large and often extended families with a high ratio of dependents to wage earners and West Indians who are more dispersed among the white population are far less likely to suffer every kind of disadvantage than those living in the areas of local concentration." (6)

Yet, economic mechanisms, indifferent to human beings, affect all black people whether they have just arrived in the country or whether they and their family have lived there for generation.

"Plus l'on monte haut dans les 'hiérarchies naturelles', plus il y a de privilèges et plus il y a de devoirs; ce sont les seconds qui justifient les premiers. N'est pas souverain celui qui domine, mais celui qui est responsable de ceux qui vivent en dessous de lui." A. de

* To prepare the expansion of colonization, the essential condition at that epoch was to instil habits of work in the native population and to induce the Malagasy people, not only to work in private enterprises, but also to work towards the creation of the economic apparatus: roads, canals, etc., without which the transactions cannot be born and expanded.

Benoit* (7)

For the above reason, they are all contaminated by the same virus "racism". To some black elite, poor blacks along with poor whites produce an alibi for the black misery. In reality, the trend of racism resulting from race hierarchism and economic and cultural inequalities greatly affects the weak.

Consequently, it appears important to analyse certain forms of racism which are hidden, insidious and hardly recognizable, and therefore are less exposed.

i. The racism of the intelligence

"Talent , mérite, aptitude... Tout système qui refuse d'accorder de l'importance à ces facteurs, dans une très large mesure, innés, conduit fatalement à une catastrophique uniformité dans la médiocrité. La biologie oppose aussi bien dans le domaine du sport que dans la vie en générale un obstacle infranchissable à l'égalitarisme." H.J. Eysenck** (8)

To Bourdieu, this racism is, however, peculiar to the ruling class which is responsible for the passing on of cultural knowledge; this class tends to automatically accept that it knows what is best.

"L'action pédagogique est objectivement une violence symbolique, en un premier sens, en tant que les rapports de force entre les groupes ou les classes constitutifs d'une formation sociale sont au fondement du pouvoir arbitraire qui est la condition de l'instauration d'un rapport de communication pédagogique; i.e. de l'imposition et de l'inculcation d'un arbitraire culturel selon un mode arbitraire - d'imposition et d'inculcation (éducation). Bourdieu.*** (9)

The racism of intelligence is that by which a ruling class aims at developing a justification of the social order which it dominates. Hence, a ruling class feels justified in existing as a ruling class as well as feeling superior. Racism of intelligence is the form in which the ruling class power relies on the possession of titles which, like academic titles, are supposed to be the guaranties of intelligence, even leading to

* The more you rise high in the 'natural hierarchies', the more there are privileges and the more there duties; it is the second which justifies the first. The person who rules is not the sovereign, but the one who is responsible of those who live under him/her.

** Talent, merit, ability - any system of choice which pays no attention to these largely innate factors must lead to a low and deadly uniform level of mediocrity. Biology sets an absolute barrier to egalitarianism, in life as in sport.

*** The pedagogic action is, objectively, a symbolic violence, at first, as long as the balance of power between the group or constituent classes of a social formation are the foundation of the arbitrary power which is the condition for the institution of the balance of pedagogic communication; i.e. for the imposition and inculcation of a cultural arbitrariness according to an arbitrary mode of imposition and inculcation.

positions of economic power, which have replaced in many societies titles such as those of nobility - e.g. Lady. This racism also owes certain of its proprieties to the fact that censorship towards apparent and brutal forms of racist expressions has been strengthened, so the racist drive can only be subtly expressed in the highly veiled forms which make racism almost hardly recognizable - e.g. Third-World.

The propagators of racism must face the dilemma, as they must make the best of their ideology: they could decide to explicitly assert their racism - eg. the far right wing such as the National Front, the British National Party..., with the risk of shocking and losing the power to communicate and convert. Alternatively, they could accept the need to be more devious and subtle, thereby increasing the chance of getting the message without provoking criticism.

Nowadays, the obvious use of psychology; eg. the IQ test is the most widespread assessment of the Intellect, is not only because psychology represents the dominating legitimate form of thought, but also, and above all, because an authority considered to be based on Science, genuinely requires Science to establish the authority. When the government pretends to base its principles on Science and Scientific competence, intellect is then what becomes the legitimate form of government; eg. Burt who was very influential in the debate over educational debate:

"Intellectual development during childhood appears to progress as if it were governed by a single central factor usually known as 'general intelligence', which may be broadly described as innate all-round intellectual ability. It appears to enter into everything which the child attempts to think, or say, or do, and seems on the whole to be the most important factor in determining his work in the classroom."(10)

Today, tests play a selective role within the educational system and have become the measure of intelligence. The ruling class draws its legitimacy from the grading of the pupils as the school hierarchy is a microcosm of social hierarchy which has become acceptal, one which has already been amenable to censorship. Thus, school hierarchization tends to convert class difference into a difference of "intelligence", of "gift", certainly not of "nature". Thus, the social establishment which results from the racism of the intelligence, reflects the proper racism of the "elite" who are entirely linked with school selection.

The emergence of intelligence tests must be linked with the establishment of compulsory education. Tests which measure the social aptitude required by the school - from which the value of school achievement as a measure of success can be predicted - are well established to justify and legitimize, in advance, the school verdict.

"Rien n'est mieux fait que l'examen pour inspirer à tous la reconnaissance de la légitimité des verdicts scolaires et des hiérarchies sociales qu'ils légitiment, puisqu'il conduit ceux qui s'éliminent à s'assimiler à ceux qui échouent, tout en permettant à ceux qui sont élus parmi un petit nombre d'éligibles de voir dans leur élection l'attestation d'un mérite ou d'un 'don' qui les aurait fait préférer en toute hypothèse à tous les autres." Bourdieu* (11)

Bourdieu insists on the fact that all forms of racism possess some similarities, hence a kind of protectionist measure; a sort of "numerus clausus", similar to the control of immigration, has to be introduced to constrain the flow of qualified people.

ii. Social racism

"L'exaltation des préjugés, de la haine, des fantasmes voit son écho grandir au fur et à mesure que s'aggravent les crises économiques, culturelles et morales. Le vieux racisme se conforte des craintes à l'égard de l'immigration, tandis que les discriminations gagnent du terrain dans l'espace communautaire. Ouvertement propagée par les parties d'extrême droite et de violents groupes d'activistes prônant l'instauration d'un ordre nouveau aux filiations bien établies, la marée noire de la xénophobie s'étend sur l'ensemble de l'Europe. Elle risque un jour de submerger la démocratie." Claude Julien* (12)

The racist behaviour of individuals or groups comes simply within a certain idea of the world, for which they need a fallacious justification. The fight against communism was used as an excuse against communist countries. In fact, the upheavals in the former U.S.S.R and Eastern Europe make anti-communism from now on lose its usefulness. Most of the poor countries have also given up any forms of communism (e.g. Madagascar) to embrace the capitalist way. In reality, the obsessive consideration concerns the priority of business; when we talk about the "world

* Nothing is better designed than the examination to inspire universal recognition of the legitimacy of academic verdicts and of the social hierarchies they legitimise, since it leads the self-eliminated to count themselves among those who fail, thus enabling those elected from among a small number of eligible candidates to see in their election the proof of a merit or 'gift' which would have caused them to be preferred to all comers in any circumstances.

* The praising of prejudices, of hatred, of fantasies see its echo growing as fast as economic, cultural and moral crises get worse. The old racism reinforces itself with fear towards immigration, while discriminations gain ground within the community space, overtly propagated by the extreme right parties and violent activist groups advocating the institution of a new order from the well established relations, the black wave of xenophobia stretches over the whole of Europe. It risks one day, swamping democracy.

of freedom", we mean primarily the world of free business. Individual freedom just comes second because it depends on money. If we do not have anything to buy or to sell, freedom in our case is unimportant. Our society is before anything organized for business, and every time we have to chose between "Human Rights" and the profits of a company which makes gains, human rights have great difficulty in being heard: gains first, human beings afterwards.

"One other myth too must be laid to rest: that is the notion that our approach to Britain's social and economic problems has its origins in the University of Chicago or even the Free Trade Hall of Manchester. It does not. But let me for my part assert that the Conservative tradition is too rich and vital to be hijacked by the advocates of paternalistic interference. The aristocratic tradition of paternal Toryism has a place, and an honourable one. But the Prime Minister's Grantham and my Port Talbot, and the values and traditions which they bred, are just as much as the cornerstone of what today's Conservatives believe. Thrift, hard work, independence, the desire to succeed - not just for oneself but for one's family and country too - are and always have been the moral bulwark of the Conservative creed". Sir Geoffrey Howe (13)

Because economism, a belief in the primacy of economic factors, has reached its peak, this maxim is applicable to Europe and the world as in a case of white Europeans as well as Asians and Africans (however poorly endowed with dignity and rights). With good reason, the same rule applies, in the whole of Europe as well as in the poverty-stricken nations, to those who make the mistake of not being White and belonging to the elite, and are devoid therefore of dignity and citizens rights.

In addition, Europe's main worries are more concerned with how to compete with America and Japan and to make economic gains without provoking social cost or political disturbances. The answer is to profit from the immigrant's cheap and captive labour which nourishes vast areas of an ever expanding service sector and makes European privatisation profitable. Consequently, immigrants do the low-skilled, degrading, dangerous and dirty jobs in the demanding capitalist age as their fathers and grand-fathers did years ago in the reconstruction of post-war Europe. Immigrant labourers are not only in the service sector, but also, less visibly, in manufacturing and the distributive trades, and in some parts of Europe in agriculture

"The great value of the employment of foreigners lies in the fact that we thus have a mobile labour potential at our disposal." Robert Moore (14)

In manufacturing, the production process requires the use of an increasingly flexible workforce. On the one hand, a core group which must be able to cope with any changes in technology, on the other, a numerically flexible group which can be adjusted to changes in the market and is, therefore temporary, part-time or casual. Hence modern manufacturers rely on itinerants, migrants or refugees. In the retail sector too, migrant labour has become absolutely crucial as it must be able to switch lines at a moment's notice from one fast fashion to another, dispose of a pattern today, produce a new one tomorrow. This requires a completely flexible workforce which can be taken on or laid off at will, which is prepared to work long and unsocial hours to fulfill a particular contract, which agrees to accept contracts that depend on their ability to change production according to the demands and unpredictability of the market. To an increasing extent, that workforce comes from immigrant women who are working at home, but also from the non-unionised illegal migrants working in the sweatshop (Le Monde Diplomatique-October 1990).

In some countries of Europe like Italy and France, the agricultural sector is becoming dependent on the super-exploitation of itinerant workers. The grape-picking holiday in France, once popular with students, has given way to a more systematized use of cheap labour. Agricultural migrant workers travel from harvest to harvest, as each crop needs to be picked at a definite time. The work itself is intense and short-lived and the rates of pay are scandalous (Le Monde Diplomatique-October 1990).

Between employment, migrant workers support themselves with difficulty and effort by living on the pavements and beaches of Europe. They sell newspapers in Vienna, "Lacoste" jumpers, sunglasses or African jewellery in France, Spain or Portugal, or entertain tourists outside the Pompidou Centre. But wherever they are, they are dependent upon a supplier for their goods, are open to the harassment of police identity checks and face the racist hostility of local traders. By hiding the exploitation of black workers, Europe shrouds the unacceptable face of industrial capitalism as well as regarding the workers as subhuman and, therefore disposable

(Le Monde Diplomatique-Octobre 1990).

Inevitably, the socially rejected and immigrant people are driven in Europe, as well as in poor countries, into ghettos. The maxim: "gains first, human beings afterwards", low incomes and the cost of rents validate the fundamental rule of the market, which with confidence, frames instinctively the discrimination and the social and ethnic regrouping into localities of the not over-fortunate. These accumulate all the social disadvantages, without resorting to hateful racist laws. Economics establishes the national and international disparity, as well as, by virtue of the market laws, setting up a legitimate social and racial segregation, not to say an apartheid without laws.

"L'aggravation des inégalités entre le Nord et le Sud trouve son prolongement au sein même des pays les plus développés... La croissance économique fabrique de plus en plus d'exclus, notamment parmi les jeunes et les femmes. Les politiques nationales de revenu minimum et d'insertion, les programmes communautaires, l'engagement des associations de solidarité, ne sont pas en mesure de résoudre seuls un problème qui met en cause la finalité des sociétés libérales." Anne-Marie Michel* (15)

This inequality results from the nerve of an economy believed to be modern: rivalry, competitiveness between nations and individuals or groups of industries and trades. Undeniably, there must be strong and weak, conquerors and vanquished, the "winners" are adulated and the "losers" forgotten, if not treated with disdain. While all world politicians rail against and complain loudly about injustice, they still worship the social and universal order, and devote themselves to the economic and cultural inequalities from which the weak are suffering harshly. They indeed empower the incredible reserve of devastating and outrageous racism creating a tolerable "smart", subtle racism. Consequently, as it is not overtly expressed, all of those, who maintain this ruthless economic machinery, ensure that the poor and Black people are excluded. In this manner Jean Marie Le Pen may express his party ideology but also the unexpressed principles of the whole European political body:

"Compte tenu de l'explosion démographique dans le tiers monde, il va se produire de véritables glissements de terrain, lesquels risquent d'emporter notre civilisation elle-même". "On me dit: "Laissez entrer les étrangers en France." Je réponds: mais laissez

* The worsening of inequalities between the North and the South finds its effects even within the most developed countries. The economic growth produces more and more marginalized groups, in particular, among young people and women. The national policy on minimum income support, the community programmes, the commitment of association for solidarity, will not be able to solve on their own an issue which calls into question the finality of liberal societies.

donc vos voisins entrer chez vous. Laissez les coucher dans votre lit [...]. Moi, je suis le chef des indigènes et si mes idées ne triomphent pas, c'en sera fait de la France. Les immigrés seront les rois et on cotera à Paris, à la Bourse, en arabe. Avant vingt-cinq ans, la France sera une République islamique." "Je vous dis, moi, que si nous laissons cette situation s'instaurer, ou bien tout cela finira mal, ou bien la France et les Français, leur civilisation, leurs coutumes et leurs mœurs seront balayés."* (16)

This anti-immigrant philosophy fertilizes certain notions in education, industry, trade and culture. Such is the way of the world, impregnated with economics or racism, the ruling classes emphasize the difference between the "elite" who know and the "masses" who follow, between the qualified executive and unqualified workers, between the "Europeans by blood" and the immigrants, between the rich and the poor but also between the "Industrialized" and "Third World" in reality poverty-stricken nations. Social or racial, these differences tend to justify the whole range of inequalities which are the gangrene of the world. Deceitful complicity between all the economic or racist theories supports the prejudice. There is no need to codify them into laws which organize apartheid; together, they end up in segregation, not legitimate, but in fact a prolific compost for all the aberrations overtly or insidiously racist.

a.3. The overt racism

"Racisme 'vulgaire' et racisme 'savant' reconnaissent aux individus des droits et des devoirs inégaux. Le premier insiste sur une distinction entre les 'nationaux' et les 'étrangers', le second étend son champ à l'ensemble de la population et établit de différenciations 'scientifiques', non seulement entre population blanche et de couleur, mais aussi entre les classes, les sexes, etc. Ses différenciations soi-disant scientifiques tendent à devenir, sur le plan social, absolues et irréductibles." Chapour Haghghat* (17)

The year of the Oil crisis, 1972 saw the revival of violent racism in Europe, but in the 80's in the name of democracy, France was to be the first European country to

* Taking into account the population explosion in the Third World, it will cause genuine landslides which may imperil our civilisation itself. They tell me: "Let foreigners come into France". I, I answer them: "But, therefore, let your neighbours enter your house. Let them slip into your bed. I am the leader of the French and if my views do not succeed, the fate of France will be sealed. Immigrants will be the kings and in Paris we will speculate on the Stock Change in Arabic. In 25 years, France will become an Islamic Republic." "I tell you, that if we let this situation install itself, all of this will come to a bad end, or France and the French people, their civilisation, their customs and their morals will be swept away.

* 'Common' and 'intellectual' racism acknowledge individuals' unequal rights and duties. The former focuses on a distinction between the 'nationals' and the 'foreigners', the latter stretches his field to the whole population and establishes 'scientific' differentiations, not only between white and black peoples, but also between classes, sexes, etc. These so-called scientific differentiations tend to become, at the social level, absolute and relentless.

accommodate the extreme right, led by Jean Marie Le Pen, among the established parties and install it as a party respectful of the republican institutions. So, it takes part openly in public debates and launches the legal conquest of political power on the basis of a programme of national rehabilitation. The party apparatus regroups a nucleus of hard-liners coming from all extremist groups in France, as well as developing an international connection with the German extreme right led by the former Waffen SS Franz Schoenhuber, the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), the Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI), the Mouvement Social Belge (MSB) (heir to Léon Degrelle who was a well-known collaborator and serviceman of the Waffen SS Wallonie Legion), and the British National Front, radically defying the political system in force, the principles and values which permit it; and opposing the organization and regulation of social order (Le Monde Diplomatique- Octobre 1990).

From a common foundation of ideas, they intend to raise a new order on the decline of France and Europe, the collapse of patriotic traditional values, moral and religious, the respect of natural, professional and family hierarchies, the loss of national identity weakened by the "invasion of foreign elements". Ever concerned to exercise democratically the right accorded to political groups to stand for their principles, of being capable of taking into account people's demands, of responding to their concerns and their hopes and coming up with political solutions, the French National Front adopts a violent dramatization of possible threats to society, aimed at bolstering the fears which they arouse.

"J'ai dû mal à respirer". Je me sens opprimée", me dit on souvent. "Pour ma part, je suis inquiète non seulement pour les Turcs, mais aussi pour les Allemands. Après les étrangers, les nazillons ne vont-ils pas s'attaquer aux clochards, puis aux homosexuels? C'est toute la société allemande qui est en danger." Ms Azize Tank* (18)

The task of the new order is to sweep out the power, schools, justice, media, culture and Unions seized by the left wing as well as to create a maternal wage which is to free jobs held by women. After the clear-out, it must assure the return to

* "I have difficulty in breathing." "I feel oppressed", they frequently say to me. "As for me, I feel worried, not only for the Turks, but also for the German people. After the foreigners, les 'nazillons' (little nazis) are they not going to attack tramps, and then homosexuals? It is the whole German society which is in danger.

power of the real elite, following the ridding of the parasitic bodies which asphyxiate the French nation. Thanks to its recognition as an institutional political party, the French National Front not only speaks for the French but also for the whole of Europe. Consequently, the "Groupe de Recherche et d'Etudes pour la Civilisation Européenne" also known as GRECE (Research and Study Groupe for a European Civilization, set up in January 1969) formalizes the doctrinal basis of the "Racio-elitism" developed in the form of political proposal (Le Monde Diplomatique -Octobre 1990).

"Plutôt de s'attaquer aux racines économiques du chômage et de la misère, aux causes de la situation dégradée des banlieues, les gouvernements préfèrent détourner l'hostilité de leurs opinions publiques en attisant insidieusement les sentiments xénophobes.

Arguant de menaces migratoires largement imaginaire, l'Europe ferme son territoire aux ressortissants du Sud et de l'Est, isole les communautés qui s'y séjournent et les condamne à une cruelle insécurité." Alain Grech* (19)

There is nothing like harsh and uninterrupted attacks on immigrants to excite people and maintain the fantasy of the nation besieged by immigrants. Without any exception, the National Front within Europe provides ammunition but does not fire the gun. Meanwhile Europe, the land of democracy and human rights, where all forms of discrimination, racial or sexual are officially proscribed, is it worthy of its reputation? The anti-immigrant wave which struck the Italian, Polish or Belgian parents or grand-parents is like the one which strikes today's immigrants and it was and is still identified with striking violence. In the memory of foreign descendants, such as those cited above, are things which happened in Europe in 1890, 1920 and 1930. All these people, believed to be culturally close and practically identical to national natives, were by definition able to assimilate.

"C'est peut-être vrai qu'il n'y a pas plus d'étrangers qu'avant la guerre, mais ce n'est pas les mêmes et ça fait une différence. Il est certain que d'avoir des Espagnols, des Polonais et des Portugais travaillant chez nous, ça pose moins de problèmes que d'avoir des musulmans et des Noirs." Jacques Chirac** (20)

* Instead of tackling the economical roots of unemployment and poverty, governments prefer to divert the hostility of their public opinion by stirring up insidiously the xenophobic feelings. Putting forward the migration threat, largely imaginary, Europe closes its territory to the nationals from South and East, isolates the communities which live there and condemns them to a cruel insecurity.

** It is true that there are fewer foreigners than before the war, but they are not the same and this makes a difference. There is no doubt that to have Spanish, Polish and Portuguese working here, presents fewer problems than to have Moslems and Blacks.

Yet each national considered himself to be incapable of integrating, they, as a result, suffered violent attacks, were the object of great hatred and defined by a whole network of stereotypes. Nowadays, there is in every respect the same network employed to define people from Africa, North-Africa, Asia and the Carribean. Not only are these stereotypes the same, the general behaviour and practice are too. At the beginning of the century, Italians, Polish or Belgians.... suffered torture known as "ratonnade" (attacks on immigrants) and were molested, beaten, killed and their houses ransacked. Today, many murders of black people have occurred in Europe and on occasion, the authorities in a hurry, physically expel immigrants across the borders or hold them in custody.

Lord Scarman asserts that there is no institutional racism and suggests that the problem lies with racism and racist practices of individual officers.

"I totally and unequivocally reject the attack made upon the integrity and impartiality of the senior direction of the force. The criticism lies elsewhere - in error of judgement, in lack of imagination and flexibility, but not in deliberate bias or prejudice. The allegation that the Police are the oppressive arm of a racist State not only displays a complete ignorance of the constitutional arrangements for controlling the police: it is an injustice to the senior officers of the force."(21)

Within the court as also the central police station, the foreigner is more often an ideal criminal: poor, speaking the language of the country badly and ill-informed of his rights, s/he is entirely to blame; immigrant means delinquent. How many black people have been killed by some sordidly unvaried scenarios; victims of "ratonnade or pakibashing", racial hatred, the stupidity or "bavures" (smears) of the police - eg. the death of Makome M'Bowole, in the Police station of the 18ème Arrondissement in Paris (April 1993) (22), the death of Stephen Lawrence in Eltham south-east London (1993) (23). Unfortunately, this violent racism is precisely focused on migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers displaced from their own countries by poverty and hardship caused by natural causes, the ruin as well as the pillage of their national economy by the corrupt ruling class - eg. the building of the basilica Notre-Dame-de-la-Paix, in Yamoussoukro in Ivory-Coast - and international capital and markets. Racism which defines black immigrants as inferior and traps them permanently into an underclass, is also that racism which hides from the public as

regards the more obscure current actions of industries. A whole system of exploitation is thus erected on the back of the migrant workers. In conclusion, the Extreme Right fosters a new political theory, adapted to the context of the crisis and the brutal transformation of society.

Today people believe that the immigration issue is the preserve of the right wing; unfortunately it has affected European politicians as a whole. In their turn, they have also practiced the plague of expulsion within Europe: i.e. recognition of a "threshold of toleration", compulsory visas, reinforcement of the border police, deportation of illegal immigrants, limitation of refugees' rights. From the right to the left, a large union, which does not dare overtly to endorse this, has been established. The national preference for white persons whether in employment, housing or education, is efficiently and subtly exercised. In accordance with International Law, any form of discrimination must be severely punished - refusing to employ, to let houses or flats to a person because of his or her origin, religion or belief is illegal. The Law is strict but its application is weak and the subterfuges abundant. One must be brainless to display in a window: "Coloured people are prohibited"; it is safer to display, "We are closed" or "It is a private club". In short it is risk-free to practise artful apartheid this way, unacknowledged and unpunished.

It is difficult to condemn this racism. Many organizations may record all the stories of black people believed to be victims of discrimination. But how can we produce proof? When one enterprise receives a great deal of application forms and Curriculum Vitae for a vacant post, if it recruits a white person rather than a black one, how can we establish whether it is a question of proficiency or diplomas or entirely discrimination?

Still, a question must be asked; Does European Justice have one law for the privileged and another for the underprivileged? In the matter of the fight against racism, justice appears to be ineffective. It may have improved little or not at all, where racism has gained a great deal of ground. Everyone must admit that, in reality, the

state has not set and still does not set, an example. How many Black High Officials are there within State Institutions, the Police Administration, within the Magistrature, within government Ministries, within schools and so on? The answer is "few, very few". And yet, everyone knows, notices and some welcome the fact that for many years, a great number of young people from immigrant families have broken the ice to make headway, despite social, racist and cultural barriers. There are not only some top models in fashion and show business, and some champions in sport but there are a great number of trained personnel, doctors, politicians and so on.

To lay the blame on Le Pen and the European Extreme Right is not to see further than the end of one's nose. In truth, they have intensively employed themselves with rousing the old demons, those of the absurd, ancestral fears so deeply rooted in human history full of slaughters and fury, while others have let down the principles of human rights. With insensitivity and arrogance, they have set successive policies of severe measures and of reorganizing the structure of the economy in order to get out from crises which they could not prevent. As for immigration, national identity and cohesion, established parties henceforth make reference to the race issue. Mrs Thatcher hijacked many National Front policies and succeeded in integrating them within her speeches, policies and some components derived from the breeding-ground of the Conservatives hard-liners:

"by the end of the century there would be four million people of the New Commonwealth or Pakistan here. Now that is an awful lot and I think it means that people are really rather afraid that this country might be rather swamped by people with a different culture, and you know, the British character has done so much for democracy, for Law and done so much throughout the world that if there is any fear that it might be swamped people are going to react and be rather hostile to those coming in." (24)

Mr Valérie Giscard D'Estaing was to follow Mrs Thatcher's example:

"Le type de problème auquel nous aurons à faire face se déplace de celui de l'immigration vers celui de l'invasion."

"Il faut revenir à la conception traditionnelle de l'acquisition de la nationalité française: celle du droit du sang."

"La loi sur la nationalité devrait être soumise à un référendum."

"Les maires devraient pouvoir contrôler davantage l'hébergement des étrangers dans les communes."* (25)

* The kind of issue which we will have to face moves from the immigration one to the invasion one - We must come back to the traditional concept of the acquiring of French citizenship: the right by blood - The law on the nationality should be submitted to a Referendum - Mayors should be allowed to control more the lodging of foreigners within their borough councils.

Mrs Thatcher as well as Mr Giscard consider the "invasion" of immigrants as a vision of the horde of savages from the Commonwealth, Pakistan, Africa and North Africa, and the right by blood which relies on the crude nostalgia of a pure ethnic group which has never existed - the French (Frank; German invaders and the Gauls already romanized) or British (Celt, Roman, Norman, Saxon and Viking). Identity, historically, has only been made up of invasions by different peoples. The overwhelming speeches of politicians like Mrs Thatcher and Giscard, which define the minority cultures as inferior and as a problem, help to legitimize European racism. Not to be left behind, other politicians were to follow their peers. Mr Chirac, in his speech in Orleans, referred to an overdose of Arab and African immigrants in France:

"The French worker sees on the landing of his crowded HLM (subsidised apartment block) a father, with four wives and a score of children, making 50,000 francs a month on welfare, without working of course."

"Add to that the noise and the smell and the French worker on the landing goes crazy."

"It's not racist to say that. It's high time we opened the major debate needed in our country to determine if it is natural that foreigners benefit from a national solidarity they don't take part in, because they don't pay taxes." Mr Chirac (26)

. Not only leaders of the Conservatives (since 1979) were ready to reach out to the extreme right for an anti-immigration campaign, but a great number of officials holding key posts in France and Great Britain did not lag behind: e.g. President Mitterrand, in his interview on the 10 December 1989, emphasized that in France "Le seuil de tolérance a été atteint dès les années 70..."* and that France has a "trop forte concentration géographique d'immigrés"** (Le Monde-11 Décembre 1989).

Today, immigration has become a research industry for academics, a gold-mine for the popular press and a source of popularity for politicians. Therefore, the debate surrounding black immigration has more or less disguised the traditional preoccupations of the extreme right: anti-Semitism. But the desecration of Jewish graves in Carpentras in France and in London and the impaling of the corpse of an old Jew remind everyone of that the old evil which results from years of official self-satisfaction over anti-Semitism is still alive. For many years, the anti-Semites

* the threshold of tolerance has been reached since the 70s.

** a very strong geographical concentration of immigrants.

were compelled to keep a low public profile to avoid the thunderbolt of the antiracist legislation. As they can hardly restrain such a ball of hatred, they have diverted the fire on to the immigrants. For the most part, people stir up all kinds of xenophobia, but in fact they do not easily get rid of ancestral ghosts.

"De nouvelles 'frontières intérieures' se dressent devant les populations immigrées; règlements et accords de Schengen entérinent des discriminations déjà trop bien établies." Jean Pierre Alaux* (27)

For the creation of the European Community, citizenship may open Europe's borders to black people and allow them free movement, but racism, which cannot contrast one black from another; a citizen from an immigrant; an immigrant from a refugee; as it classes all people from Africa, North Africa and Asia as immigrants and refugees, and all immigrants and refugees as terrorists and drug-dealers, is going to make such movement threatening. Along with the creation of the European Community and the will to control the flow of immigration, each individual country in Europe may tend to move from an ethnocentric racism to an Eurocentric racism, from the different racisms of the different member states to a Common Market racism without losing the racism which is to constrain the "non-integrated" black population within each nation state.

"But it is not only by the seemingly impersonal forces of the world market that the poor nations are bled. They are exploited directly by the great multinational corporations which dominate a growing proportion of the economic and social life of the Third World. They are the gunboats and soldiers of the new economic style of imperialism." Paul Harrison (28)

The European Market relying on multinational capital, will continue the policy of relations of production which is almost of crucial importance in determining the type of relations which have to exist between racial components or ethnic groups within a society or between "industrialized" and poverty-stricken nations. The most important and closely related to the relations of production will be the relations of power between groups or nations - a clear domination of "industrialized" nations - which set up authoritarian and corrupted governments in poverty-stricken nations in their own economic and political interests, over poverty-stricken nations, which provide them with the cheap and exploitable labour force they need to run their

* New interior borders stand before the immigrant population; Schengen regulations and agreements ratify discriminations already well-established.

industrial society. Hence racism is the control mechanism which keeps the labour force within social and political bounds; in other words, racism is to keep alive all the exploitative systems of power in the forms of injustice, inequality, oppression, freedom for some and subjection for others.

Nowadays, people are always ready to criticize basic, common racism. Nevertheless, each authority, institution or individual should ask themselves what is the contribution which intellectuals make to the racism of the intelligence. One must highlight the role played by the scientists, the so-called experts, who alter and make common social differences and miseries; the role played by psychologists, psychiatrists and psycho-analysts who fail to state fully their judgements and define the children of the working class, immigrants and poor families in such a way that social issues become psychological issues; social deficiencies become mental deficiencies. All these veiled forms of racism allow the school to exercise subtle as well as informal discrimination.

B. The influence of social factors on school performance

"In the contrast with the surging growth of the countries in the socialist camp and the development taking place, albeit much more slowly, in the majority of the capitalist countries, is the unquestionable fact that a large proportion of the so-called underdeveloped countries are in total stagnation, and that in some of them the rate of economic growth is lower than that of population increase.

These characteristics are not fortuitous, they correspond strictly to the nature of the capitalist system in full expansion, which transfers to the dependent countries the most abusive and barefaced forms of exploitation. It must be clearly understood that the only way to solve the questions now besetting mankind is to eliminate completely the exploitation of dependent countries by developed capitalist countries with all the consequences that this implies." Ché Guevara (29)

b.1. A striking recession

During the last ten years, in Europe as well as in poverty-stricken nations, the recession has deepened and a disparity between the "haves" and "have-nots" has led to major injustices. In the employment field, that which is least lucrative has in point of fact proved to be most exhausting and the least rewarding. Hence, those who have taken these routes have met with very little success in acquiring better employment or in gaining access to culture, leisure activities and a reasonable standard of

living. Meanwhile, their children have to suffer the handicap of their cultural and social environment. To a considerable degree, the rich have become richer while the poor have become poorer.

"Pour la classe dominante, il n'est pas question de tolérer que les mécanismes traditionnels de la représentation ou les mécanismes de la négociation syndicale, que les revendications de plein emploi et d'élévation des salaires viennent s'opposer aux plans de restructuration de l'économie et plus particulièrement de l'industrie. Le pouvoir central ne doit pas être discuté, ni dans ses choix, ni dans ses assises." Alain Moreau* (30)

At the top, a restricted elite - financial, administrative and political - whose members are more or less interdependent, decide without fear of restriction, and in their own best interests, on investments, significant projects, national or international regroupings and unions that would govern the world economy. Standardization of political institutions on the prevalent patterns of Europe or the United States, has deeply infected the impoverished nations. Thereby, the marginalization of the expression and creation of any new social projects which would overstep official schemes, has reduced choices to the competition between the ruling nations which have installed a costly rivalry of dramatic proportions.

In the last years, inequality within industrialized nations has alarmingly increased, while it has intensified the gap between the North, more concerned with profits, and the South acutely impoverished. Everywhere the crisis has become an influential factor which has reinforced injustices and increased the number of victims sacrificed to an economic ideology which is entirely shortsighted. On the one hand, highly qualified workers, fully at ease within a technological world, have access to all cultural resources, and command a large capital thanks to their exceptional pay. On the other hand, classes of society, confined within circumscribed employment, if they have the privilege of having work, who are without high vocational qualification, regress or gradually fall into poverty. Nowadays, poverty gains ground within certain geographical areas of Europe as well as within major poor countries.

"Voici la nouveauté: on ne naît pas pauvre, on le devient. Notre société produit de la

* For the dominant class, there is no question of accepting that the traditional mechanisms of representation or the mechanisms of trade union negotiations, the demand for full employment and a rise in wages come to oppose the economic restructuring plan and particularly industry. Central government must not be opposed, neither in its choices, or in its policies.

pauvreté en même temps qu'elle produit des marchandises et des richesses." Denis Clerc*
(31)

Far from reducing this excessive gulf, the national or international market has tended to strengthen it, by cuts in wages when unemployment has been on the increase or by exclusion of the disadvantaged. Yet, if one makes every effort to evaluate the excessive gulf and makes comparisons on an international scale, one comes up against virtually no statistics which have obviously made unfeasible the measuring of the inequalities. This may not only be for political or ideological reasons, but is concerned with concealing embarrassing circumstances. Still, the fundamental reason must be political: to undertake such comparisons can become socially explosive in the nations which are the least egalitarian, above all where these more acute disparities do not seem to generate a much more efficient economic policy.

Poverty-stricken nations, victims of their own mistakes, of execrable management during recent years under civilian or military dictatorship, have sunk an unbelievable sum in huge investments bent on industrialization, on the urban environment and military equipment. Impoverished countries have been prisoners of the world system which has only left them with quite illusory hopes. Consequently, serious disparity has resulted from this - a great deal of development at high expense and shanty towns on the outskirts of towns, where very little, not to say nothing, has been done to put right the inadequacy of vital resources such as improving the sanitation, accommodation and education and human rights.

"... the Third World spends a great deal of its limited funds on armaments, in senseless arms races which bring huge profits to western suppliers." Paul Harrison (32)

The increase of militarization in impoverished countries has been one of the prominent characteristics of the current history on the international exchange. It has corresponded to the increase in demands from the interested nations and to the corresponding eagerness of industrialized nations to satisfy these demands. Military favour has always taken various special arrangements which have created dependent conditions such as direct or indirect intervention, by the superpower, in the internal

* Here is the innovation: we are not born poor, we become poor. Our society produces poverty, as well as it produces goods and wealth

affairs or conflicts among the impoverished countries. It is called intervention because they believe they have the right and the duty to safeguard peace all over the world.

Thus, the world market has bred an accumulating wealth on one side and deprivation of the masses, on the other. Inequality may have led to social dissatisfaction but people have not given up before hard labour in major countries. The sense of injustice at being miserable has reached a crucial point within nations where the elite hoard national or international wealth. The poorest and underprivileged people have, in most cases, not received their fair share from the outcomes of national or international growth. There is the conflict which inhibits any peace at political and economical levels.

b.2. Societies torn by inequality

"Inequality, like poverty, has been increasing both internationally and in many individual countries.

The distribution of the world's income is more unequal than even the most grotesquely unjust of national distributions." Paul Harrison (33)

All over the world, the economic crisis has not only slowed down the growth of industrialized countries, it has entirely plunged poor nations into poverty. The whole world witnesses unemployment, family dispersal and the expansion of poor areas. Industrialized countries would be wrong to ignore their own "Quart monde" (fourth world). Social protection may ensure families against starvation, but it does not leave them out of the unbearable insecurity and marginalization. The recession has progressively torn societies between rich and poor in industrialized countries and, even more obviously in poverty-stricken nations. In any case, the weakest lay themselves open to extreme poverty if not underdevelopment. Caught in the poverty-stricken world, a huge number of children have to leave the family home and seek work to survive because parents are unemployed; the family nucleus is destroyed as the fathers and mothers are entirely overcome by disillusion.

In industrialized countries, the poor are low earners, who are often used to the

culture of poverty, hence making their access to education and well paid employment uncertain. Nowadays, there are also the middle class workers or small business people who have been thrown out of their jobs by the recession. As a result, many low-paid people have often to hold down more than one job and work difficult hours to ensure they get enough to live on.

As for the poor countries, the causes of hardship are not only recession: monoculture, drought, flood or wars have an influential part in the spread of poverty:

"Like the recent famines in Ethiopia and Somalia, the starvation in Southern Sudan is in part the consequence of the civil war that has been raging since 1983. Initially the fighting pitted the Muslim government in Karthoum against Christian rebels in the south; now the rebels are also killing one another. No one knows how many are starving, but in a cycle of hatred and revenge, peace is not in sight, nor is an end to hunger." Ben Okri (34)

Policies favouring richer urban consumers and a tiny number of large-scale farmers have driven poor farmers off the land. Turned into monoculture, large landed properties lay open to the insecurity of the economy based on monoculture, which is affected by the international market fluctuations. Drought, flood, and warring factions have deeply devastated agricultural lands and ruined the infrastructure; as a result, the internal trade has been devastated and food has become scarce in many regions.

Because of natural causes - flood, drought and desertification - or expropriations, agricultural workers who have worked very little or not at all, have faced or have been threatened with starvation. Hence, deprivation and starvation have forced some agricultural workers to desert their villages and to move to big cities, that is to say to shanty towns. Others have to send their children into the illicit economy - illegal stone quarries, textile industries, cigar factories, tanneries...(L'évènement du Jeudi-Novembre 1988) - unless they are employed within the official economy by diversified networks of employers of children. When there is not a recession or natural causes, some countries are involved in endless wars; e.g. Sudan. The disintegration of major nations into fiercely contested clan territories had increased the instability which was just waiting to erupt. Wars have scattered parents and children in their desperate exodus and some regions, already plagued with poverty,

have to witness the invasion of their villages by a band of wretched and starving helpless individuals.

Whatever the nation, the region or the type of society, privation, dependence, weakness and humiliation make life hard for disadvantaged people. Furthermore, they are lacking all or part of the fundamental resources - respectable financial support, physical strength, vocational or intellectual qualification, which depends on their environment - to maintain a decent social status. In general, they are neglected and segregated, hence they have no chance to hold on or to recover without the assistance of other people. Living from day to day as well as in everlasting expectation of a better future, they become exposed to any idealistic hopes or any fallacies which can cause despair and revolt.

Such circumstances breed scholastic failure and underachievement in working class children, immigrants and disadvantaged families in Europe along with those in the poverty-stricken nations: in general, national and international policies have been ill-suited to them, while the reorganization of industries has deepened social and economic divisions and has of course increased the difficulties and the distress of the disadvantaged people. The ruling class has maintained a state of dependence and vulnerability and have further widened class and social disparity. In recent times, the working class, immigrants and the poor have been severely impoverished while their social withdrawal has worsened. Whites and Blacks, low of rank, have moved into the enclosed world of Council houses or H.L.M (subsidised apartment block), cardboard cities and poorer areas, in a word "Ghettos" or shanty towns.

b.3. The repercussions on disadvantaged children

"The attraction of the concept for policy-makers, was that it avoided questions about the legitimacy of the educational enterprise as a whole and of the relationship between education and the world of work. It focussed less on economic mechanisms, income and price levels, and more on the epiphenomena of urban blight, housing standards and the quality of school buildings." Reeves and Chevannes (35)

The economic status of disadvantaged people is incompatible with the one required to enter Higher Education, as the idea of continuing successful study implies

available free time with respect to vital subsistence. Therefore, students from a deprived background cannot consider improving their knowledge without, at the same time, ensuring their subsistence. The security associated with the possession of wealth or knowledge, allows long term projects and well defined plans for achievement, while insecurity, at best, allows only short term projects, the achievement of which may be uncertain.

The contrast between planned long-term study by students who are economically secure and those for short-term study restrained by an unsure income can stress the fact behind schools achievement. To the former, the significance of achievement is stressed from the beginning of his life as it is the norm to enter Higher Education. The latter involves first getting a basic education or at least reaching the final year of compulsory education. Students from disadvantaged backgrounds, because of their position within a class system and economic constraints, have to restrict their choices in terms of possibility and feasibility.

The academic level of parents must, however, be considered as one of the contributory features of the child's performance. Pierre Bourdieu highlights the influence of the family background on a child's education which exerts a constant pressure on school and social accomplishment. He highlights the correlation between under-achievement and social background which results from the clash between the cultural heritage of the child and the culture advocated by the school. Economic, cultural and social assets unite to handicap from early childhood the children from a deprived environment. He recognizes that membership of the elite class is of immense importance when considering the economical and cultural effects on achievement:

"Pour que soient favorisés les plus favorisés et défavorisés les plus défavorisés, il faut et il suffit que l'école ignore dans le contenu de l'enseignement transmis, dans les méthodes et les techniques de transmission et dans les critères du jugement, les inégalités culturelles entre les enfants des différentes classes sociales: autrement dit, en traitant tous les enseignés, aussi inégaux soient-ils en fait, comme égaux en droits et en devoirs, le système scolaire est conduit à donner en fait sa sanction aux inégalités initiales devant la culture.

L'égalité formelle qui règle la pratique pédagogique sert en fait de masque et de justification à l'indifférence à l'égard des inégalités réelles devant l'enseignement et devant la culture enseignée ou plus exactement exigée (...) Par opposition à une pédagogie ration-

nelle et réellement universelle qui, ne s'accordant rien au départ, ne tenant pas pour acquis ce que quelques-uns seulement ont hérités, s'obligerait à tout en faveur de tous et s'organiserait méthodiquement par référence à la fin explicite de donner à tous les moyens d'acquérir ce qui n'est donné, sous l'apparence du don naturel, qu'aux enfants de la classe cultivée, la tradition pédagogique ne s'adresse en fait, sous les dehors irréprochables de l'égalité et de l'universalité qu'à des élèves ou à des étudiants qui sont dans le cas particulier de détenir un héritage culturel conforme aux exigences culturelles de l'école." Bourdieu * (36)

Bourdieu highlights the inherited cultural differences and brings to the fore the crucial fact that these differences do not explain all. On the contrary, the educational system itself is the instrument for creating inequalities in terms of success and achievement. To a certain extent, the existence of the culture of ethnic minorities must be promoted. In fact, he indicates that what most disadvantages the people of working class origin, as also children from ethnic minorities, is by no means their lack of culture, but the forcing underground of their culture which the school ignores in order to promote the culture of the ruling class.

He emphasizes that membership of the elite class in any society tends to be hereditary. Even though this group represents only a small proportion of the population, their existence is of immense importance when considering the political effects of the expansion of education. It appears that membership of top decision-making groups in a nation is largely drawn from families of similar social condition. One has to recognize that the school system reinforces an elitism. For example, in France and Great Britain, entry to the "Grandes Ecoles" or to some notable Universities, is a privilege enjoyed for the most part by the upper-class in spite of

* In order that the privileged will be advantaged and the underprivileged more disadvantaged, the school must and needs to ignore within the content of the transmitted schooling, within the methods and the techniques of transmission and within the criteria of judgement, the cultural inequalities between the children of different social classes: in other words, by treating all the pupils, however unequal they are in fact, as equals in rights and in duties, the education system is led to give in fact its assent to initial inequalities.

The formal equality which rules pedagogical practice acts in fact as a mask and as a justification for the indifference with regard to real inequalities within the educational system and the culture taught or more accurately demanded (...) In contrast with rational and genuinely universal pedagogy which, not conceding anything at the outset, not taking for granted what only some have inherited, would put itself under the obligation to favour all and would organise itself methodically with reference to the explicit end of giving everyone the means to acquire what is only given, under the apparent appearance of a natural gift, to children of the cultured class, the educational tradition only addresses itself, in fact, under the irreproachable guise of equality and universality, to pupils or students who are in the position of possessing a cultural heritage in accordance with the cultural requirements of the school.

numerous reforms.

Meanwhile, it seems difficult to deny the close correlation between poor school performance and low socio-economic status, and similarly that IQ scores are related to the latter. One has to accept the fact that this correlation involves a great many factors, including level of employment, quality of housing and environment and level of parental education. Nevertheless, the fact is so marked and so consistent that it leaves no doubt about its significance.

Yet, as with almost all sociological problems, it is not possible to offer unchallengeable conclusions, but people have to agree that all the factors introduced play a definite role. The existing and growing evidence concerning the direct effects of socio-economic deprivation makes it all the more likely that this is one of the principal factors in underachievement.

C. Understanding underachievement

"La réussite ou l'échec scolaire dépendent de multiples facteurs, certains plus directement liés à la dimension scolaire, d'autres relevant d'éléments psychologiques et sociaux extérieurs. C'est ainsi par exemple que les difficultés rencontrées au sein de la famille ou par la famille, des problèmes de santé, de logement, un urbanisme inadapté, etc..., peuvent intervenir dans le processus de l'échec." C Mauvy* (37)

For the last two decades, underachievement issues have been the target of various intense and conflicting debates. As a result, educationalists and the public are confronted by a large number of contradictory theories on the causes of underachievement.

To be more explicit, perhaps it is logical to consider the influence of economic and social factors. Meanwhile, many causes can be found, both within the educational system and outside it. Among the most obvious and frequent agents which contribute to underachievement are the inadequacy of school provision, the particular

* Academic success or underachievement depend on multiple factors, some more directly linked to the school dimension, others arising from psychological and exterior social elements. Thus it is, for example, that difficulties met by the family, problems of health, accommodation, unsuitable town planning problems, etc..., can interfere in the process of underachievement.

linguistic difficulties of children from working class, poor and minority groups in school, and the inappropriateness of the curriculum, all of which can often be combined with the teacher's expectations of these children.

"Pour bien apprécier les facteurs éducatifs du succès ou de l'insuccès scolaire, nous devons réaliser un double mouvement: d'un côté, mieux observer les processus de la construction de telle connaissance particulière; de l'autre mieux comprendre les conditions locales - écologiques - qui influencent le comportement de ceux qui apprennent. La réflexion et l'intervention éducative ont à prendre en compte les aspects cognitifs et didactiques des apprentissages, la qualité des situations pédagogiques proposées aux élèves mais aussi l'environnement (éducatif, medico-social, relational, culturel...) où s'effectue l'activité des formés et des formateurs." Gérard Chauveau* (38)

An educational system does not exist in a historical and social vacuum. It is, as proved in previous chapters, an integral part of a specific social structure by which it is largely developed. The educational system then promotes the dominant culture - French or British - among the young and ensures its maintenance and reproduction from generation to generation. What is more, it does not only promote but also legitimizes the dominant culture, as a result, education is not culturally neutral. Its intellectual content and orientation pretends to instil the world view which is in fact a characteristic view of the dominant culture. The education systems of France and Britain have a deep mono-culture orientation although the orientation has diminished during the last few years.

c.1. The hidden curriculum

"The conventional curriculum is still a vehicle for racism. D. Gill (39)

According to D. Gill, a school may publicly declare its commitment to its community while the form and the constituents of its circulars may convey a different mission. The hidden curriculum, in fact, plays a crucial role in the transmission of cultural principles. While Pierre Bourdieu highlights the social mechanism of the hereditary transmission of cultural principles and asserted that the school's aim is to

* To have a better understanding of educational factors of academic success or failure, we must engage in two approaches: on the one hand, to better observe the processes of the building of such specific knowledge; on the other to have a better understanding of the local conditions - environmental - which influence the behaviour of those who are learning. The educational reflection and intervention have to take into consideration the cognitive and didactic aspects of learning, the quality of the pedagogical situations offered to the pupils but also of the environment (educational, medico-social, relational, cultural...) where the work of the pupils and teachers is carried out.

endorse the process, the key concept of his work is "Symbolic power", a power which is on a par with another key concept, "Symbolic violence". Symbolic violence is an unknown violence, that is to say, a violence which is acknowledged, implicitly or explicitly, as legitimate.

He explains that an authoritarian society openly uses sanctions such as rehabilitation centres, torture or execution as a means of consolidating its power. On the other hand, in so-called democratic societies, while the entire population may not be oppressed, they are all the same entirely tied up with laws and regulations which confine them. People are rendered powerless by the force of the ruling class ideas and they normalize themselves into a state of submission. This normalizing procedure is the unshakeable base of the so-called democratic societies.

A multitude of disciplines contribute to the entire normalizing mechanism and the site of these disciplines is the church, family home, the classroom, the university and the office. Hence, in transmitting ideas, beliefs, values and meaning throughout the curriculum, it appears necessary to seek what exactly are the aims of the schools? Nowadays, schools always tend to regenerate the norms established by an elite convinced they are "cultivated". Thus, the transmission of the values and beliefs of the dominant culture take much of the hard work out of mastering the curriculum as well as making achievement easier for children from an affluent background.

Anyon suggests that:

"different styles of teaching prepare children for different occupational classes: labourers follow orders, professionals control their own work. Furthermore, she recognizes that the routine white-collar school had styles suited to work in bureaucratic organizations, whilst the business-elite school emphasized decision-making and problem-solving. In this manner, schools help reproduce social classes. By offering different lessons to each social class, schools prepare the children of labourers for labouring, of clerks for routine white-collar work, and of executive for business life. The hidden curriculum is class-confirming." (40)

Along with the formal curriculum, the educational system communicates a hidden programme of attitudes and perceptions. Also known as the "hidden curriculum",

its objective is to make people believe that the way in which institutions operate is the appropriate one and the manner in which education functions is the foundation favourable to the development of any child and which will allow children to acquire education and prepare them for vocational life and for the discharge of their responsibilities as adults. In the schools, the hidden curriculum echoes indeed the "Symbolic violence" and its function is essentially to have pupils secure an ability to use time, accept the judgements of teachers, learn to give teachers what they want, become able to control the pace of classes, attain the language of the classroom and remember, recall and recognize things present during an original learning situation. It generates a number of educational and societal "myths" and implants them as evidence such as:

- the most valuable form of learning comes from institutions,
- one must conform to and digest the formal curriculum if one is to succeed,
- graduates and people ranked in society evaluate all that is considered important.

It is obvious that such a curriculum transmits a particular message to pupils about their own position in society and that of others. In most countries, underprivileged and immigrant culture and history are usually ignored, if not distorted or denigrated. The process of omitting languages, culture and any significant knowledge about the working class, underprivileged and ethnic minority groups from the "official curriculum" sustains discrimination and racism. Most of the syllabus-writers have in general taken a western model of development for granted - for these educationists, tend to develop methods to become more like European and North American models such as the utilisation of the medium of instruction based on a language hierarchy. How should poor countries tie their educational systems up with the leading countries?

There is no doubt that the school can intervene very powerfully in the shaping of the members of any society, particularly when physical features, aims or behaviour of the disadvantaged and minority groups are believed unacceptable to the rest of any society or nation. The ruling classes may be tempted to get rid of these groups

altogether, either by forcing them or by "encouraging" them to adopt the dominant group's culture transmitted by the school. For the educational system, these children must be effectively transformed into good citizens and moral individuals and to achieve these aims, they have to be regularly educated or trained by means of school education and ideological indoctrination to mould them as rapidly as possible within the society.

Schools regulate people through the formation of "reliable habits" such as respect for and "loyalty" to authority and social order, they also seek to produce a morally honest and grateful population which will reject political violence and accept established relations within that authority. The school remains a way of reproducing popular ideology and culture and the educational practice in the classroom is intended to transform these desirable ruling class habits, into elements of popular and authentic ideology.

c.2. The effects of monolingualism

Bourdieu also expresses the importance of language learning in the acquisition and development of knowledge. He identifies that the uneducated classes transmit different modes of speech and different modes of thinking. The uneducated classes use a particular mode of speech which is characterized by its very restricted nature. Further, the language issue is, indeed, also particular to children from immigrant families with a language different from the medium of instruction. People must never underestimate the importance of the child's environment which has an enormous effect on his/her language skills and understanding. In fact, when children come to school, they come with vastly different language abilities and milieu; thus a handicap in language is a severe disadvantage in Education.

On that account, B. Bernstein's statement reinforces the importance of the language:

"The working-class child may have to learn what for the middle-class child is given by his primary socialization. It would seem that, even at the age of five years, there is differential access to processes which facilitate the development of ability and the opportunity to benefit from school, in terms of the current definitions of the form and contents of education" (41)

As far as B. Bernstein is concerned, this "restricted code" is not the school code, it affects the fundamental learning process confined to the curriculum as well as disconcerts the child and to a certain measure leads to his/her confusion, if not falling out of step.

Language acts as a means of selection from the first year of schooling. In fact, when children with "restricted language" or of varied mother-tongue come to school, they find it difficult to understand the language spoken by their school teachers. On the other hand, school teachers may believe that they use a very simple language; in reality they employ a language already too complex for those children involved. As a result, today many societies have reached the situation where children from disadvantaged backgrounds and ethnic minority groups have to submit to the prevalent language which increasingly bears no relation to the critical reality of their world.

Furthermore, Madan Sarup states:

"Another common explanation was in terms of cultural deprivation: black children's primary socialization and pre-school experience was unsatisfactory, the black mother was inadequate, or there was a linguistic deficit. It was usually assumed that 'verbally deprived' children were also 'culturally deprived' - this was the most common exploitation of working class and black underachievement. The remedy for cultural deprivation took the form of compensatory education; positive discrimination was urged - but never practiced." (42)

Although at ease with European languages, descendants of black settlers feel like cultural outsiders, since the influence of ancestral values, embodied in their parents, remain very strong. Hence, if a black youngster wishes fully to adopt Western values, he/she has no alternative but to put an end to his/her connections with the family and reject his religious and cultural heritage. But then how does Western society treat him. Does it reward him with social acceptance and equality of opportunity or does it treat him as it did during the colonial period?. If the latter, which is often the case, then the assimilated youngster will be lost to both worlds, voluntarily cut off from one and unaccepted by the other. In that case he will have little choice but to return eventually to his/her original milieu.

Language is an instrument of expression and expansion, hence the linguistic imperialism which has strongly prohibited the access of a great number of languages to schools. The idealization of certain languages has been coupled with the disdain of languages qualified as inferior - regional, immigrant or working class languages or dialects - i.e., after the colonization of Madagascar, the French Governor, General Galliéni was determined to lay down knowledge of the French language for the Malagasy people who were to work for the French government:

"Dans un délai que je laisse à votre appréciation, mais qui devra être aussi court que possible, la moitié au moins du temps passé dans les classes devra être consacré à l'étude de la langue française ... De plus les jeunes Malgaches seront prévenus que dorénavant, nul ne sera pourvu d'un emploi s'il ne parle et n'écrit le français, et que dans toutes les circonstances, celui qui connaît notre langue aura la préférence sur les autres indigènes."
Général Galliéni * (43)

This set of politics has been represented as the "cheval de bataille" of the dominant languages for the setting-up of the edification and the spreading of the dominant languages as well as to negate the native languages in the eyes of their speakers.

Policy makers have coupled their philosophy with the socio-political conditions to transfer the mechanism of hope to the child who would have to learn the dominant language for his/her social accomplishment - in opposition to the image of the parents' failure. Hence, the child would be the extension of the parents' hopes whose self-esteem would come through the child.

Also, the philosophy has other covert mechanisms. It has generated shame, the shame of someone's background or origin, or the shame of speaking a language different from the dominant one. In consequence, the language which was supposed to ease the physical and intellectual developments of the children is repressed.

"The Malagasy language is a poor language, suitable for a primitive people, but hardly sufficient for a half civilized people such as the Malagasy ... The present and the succeeding generations will see the completion of the greatest and the fastest progress which will still remain in touch with our civilization. Is the Malagasy language able to change in a parallel direction? I do not think so. Its vocabulary is poor and already

* In a period of time which I leave to you to determine, but which shall be as short as possible, at least half of the time spent in the classroom must be devoted to the study of the French language ... Further, the young Malagasy people will be informed that henceforth no one will fill a public office if he does not speak and write French, and that, in all instances, one who knows our language will have preference over other indigenous applicants who do not.

encumbered with Arabic, Swahili, English and French ... It could never become adequate for the needs of those who speak it; they themselves do not wish to speak it, and seem quite happy to substitute a richer and a more expressive language. Why, in fact, should they hang on to it? It has no tradition, no literature, only some songs of the "Borizany" (carriers of sedan). The only monument which it has produced, the "Tantara ny Andriana" (The Story of Kings), is one third of a century old and the work of a French Jesuit." Galliéni (44)

Another effect is that the rejection of the first language stigmatizes the languages of the groups which are discriminated against. The discriminated native languages are not credited with a status equal to the dominant language, in short the groups which are discriminated against have to take on an inferior status. They also feel the effect of negative stereotypes and prejudices.

Certain groups in Europe - the Irish, Breton, Basques..., do not display any external sign to differentiate them from the dominant population but their languages reveal that they are Irish, Breton or Finnish..., and so on. The knowledge of the dominant language often, does not help them because their accent may distinguish them from the dominant language. As a result, for these groups, the stigma manifests itself by a sense of inferiority which they feel towards their own language. This generates a passive exclusion, which takes the form of the denial of their national identity. This also leads to a resentment of themselves as they are often disillusioned in their efforts to get close to the dominant group. In consequence, they blame their ethnic origin for their failure.

"My own early political memories include being stood up, at eight years old, in front of my classmates in a Scottish primary school until I could correct the mistake. I'd made reading aloud. I couldn't see the mistake. After an hour the teacher revealed that my heinous error had been to pronounce the word 'poor' as it spelt rather than as 'pore'. That taught me several lessons. One was that the language my family spoke at home - the agricultural northeast of Scotland - was wrong. Not good enough. I looked at them with different eyes after that. It also taught me that my teacher, with the best of intentions for my future, wanted me to speak 'properly' the English way." An adult's recollection of a childhood event. (45)

One should note that children's social identity is closely connected to their language. Even if the children of the most disadvantaged classes speak the same language - French, English - at school, their way of using the language, their culture, their models of social relations are totally different from the values and attitudes which most teachers expect from them. If children from the working class

have to achieve in a middle class school, the school as well as their parents expect them to abandon their social identity, their way of living and their symbolic representations at the door of the schools. As this is the reality for the children who speak a variant of the medium of instruction, this is even more acute for children who speak foreign languages.

c.3. History curriculum.

"in the majority of schools there was little attempt to reflect the multi-racial nature of society or to teach pupils about the origins and background of the various communities which are now a part of Britain." Swann Report (46)

The mono-culture is noticeable in what schools teach and the way they teach. The history curriculum largely concentrates on the history of those two countries: France or Britain, and to some extent, parts of Europe and America, but keeps quiet about the former colonies or protectorates. If the curriculum for history mentions the history of a country, it is because it has entered into relations with or is of interest to France or Britain. Any reference to Général Galliéni will always be linked to Madagascar or Clive Robert to India.

In history, half humanity seems to have disappeared; the birth rate and death rate in childbirth which are important facts, are ignored. The involvement of women in historical events and their work are hardly mentioned, just some great figures such Mary Antoinette - wife of Louis XVI seen as a careless, wasteful and unpopular, or Marie de Médecis, or Joan of Arc known as "la Pucelle d'Orleans" (the maid of Orleans) or Queen Victoria. It remains for authors to give women the place which was theirs within all societies.

Instead of considering history for what it is in itself, the interest in former colonies or protectorates stems only from the time that, for one reason or another, they come into contact with French or British history, to a certain extent with European history. Such a way of proceeding guarantees the continuity of French or British history, but divides the history of their former subjects, denies their existence when they are not linked to the history of France or Britain.

c.4. Geography curriculum.

Like history, the geography curriculum also heavily concentrates on those two countries: France or Britain, and some parts of Europe and America, and also keeps quiet about the rest of the world.

"In Geography, one of the most disconcerting aspects of present provision was that, where they attempted to discuss developing countries, schools frequently projected inaccurate, outdated and stereotyped prejudices which pupils might have, rather than seeking to counter them." Swann Report (47)

It pays little attention to the African, Asian and South American peoples, cultures, modes of dress, habits of food, arts and forms of social organization and does not try to explain how their different ways make eminent sense within the context of their climate and natural habitat. Geography is generally little concerned with the effects of several centuries of colonialism on the economic, social, political and cultural patterns of the world today. With regard to interdependence, it seems that it is basically about giving help through international assistance of various sorts. This is seen as the need for European countries to help the deprived countries, but this is not explained in any detail. Interdependence is thus a timid theme in geography, indeed what is shown to exist is a situation far from one of mutual benefit.

Textbooks and illustrations show mostly men's work and they appear to be the decisive element of the world economy. Historically women's roles have been totally entwined in the productive processes of the communities in which they have lived, but geography textbooks fail to notice the fact that women provided - still continue to - a constant source of labour power. The neglect is not due to a lack of information but to the total lack of meaningful studies done in regard to women's achievement within the labour power.

France and Great Britain take pride in their highly-developed accumulation of historical documents. Yet historical archives, appropriate to Africa, Asia and South America, have been loosely retained or filed away as surplus to requirements. How much has the slave trade, colonialism and the crushing of uprisings for freedom of these people been quoted in French and British history books? How many history and geography textbooks point out the links between the images of the

"deprived" countries and multi-ethnic Europe?:

"Ce n'est pas dans les manuels scolaires ni dans les 'Histoires de France', ni même dans les ouvrages savants, que vous trouverez matière à nourrir une démonstration sur les apports de l'immigration à la société française d'aujourd'hui." Noiriel Gérard * (48)

One needs to ask how images of the peoples from "deprived" countries in textbooks affect black self-image in Europe and also white prejudice. Although some people believe that the main function of black people' and women's life, as low earners and as wives and mothers, nevertheless, the adult lives of the black and female population are likely to play a more significant role on a national and international level. Literature, art and music are not an exception to the rule. French and British literature do not generally include literary works in French or English by non-Western writers. Art and music taught in schools are almost wholly European, and those of other cultures are not only not taught but treated as exotic and artless.

c.5. The role of teachers

"When teachers expected that certain children would show greater intellectual development, those children did show greater intellectual development." Rosenthal and Jacobson (49)

Teachers are the key figures in the education process, and transmission and implementation in classroom practice and in the overall ethos of schools depend to a very great degree on the co-operation and support of individual teachers. The approach which teachers adopt to their work is of course influenced by the training and experience which they receive at initial and in-service level.

Bourdieu underlines the role played by teachers. For him, they are the products of a system whose aim is to transmit the ruling class culture, and who are expected to adopt its value with great dedication according to their own academic and social success. By joining the teaching profession, they have to endorse the values of the ruling classes as they are judged according to the scale of the so-called educated classes to which many teachers owe their achievement. He points out that, by designating teachers as officials, the system authorizes the imposition and control of

* It is not in school textbooks or in "History of France", or even in learned works, that you will find material to highlight the contribution of immigration to the French society of today.

knowledge by means of sanctions established and guaranteed by society. In the meantime, they, inadvertently or inevitably, transmit ruling class values and reward pupils who manage to fall in with the established system.

Yet, must teachers be blamed for underachievement and failure? The majority of teachers remain constantly preoccupied with the immediate concerns of their day-to-day teaching activities and are chiefly involved in their own tasks; their own subjects and with meeting the constraints imposed by the educational system. The bureaucratization of educational systems has led to the restructuring of the curriculum into annual stages which teachers must diffuse and inculcate to an alleged homogeneous group of children. Hence, they have a duty to organize and lead twenty-thirty pupils with mixed ability and from different backgrounds to the command of the curriculum, while they lack all-round support and sufficient time to withstand the pressure of their work.

How many teachers must have realised the gulf between the training or experience which they have undergone and the methodologies which policy-makers ask them to implement. How many teachers must have felt that they lack the appropriate and adequate understanding and confidence to face the issues and principles involved in the concept of large, heterogeneous classes - from working class to ethnic minority groups. How many teachers must have felt uncertain, reluctant or quite sure that nothing could be done when "policy-makers" emphasize that "differences" between various groups could only be counter-productive and divisive, and that tackling "class" and "racial" issues openly could aggravate the situation. How many teachers must have endured frustration at the inadequacy of resources for teaching underprivileged, working class and ethnic minority groups.

c.6. The stereotyping of specific groups

"In discussions on post-war reconstruction one of the commonest demands is for 'equal educational opportunities for all'. There is a widespread impression that the children of the poor generally, or... the brightest children among the poor, are at present prevented by economic handicaps from enjoying the fuller and higher type of education which children from richer homes can secure simply by paying fees ... What proportion of the non-fee-paying population are really capable of profiting by higher education? What proportion of

these actually fail to obtain it? Cyril Burt (50)

Burt suggested that the higher IQs found among children of the fee-paying classes really represent inborn differences partly inherited from parents who themselves owe their superior incomes to their superior mental efficiency. As for A. de Benoit, he recognizes real noble and superior qualities in man which are not often linked to biological order:

"Le surhomme n'est pas un 'superman' à gros biceps ou à gros Q.I., ni un 'nouveau stade de l'évolution', mais bien celui qui se met en situation 'héroïque' de se dépasser lui-même, en fondant un nouveau type selon les normes qui lui sont siennes."* (51)

It is appropriate at this juncture to consider specific issues relating to the effects of cultural deprivation which link in with Bourdieu's views on the sociology of Education. When children come to school, for instance people must bear in mind, that they come with vastly differing language abilities and backgrounds. No one can accept anymore the "facile and common explanations" considered to represent common sense and assumed to be truth, as outlined below (These are assumptions I have heard teachers make in staffroom) :

- the child facing difficulty is seen as a poor pupil, who lacks the will to learn, does not devote all his energies to his study, refuses to work, is lazy and undisciplined. We just have to read school reports, to attend staff meetings where the progress of individual members of a class are discussed, to listen to the every day talk of the family, to realise that this definition is popularly held in today's daily life.

- people have the tendency to contrast "gifted" with "non-gifted" children, and similarly intellectual with practical minded children, they invoke the importance of maths, of innate ability, genetic heritage and hereditary principle.

- alarmists condemn school, its decline, in truth its spirit of "laissez-faire", which contributes in their mind to a severe and continuous fall in academic standards. This approach is a permanent source of debate for certain branches of the media sus-

* The superhuman is not a 'superman' with big biceps or with a big I.Q., nor a 'new stage of development', but the one who really puts himself/herself in a 'heroic' situation to surpass himself/herself, by creating a new type according to the norms which belong to him/her.

taining the political divisions in society.

- the commonly held view which implies the deficiency and the inferiority of the socio-family milieu; i.e. the child who faces difficulty in his learning process does so because of a weak educational basis, a lack of affection or maturity, and the social or linguistic handicap of his near relations.

- although ethnic minority groups are an integral part of European society and indeed almost all the ethnic minority children in Europe were born there, they still encounter prejudice which manifests itself as linguistic prejudice - against non-European languages speakers, culture or religious prejudice. The most striking prejudice is the identifiable different skin colour from the white community. An influential factor in the growth of racial prejudice is the cataloguing of black people's expectation which the education system tends to have of them, such as "Black children will be good at sports but not academic", "Asian children will be hard working and well motivated but likely to have unrealistically high career aspirations", "Chinese children will be reserved, well behaved, and likely to be under pressure at home from having to help in the family business in the evenings" (Swann Report (52)).

- pupils who make it through the system, teachers or educationists will say: "But they are different"; instead of changing their attitudes about black people they make an exception of them. Many teachers and educationists expect very little of black children and that is why they are mostly put in the lower streams.

- some of the stereotypes of ethnic minority groups emanate from the legacy of history, which some curricula still promulgate through school resources. In truth, the difference in skin colour tends to be matched with greater or lesser academic ability by some teachers and educationalists as also in the very different historical stereotypes which exist; the lighter skin could be seen as a major influence on the evolution of Western civilization and culture (Greek, Egyptian and Aryan) and the darker skin as "Barbarians" (Swann Report (53)).

The above interpretations are typical of ruling class understanding and may be regarded as one of the main factors contributing to scholastic failure. They are introduced as established scientific facts, permanent and unshakable, leading those concerned to acknowledge acceptance of low expectation. Such views are defeatist and restrictive, implying that children fail because of slow development or low intellectual attainment due to their family background. Given these attitudes, however, it is normal that a certain category of children will be confronted with difficulties because of the very nature of the educational system itself.

c.7. Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose

"On croyait qu'il n'y avait plus de différences à l'école entre filles et garçons. Il n'en est rien. Les unes et les autres n'ont pas les mêmes chances d'accéder aux diplômes. Celles les filles sont des élèves brillantes en primaire et au collège: elles redoublent moins souvent que les garçons et sont admises plus fréquemment en seconde. Elles sont plus nombreuses qu'eux à décrocher un bac et à faire des études à l'université. Pourtant, elles sont, en majorité, cantonnées dans les filières les moins prestigieuses des lycées et du supérieur." Bédarida, Catherine & Helfer, Caroline* (54)

With regard to history, girls' education has, of course, improved a great deal while it is not easy to overcome many years of gender socialization on the part of pupils, nor the allegiance of some of the staff to a society organized by gender. One has also to bear in mind that from childhood on through to adulthood there is a complex set of beliefs not only concerning the basic major roles of the two genders in adult society but also the way in which children as well as adults should behave and manifest these basic differences. It is true to say that the time pupils arrive in schools they have already acquired a personal baggage which affects the way they look at things and their freedom of choice.

The school as an institution tends to reinforce, through its structure the assumptions about the characteristics and personality traits of men and women. Based on an individual's physical identity as male or female, people will frequently make the

* We thought that there were no more differences between girls and boys in school. It is nothing of the sort. They do not have the same opportunity to get a diploma. Of course, the girls are excellent pupils in primary and secondary school: they repeat a year less often than the boys and move up more frequently into fifth year. They are more numerous in obtaining the baccalaureate and going to university. Yet, they are, in majority, confined to the less prestigious pathways of secondary schools or higher education.

assumptions about that individual with no other information available. However, people have to recognize that young pupils have already internalized, to some extent, the notions about their own gender identities, and developed gender appropriate forms of behaviour, it will be difficult to deny that the transmission of the notions relating to masculine and feminine roles become clarified and reinforced: e.g. Homme in French (mankind) bears all the important role such as "les droits de l'homme" (the rights of man) which is opposed to women. These notions which influence the apprenticeship for adult status, are of critical importance in this regard and the role of the school in terms of defining individual life cannot be underestimated.

School is one of the principal agents of socialization - with the family, society - and as such it participates in various manners in the perpetuation of stereotypes. In general, girls and boys appear equally receptive to new areas of study which make up the curriculum. Yet, girls tend to follow a curriculum which excludes a whole range of subjects, particularly mathematics and physical sciences:

"Le système scolaire contribue à produire et légitimer des différences entre garçons et filles. Sanctionnées par l'école, ces différences sont perçues par les intéressés eux-mêmes comme innées; les filles sont, par exemple, convaincues de devoir leurs orientations littéraires à leurs 'dons' bien connus dans ce domaine. Or la carrière scolaire se 'fabrique' à travers une variété de mécanismes." Duru Marie* (55)

They pursue in the main those subjects which are regarded as more suitable for females, such as subjects defined of being "feminine" - home economics, the arts and business studies, which is mostly shorthand and typing.

However, in order to make an attempt to understand part of this whole process, it is wise to examine the stated official policy of the education form with regard to girls. To undertake the study of stereotyped roles attributed to men and women in the curriculum and school materials is in itself a huge task. To bring into focus a guide aiming at spotting stereotypes and eradicating them is not any less demanding;

* The education system contributes in producing and legitimizing differences between boys and girls. Confirmed by the school, these differences are perceived by the persons concerned themselves as innate; the girls are, for example, convinced of owing their literary orientation to their well known 'gift' in this field. Now, the schooling career develops itself through a variety of mechanisms.

in fact, it is true that this issue can be perceived in all cultures and exists in the differences of a regional, national or international nature, although it will be difficult to obtain sufficient and adequate information for each country.

c.8. The physical environment

- The size of classes

Nowadays, despite the desire to mass-produce education, all schools scarcely attain the same achievement.

"Les études géographiques et localisées de la réalité scolaire révèlent des différences importantes dans la qualité du 'service scolaire' d'un lieu à l'autre et d'un établissement à l'autre." Gérard Chauveau** (56)

According to the area or region where they are situated, according to the staff who work there and according to the make up of school children, schools "formally" promoting equal educational opportunity do not in reality deliver instruction of the same level and of the same nature. The casual links which may exist between the socio-economic or geographic environment or the demographic factor and under-achievement are no doubt important.

The expansion of towns and cities due to industrialisation and the population explosion have caused an explosion in pupil numbers in a great number of schools in many parts of the world. This has also led to the accumulation of ethnic minority groups in Europe and rural populations in deprived countries moving to the large industrial areas which are most hit by economic crises. The development of international markets and multinational companies has also necessitated the expansion of comprehensive mass education to meet the needs of the population and economy in expansion. The rise in unemployment without any corresponding decrease in those with qualifications and the prospect of unemployment for the less qualified young people has consequently forced parents to maintain their children in school to avoid unemployment and to consider for them the prospect of long term education. As a result, a huge disparity has arisen between urban and rural areas, the expanding region and regions undermined by recession; in addition, it must not be forgotten

** Geographical and local studies of educational practice show great differences in the quality of the 'educational service' from one place to another and from one institution to another.

that urban areas have also suffered at the hands of recession.

Within a lot of schools, pupils find themselves crowded together in the classrooms. In short, the overpopulation of school buildings has created considerable discomfort and mixed ability classes which are very difficult to run. The mixed-ability classes highlight significant differences with regard to the pupils' cognitive achievement from knowing how to read, to spell, calculate and argue soundly, to their attitudes concerning school.

Mixed-ability classes make more demands on teachers as they must develop didactic strategies which will not frustrate either the ablest pupils or the slow learners. Hence, individual or group work runs into difficulties and makes the task of fostering and monitoring the intellectual and emotional aptitudes of pupils extremely exhausting and frustrating. Classes are overcrowded and it becomes virtually impossible for the teacher to coax pupils out of indifference, to discover those who are beginning to face difficulties in reading, writing and numeracy - "able pupils" in general express themselves well while the weakest are inactive or disruptive. When they are moved up, they are therefore lagging behind in achievement and knowledge, sometimes they barely understand the meaning of sentences which they write and are quite devoid of elementary natural curiosity of mind.

In large classes, teachers sometimes become out of touch personally with pupils who, deprived of individual attention, lose ground and motivation. The pupil/teacher ratio must be considered as the key determinant of education quality. It has in reality a crucial influence on the degree of underachievement.

- Schools conditions

Schools where the physical fabric is deteriorating and books and equipment are outdated or in poor supply do not provide an environment favourable to high morale and successful learning. Although there have been recent improvements, more still need to be done.

"La France des lycées ressemble à un insoluble problème de robinets. Le premier terme de

l'énoncé en serait les fuites: ici les lavabos fuient au-dessus de l'amphi de chimie; là, l'eau coule dans le gymnase; ailleurs, les élèves écopent pendant les orages. La deuxième donnée mentionnerait la tuyauterie, et en particulier le chauffage. Les bacs blancs ont lieu dans le réfectoire où il n'y a pas de chauffage."* (57)

Leaking roofs or leaking water is the most unendurable affliction which pupils have to bear. Taking also into account the restricted budget of the school management, the temperature of the classrooms only serves to avoid any risk of sluggishness of mind. It even induces pupils to simple listlessness in some areas of the schools such as in the classrooms based at the basement of the buildings or at the extremities of the building exposed to draughts.

In addition, school buildings often look so unattractive - because of broken window, panes still waiting to be replaced, the cold reigns in the place; in the warmer months blocked up windows make the heat unbearable. As for school resources, everyone is bound by what is strictly necessary or pupils have to endure limited resources. To the normal wear and tear must be added the dilapidation of buildings caused by the overpopulation of the schools. When tables are squeezed together in classrooms, pupils embittered by the dullness of the rooms as well as cramped accommodation are mostly tempted to kill time by scribbling on the walls or the tables. It is a vicious circle, the poorer the state of the institution, the less they are respected and the dirtier they become, not to mention the resulting vandalism.

The decrepit state of a great number of schools is not only the most pressing problem facing the French education system, but the British as well. Nowadays, the gulf between the best and worst schools brings into light gross injustice and the greatest unfairness. The majority of children are in these schools which many people would not be happy to be associated with. France and Britain remain the most socially divided countries with an education system which matches it in every aspect. Although they have many of the most first rate schools in the world, they

* The secondary schools of France are like an insolvable problem with taps. The title of the first report would be leaks: here the washbasins leak above the chemistry lecturer hall; there, the water runs in the gym; somewhere else the pupils bale out during storms. The second datum would mention the piping, and in particular the heating...The mock exams for the baccalaureate take place in the dining room where there is no heating.

are also putting up with unacceptable conditions with diverse problems. It seems that school issues are one of the inexplicable problems in politicians' minds.

D. The Malagasy case

"Sekoly miangatra"* . This was the slogan in 1972; today the education system remains, however, no less than yesterday, in a state of crisis. The excessive repetition and drop-out represent a major source of wastage in Madagascar which means for the Malagasy children failure, frustration and severely diminished chances of realizing their full potential. Madagascar, contrary to other African countries, has the advantage of possessing a national language which has imposed itself despite the existence of some dialectal variances - there exist about ten variants (M. Zefaniasy Rafaralahy-Bemananjara-1983). Yet, the Malagasification policy, on the contrary, intensified the inequality within the education system as has been highlighted in Chapter III. In short, the hurdle encountered was the lack of qualified teachers as well as the low standard of their teacher training. To overcome this shortage of qualified teaching staff, the gouvernement relied on foreign teaching personnel - French, British, American, Russian, Vietnamese... - as a result, the students when they move up to fifth year in secondary school, after a Malagasified curriculum, have to follow lectures given entirely in French. This is of course to throw students into confusion.

The physical environment has also its part in the issue as ill equipped schools are considerably behind rich schools because they are mostly isolated and distant from passable roads. They tend to cope with the means at their disposal - Qutub Uddin Khan and Dieter Berstecher highlight the fact that town schools in Madagascar, have a level of drop-out which is less than half that of their rural counterparts. The size of many schools is cause for concern as many of them only have between two and five classrooms due to their isolation, poverty and the difficult environment. Furthermore, they state that:

"It is frequently observed that small schools record higher rates of wastage, due to their isolation, poverty and difficult environment.

The study has made a very detailed inventory of the number and condition of different

* Biased schooling.

kinds of textbooks, of didactic materials such as maps, rulers, compasses, etc. and of school furniture such as tables, benches and blackboards.

In general terms, the situation is one of great scarcity in most schools, and of relative abundance in a few privileged institutions. On the average, the sample schools have .156 items of didactic materials per students, or one item for every six students. For school furniture, the average availability is .308 per student; i.e. about one table, bench or blackboard for every three students." Qutub Uddin Khan and Dieter Berstecher (58)

The guiding principles of education in Madagascar have, also, followed historical development. In reality, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, schooling was the work of British and French missionaries. During the highest point of colonization, education had a definite target, to train an assimilated elite class which was absolutely necessary to the colonial system. This education with a metropolitan curriculum was very limited, the rate of school attendance was very low and only strategic areas took advantage of schools.

With the transfer of power, the educational system, without changing its methods and curriculum, aimed at another mission: to get the bulk of the population out of illiteracy and poverty. Thus the creation and the development of state schools (primary, secondary and higher education) proved necessary. But the rapid expansion of schooling was to present the poor countries with two serious problems: the financing and the training of teachers.

Consequently, despite the endeavours displayed and alteration undertaken by the authorities, education failed to meet the economic, social and cultural demands of these countries. The world has come across the underdevelopment of the system which is full of contradictions:

- on the one hand, people have witnessed an increase in pupil numbers which over-populates classrooms, and on the other hand the shortage of qualified teachers, the inadequacy of school buildings and financial means.

- the increase of the size of classes in primary and secondary schools and also the diversity of types of schools have contributed to strengthening the existing social disparities - circumstances which are still made worse by the shortage of adequate institutions.

- the efficiency of this education has been very poor. People have witnessed high educational drop-out in the course of schooling whereas no reorientation structures have been planned to receive pupils who have to leave the system.

- technical education has been set aside at the expense of general education. The training provided has not met the requirement of the productive areas of the economy out of which unemployment is inevitable for those pupils leaving such establishments.

- within higher education, the number of students has increased, but this kind of education is always and will still be the prerogative of privileged and rich people.

Hence, the education systems copied from European patterns have been inadequate for the needs of poor countries. It has become very expensive because of a huge educational drop-out. Furthermore, it has only trained or qualified people who are manifestly incapable of fulfilling practical activities conforming to the needs of these countries and the economy, as well as adapting to the social and economic realities.

Underachievement is an acute problem in most deprived urban areas. Although schools serving very disadvantaged communities can be highly effective in enabling their pupils to make good progress, some of the lowest levels of achievement are to be found in these areas, multiple disadvantages combine to make educational success difficult to attain. People living with the effects of poverty, long-term unemployment, poor housing, a lack of good amenities, high levels of crime, vandalism and, increasingly also, drug trafficking, are severely disadvantaged. People for whom the problems of unemployment and poverty are so great that they lose a sense of belonging to the mainstream of society and of sharing its aims and aspirations, become increasingly isolated.

Underachievement, hence, constitutes a crucial handicap to disadvantaged children but makes the brightening up of their personality and the realization of a well-balanced individual and community life difficult. Children from disadvantaged social classes, whether foreign or otherwise, and whether or not belonging to a minority ethnic group, experience difficulty or failure in the education system, and on average their performance is not as good as that of pupils from the well-off social classes. Yet, being of foreign origin or belonging culturally to a minority ethnic group is a factor which can aggravate educational inequality.

The membership of black pupils in the disadvantaged social level brings them to the fore with regard to underachievement. Everyone must bear in mind that this failure is not at all an effect of their ethnic or foreign origins but rather an incapability of the education system to reduce the social inequalities. Black children suffer also from linguistic and cultural handicaps which have negative repercussions on their educational level. The linguistic handicap appears to be influenced by being bilingual whose specific needs are not met by the existing education system. The forced acculturation of the dominant language has become the root of alienation. This leads to an identity conflict which prevents the full development of bilinguals and seems to characterize the education of black children: repeated school failures and the tendency to drop out of school.

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Chapter IV. Underachievement

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The victorious people

My heart's in this struggle.
My people will overcome. All the people
will overcome, one by one.

These sorrows

will be wrung like handkerchiefs until
all the tears shed on the desert's
galleries, on graves, on the steps
of human martyrdom, are squeezed dry.
But the victorious time's nearby.
Let hatred reign so that punishment's
hand won't tremble,

let the hour hand

reach its time table in the pure instant,
and let the people fill the empty streets
with fresh and firm dimensions.
Here's my tenderness for that time.
You'll know it. I have no other flag.

- Pablo Neruda: "Canto General" -
(Translated by Jack Schmitt)

CHAPTER V. Importance of an international awareness.

As formulated in the first chapter, the fundamental motive for an enhancement of the curriculum is to cultivate a sense of responsibility and an appreciation of and respect for all cultures represented within any society by initiating an International Curriculum. Moreover, it has to instil in children an awareness of the world in which they live. In other words, the ethical mission of education is clearly defined from the outset.

In all fairness, to obey the rules of the game, the educational partnership with politics and socio-economics has to be clearly affirmed. To educate children, which of course goes beyond the control of school, requires actions which bring together the social development of certain areas; the reconstruction of the family nucleus in the ghettos and the fight against racism, and any other kind of unfair discrimination. Otherwise, under threat of failure of fulfilment, school institutions may withdraw into themselves and let youngsters endure the outside world by themselves. By keeping social and political principles, which stimulate the evolution of the world, at the door of the schools, schools may encourage religious bigotry, authoritarian governments and states regulated by the power of money to manipulate traditional and new knowledge to their own advantage.

By ignoring the social structure and its reflection in the school system, the international curriculum can be implicitly damaging to the education of the working class as well as to black children. Furthermore people live in a world enslaved by racism and sex-discrimination, the essential and crucial elements which have been the structuring of social and world relations, with the result that working classes, black people and women have been exploited as a part of the working class, but they have also been exploited as a race and as women. Therefore, it becomes necessary to supply governments and international associations with food for reflection because racism and sex-discrimination are not the special preserve of any one social class, age, group or residential zone.

Any government seeking to preserve political order based upon inequality has encouraged and accentuated the tendencies for socio-economic inequalities. Similarly, any government based on tribalism has never put an end to racial or religious conflicts. In any racially or religiously divided society, inequalities have prevailed and unequal achievement in one generation has had consequences for the next one. Where there are distinct racial or religious groups with different privileges, group membership is transmitted as the association between group membership and socio-economic status has been an important influence.

Henceforth, it is important that governments take a radical stance and enforce a firm policy in order to tackle racism and contribute to the elimination of all kinds of unfair discrimination which are still rampant in virtually all aspects of life in "industrialized" as well as "deprived" countries. They must not defend their inactivity by arguing that inequality between groups results from differences in the natural abilities of individuals, just as inequalities within groups result from individual differences. Nowadays, these tendencies exist in all societies, but can governments reduce their effect and implement a real equal opportunity in states and schools institutions?

The need for changes on National and International levels

"The fight to end racism in education must be concerned with changing the context of education, changing the pedagogy and the curriculum, and must examine the administrative arrangements, including questions of students recruitment in higher education and the relationships within the institutions, etc. This overall attempt must be linked to policy formulation and implementation and to the question of resourcing."

Godfrey L. Brandt (1)

It could be suggested that new policies require to be implemented to wage a relentless battle against racism and any forms of discrimination, as well as actions for social recovery which must be extended to the white and black populations who are suffering similar exclusion. A new international order may take place based on equitable cooperation and to emphasise popular participation, thus giving people the right to decide and handle their destiny; in short "empowerment" of the people. Six action fields - political and economic - can be designed as crucial points for

changes.

A. The definition of "Deprived" countries.

Terms such "Third-World" or "Developing country" requires immediate consideration. The slave trade, then imperialism and the call for immigration were a phase of capitalist development. In consequence, European capitalist countries established political, economic, military and cultural hegemony over the parts of the world which were initially in the making and therefore could not resist domination. Later on, they were joined by the United States, the ex-Soviet Union and Japan. Hence, imperialism is in effect the extended capitalist system which for many years embraced the whole world - one part being the exploiters and the other the exploited, one part being dominated and the other acting as "Big Brother", one part making policy and the other being dependent.

"... in 1979, the 'first world' was the capitalist West; the second world was the Communist bloc; the Third World, defined in relation to these two, encompassed almost everyone else.

Now the Communist bloc is neither communist nor a bloc: the middle has disappeared. The Third World is no longer third and is no longer a clearly identifiable grouping of nations. The world is no longer split into rich and poor nations with nothing in between. ...it could be said that the Third World is the world inhabited by the poor of the earth. It is the globe's steerage, the underdecks, below the water line." Paul Harrison (2)

Since terms such as "underdeveloped", "developing" have been unjustly interpreted - overtly or covertly - as meaning underdeveloped intellectually, morally, materially or in any respect, and the term "Third-World" as third rate; it should be suggested that the term "deprived"* should be the appropriate alternative classification of the African, Asian and South American nations. This illustration may win freedom from the impression that all these countries are escaping from a state of economic backwardness relative to the so-called "industrialized" nations. This is certainly not

* Problems of definition: "Third World" - but what is the "second world" now? "Poor" countries - it may be more accurate, on average, but some people or regions may be relatively rich. "Deprived" - to understand how this state came about, people have to go back to colonial days. In most cases, colonies have always been exploited as sources of primary products: metals, raw fibres and foods. The industrialized countries began to plunder their colonies of natural resources when their own supplies of metal and fuels began to fall short of demand. As a result, the function of colonies was to supply raw materials on the one hand - and on the other, to purchase the manufactured goods of the "mother" country. In short, they were used as supply of the raw materials and markets.

true as many "deprived" countries have become poor because of their exploitation by the world's great powers - imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism - Until now, this exploitation has been intensified in new ways; ie through the International Monetary Fund.

"Between 1980 and the present a series of agreements have been negotiated, always with great difficulty, since the IMF has insisted on its usual package of devaluation and reductions of government expenditure via decreases in the size of the administration and the ending of subsidies for items like rice." Maureen Covell (3)

By developing special austerity packages, the I.M.F has made most of Africa, Asia and South America deprived - e.g. before the fast deterioration of the economical situation in Madagascar, the government with the backing of the World Bank, was obliged to implement an adjustment programme to allow a new economical structure which was more open to private enterprise and to the outside world. As a result, the government and the World Bank decided to reform the public sector and the spearhead of the reform was liquidation, restructuring or the sale of a certain number of public enterprises. Because of the restructuring policy, the government had to make many employees redundant, and in order to write off the social impact of the redundancy, the government had to compensate and retrain them. In short, the Malagasy economy had to be more accessible to the world market to allow the Malagasy sector to make full use of the liberalization of the trade (Midi Madagascar- 17 Octobre 1989). Its prescription for debt-ridden economics stresses "spend less and earn more". This adjustment has required governments, at first, to cut to the bone the social service budgets - health, education, transport and other welfare spending - and its imports, and then to increase exports in exchange for fresh loans, or extending old ones over longer periods. In short, export or perish has been the message from the I.M.F.

B. The importance of self sufficient nations

Hence, there is a need to refute the use of these practices and challenge them by putting forward some basic measures. The continuous effort which debt-ridden countries are forced to make in order to increase exports for foreign currencies has often led most countries to neglect their food supply for the home market. Yet, as

far as pricing is concerned, the whole import-export relationship between the "exploited" nations and their trading partners is one of unequal exchange and exploitation, because the terms of trade are set by industrialized countries in a manner entirely advantageous to themselves, so the trade is usually detrimental to the trading partner.

More far reaching than just trade is the ownership of the means of production in one country by the citizens from another or by multinationals. When citizens of Europe or multinationals have the monopoly of the means of production, this is the most direct way to weaken Africa, Asia and South America. So long as exploiters own factories, banks, companies and, so on, then the wealth of these countries will flow outwards into the hands of countries which hold the monopoly of the international trade and market; the health, education and other welfare of these populations will hang upon the "structural" adjustments of I.M.F. In short, in the absence of political awareness and direct political participation from the peoples and their governments, foreign policy and investment will always ensure that the natural resources and labour of these nations produce an economic value which will be lost to them.

René Dumont, a French ecologist, states that:

"An African common front, even if limited to economic affairs, would enable Africa to safeguard more efficiently against political strings being attached to foreign aid, particularly French, English or European... Africa will be in a better position to protect itself, while diversifying its agriculture, following the outline I have made here or another (reducing imports, improving nutrition, planting industrial crops, then feed crops and livestock), it seeks at the same time to increase its markets. Instead of orienting itself only to the rich Atlantic area, which will make it too dependent on the west... In the framework of a kind of economic neutralism, exchanges inside the African bloc should be developed first, then in all of the emerging nations, which could grant each other a mutual preference." (4)

Dumont asserts that Africa needs to pledge itself to improve the level of nutrition and living conditions of its population in order to free them from the spectre of famine. In fact, self-reliance in food production becomes the fundamental objective of "deprived" countries, and this requires the creation of a viable and sustainable agriculture for the future. It is then important that these peoples pledge themselves

particularly to the development of their agriculture and the increase in their food supply. This needs to be their main priority because the great majority of the population lives on agriculture. Self-sufficient food supplies can be stressed as the main target by all governments as self-reliance in food production cannot only allow agricultural growth, but also the establishment of links between production areas and production reserves for regional and national supply.

It will be necessary to return to greater reliance on local resources, to make better use of farm waste as organic fertiliser, and to minimise the use of non-renewable resources brought in from a distance. In short, self-reliance requires the restructuring of the organization to win in efficiency and the improvement of the management. The aim is to increase production in the nations of low income and in deficit, as well as to take precautionary measures against the animal pests and transborder diseases of plants and animals. It is also quite possible to increase production in the areas of high potential thanks to the already existing and available technology.

Their major actions may undertake a thorough study on vital works such as irrigation and drainage canals to allow the diversification of the production as well as the association of the population of the village with the upkeep of the materials. Still, the farmer has to eat first, so however reliable the climate, one has the obligation to give priority to food crops and to encourage them to constitute a collective stock. This can give the agricultural economy more possibility of feeding its own growth through an internal accumulation of surplus towards a kind of collective saving for the village. To restore trust and motivation and to reduce the competitiveness of village life, the rural population will be encouraged to organize themselves into committees throughout their local areas and create cooperative structures which can give everyone, as well as every village, an interest in community welfare, and also to exert moral pressure on recalcitrant families.

Constructive measures can, also, be drawn from the agricultural failure in these countries. Many years ago, these countries could adequately feed their population

but today they are obviously incapable. The main reason is that, the rural population did not profit by the introduction of new technology as it was too expensive as well as being incompatible with their traditional "savoir faire". Trust and motivation need to be restored to the rural population. The redress has to be achieved by all, but first by the "deprived" countries; they are encouraged to take their destiny into their own hands and seek the unification and organization of the people. Hence, it is indispensable that governments influence the emergence of viable agricultural policy, on a regional as well as national level.

It could be suggested that a joint effort calls upon a team of technicians, agronomists and researchers - regional, national and international - who have the fundamental objective of working alongside individual farmers - people have to bear in mind that in Africa men and women are both involved in farming - and their committees for the recovery of the farmers' lost motivation to carry out studies and generate a better understanding of their environment: physical, vegetable and animal, and then state the best conditions for the exploitation of this environment to an agricultural end. The aim of the collaboration of regional, national and international experts with local farmers is to improve the transfer of new technology and the agricultural products for the people's consumption. In addition the establishment of a regional and national agricultural policy can allow the development and the strengthening of a national trade and exchange market as they have been mostly ignored at the expense of the "industrialized" countries.

It is easy to criticize the dominant world economics, which may still run the risk of dominating for a long period, however, they cannot disregard these issues which have often resulted from their politics and has often contributed to failure. The redress can be achieved by all, but first by the "deprived" countries. They have to take their destiny into their own hands and seek unification and organization of the people. Today, it is more evident that people are facing a particular turning point in international socio-economic relationship. Because of the fall of the Eastern block and the strengthening of the European Community, a new economic development

has been emphasized at the expense of the deprived nations - many new opportunities for the EEC market in the Eastern block; new investment and financial assistance; existence of a certain advanced scientific and technological resources. This may relegate the "deprived" countries to the bottom of the trade scale.

It is crucial that the new economic developments offer a great opportunity to the "deprived" countries to intensify their economic exchange to their mutual advantage and to really fit into the regional and national economy. Moreover, this coordination and collaboration can facilitate the supply of regions facing drought or flood with whatever they need - e.g. food. As a result, this will urge the linkage of the economical and industrial infrastructures and put the emphasis on the main priority such as the improvement in the agricultural sector and productivity and technology exchange, and the redistribution of the tasks in self-reliance in food production between parties. This will lead to a genuine organization of the rising people and to a strong cooperation between governments, experts and farmers in order to exchange political and socio-economic experiences on regional and national levels.

"Health-care systems in most of the Third World neglect the poor, not because there is not enough money to spend, but because inappropriate western models have been followed: inappropriate in cost, in approach and in technology." Paul Harrison (5)

As far as health is concerned, after a period of substantial improvement, progress has slowed down. In many countries, the sanitary conditions have regressed due to the lack of medical staff and materials and the deficiency and inadequacy in the medical research. Yet, this regression results from the adoption of the European model of health organization, medical research and the training of medical staff, which is expensive and inadequate. This choice has also strengthened the technical and industrial dependency and increased the vulnerability to businesses whose strategies are often less reliable, but also to international companies which control a large market of medicine, vaccines and their derivatives, as well as food for babies.

Today, "deprived" countries severely lack medical staff while industrialized countries train more medical staff than they can offer employment to and a salary compatible with their skill. The "brain drain" is also common to Africa, Asia and

South America. Scientists, medical staff and technicians, lured by better pay and opportunities, leave their countries for the United States, Canada or Europe. India which has supplied and continues to supply generations of researchers of high quality who may engage themselves in the improvement of agriculture. Some of its Universities and research centres may be involved in projects targeting the upgrading of the medical staff, technicians and scientists adapted to their environment and needs and collaborating with their neighbours. The presence of top technicians, medical staff and scientists can have a major effect on the economic and social progress in countries which lack these experts.

Still no improvement will occur without political and social evolution. The lessening of social inequalities and the eradication of exploitation must be the elements for progress; it will be more efficient than the building of huge dams which provoke ecological disasters, or the purchase of factories which stop because of lack of materials or technicians to run them. Also, scientists, medical staff and technicians are not only the causes of this regression, but the ways in which they are employed and the interests they serve.

C. The relevance of equal political and civic rights

Maybe Gobineau's theories are "discredited", and extreme right wing theories "officially" condemned, but still the general European interest in biology and sociology is to legitimise an ideology which would assume national and world economic and racial superiority of one race over the other and the so-called Super-Power over the rest of the world.

"... substituer une mosaïque rigide de groupes ethniques et raciaux au pluralisme, qui est la règle naturelle dans une société libérale, revient à manquer gravement de sagesse. (...) ceux à qui l'affirmative action (politique des quotas) permet d'obtenir des emplois pour lesquels ils ne sont pas qualifiés, savent très bien eux-mêmes qu'ils sont des citoyens de seconde classe munis de passeports de première classe, et que les autres les considèrent comme tels." Irving Kristol* (6)

* Substituting a set mosaic of ethnic and racial groups for pluralism, which is the national rule in a liberal society, gravely lacks wisdom. (...) to those which the positive action (policy of quota) allows them to obtain employments for which they are not qualified, know themselves, very well, that they are second class citizens supplied with a first class passport, and that the others consider them as such.

According to I. Kristol's view, the recession makes the competition of black people on the work market unacceptable. He also strongly opposes the policy of quotas which, he believes, does not help the state to change the economical structure, and this would also imply a deep social upheaval which is incompatible with the economical situation. Hence, the revival of historical myths such as black people being immoral, irresponsible, lazy, dirty... (Chapour Haghighat-1988).

Walter Rodney has fully analysed and discussed the African experience. He pointed out that imperialism was both ideological and economical. The ideology was based on the notion of "natural" military and maritime superiority. Thus, independent of the financial pressures of colonization in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Britain was active in "convincing" both her European rivals as well as the "new world" of her superiority. However, united with the ideological intention was the economic intention of exploiting Africa, Asia and Latin America for the benefit of the imperial power. In return, the colonized peoples received the dubious privilege of the status of "British subject of Her Majesty's realm".

The French government had a cunning way of getting free labour by first demanding that African males should enlist as French soldiers and then using them as unpaid labourers. This and other forced labour legislation was extensively applied in vast areas of French colonies. As Freely-Harnick pointed out:

"In fact, the whole system depended on the ability of the colonial bureaucracy to get labour out of an unwilling population. The importance of the issue and the difficulties encountered meant that more ordinances regulating labour were passed in Madagascar than in any other French colony. The most direct method of dealing with the problem was forced labour, instituted in 1897 and retained until 1946." (7)

Social and historical facts about immigration were constantly introduced as a phenomenon which would identify itself as a factor of recession, which would make things alarming, which would force Europe to become a continent of immigrants. Does immigration represent a fatal threat for Europe? If so, the United States should have disappeared long ago, and the same remark should also go for Europe. Yet, Hans-Maguns Euzensberger; a German playwright, perceives it differently:

"Plus une civilisation tente de s'emmurer pour se prémunir d'une menace extérieure, moins elle aura à défendre en définitive ... Quant aux barbares, inutile de les attendre à nos

portes. Ils sont là depuis toujours."* (8)

To consider a race to be ethnically, religiously and culturally homogeneous, is the act of a closed and inward-looking. Even in Europe, as the great nations or empires cannot be considered to be homogenous. Yet, while Indian and Oceanic tribes are still homogenous, today they are facing extinction.

Mrs Thatcher when asked about immigration, replied:

"you know some communities in Britain already felt 'swamped'. Present immigrants settled here would have nothing to fear from Tory policy, but we cannot go on in this country taking in more and more people and I believe it would be against the interest of racial harmony if we were to do so... This country can take a small minority of different people; once that minority gets bigger and bigger people tend to regard it in a totally different light and fear it and we must not let that happen."

And asked to explain by what she meant by 'swamped', she said:

"some areas which I know very well where the whole character of the area has changed... you know some people do feel swamped when streets they have lived in for the whole of their life really now are quite different and they do feel swamped and I stand by it absolutely, I do." The Guardian-April 1979

Behind the desire for ethnical homogeneity, is revealed an unambiguous desire for purity reflecting the obsession with mixed-marriages. Interbreeding has always been at the centre of nationalist racism, which rejects it as degrading and dishonourable and claims it to be bad in itself as it would weaken the natural order. This desire, of course below the surface, advances the theory that the fate of a civilization is determined by racial composition - i.e Hitler, Mein Kampf:

"Le rôle du plus fort est de dominer et non point de se fondre avec le plus faible, en sacrifiant ainsi sa propre grandeur. Seul, le faible de naissance peut trouver cette loi cruelle. Mais c'est qu'il n'est qu'un homme faible et borné; car si cette loi ne devait pas l'emporter, l'évolution de tous les êtres organisés serait inconcevable."* (9)

That white societies would only flourish as long as they remain free of black strains, and the more a civilization's racist character is diluted through mixed marriages, the more likely it would be to lose its vitality and creativity, and sink

* The more a civilization tries to cloister itself in order to protect itself from an external threat, the less, it will, eventually, have to defend against... As to the barbarians, pointless to wait for them at our doors. They have always been there.

* The duty of the stronger is to dominate but not to dissolve within the weaker, by sacrificing, in this way, its own greatness. Only the weak by birth can find this rule cruel. But he is only a weak and narrow-minded man; because if this rule did not carry, the evolution of all organized human beings would be inconceivable.

into corruption and immorality.

Still, the election of the host country is hardly by mere accident. This is often linked to previous relations - cultural, political or economic - established between the country of emigration and the country of immigration. All the former colonial powers welcome important immigrants from their former colonies. In short, immigrants choose as a country for immigration, the country which history has put them in contact with - Indians and Pakistanis to Great Britain. If Algerian immigration is the most important in France, it is because Algeria was French until 1962, trade, economic and cultural links have been established between France and Algeria since 1830. So nowadays, why do politicians talk about "invasion", "a stream of people"? In reality, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the stream of European people to Africa, Asia and Latin America was a genuine invasion, to such a point that it destroyed societies and cultures which had already progressed. Thanks to her demographic expansion, coupled with industries and guns, Europe has forced the door of other continents and dominated the world.

Among these immigrants whom politicians want to deport without ceremony, most have been living in Europe for more than ten years.

"Ils sont nés ici. Ils ne l'avaient pas demandé. Et ici, c'est chez eux. Ils devraient prouver qu'ils sont dignes de demeurer dans ce pays quand celui-ci manifeste bien peu d'ardeur à les considérer comme ses enfants." Maurice Lemoine* (10)

During this period, these people have been doing, in proportion, more than the European by "blood", all the hard, unpopular and ill-paid jobs. Today in Europe, should not these years of strain and sweat, at least deserve respect? Should the privilege of "white ancestral blood" have all the rights? Is it not denying all the traditions of human rights by setting values in terms of "class", "origin" or by discriminating in favour of "blood affiliation"?

If governing bodies or political parties are genuinely concerned to stop the rise of racism and all forms of discrimination which people are encountering nowadays,

* They were born here. They did not ask for it. And here, they are at home. They have to prove that they are worthy of living in this country while it shows less enthusiasm in regarding them as its children.

then they will have to conteract these assumptions and listen to disadvantaged people and to voices from ethnic minority populations. For that, they have to assert strongly that "races" are simply groups of people with substantially differing proportions of genes from various racial stocks and that skin colour and hair are one of the countless genetic characteristics of human beings. They are encouraged to speak the truth and without ambiguity instead of safeguarding their political careers by treating immigrants as scapegoats. Europeans are Europeans, it does not matter the number of ancestors they have in Europe, their land of birth, their name and appearance. A black person of immigrant origin is a European, with all the rights and the duties which this implies.

An ideology without opposition, in general, takes root among unemployed and disadvantaged people. As Gramsci pointed out:

"... a social form 'always' has marginal possibilities for further development and organisational improvement, and in particular can count on the relative weakness of the rival progressive force as a result of its specific character and way of life. It is necessary for the dominant social form to preserve their weakness ..." (11)

Gramsci believed that the failure of the proletariat to exert its alternative hegemony allows the bourgeoisie to continnue its rule despite the weakening of its own hegemony. Hence, racism is only a tool for the ideological offensive led by people who fix their hierarchy of tasks: the interior order first and then the exterior. In general, it serves to divert the legitimate dissatisfaction and demands of the working class. Prejudice is rather less an error or an illusion than a lie and a weapon. Racism is an ideology whose strong core is the essence of the affirmation of in-equality, based on differences of nature between human races, an affirmation which implies exclusion, discrimination, persecution or at the extreme extermination which arise from attitudes of hate and contempt of the other.

In reality, the refusal of immigrants is relative, it does not concern other white Europeans but specially targets black immigrants. In short, white immigrants are like Europeans so their "assimilation" or integration could be easier - i.e Chirac's speech. Thus, European governments want to control black immigration but even with sophisticated means and an increase in the police force, they will only restrain

to some extent. Indeed, they will never manage to stop it completely, or even less to drain it away as long as the socio-economic systems bleed the "deprived" countries dry with unequal international trade. Only the improvement of the socio-economic structures of these countries will dissuade candidates for immigration, and will keep them at home and put such ideas out of their minds.

This evaluation can be impossible in these countries because of the ruthless predators and local despots, more preoccupied with their own enrichment than of the well being of their people.

"Ratsiraka, accuse le vieux Monja jaona, est un accapareur sans vergone de richesses nationales. Il est à la source de tous les trafics illicites sur la vanille, le girofle, le café, le riz, l'or, le béryl, l'uranium et autres pierres précieuses. Il est à la base des vols de boeufs. Et pour écouler le produit de tous ses trafics illégaux, il utilise les bateaux, bien de l'Etat Malagasy"* (12)

Consequently, there is an urgency to carry out a strict political and well balanced development with the emphasis on the participation of all the social-classes - national and international - and with an equitable share of benefits of the collective effort, even if it is moderate. Juridical and political inferiority contrasting with full citizenship has obvious consequences in the social and racial discrimination of immigrant people. The coexistence of two factions within the same population with political and social inequality leads to the conviction of the superiority of one group over the other, and during hard times, it generates ideas that the other is disturbing, invading and unnecessary.

This racism, taking the form of popular expression, expresses the segregation which these semi-citizens meet within the administration and the state. Hence, there is only one cure for this racism, the recognition and the extension of their political rights. Governments have the responsibility to overthrow all obstacles which stand in the immigrant workers' way to their access to full juridical and civic rights. They are also encouraged to lay down strong laws to break down racism and all forms of

* The old Monja Jaona accuses Ratsiraka as a shameless grabber of national wealth. He is at the roots of all illicit traffic on vanilla, cloves, coffee, rice, gold, beryl, uranium and precious stones. He instigates the theft of oxen and disposes the goods of this illegal traffic by using ships belonging to the Malagasy State.

discrimination and ensure that images of black achievements are perceived at all political and social levels - Ministers, M.Ps, lawyers, doctors, teachers and head-teachers, scientists.... and the like. If the aim of positive action is to spread and increase social mobility and create more black and working class achievers, they clearly affirm this as a highly appropriate measure to counteract the negative image of deviance and criminality which the mass media have associated with black as well as working class youth.

Governments are encouraged to bestow privileges upon images of grassroot struggles, notably those generated by the culture of resistance to sex-discrimination, racism and all forms of unfair discrimination in which men - black and white, and increasingly women have played a leading role. They have the responsibility to promote a more positive image by highlighting their vanguard position in the struggle for justice and their front line defence of the community against both state and street sex-discrimination, racism and all forms of unfair discrimination.

D. Reconstruction of the family nucleus

"...we command that the Jews dwelling in this province of Gaesen shall not live among the Christians, but shall have their houses near or next to one another in some sequestered part of the state or town, so that their dwelling place shall be separated from the common dwelling places of the Christians by a hedge, a wall, or a ditch." Louis Wirth (13)

Once upon a time, there were ghettos. They originated in the Middle Ages to designate the segregated Jewish section of many European cities. These Jewish ghettos were often walled off and had gates that were locked at night, when Jews were forbidden to be abroad among the Christians. Then, before and after the World War II, old towns exhibited without shame their untidy spaces, their crowded streets, their dark alleys, which were the ghettos of the proletariats while the privileged people hid themselves behind an arrogant façade.

"Point de fabrique sans ouvriers: et avec une population d'ouvriers toujours croissante, toujours nécessiteuse, point de repos pour la société. Chaque fabricant vit dans sa fabrique comme le planteur des colonies au milieu des esclaves, un contre cent... Les barbares qui menacent la société ne sont point au Caucase ni dans les steppes de la Tartarie; ils sont

dans les faubourgs de nos villes manufacturières." From the Journal des Débats* (14)

Many of these people lacking assistance and comfort, died of tuberculosis, plunged into alcoholism or turned out badly; they were the "classes laborieuses" "classes dangereuses" and "barbarie ouvrière" (working, dangerous classes and worker barbarians), delinquents and even worse (Le Monde Diplomatique-October 1990).

For the activation of the industrial expansion, through deliberate government policies of recruitment, Europe encouraged black people to come to Europe - all from their former colonies. With no capital or possessions, they had to content themselves with the lowest scale of remuneration and in return they were allocated dirty and squalid housing in the poorest parts of the inner-cities or in slum areas of a town on the outskirts of the major industrial zones. In addition to the overcrowding and poor standard of living, these people and their families were to be subjected to criminal immigration laws which kept them apart for years. Their difference in complexion made them visible and easily recognisable as "aliens". However, history is in the process of repeating itself as an area of deprivation came into being.

Moving out of the area becomes even more difficult as a result of recession. Nowadays, there are still a certain number of towns which, in the past, were seen as working class areas, and have since become an area of deprivation. In other words "social zones" in which European countries have generated a new under-class, i.e. people - black and white - condemned to live in these slums or ghettos, may share the same socio-professional category but black people are more subjected to discrimination because of colour and culture.

For this reason, social improvement needs to be the fundamental aim of governments. Governments have the obligation to enforce a policy for the building of new lodgings as well as the restoration of council houses (H.L.M) while financial

* No factory without workers: and with a population of workers still growing and still necessary, no rest for society. Each manufacturer lives in his factory like the colonial planter in the middle of his slaves, one against hundred ...The barbarians who threaten the society are not at all in the Caucasus or in the steppes of the Tartars; there are in the suburbs of our industrial towns.

support is provided for the disadvantaged white and black populations. This financial support can give them the possibility, on the one hand to move to an appropriate and better off lodging with comfort, and on the other hand, to profit from low rents, which allow them to save enough money and later to have access to independent lodging. This policy will promote a better social life and improve their fate. The reconstruction of the family nucleus can only take place after the social amelioration of these areas and also prevents social expulsion.

Governments, also, have to assume their responsibility and provide resources and services required to help the recovery of the disadvantaged people's socio-economic structures and their dealing with the system and its bureaucratic network. Any policy aiming at alleviating disadvantaged people must present a moral as well as a political challenge to policy makers; which will call upon politicians, educationists, sociologists and scientists..., and this for both domestic and international interests.

It is imperative that they think of practical solutions which will be fair both to the white and black populations. Their full participation, in not only cultural but social economic and political affairs can only enrich the welfare of all. This is by no means restricted to the European Community; it must be understood that the concerns and problems are of diverse nature and degrees, yet, they are common to both industrialized and deprived countries. It is high time such important and fundamental issues which concern everyone receive the universal attention and backing they deserve to ensure effective national and international developments and adequate solutions. European governments have to realize that the "new poverty" in Europe is not any longer a specific social case confined to tramps (clochards) but a real phenomenon generated by the logic of capitalism.

E. Wisdom and tolerance: The *raison d'être*

Nowadays, it is fundamental to debate questions on religion because fanaticism and

religious intolerance seem to be spreading all over the world. The debate has to state frankly what is its role and its place within today's society and why there is this rise of fanaticism and intolerance. The debate has not only to point its finger to the intolerance of a particular religion but to all existing fanaticism: that which seems to sleep lightly and that which is flagrant.

Fanaticism and intolerance are not a social feature, limited to one particular religion. They are also not a new phenomenon; on the contrary, they are of the past and more persistent than humanism and tolerance, relating to religion as well as to politics.

"L'Islam qui représente déjà la deuxième religion en France (...) menace notre propre identité." J-M Le Pen* (15)

But they usually arise in defence of an existing and unquestioned truth rather than as deeply-estranged reactions to a time when no one knows what to believe anymore. Traditionalism puts forward an old truth as the answer to modern doubt. Like an infectious disease, it is without doubt latent and rises periodically, when social changes take place.

Cultural and economic confusion provide fertile ground for the growth of traditionalism and intolerance. Traditionalism is a reaction which venerates the authority and wisdom of the past, a past already, more or less, lost under the assaults of the modern world. Its programme is to regain this lost past and the present state of affairs must be entirely overturned to achieve its aims. Therefore, when threatened, people tend to seek refuge in it as it reassures them. Religious fervour bursts onto the international scene and we encounter a general increase in intolerance as well as numerous demands for restrictions.

The most frightening issue is the threat by the fundamental religion which accuses the state of being too tolerant and of being corrupters of moral values, and condoning blasphemy as a result of their so-called tolerance. From this point of view, traditionalism is really worrying. Concerning birth control or abortion, the

* Islam which already represents the second religion in France, threatens our own identity.

Pope recently warned Bosnian Muslim women that they must not seek abortions, but learn to "accept the enemy into them". As for the "Ossevatore Romano" (27 July 1988), it denied the Italian government the right to campaign in favour of the use of contraceptives to fight AIDS, this in the name of religion. Also, the presence of a large minority of Muslims in Europe, has not only awakened the need to affirm European identity, but in the defence of this identity, they have also felt the need to reassert the roots of their identity, an identity which has taken root in Christianity and impregnated Europe history:

"Recently there have been great debates about religious education. I believe politicians must see that religious education has a proper place in the school curriculum ... the Christian religion is a fundamental part of our national heritage ... Indeed we are a nation whose ideals are founded on the Bible. Also, it is quite impossible to understand our history or literature without grasping this fact." Mrs Thatcher (16)

It should be advanced that the society must not allow the rise of intolerance to impose its values and beliefs against the will of the disadvantaged people. Must the society submit itself to their own rules in the fields of society, health and morality and accept all their constraints? In reality, intolerance, like racism and all forms of unfair discrimination, is a battle that everyone is urged to engage in, all together; beyond everyone's respective groups - believers and non-believers - as well as beyond respective religious institutions. It could be argued that humanism has to be considered as the common feature of members of humanity and universe. It is not to exclude anyone, instead it comprises everyone who endorses the common contract: mutual respect and respect for the others.

A distinction needs to be established between reason and faith, religion or politics. Only this break may allow the evolution of our society, but this calls for an open debate, not imposing a pre-established authority, however prestigious it may be; to work, it could be argued that this evolution needs to be always under review and cease to resist or oppose experiences for evaluation and improvement. This concept shall not throw any discredit on faith and beliefs of the disadvantaged people.

But one has to realize that they are two totally different fields and function with different rules. In the past, the demarcation between reason and faith has allowed

the development of Science and Technology. Today, the need for science and technology is importunate and irrefutable - nevertheless, faith could scarcely change the course of events - for the progress of national and international socio-economics. Also, a clear division requires to be made between right and authority, religious or political, in short a clear demarcation between the state and the religious institutions. No authority, however powerful it may be, shall impose any beliefs - shall it be religious or political - on individuals or a minority groups, marginal or economically underprivileged. Human Rights principles have gained ground all over the world while more effort need to be invested in confronting those who exercise any form of exclusion or those who shelter behind some exceptional circumstances, of course in the name of their superior interests, their nation, their religious institution or their group.

To overcome religious intolerance, all religious institutions - Christian, Muslim, Jewish or Buddhist...- are encouraged to make a clear stand and condemn all acts of intolerance. They have the responsibility to assert that believing in Jesus, Moses, Mahomet or Buddha, must not mean the denial of the other faiths and, that individuals have the right to ask, to raise doubts and to discuss "mythical" figures. Nowadays, why do they not seek world-wide platform for religious collaboration? From this perspective, the lack of unity and collaboration among the diverse institutions, is shocking and frightening as many people are trapped in religious concerns. Fear for their existence and their culture, arouses religious feeling and offers the group a justification for the use of their religion as a shield. Hence, they may find it normal that some religious leaders assume the right to protect their people and their faith. But everyone must be concerned when their formal logic argues that the conflict is a necessity to put right the serious offence committed by other nations as well as to overcome the "moral trauma" unavoidable from the moment the religious principles are under threat. Today's society cannot allow any faith to gain or regain a dominant political position, nor make even the slightest room for religious institutions to become powerful opponents of the state or to act as "reformist" authorities.

But despite its explosive nature, by not investigating religious issues, no one can understand why this rise of traditionalist beliefs, this spread of intolerance and this determination to reintroduce the "true religious culture" are occurring within the institutions, fanaticism only exists or is only maintained by people's complaisance, if not by their lack of conscience and principles.

F. Hevitran'ny maro matahakatra lavitra*

"There were camaraderie in the camps. They tried to make us the sub-humans they said we were; they treated us in such a way, they tried to make use lose compassion. Yet they did not manage the total demoralisation they aimed at. We still cared. To live one single day and still retain human values was a great act of courage." Esther Brunstein; a survivor of the Lodz ghetto, Belsen and Auschwitz camp (17)

To enforce diverse and positive policies to combat racism cannot definitely defeat it in the short term. Everyone has to be aware that all aspects of racism and discrimination have been the "chef d'oeuvre", for many years, of the administrative, economic and political machineries. Still, to understand both the nature of its logic and the reasons for its strength in the face of anti-racist laws and any number of social policies aimed at its elimination, it becomes necessary to seek an answer to diverse forms of racism and unfair discrimination.

The tendency to see physically different groups as different in some false and inferior way, is not just a product of competition in employment, accommodation or education. It is something much more persistent and has its roots in a view of the world which assumed the need to distinguish race division: "superior" race and "inferior" race; this advances the biological superiority of one group which, de facto, gives the right to lead and rule the others. In this way, let us have the well known definition of racism:

"A set of attitudes and behaviour towards people of another race which is based on the belief that races are distinct and can be graded as "superior" or "inferior". A racist is therefore someone who believes that people of a particular colour or national origin are inherently inferior, so that their identity, culture, self-esteem, views and feelings are of less values than his or her own and can be disregarded or treated as less important."

Rampton, A. (18)

Through state legislation, racism and all discrimination have become respectable

* Malagasy philosophy: The view of a large majority of people will have a widespread influence

and permeate all aspects of social life at every level. Yet, if racism is only the specific ideological justification of this domination, the state apparatus has perpetuated it while racism pre-dates modern imperialism. It has been remoulded by philosophers, scientists or sociologists, until it has been converted into an integral part of the exploitive machinery. From this point, it appears that the uprooting of racism is firmly bound to the disappearance of exploitation. Hence, an anti-racist policy which lays down its policy against human exploitation will be obviously justified as it attempts to restore to effectiveness and fairness the national and international socio-economic balance.

f.1. Demystification

People are encouraged to engage in the demystification of the idea that racism only expresses exploitation and oppression of blacks by white power. It will be wrong to deny this reality, but they need to get away from this narrow view. In 1989, the conflict between Mauritania and Senegal was judged, reluctantly, to be an inter-ethnic or racial conflict which had led to the exodus of mostly Moors of Arab and Berber descent to Mauritania, and black Senegalese to Senegal. Nevertheless, the exodus of Haalpulaar, black farmers and herders who hold Mauritanian citizenship, shall give everyone food for thought while Nouakchott authorities denied formally there have been racially or ethnically motivated expulsions.

Let people have another example. Rwanda, a tiny nation in the heart of Africa, has been the centre of racial slaughter and persecution since 1960. Despite the testimony in August 1991 of Mr Eric Gillet - former president of Amnesty Belgium - nothing has been done to stop the abuse of power by the Hutu towards the Tutsi people - torture and other forms of ill-treatment, imprisonment without any trial, and disappearance and forced exile (Le Monde-16 Mai 1994).

How can people ignore the fact that Africa and Asia were the scenes of drastic action against Chinese and Indian immigrants who were highly visible as shopkeepers, traders and frontline officials. The violence against the Chinese population in post-independent Indonesia, the harassment and expulsion of Asians in Africa or

the attacks against the Tamils in Sri-Lanka were the more extreme consequence of racism. Shall people pass over in silence the roots of Chinese racist fury towards African students in China or Scottish people towards English (and vice-versa) ...? Of course, some people may view the revolts as a result of exacerbated xenophobia and nationalism, still racism has played a large part in these events. While not forgetting the role of colonialism in creating some of these rifts.

To combat racism efficiently, people are encouraged to see further than their noses; they cannot turn a blind eye to some events - mass exterminations taking shelter behind the defence of "people's rights", "the fight against imperialism", "cultural right".

The convincing language on racism is that: "racism is always the act of the Western white" and applies always to victims who are not white or Western. Unfortunately, this is not always true. Europe has also been the ground of racism and Michel Winock defines it as nationalism. Yet it can be qualified as nationalistic racism. He suggests two sorts of nationalism: an "open" nationalism which belongs to nations which believe themselves to be pierced by the "mission civilisatrice" and a "closed" nationalism which reflects the "France aux Français" (France for French people - Michel Winock-1982).

Professor Nigel Grant is also right to point out the fact that "mission civilisatrice" was also directed at the Bretons, Basques and Occitans, and to assert that this "Cultural arrogance, deplorable though it may be, is not necessarily racist"(19). However, it is relevant to draw a distinction from this point. While the idea of the "mission civilisatrice" in France was to reduce the French nation to uniformity, its policy was not, perhaps, based on race but rather on culture. Hence the imposition of the "French" culture and language over these people attached in itself an idea of superiority to the dominant characteristics of the "French". In consequence, this can be qualified as racism but also aimed at culture because the Bretons, the Occitans and the Basques were to submit to a culture, education and language which were

totally different from their own. In Spain, Catalans and Basque received similar treatment during the reign of General Franco, as did the Scots by England.

As for nationalism, it is essential to emphasise that its ideology was to denounce the agents of evils which always come from outside - Jews, Italians, Portuguese, Irish - and ardently endeavour to go back to national origins as a unique solution for salvation. Yet the Jews encountered anti-semitic phases. This occurred on occasion when Christianity was losing ground in Europe and when new ideas questioned Roman dogma. As a result many Catholic authors felt obliged to denounce the Jews of being the origin of diverse dangers as well as conspiracies. The advent of the Third Republic in France also generated new pretexts for anti-semitic literature. At the same time, the "La Civiltà Cattolica" of the Jesuits laid on the Jews all the crimes of the earth while in France, Jules Ferry's scholastic policy was judged as a Jewish-Masonic plot. They also had to face the economic anti-semitism which suggested that honest, hard-working France, had fallen after the French Revolution into oppression by the Jews. Having been confined within ghettos, the Jewish usurers, by emancipation, had seized the State financial apparatus. The capitalist Jews were opposed to those who were working towards the country well being.

It is clear that it is not only the political institutions themselves which can find a remedy by taking control of the crisis in which they sink. Also, it is not only by criticizing overtly the media that people can exercise a strong pressure on the way they function and their amplified effects on the political crisis. However, people are not condemned to passivity or to despair but exaggeration will be a mistake. There can be some actions taken and some fields be explored.

f.2. Unity is strength

"Nous nous mobilisons, manifestons dans les rues, réagissons du mieux que nous le pouvons, avec le concours des jeunes et des vieux militants. Nous nous efforçons de transmettre une tradition antiraciste et démocratique avec les moyens dont nous disposons. Mais quand donc viendra le moment où les partis traditionnels prendront le relais de notre

combat?" Asks, with a bit of discouragement Ms Kris Van Gysel* (20)

The black - African, Asian, Chinese - and Jewish populations are the most directly targeted as they are often easily identified by their physical appearance. It will be absurd and unfair to ask them to fail to observe, or even to accept to be submitted to other principles. Yet, they are encouraged to agree to act according to universal values and resist forces which, within their community, will encourage fundamentalism.

Communities seem not to be concerned with dangers which do not affect themselves directly. As Wieviorka points out:

"Un premier ensemble concerne les populations les plus directement menacées, juives, arabes, musulmanes. Celles-ci, on l'a dit, tendent souvent à se définir par leur identité, à se constituer en communautés plus ou moins solidaires... Mais il est urgent de plaider pour qu'en permanence elles acceptent de penser leur action en des termes qui articulent leur spécificité à de valeurs universelles, et qu'elles résistent aux forces qui, en leur sein, poussent vers l'intégrisme ou le simple enfermement dans le particularisme."** (21)

For example, after Carpentras, Arab - Muslim or non Muslim - and black communities felt less concerned by the vogue of anti-semitism. On the other hand, the Jewish community would not mobilise in a body against the murderer of a Black or an Arab, while the black community would not react strongly against the deportation of an Asian (or the other way round). Another striking fact, sex discrimination or the sexual abuse of women seems to escape the world struggle network and to be totally ignored.

Nevertheless, it will be genuine to plead for anti-racist pressures or actions against racist and discriminatory matters. Everyone - individuals and communities - must be on the defence, not only for individuals but for the population as a whole. With great vigilance, they are expected to display solidarity with the others who are the

* we mobilize, demonstrate in the street, react the best we can, with the assistance of young people and the old militants. We endeavour to hand down an anti-racist and democratic tradition with the means which we have. But when will come the time when traditional parties will take over our struggle?

** "A first matter concerns the most targeted people - Jews, Arabs, Muslims. These, as we said, tend to define themselves by their identity, to group themselves into communities showing more or less solidarity... But it is urgent to demand that they permanently agree to plan their actions in clear terms which link their specificity to universal values, and that they resist forces which, within their community, lead to fundamentalism or the simple withdrawal into particularism."

direct target of racism and discrimination. Women's groups - national and international - can also expect to be supported constantly and vigorously by all members of the community widely, and stand firm by condemning any sex-discrimination acts. One favoured way of encouraging anti-racism can involve anti-racist committees; communities as well as individuals are urged to be involved in campaigns against racism and all form of discrimination - sex-discrimination, xenophobia. It is vital that they organize actions against anti-semitism, anti-black discrimination and anti-sexism, against the use of the "immigrant " as scapegoats for political and economic crises.

They are encouraged to take part in campaigns against the control of immigration and all its consequences: the checking of identity cards of "those who are different in colour and appearance": how to distinguish a black European from an immigrant and from "legal" to "illegal", the humiliating deportation and the difficulty encountered when regrouping the family, or the policy of "encouraging" the return to the country of origin, which regards immigrants as intruders. They are, all together, urged to move forward and look ahead, looking at the past can only be a means of understanding more clearly what and who they are so that they can break down all barriers, move wisely and then build the future.

f.3. A mirage of achievement

For the last two decades, people have been given the impression that women alone are in power: Golda Meir, Indira Gandhi, Margaret Thatcher, Cory Aquino, Benazir Bhutto - to mention only some of the obvious names. These political women have embodied power with feminine authority. Other wellknown personalities have also embellished occasionally the media head-lines which conjure up images of women who have achieved and now belong to the elite. The social mirrors reflect only deformed images because of the making of stars as well as of the illusion caused by the media. Despite these winners, women in society have not moved on - i.e.

"Elle n'a même pas été applaudie une seule fois. Il faut que Mitterrand se dépêche de la virer, sinon on va à la catastrophe aux régionales." Remark made by a French Minister after Mrs Edith Cresson had defined, to the Socialist Members of Parliament, her policy

after her appointment as Prime Minister* (Le Monde-15 Décembre 1993)

Maybe patriarchy is ideologically buried but everyone has to bear in mind that between the death of an ideology and the integration of new attitudes, many decades may pass.

Is Gustave Le Bon, the most pitiless enemy of women's emancipation, outlining today's reality::

" In the most intelligent races, as among the Parisians, there are a large number of women whose brains are closer in size to those of gorillas than to the most developed male brains. This inferiority is so obvious that no one can contest it for a moment; only its degree is worth discussion. All psychologists who have studied the intelligence of women, as well as poets and novelists, recognize today that they represent the most inferior forms of human evolution and that they are closer to children and savages than to an adult civilized man. They excel in fickle-ness, inconstancy, absence of thought and logic, and incapacity to reason, without doubt there exist some distinguished women, very superior to the average man, but they are as exceptionals as the birth of any monstrosity, as for example, for a gorilla with two heads; consequently, we may neglect them entirely" (22)

There is no question of denying that some progress has been made. Whatever the failure in overall terms, the pockets of success cannot be dismissed, even though their significance may seem to be more exceptional and scattered. There are important experiences to be shared and it is important to learn from previous mistakes and draw on the few good practices which have emerged from a world of intellectual open-minded thoughts - a universe with a few enlightened people who, certainly, have been spared archaic traditions. It is indispensable that all - individuals, organizations and communities - overcome together obstacles experienced elsewhere and put an end to the isolation of women within particular fields: Secretarial, Teaching, Nursing, unskilled or semi-skilled sectors....

There are many issues to be considered in such a context; but the debate shall be opened to all in order to break this isolation based on sexism. People are advised to ask themselves how to benefit from the positive images of these capable women within national and international institutions? How to break down the walls of obstacles to permit their access to key posts in large numbers: M.Ps, Senators, Ambassadors, Leaders of political groups, Trade Unions, committees.... From

* She has not even been applauded once. Mr Mitterrand must hasten to get rid of her, unless we are going to run into disaster during the regional election.

close collaboration between individuals, organizations and communities, people are urged to stand firm by challenging all barriers - overt and covert - set against the progress of women. Everyone has to be aware that if some rules are anti-sex-discrimination, many attitudes still stand.

"Les gouvernements devraient améliorer l'éducation des filles dans le cadre de leurs plans de développement national, en donnant la priorité aux objectifs concernant la qualité, l'égalité et l'administration des services éducatifs." Ouagadougou declaration on girls education.* (23)

Hence, schools can play a crucial function in the orientation of pupils and stop concentrating girls into restricted disciplines - office work, the health services or the clothing industry, while boys benefit from a diverse range of disciplines - building, industry, engineering, drawing.... On the other hand, state institutions have the obligation to put an end to covert or overt sexism concerning certain employment considered to be demanding jobs for women's ability and capacity, as well as to the false "equal opportunity" which compares earthenware with pewter tankards. It is important and desirable to establish a parity of panels. Henceforth, women compete with men while panels for interview stay entirely, or in the great majority, male-dominated. Furthermore, women need to be made aware of their importance in the development of society. All development plans, programmes and projects which intend to have an impact on women must be checked to remove any elements that may harm women's interests and, of course, to enforce policies which will allow them equal access to political and community actions at all levels and to ensure that their perspective is taken into account.

In the midst of hunger and poverty in "deprived" countries, the burden of which is mostly borne by women and their children, there is clearly a need for an international awareness which tackles issues by providing a forum for discriminated women to speak to other women as well as to a worldwide audience about issues that are important to them. This has the power to promote and develop awareness in international circles of the problems that women face, and the realisation, that women also possess technical skills comparable to, if not better, than those of their

* Governments should improve girls education within the frame of their plans for national development, by giving priority to objectives on quality, equality and the administration of educational services.

male counterparts.

"Qu'il y ait égalité absolue entre les sexes à l'égard du travail, on ne saurait l'affirmer. La faiblesse de la femme a été exagérée. Aujourd'hui les femmes montent en avion et volent quarante heures sans descendre, nombre de femmes nagent très bien, font de la course, de la bicyclette, de l'automobile, etc. Les sports et la culture physique ont fait que la fille n'est plus cette fleur délicate que la moindre fatigue faisait faner. Il n'est plus bon du tout, pour une jeune fille, de s'évanouir à la moindre émotion." Pelletier Madeleine* (24)

The often insurmountable problems they encounter arise from the weight of society's prejudice against women. Therefore, interest will be taken in skills development on the basis of talent, not following the traditional distinction between "female jobs" and "male jobs". Furthermore, women with few resources and ever fewer opportunities to increase their social status, can expect to be given equal access to financial support, to credit, technical advice and other inputs. In small scale industry, they shall be encouraged to organize into cooperatives and helped to improve their productivity, quality and marketing.

Thus it is time for everyone to get rid of the deep-seated belief that the role of women in society is, in general, to keep house and rear children; that they look after their children instead of coming home worrying about their careers. In addition, mothers shall be made aware and conscious of the changing roles of women and the mother-daughter relationship to break the never-ending traditional model, preparing their daughters for their maternal role. The anti-sexism legislation must not dichotomize the struggle of man and woman. Its concept admits a real partnership, because her struggle coincides with those of the working class and black people to engage in critical thinking and the quest for mutual support. A joint effort requires to be imbued with a profound trust in partnership and in its creative power:

"La lutte des sexes doit disparaître comme toutes les autres. Les groupes humains se sont entredéchirés depuis l'origine de l'humanité; chaque groupe voulait se réserver le bien-être et en priver les autres. Lutte des peuples, luttes des classes." Pelletier, Madeleine* (25)

* between the sexes in work, we would never affirm that there was absolute equality. Women's weakness has been exaggerated. Today, women get into an aircraft and fly forty hours without stopping, many women are very good swimmers, go running, cycling, drive a car, etc. Sports and physical culture have ensured that a girl is no longer a delicate flower, whom the least fatigue exhausts. It is no longer good taste for a young girl to faint at the slightest emotion.

* The sex struggle must disappear like the others. The human groups have torn each other to pieces since the beginning of the humanity; each group wanted to preserve its own well-being and deprive others.

f.4. The implication of the world of Science

Everyone has to be aware that any nation which closes its door to new ideas, locks itself into a more or less imaginary tradition. This may be seen as an admission of its incapacity to adapt itself to a changing world. With regard to all professions - the Media, education, politics and science - which with their ideas and attitudes, weigh in one way or another, on the spreading of racism or all forms of discrimination, questions shall be asked: How shall they treat racism and all forms of discrimination?

"...on peut raisonnablement se demander pourquoi les théoriciens de l'hérédité s'accrochent si obstinément à un corps de recherche aussi inutile. La réponse, je crois, se situe dans une perspective historique et sociale. La morale à tirer de l'attristant épisode de Cyril Burt n'est pas que le carriérisme risque d'entraîner les scientifiques dans un faux pas, mais que la recherche elle-même constituait dès le départ une tentative de modeler une politique sociale en fonction de certaines lignes bien définies."** L. Kamin (26)

Criticism is often too easy. When issues are diverse they require reflection by "experts", individuals and communities. They are encouraged to start analysis followed by debates at which other professionals, organizations and individuals shall be invited to participate. Regular and open debates for national and international purposes will be a very remarkable way of exchanging ideas with "experts", future colleagues, anti-racist committees and "ordinary" people. These debates are expected to pledge their preoccupation with adapting in a positive way the practice of their own field, instead of seeking to have a greater impact in the political sphere or gaining a heavy media coverage.

The development of science was, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, characterized by the determination to make research outcomes objective, in short it measured the parameter and then arranged items in classes. Everyone has to be aware that, in earlier times, racism was based on exterior aspects: skin colour, type of hair, etc, and the development of science has lead to "scientific" racism; cranio-

** It is reasonable to ask why hereditarian theorists cling so stubbornly to so pointless a body of research. The answer, I believe, requires some sense of historical and social perspective. The moral to be derived from the unfortunate Cyril Burt episode is not that careerism sometimes evokes human frailties from scientists. The data put together by Burt represented from the outset an effort to shape social policy along particular lines.

metry (differences in Races, sex and social classes), the Intelligence Quotient known as the famous I.Q and the last discovery: sociobiology (elaborated from genetics which defines injustice and exploitation as natural phenomenon).

Because "scientific" racism is the means of selecting those who merit protection, in contrast to those for whom social aid would be useless, and to perpetuate segregation, it is never sufficient to simply denounce or to simply adopt "scientific" forms to counter-balance the influences of "scientific" racism. For example, A. Jacquard states:

"The I.Q has not any biological reality and reflects only certain aspects of the intellectual activity but not the intellect in general." (27)

His definition is vague and insufficiently defined to counter the well-established credibility of the IQ test.

Therefore, what can be done? Everyone needs to realize that scientists are not all racists, even though they do not personally endorse racism, by doing nothing, they appear to back up racism. Everyone has to bear in mind that policies without true understanding of the reality of racism or any form of discrimination are useless and they will lead to complacency and inaction. Consequently, scientists are encouraged to forget their status and establish direct contact with the affected communities - working class, black people and women - as they will not be able to combat racism and all forms of unfair discrimination in isolation but only in fellowship and solidarity.

It is not good just having all scientists acting as anti-racists; they are expected to go out to establish dialogue with and reiterate their firm belief in individuals and communities and, for example, declaring that I.Q tests are just tests which only measure the acquired cultural knowledge, that the statistical models on which they are based were inappropriate, that the great defender of I.Q tests of our modern epoch, Sir Cyril Burt, disgracefully forged his results, as did Arthur Jansen. They also must stress the impact the living conditions of the working class, black populations and women have on educational achievement and on the results of I.Q

tests. According to such circumstances, parents' social status determines the cognitive progress of the child. Thus, J. Lawler (Haghighat, C-1988) states that it is not surprising that children from oppressed backgrounds, stricken poverty and underemployment, automatically receive a mediocre form of education, leading for the greater part, to underachievement.

J. Lawler also points out that another aspect of I.Q tests is often neglected. The components of tests, in reality, draw their sources from the bourgeois' moral concepts which disadvantage the working class.

"Ce qui est le plus contestable dans les tests de Q.I, ce n'est pas leur nature totalement arbitraire et subjective, mais leur prétention à évaluer la classe ouvrière selon des critères appartenant à l'idéologie des classes moyennes"* (28)

To go further, as M. Tort (Haghighat, C-1988) points out:

"Ce n'est pas en traitant le test et le Q.I comme un instrument de lutte idéologique de la bourgeoisie, comme une arme de class qu'on peut enfin expliquer complètement toutes ses anomalies apparentes et leur rendement idéologique"*** (29)

According to this evidence, professionals with the fundamental objective of fighting alongside the populations, individuals and organizations, ask what they expect from the professionals in order to help communities to overcome their difficulties. They agree to work with communities and assist them in organizing improvements for a better social and educational environment with a view to getting a better social life and offering a greater chance for achievement.

With regards to other issues, experience has often proved that when people mobilize themselves en masse and, above all, establish or reestablish communication and negotiation, the situation gets better, while a conflict itself deteriorates when contact is not established or the break up of talks is not opposed and non-communication is more or less favoured. Educationalists, scientists, politicians, associated responsible groups with the support of individuals and communities, shall always seek debate,

* What is more debatable with I.Q tests is not their totally arbitrary and subjective nature, but their pretension to evaluate the working class according to criteria belonging to the ideology of the middle classes.

** It is not by treating the test and the I.Q as a means for ideological battle of the bourgeoisie, as a class weapon which will, at last, clarify entirely all apparent anomalies and their ideological output.

instead of break up, and refuse to replace crisis with conflict, negotiation with the adoption of extreme actions, while a group of people with good will is sufficient to change the balance one way rather than the other.

Last but by no means least, the final point refers to the fundamental issues of federation, organization, stimulation on the rise of populist and racist ideologies - the National Front, the British National Party or National Front. Without them, racism and all forms of discrimination are scattered, without unity and incapable of elaborate ideological and strategical organisation. But with racist political groups, everything changes because they do not only offer racism, but also provide other significant interpretations, and become concepts of racism which may have nothing to do with them; i.e socio-economic crisis. But their populism makes them the operator of the rise of anti-semitism, racial hatred and the bringing up for discussion the little political and economical experience acquired by women and black communities.

"L'importance et l'influence de Le Pen sont énormes en Belgique, le processus de contamination y est évident! Il faut d'urgence instaurer un véritable débat politique, car son absence autorise tous les mensonges et les pires excès!" Ms Sabine Missitrano* (30)

Consequently, the matter which merits debate, despite the reticence of some political groups, is, shall these racist groups be banned? According to the media, Parliament and even organizations combating racism - e.g. S.O.S Racism - qualify these racist leaders as political leaders like others within the political society. Le Pen is nowadays so popular that they believe it is too late to remove him from the political scene. They have become legitimate even if they represent a threat to society, even worse to the children. Nevertheless, racist organizations, give everyone a lot to get worried about. Swastika or not, Le Pen and his like, proclaiming that they are not Nazis nor racist, shall not be enough to persuade everyone that they are democratic.

Hence, passivity must not dominate people's combat; on the contrary, they are

* The significance and the influence of Le Pen are tremendous in Belgium, the contamination process is obvious! We must, as a matter of urgency, initiate a genuine political debate, because its absence authorises lies and the worst excesses.

urged to overcome this passivity which makes them forget the even greater dangers, which lie upon their future if nothing is done about Le Pen and the like. Everyone, intensively, is advocated to organize schemes, with the participation of all populations, individuals and organizations, for the propagation of practices and principles against racism and all forms of discrimination.

"Now, the challenge is upward mobility, and that is why the focus on not only getting in school but producing in school becomes a new kind of challenge ... We must struggle to excel because competition is keener, because doors that once opened are now closing in our faces. It's my judgement we need a massive revolution in our attitude.

But we cannot do it alone ... Many other people must get involved ... we pulled together a group of ministers [and] massive parent involvement. We've begun to mobilize disc jockeys and key athletes and artists and entertainers ... So, in real sense, what we're doing is not operating alone; we're simply using our talent and energy to mobilize involvement to take on a massive problem." Jesse Jackson (31)

It should be suggested that everyone has to encourage mass mobilization at national and international levels to break Le Pen and all racist political groups. People, systematically, are urged to manifest their disagreement not only to protest but with the unambiguous objective of clearly stopping them spreading unchallenged their racist ideologies and political propaganda. In a society permeated by racism, sex-discrimination and inequality, experiences and attitudes to racism and sex-discrimination separate exploited groups - working class, black and women - and ruling classes, and shall give the exploited groups from diverse backgrounds a common cause. It is only possible, however, to gain a good understanding of oppressed people by considering the social and political contexts in which they live. These social contexts are specific to class, sex-discrimination as well as race.

Co-habitation with oppressed communities - immigrants from "deprived" countries, but above all those from the former colonies, and women - creates a crucial goal on ideological grounds, but more concretely within daily life which set various social barriers. Consequently, these social issues engender mistrust, wavering injustice and intrigue which poison the political and economic life, but also the relationships of people from different backgrounds. Unfortunately, society practices the fundamental principle of "divide and rule".

As a response to the international crisis, it is time for everyone who cares about

human rights to adopt a new principle: "United they stand, divided they fall" and for that reason, "ny hevitrany ny maro matakatra lavitra" can be considered as the chief slogan for the success of their battle which can reinforce the belief that only solidarity and collaboration can initiate changes and improvement in human rights. Even if states can do a lot towards success and solidarity, they have to admit that they will not be able to change everything by themselves. Hence, one cannot over-emphasize the importance of the rules of partnerships and joint efforts, frequently explained and justified, or can have an inverse effect.

In the creation of a global awareness, the case for general involvement - including individuals or members of groups and voluntary associations - is persuasive to make education work for human awareness and a more humane existence. Education is a necessary condition for social change, but not sufficient in itself. But while the role of education is not deterministic, it is not minimal either. Education is the main instrument by which the knowledge capital is accumulated by individuals. Knowledge, when used by modest people in making ordinary decisions, transforms them and their world. The effects of education, even rudimentary education, are powerful within the site of control of individual adults, in the informal economy, and within the structure of social and power relationships in the family and the community.

Freire believes that to deny human beings the right to name the world on equal terms with other humans is to dehumanize those people, to undermine their ontological vocation, to rule them out of the process of becoming. Consequently, it would follow that human becoming can be process in which all people have an equal right to their voice. In its everyday sense dialogue implies a genuine exchange of words or ideas between two or more persons who enjoy an equal role in the conversation. Freire asserts that:

"Dialogue is the encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world. Hence, dialogue cannot occur between those who want to name the world and those who do not want this naming - between those who deny other men the right to speak their world and those whose right to speak has been denied them." (32)

Furthermore:

"If it is in speaking their word that men transform the world by naming it, dialogue imposes itself as the way in which men achieve significance as men. Dialogue is thus an existential necessity." (33)

He points out that the process in which human beings simultaneously attain critical consciousness and achieve liberation is precisely one of dialogue. The possibility of becoming more fully human depends upon everyone becoming conscious of his/her own incompleteness, of the unfinished nature of reality, of the various constraints to his/her recognizing this and, upon recognizing it, to entering the active process of making reality and his/her human self. In short, the process of becoming - involving as it does the development of global awareness - cannot, however take place in isolation.

Consequently, giving an individual or social group access to education means giving them the possibility of political expression and the basic instruments required for their participation in decisions affecting their existence and their future. Education is an essential pre-condition for the effective exercise of most of the rights proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The challenge of all forms of unfair discrimination can only be met by concerted action on the part of all those concerned assembling their forces and acting together to seek to conquer ignorance, eliminate all forms of unfair discrimination and poverty, promote equal opportunity and assert the solidarity and interdependence of nations and peoples.

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(30) Ms Sabine Missitrano is Persidente of the "Ligue des Droits de l'Homme" (Human Rights League) in Belgium. Le Monde Diplomatique. Manière de Voir 20, Novembre 1993

(31) Jackson, J. interviewed on C.B.S. Television Program - Sixty Minutes on 4 December 1977. Quoted in House, E.R. (1986); "New Directions in Educational Evaluation", London: Falmer Press, p. 158.

(32) Freire, Paulo (1985): "Pedagogy of the Oppressed", Translated by Myra Bergman Ramos, London: Penguin, p.61.

(33) Ibid.p. 61.

CHAPTER VI. The role of an International Curriculum

It is worth noting that Gramsci's claim in the Notebooks was that all of society had to be understood as a vast "school" and acted upon from that point of view:

"The educational relationship should not be restricted to the field of the strictly "scholastic" relationships by means of which the new generation comes into contact with the old and absorbs its experiences and its historically necessary values and "matures" and develops a personality of its own which is historically and culturally superior. This form of relationship exists throughout society as a whole and for every individual relative to other individuals. It exists between intellectual and non-intellectual sections of the population, between the rulers and the ruled, élites and their followers, leaders [dirigenti] and led, the vanguard and the body of the army. Every relationship of "hegemony" is necessarily an educational relationship and occurs not only within a nation, between the various forces of which the nation is composed, but in the international and world-wide field, between complexes of national and continental civilisations." (1)

His definition of education goes beyond the institutional context of the school and gives education a general sociological relevance. It seems that by conceiving all societies as schools is that everyone would become notified to the various contexts in which legitimation processes occur, and conversely, in which alternative political perspectives can be prepared. In short, schools come to be seen as the way in which intellectuals are produced at each level within the social structure. It is also worth indicating that Gramsci's view of intellectuals was not elitist in the capitalist sense, whereby intellectuals are "cut-off" from the masses, and are perceived to be in residence in "ivory towers". He asserted that:

"... all men are intellectuals, one could therefore say: but not all men have in society the function of intellectuals." (2)

Furthermore:

"Each man, finally, outside of his professional activity, carries on some form of intellectual activity, that is, he is a "philosopher", a conscious line of moral conduct, and therefore contributes to sustain a conception of the world or to modify it, that is, to bring into being new modes of thought." (3)

He believed that the new type of organic intellectual should maintain a dialectal relationship with the masses, and should not become cut-off from them if theory and practice are to remain united. Gramsci considered that this sort of leadership should be based on active consent rather than on constraint, not least because hegemony implies the existence of a measure of consensus.

In chapter one, it was argued that the introduction of an international curriculum means the realization of an anti-racist and anti-sexist policy within the educational system in a global context. A means which intends to make pupils aware of the disadvantaged, discriminated against and exploited men and women living in poverty. It has an important role in combating all forms of unfair discrimination at the political and structural level. At the political level, education has the potential to become the means for the disadvantaged, discriminated against and exploited people to organize themselves to fight for their rights, and to ensure that the various facilities which are legislated and earmarked for them actually reach them. In most countries, there is a structural dualism in which all power - political, economical and cultural - is concentrated in a minority which opposes and uses a dispossessed, assetless majority. In the formal economies, education has become a "*sine qua non*". Without education it is not possible to enter the formal economy or to retain an employment if already obtained. Education has the power to release people from the burden of inferiority, and help them to acquire new social definitions as education can empower both in the psychological and the social sense, and be absolutely essential for the understanding and practice of human rights.

Hence, schools are the main instrument for the transmission of values which govern attitudes and the behaviour of human beings, in other words, they are the mirror of the outside world - political and socio-economic. Yet, if the opportunity of learning is not equal for everyone, either depending on the living condition of individuals, or on the functioning of the school system aiming at perpetuating class division within the society, it will become evident that the educational system manifestly contradicts its principles of being a liberating force and a means of increasing social mobility. Consequently, as an historical instrument, schools can not be isolated from the political climate; are strongly related to the socio-economic situation and are inseparable from the current world capitalist policy.

Schools have also the potential to transmit and inculcate the practices and the way of living of each population within any nation and in the world. Also, they can no longer act towards individuals, as a means to the material division leading to the

two poles of society, intellectual or manual, dominant or dominated, according to the needs of the world of production. Education must put an end to the dual society and world which maintains two distinct systems, that of workers with qualification and those without.

Education is an interrogation on all the issues of our epoch. Only a strong education system can efficiently face all forms of unfair discrimination and exclusion, while favouring the achievement and inclusion of peoples under the threat of marginalization, most of whom are children from the working class and black community. This move, necessary for the strengthening of schools, can be associated with an attempt to clarify on how education systems can and require to influence national and international knowledge, understanding and achievement. If schools can, en masse, inspire achievement and unity, it is naive to assume that an International Curriculum will be able to identify and eliminate all forms of prejudice and forms of unfair discrimination on its own.

Hence, it is time, in Europe as in "deprived" countries, to begin to assert positively that it is the duty of governments to give the young generation food for thought on ethical matters and to instruct them on the values and principles of their society and the world. An end has to be put to the aberrant contrast between what appears to be happening in the curriculum and what is happening in terms of the state and its asserted anti-discrimination policies.

European education policy has been put into effect in Europe, where the desire for a "common economic and cultural home" has taken place, where the will to achieve European understanding is becoming ever firmer. This shall by no means be restricted to the European Community, but wherever the possibility arises, in any part of the world; where education and educational systems are concerned, the opportunity has to be seized to assert explicitly the ethical principles embodied in the international curriculum relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms.

A. Definition of an International curriculum

The need here is perhaps to clarify the meaning of International Curriculum. The urge for change does not only strike in the state institutions which harbour covert and overt racism, but also in the education systems. An international curriculum, anti-racist, anti-sexist and a basic step in the building up of the individual personality, has, as its first goal, to uproot classism, sexism, racism and other forms of unfair discrimination. It has to carry all the weight of equal opportunities and possibilities to all children in order to foster their educational capacities.

Hence, the international curriculum function is to enable every member of a community to grow up to see his/her own culture and values recognized and co-existing with the others in society. This curriculum is not a first aid measure or a gesture offered to accommodate the sensitivities of the working class as well as the black community. It is a response to and a reflection of cultural diversity; it attempts to highlight the historical links and achievements of diverse communities, in order to promote harmonious relationships among the various cultural groups and encourage the development of international knowledge and understanding. Children from different backgrounds today in the schools and tomorrow in society, have to live together; consequently an international curriculum has an aim to reduce the gap between these different groups.

The international curriculum can give pupils, with purpose and vigour, a stimulating and well organized learning environment which is responsive to individuals needs. It could be suggested that its main function is to establish and strengthen an anti-racist education and cultivate a good relationship with the family and the community. All this has to involve the active rejection of all racist attitudes, sex-discrimination and any kind of unfair discrimination - overt and/or covert.

An international curriculum has the power to reaffirm strongly its position of being opposed to any forms of racism and unfair discriminations, and can use all its influence to provide means and materials which reflect the reality of a multiracial

and multicultural universe. It is expected to give pupils - regardless of background, sex, race or religion - equal educational opportunity and recognize the right of individuals and groups to mutual awareness of and respect for their culture.

"If segregation of the sexes or races prevails, if authoritarianism and hierarchy dominate the system, the child cannot help but learn that power and status are the dominant factors in human relationships. If, on the other hand, the school system is democratic, if the teacher and child are each respected units, the lessons of respect for the person will easily register. As in society at large, the structure of the pedagogical system will blanket, and may negate, the specific intercultural lessons taught." G. W Allport (4)

The term "International Curriculum" may, therefore, introduce a broad range of diversity within a society; Languages, Geography, History, Modern Studies, class and gender, the history of religions which are relevant to the process of education. Furthermore, education for a multiracial universe is seen as education providing children with the means of understanding all the elements in the society in which they are growing up, as well as all the indispensable information concerning the world which surrounds them.

Nonetheless, the anti-racist frame and awareness are all the more important since they have highlighted the harsh realities of the working class, discriminated communities and women. It has also highlighted their experience of racism and prejudices as individuals as well as at an institutional level through government, party ideology and the machinery of institutions. Anti-racism and anti-sexism are the key elements in the struggle; therefore, to be effective, they must have a strong and systematic strategy defined to fight against personal and institutional racism. An International Curriculum will attempt to offer a wide range of strategies and approaches and will emphasize that its central point is always to combat racial prejudices and sex discrimination.

The objective of an International Curriculum will allow, beyond the differences, the sharing of common values; will not deny diversity, or refuse to cloister an individual within the supposed interpretations of his/her background. Meanwhile, differences need to reflect diverse individual experiences. In consequence, the international curriculum has the potential to reach many components which have a lot of

power in the educational systems' sphere: curriculum, teachers, head-teachers, policy-makers, parents, pupils and communities. They are all bricks in a building and they are very important. To achieve its goals, the international curriculum is urged to become anti-racist, anti-sexist and anti-all forms of unfair discrimination, to dismantle institutionalized and non-institutionalized racism and oppose all forms of prejudice and unfair discrimination.

B. Understanding culture

"A major assumption we are making is that the curriculum for all pupils should include informed discussion on the multicultural nature of British society, whether or not the individual school is culturally mixed. It is essential that the development of competence in spoken and written standard English is sensitive to the knowledge of other languages children might have... The large number of bilingual and biliterate children in the community should be seen as an enormous resource which ought to become more, not less, important to the British economy in the next few years." DES 1988c (5)

As for Paulo Freire, he believes that:

"Cultural action is always a systematic and deliberate form of action which operates upon the social structure, either with the objective of preserving that structure or of transforming it. As a form of deliberate and systematic action, all cultural action has its theory which determines its ends and thereby (consciously or unconsciously) or it serves the liberation of men. As these dialectically opposed types of cultural action operate in and upon the social structure, they create dialectical relations of permanence and change" (6)

The term culture appears to refer to a wide range of activities: racism justified by the superiority of a certain race and culture; sexism because of the "inferiority" of women's intellect, segregation and subjugation generated by the obsession of inter-breeding between the "elite" culture and the culturally weak. However, it contains national or ethnic minority values, claims rights for some or for all or denies rights for certain others, and also tends to include all knowledge, language, beliefs, morals, laws and customs from the elite to the disadvantaged.

On the one hand, culture, broadly defined, is invoked as an explanation of present problems rather than solutions, and more issues rather than achievements. On the other hand, it also defines the whole programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one human group from another.

Yet, an international curriculum is concerned with the cultures of learning which

represent the knowledge and learning relative to society and the world as a whole and strategies which pupils will have to exercise and share among the members of the whole social group to which they belong as well as with the members of the whole social group in which they live. The learning will comprise the community and school cultures because the learning gap between both bases has to be bridged. When pupils face cultures radically different from their own, the language and concepts on display are so unfamiliar that both teachers and pupils experience difficulty in establishing rapport with each other.

The learning gap cannot easily be bridged. The community culture of pupils can change constantly. Hence, the effective teachers' role is to have greater understanding of the community culture and to introduce elements of the class culture he/she will seek to share with pupils in a way which can connect with experiences previously encountered by the pupils. Effective learning involves the achievement of a succession of active equilibria between pupils and teachers. If the gap between the community and the school cultures is too wide then the learning equilibria will not be gained, and learning will become less and less effective.

Learning implies that there is something to be learned, whether an historical fact, a scientific principle, arts, literature, a proverb, a farming practice.... Teachers cannot underestimate the functional knowledge which pupils bring to formal schooling; they need to be aware that parents may value the knowledge which schooling instructs, but may also appreciate seeing school cultures closely linked with community cultures.

In consequence, teachers have the duty to coordinate and follow-up regularly both cultures with the cooperation of the pupils and the parents - learning the ritual behaviour by which members identify each other, the method of counting and measurement, the learning of phrases of respect and the greeting for elders, the learning of folk-tales, proverbs, poems, painting and pottery, the seasonal cycles of dryness and rain, the time for planting and the time for harvesting or the progression

of sacred festivals. These and even more shall serve to remind teachers of the knowledge and skills which children have attained when they enter schools, and which continue to develop alongside the development of knowledge and skills in schools. Everyone will welcome such cultures within school as they can enrich the cultural awareness and understanding of teachers and pupils as a whole.

"The educational theorists for the most part have stayed cosily in their rich countries without risking their theories in the rough and tumble of the poor ones..." C.E. Beeby (7)

Consequently, if effective learning is to take place, then those who bear the responsibility for instructing must learn from the pupils and from the community. They do not deprecate the cultural knowledge of pupils and do not train them to respond to their own values, standards and their goals. In their enthusiasm, they do not mould pupils to their patterns and principles; they do not suggest subtly that the ultimate seat of knowledge lies not with the pupils, but with them; this does not draw the thematic content of their teaching from their own values and ideals or impose their culture on the pupils who will be assigned the role of spectators, or of "recipients".

In return, the pupils do not come to see their reality with the outlook of the teachers rather than their own, do not consider that it is necessary to leave behind their cultural environment of the home, of the community and the peer group and to assimilate those of the schools and the dominant culture. The process of transmission can not exclude the group of students, whose culture is either unrecognised or undermined. Hence, the teacher-pupil relationship in the school shall not serve the ends of domination and the preservation of subordination.

b.1. Understanding pluralism

As education has an important role to play in the process of the development of children - intellectually, affectively, psychologically, socially and morally - the educational strategy has to commit itself to the analysis of the mechanism for stereotypes and prejudices. It has the responsibility to examine and reveal where discriminatory concepts - racial and sex discrimination - come from, and how they become conveyed into the curriculum. For this reason, an international curriculum

shall reflect the reality which has the potential to help develop pupils' awareness and understanding to remove the conflicts which may arise from individuals performing within the norms of the home and the community on the one hand, and of the school and the world interdependence on the other hand. The goals of the curriculum must not lead to the marginalisation of any particular knowledge - Afro-centric or Islamo-centric knowledge in order to counteract Eurocentrism (Jadish Gundara-1994). Furthermore, E. Said states:

"The whole effort to deconsecrate Eurocentrism cannot be interpreted, least of all by those who participate in the enterprise, as an effort to supplant Eurocentrism with, for instance, Afro-centric or Islamocentric approaches. On its own, ethnic particularity does not provide for intellectual process - quite the contrary." (8)

A statement which Jadish Gundara considers to be correct because:

"separate schools or curricula does not assist in bringing about intercultural understandings. Within complex societies the need to develop cross-cultural negotiations and learnings is an important issue." (9)

For this reason, the education system's aims need to recognise the international curriculum which will provide bilingualism; one of the fundamental means to promote the development of the full potential of the individuals. Advocates of pluralism agree that multilingualism is the norm in most countries and this justifies the needs of a child to be able to speak two - or more - languages, his/her native tongue and the lingua franca. Yet, if the ideal provision is an education which is as comprehensive and as satisfying to members of minorities, the international curriculum needs to encourage the use of native languages - ethnic minority or foreign languages - both as subjects of study and as medium of instruction, but requires the learning of the common national language. This is important because the children, speakers of the lingua franca, will also be able to learn the languages of the other groups.

Pierre Emmanuel, a French philosopher and poet, expressed: "whoever does injury to language also wounds man"(10). He was pointing his finger at the authorities which had acculturated divergent cultural groups into the dominant culture and language. However, these authorities have not only inflicted "injury to language", but people have also witnessed it wherever and whenever any nationality, native or immigrant, has been frustrated in its devotion to its language and cultural knowledge. Everyone

must bear in mind that in a multiracial society, languages do not exist in isolation and it is not part of the authority or education system's function to prevent the cross-breeding of languages. It is, therefore, the task of the education system and open-minded intellectuals to take part in favour of maintaining and promoting advantageous and productive contact of languages and cultures, while simultaneously encouraging the separate languages and the speakers' pride in them.

Malinowski stated:

"The essential freedom of an individual depends on the multiple, diversified and differentiated constitution of society which we find in many cultures... The business of life is carried on by a number of institutions (constituting different cultures). The greater the autonomy within each of them the more opportunities there are for an individual to choose his adherence." (11)

He believed that the cultures of the separate nationalities would flourish best in interaction and interrelation. In short, the cultures of different groups may develop in a close interdependence milieu within a unified system. Hence, pluralism is encouraged to counter the establishment of uniformity and homogeneity. Pluralism, partly institutionalized by means of systems of bilingual and multicultural education - as opposed to monoculture - assures the maintaining of diversity and helps to ensure that this diversity is embodied in a more complete unity. An international curriculum will reflect the links between the images of "deprived" countries and multi-ethnic European ones; will refer to literature from which black literature can be used to question the uncontested cultural assumptions or a literature which can be used to move away from the monotonous role of women. An international curriculum will foster the development of a spirit of enquiry leading to open and critical minds and provide an environment in which learning from communities, as well as from "deprived" countries, will be imperative if everyone really want to seek cultural awareness of universal reality.

C. Partnership

"States, in accordance with their constitutional principles and procedures, as well as all other competent authorities and the entire teaching profession, have a responsibility to see that the educational resources of all countries are used to combat racism, more especially by ensuring that curricula and textbooks include scientific and ethical considerations concerning human unity and diversity and that no invidious distinctions are made with regard to any people; by training teachers to achieve these ends; by making the resources of the educational system available to all groups of the population without racial restric-

tion or discrimination; and by taking appropriate steps to remedy the handicaps from which certain racial or ethnic groups suffer with regard to their level of education and standard of living and in particular to prevent such handicaps from being passed on to children" Article 5/2 (12)

c.1. The associative role of Teacher and Pupils

While both achievement and underachievement are existing alternatives, only the first one is the aim of an international curriculum. Yet, this ambition can be frustrated by injustice, exploitation, racism, sexism and the vigorous elitist policy of the ruling classes. This is affirmed by educational systems which serve their interests, and attempt to adapt pupils to a reality which has to remain unchallenged.

"Au contact de l'immigration, les institutions sont amenées à revoir les models sur lesquels elles avaient échafaudés les rapports sociaux. Faut-il mettre en place des structures spécifiques, destinées à la petite enfance immigrée et risquer la marginalisation, ou penser en terme de politique globale? ..." Antonio Perotti* (13)

Underachievement, which not only weakens working classes, discriminated communities and women still further, but also isolates, creates and deepens rifts among them, denies education and knowledge as a process of inquiry. Ruling classes have also tried to make the masses conform to their objectives; they have manipulated them by making miraculous promises or giving them the impression that they have been helped. In this situation, the greater the educational immaturity of the discriminated people, the more easily they can be manipulated by those who retain intellectual power, as well as by those who do not wish to lose their status and privilege. Achievement is acquired by motivation and support, not by gift. It must be constantly pursued and be the primordial aspiration. Achievement is not an ideal allocated to a few people, nor is it an ideal which becomes symbolical. It is rather the fundamental and indispensable target for the quest for critical capacities and human fulfillment.

Hence, in its first stage, an international curriculum will attempt to change the teacher-student relationship inside and outside school. Its primary task is to substitute the narrative character of teaching because it has to incite pupils to become

* On contact with immigration, institutions are led to review the models on which they have constructed social relationships. Do we have to establish specific structures, designed for the immigrant infancy and risk marginalization, or think in terms of global polity?

conscious and creative with the support of the teacher, to develop their sense of awareness of the way they exist in the world but also to realize by themselves that culture is not static but changes constantly as it adopts and absorbs ideas and influences.

Yet, the elitist system transforms the pupils into recipients because of the competitive pressure which makes pupils memorize mechanically and repeat all the information fed by the teacher. This method has, mostly, affected the working class, black and girl pupils because it has inhibited their creative powers and has concealed certain facts which should have explained the way they exist in the world. It has, directly or indirectly, reinforced this groups' fatalistic perception and the drive for transformation and inquiry has given way to resignation.

Very often, when people think about school they think in terms of transmission of knowledge. But can knowledge be fixed, objective and value free? One also has to ask him/herself: "Which is more important - "what" a teacher teaches or "how" he/she teaches?" What the teachers have to teach is written in the official curriculum, while how the teachers have to teach is not written anywhere, it is a hidden curriculum. The role that a hidden curriculum can play in the international curriculum becomes more important than in a monoculture curriculum, for the simple reason that the different pupils' backgrounds require more attention and commitment. To understand how ethnicity, socio-economic status, sex-discrimination and other aspects of the culture influence and interact with classroom processes shall be the foundation-stone of any teaching strategy.

In consequence, it is relevant to borrow Paulo Freire's definition: "problem-posing education" in which the teacher is no longer the one who feeds with the contents of his/her narration, but one who is him/herself taught in dialogue with the pupils, who in their turn, while being taught, also teach. They become jointly responsible for a process in which all grow.

The method involves two activities: it is "cognitive" at one point and "informative" at another. It is cognitive while preparing a project or engaging in dialogue with the pupils. The teacher does not regard cognizable objects as his/her private property, but as the object of consideration by him/herself and the pupils. In this way, the informing-educator constantly develops his/her reflexion alongside that of the pupils. The pupils, no longer docile receivers become conscious co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher. He/she introduces the materials to the pupils for their consideration, and re-assesses his/her earlier judgements as the pupils express their own.

The role of the teacher is to create, together with the pupils, the conditions under which true knowledge involves a constant exposure to reality and works towards the emergence of critical awareness of reality. As a result, knowledge emerges through creation and reinvention, through a restless, continuing and hopeful inquiry which pupils pursue inside and outside school. Hence, an international curriculum admits the partnership of the pupils with the teachers and their communities - a partnership which is permeated with a profound trust in the pupils and their creative powers.

This partnership stresses that human beings are not abstract, isolated, independent and unattached to the world. It also reaffirms that the world exists as a reality so trustworthy reflexion considers human beings in their relations with the world. Hence, it regards dialogue as indispensable to the act of cognition to unveil reality and to make pupils become wise thinkers. It calls upon creativity, stimulates true reflection and realism, and engages pupils in inquiry and creative transformation.

Henceforth, an international curriculum has the power to engage itself in encouraging pupils to transcend themselves, to move forward and to look ahead. It is for those for whom exclusion and sectarianism represent a fatal threat; for those for whom diversity within unity is fundamental so that human beings, subjected to racism, sexism or all forms of unfair discrimination, fight together for the sake of

human rights; for those for whom looking at the past is a means of understanding more clearly what and who will allow them to move wisely in the development of the future.

c.2. Cooperation

This process of awareness shall be directed towards cooperation and solidarity, as the pursuit of full achievement can be hardly carried out in isolation or individualism. Hence, it is essential that the pupils themselves participate in the process with an increasingly fundamental awareness of their role as part of the co-operative pattern. Interactions in a cooperative group can allow them to challenge the increase in racism, sexism and all forms of unfair discrimination; in a heterogeneous group, different classes, genders and races will be able to work together and can achieve the same aim. In return, they learn solidarity and harmony among different people as equal human beings.

The aim of a cooperative pattern is to call upon older pupils and students to transform them, after the school day, into real tutors for the young pupils - i.e. in short to recruit voluntary pupils or students in order to help the young ones with their homework. Teachers will organize a meeting with the voluntary-tutors to set up a teacher-tutor coordination office and jointly they regularly discuss technical points and pedagogy as well as the following-up of the progress of the pupils.

The voluntary tutors do not give lessons; they help pupils (not more than 2) to improve their educational knowledge from work given by the class teacher and by explaining what they have not understood during the class. They show how to organize their work and stress particular difficulties encountered by the pupil(s) or go back to some basic point of the fundamental subjects. Hence, with regard to the needs of the pupils, they focus on a subject which needs more work or clarify certain areas: eg. reading, writing, the use of a dictionary, or how to face some situations or problems.

Thus, greater contact with books - tales, poetry, novels, newspapers, in and out-

side the school, shall be the priority as the taste and pleasure for texts may develop within the family and the children. This is the basic condition for the acquisition of reading and a lasting companionship with the written language. Reading can be used to engender social awareness, thus voluntary-tutors help the pupils to develop their reading and writing skills. Yet, reading is not only concerned with written literature; voluntary-tutors may use different materials and resources as it will be of great help to familiarize pupils with the knowledge and the use of a great number of writings.

To sum up, their support is to restore the pupils' self-confidence and encourage them to achieve. In some cases, the voluntary-tutors help pupils to prepare their exams. The basic idea is simple: at any age, whatever is his/her background, sex or condition, everyone can learn, can transmit his/her knowledge. This will also lead to the advantage of discovering reciprocity: they receive from educational institutions and give to young pupils, they receive and offer trustworthy support, one step to restore self-confidence in their personal value, an aptitude for relationships, the capacity to learn as they also learn by tutoring.

The *raison d' être* of voluntary-tutors will be in its drive towards cooperation and solidarity. Achievement has to begin with the reconciliation of teachers and pupils and school and university; it has to begin with the reconciliation of different classes, ethnic groups and sexes. No-one can consider him/herself to be the owner of knowledge or to project this knowledge on to those they regard as having no knowledge. Voluntary-tutors shall provide an efficient and total support to others. They shall exploit education and knowledge as a building up of self-confidence and self-awareness.

D. Religious matter

Today, people face a wide range of religious beliefs which now form part of the overall diversity of religious experience all around the world. Because of its explosive nature, religion will always give rise to apparent conflict of intentions. Its lack

of common platform and collaboration makes the inclusion of religion within the curriculum difficult, not to say inconvenient. Before going further, it must be acknowledged that those who are opposed to religious education consider schools as an essential driving force, which equips children with factual information and a range of knowledge and practical skills -i.e

"... L'éducation laïque est antiraciste. Le racisme naît des ségrégations de races, de religions, de civilisations, de milieu réciproque. L'humanité ne progresse pas vers la compréhension mutuelle si ses enfants sont séparés selon leur race, leur culture, leur religion, leur milieu social. L'éducation laïque ne reconnaît pas le pluralisme dans une juxtaposition d'écoles professant leur propre vérité; elle garantit un pluralisme véritable de pensée en rassemblant tous les enfants et en leur enseignant, par la pratique quotidienne, le respect de l' autre. Il n'y a d'autre issue pour vaincre la violence et le racisme..." Comité National d' Action Laïque (CNAL) during its ceremonial statement 31.01.81* (14)

Others stress the need for religious education because its major aspiration is seen as educating children to be first and foremost "Good Christians" - i.e

"... the truths of the Judaic-Christian traditions are infinitely precious, not only as, I believe, because they are true, but also because they provide the moral impulse which alone can lead to that peace, in the true meaning of the world, for which we all long." Mrs Thatcher, text addressed to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (15)

or "Good Muslims". If the dominance of religion over all aspects of life is accepted, it will have profound consequences. It may involve rejecting the autonomy of the academic disciplines. If each denominational school does in fact cater for a particular dogma, then it seems likely that the dangers of social strife will gain more ground.

The international curriculum has strongly emphasized that its major aims is to establish a genuine reflection on human beings in their relations with the world, and to develop their ability and capacity to perceive critically the way they exist in the world in which they find themselves. They shall come to see the world not as a static reality, but as reality in process, in transformation and to gain a greater understanding and appreciation of the diversity of values, systems and life-styles.

*secular education is antiracist. Racism arises from segregation of race, religion and culture and being deprived of an environment of mutual support. Humanity does not progress towards mutual understanding if children are separated according to their race, culture, religion and social background. Laic education does not recognize pluralism within a juxtaposition of schools which maintain their own truth; it guarantees a real pluralism of thoughts by gathering all children and teaching them, through daily practice, respect for the other. There is not other issue to overcome violence and racism.

An international curriculum has the potential to encourage children to question, to criticize, to investigate, to debate and to be able to make decisions and choices about their future adult lives.

The existing multiracial schools cannot be set up to cater for a particular denominational or racial group. They have, therefore, the responsibility to provide an education which reflects the international curriculum principles, and not to be limited to the perspective of any one group, whether minority or majority. An international curriculum has the power to cement the splits between communities and faiths, to overcome the strong feeling of rejection. It shall also profess as its fundamental aim, the promotion of an educational equality with the first concern to ensure the break down of sectarianism, sex-discrimination and all forms of unfair discrimination.

Since an international curriculum has the concern to reaffirm its opposition to any form of prejudice, sexism and sectarianism. It vigorously maintains that schools have the obligation to educate children to become active citizens, not passive ones governed by some pre-established authority, some principles refuting all changes outside their own universe, or the cult of their own faith. An international curriculum must also promote the ethos of the school by bringing pupils together and creating a feeling of shared identity. Hence, the ethos of the school will be the central feature of the character of the educational experience it provides; it is encouraged to turn to activities which celebrate the values its pupils and staff are expected or are known to share. As a result, it will be inconceivable to consider sectarian schools.

Schools will attempt to generate understanding and awareness not to indoctrinate; in consequence they have the faculty to introduce to children whatever their backgrounds, religions and gender, a common moral and fundamental principle in order to overcome all barriers which, at present, exist between populations, religions and sex in today's society. The capacity of an international curriculum is also to influence critical faculties but not to normalize pupils into a state of submission, and

must always seek out ties which link one problem to another and secure awareness to the reality of the society in which they live.

Some populations regard their religious beliefs as the key element in their cultural identity, and also insist on the instruction of their children only in their own religion. This demand for the instruction of religious beliefs stands out in opposing any authority foreign to their own as if there is only one law, one exact concept of the good life or the good society, a salvation for these groups. They just want to act as the sole authentic interpreter of moral values and the real religious culture.

The approach of an international curriculum to religions shall be, however, not to teach children a religion or to consider school assemblies being mainly and broadly the worship of the majority faith, but rather to teach them the history of religions: the foundation of different religions, each principle, religious interaction with each other, the nature of the belief and the range of belief systems, and shared interests. An international curriculum attempts to involve pupils in an open exploration of the major religious traditions, an examination of the claims of these traditions, and a critical evaluation of the insights they offer into the human condition and the human search for meaning and significance in life.

In consequence, the home and the religious communities foster and instruct the child in their own faith. The function of the school is to assist pupils to understand the nature of each religion and to know something of the diversity of systems of belief, the aspects of their beliefs, their significance for individuals and how they bear on the community.

However, schools may work alongside religious officials in order to organize visits to the places of worship in the range of religious groups. These visits can represent a potentially very helpful "living resource" for the pupils as well as being a great opportunity for religious officials to answer questions and to clarify any outstanding misunderstandings. The collaboration between teachers and religious officials

will have the competence to ensure that efforts towards the elimination of intolerance and/or fanaticism and the development of positive attitudes is complementary and not contradictory.

E. The issue of bilingualism

"Un enfant immigré peut-il être bilingue? Oui, s'il ne ressent pas sa langue d'origine comme une langue dominée. Sinon, il n'apprendra bien ni l'une ni l'autre. C'est dès la maternelle qu'un enseignement bilingue devrait être appliqué. Mais une école fondée sur la langue et la culture unique prônée par Jules Ferry y est-elle préparée?" Dr Robert Berthelie; Psychiatre* (16)

e.1. Native tongue

A common characteristic of discriminated minority groups around the world is that they make use of languages that are different from and dominated by "majority" group languages. It is also a wide-spread phenomenon that ethnic minority languages are major devices for the expression of ethnicity and self-esteem, whereas proficiency in the surrounding majority language is prerequisite for educational achievement and access to the labour market.

"Mais de nos jours, 'le droit à l'éducation' en Français ou en Anglais ne répond plus aux besoins du moment. Il s'agit donc d'amener, grâce à l'alphabétisation fonctionnelle et sélective, l'ensemble d'un pays à un niveau décent pour le conduire à entamer et entretenir un développement durable...

Pour ce faire, tout gouvernement doit assumer de mettre en place des structures très favorables à l'élaboration des méthodes et des recherches pour l'enseignement des langues maternelles sur tout le territoire du pays." Reine Caummaueth** (17)

Yet, the oft-used term "minority" language may not be fully accurate for certain languages and has a negative connotation for all of them. The languages included the old, or established language minorities in Europe, which are on the one hand the indigenous languages that you may find only in one member state - Breton or Welsh..., and also other indigenous languages such as Catalan which can be found in more than one state - Spain and France. These are "stateless" languages. On the

* Can an immigrant child be bilingual? Yes, if he does not perceive his/her language of birth as a dominated language. If not, he/she will not learn either of them properly. It is from the nursery that bilingual teaching should take place. But is a school institution, based on the unique language and culture advocated by Jules Ferry, prepared for it?

To do this, every government has to put in place structures which are extremely favourable for developing methods and research for teaching first language all over the country.

** But nowadays, 'the right to education' either in French or in English does not respond to today's needs. It is a question of bringing, thanks to a functional and selective literacy teaching, the whole country to a decent level in order to allow it to start and keep alive a lasting development...

other hand, transfrontier minority communities such as Danish in Germany and German in Denmark are included. Languages also differ greatly in terms of their status, history, linguistic aspects, size of the population and geographical conditions, thus it is difficult to arrive at a precise definition. In consequence, the oft-used term "minority languages" is not without problems; thus the term "native tongue" will be the term to define this category of languages, or else "first native language".

e.2. Bilingualism, a reality

"I speak English at school, Gujarati on my way home to my friends. I read books at Mosque in Urdu and I learn passages from the Koran in Arabic."

By way of an after thought she added:

"My mum speaks Marathi." Marian, an 11 years old of Muslim background attending a Leicester primary school (18)

Beyond the general reflection, language and culture are endowed with a worthy status, in conformity with international languages. All nations have the obligation to stop the repression of languages which they believe to be of inferior status and contribute to raise them to their proper status.

It becomes more and more difficult to deny that there are two languages and two cultures, sometimes even more, in a large number of nations. Hence, the question for educationalists, policy makers, teachers, parents and pupils in the defence of native tongues: What curriculum shall be enforced by the active agents defending native tongues? This question has to go beyond the industrialized countries. It has also to be put forward to the authorities and governments of "deprived" countries and to all minorities and discriminated peoples interested in their survival within their own environment, to have access to the knowledge of one or two languages which would allow them to fully participate in the world culture.

The promotion of bilingualism is a stimulating act and also represents the future, a future which may ease the approach of the end of the twentieth century and allow discriminated peoples to conceive the future with full confidence and serenity. To achieve this, each nation and each government have the responsibility to cease dis-

regarding the legitimate right of minority or discriminated groups' claim for the maintenance of their culture and language within any nation. They have also the responsibility to open themselves to multilingualism and multiculturalism.

These languages, nowadays, exist and face common preoccupations and difficulties even if they require diverse attentions. All languages are entitled to benefit from the same rights widely and deserve as much as attention. Everyone has to recognise that the universe is multilingual, a multilingualism which everyone can benefit from. Hence, all nations have the responsibility to cooperate for the survival and the development of bilingualism if not multilingualism.

All educational systems are expected to emphasize the fundamental theme that all languages are equal and share the same right with dominant languages. Bilingualism, if not multilingualism, can be shared in all regions and countries to preserve all languages which governments and authorities from various countries have tried to suppress. So long as state monolingualism remains the predominant policy of nations, the universe risks a reduction in various means of communication.

Nations can no longer maintain an attitude of indifference and antipathy to native tongue provision for the children whose first language is not the dominant language. The basic objective is that each child has the possibility to develop his/her competence in communicating in his/her native tongue in order to maintain links with his/her family, siblings, community, culture and even the country of origin. Schools will be a place where the child are welcome and feel secure, where learning becomes a constructive experience, and where teachers are supportive and expect the child to succeed. It is natural that children in bilingual communities have the opportunity to be educated in two languages: the language of the home and the dominant language. Schools must not create a cultural clash in the child between the values, attitudes and lifestyle of the dominant group and those of the home community. In short, he/she must not be divorced from the native language and culture, especially when he/she enters schools. Schools has the obligation to develop and maintain the child's

cultural heritage as he/she is introduced to the dominant culture, and help the child become functionally bilingual in the two languages. They have the power to provide a linguistic and cultural continuity between the prejudiced and the dominant group and to prepare the child in a multilingual and multicultural society.

Native language teaching is a requirement for a healthy development of the child's personality and the development of a positive self-image. If schools do not provide any language of the discriminated peoples, the school becomes for these people and their children a place where neither their language nor culture exists, possibly where they are not even accepted, a place where their social identity is questioned and undermined. The self-image of the discriminated children is harmed if, in the school, literacy in their language is not recognized and developed.

e.3. Bilingual education

"Rather than cultural conflicts we find well-adjusted young people with broad perspectives who are comfortable in the role of representing both of their cultural backgrounds. we also have here an illustration of the additive form of biculturalism; the boys studied were caught in the flow of two cultural streams and were apparently happy to be part of both streams." Lambert (19)

Hence, if any society wants to preserve native languages, give equal status to all languages and cultures in each country, revive a language and teach the dominant language efficiently to make the future citizens bilingual and bicultural, it will often have to develop educational programmes that employ two languages and are based on two cultures. These programmes shall fall under the label of bilingual education.

Whatever the factors that lead to childhood bilingualism, social or personal, planned or not - most observers agree that children have great facility in becoming bilingual or even multilingual. Schools face basically three possible different types of educational policies which, of course, will have three possible outcomes of the prolonged contact with discriminated groups.

i. Submersion model

Its aim is assimilation. Prejudiced children are put into dominant language classes

(with or without some additional teaching of the second language) - this is an assimilative policy led by France and the United Kingdom. Children are placed in normal class without any consideration for their native tongue and culture. As a result, the dominant language gradually undermines proficiency in the first. This has also been called subtractive or disruptive bilingualism on the ground that the development of the child's first language has been disrupted and is incomplete.

ii. Immersion model

Its educational aim for a bilingual programme is the enrichment of the dominant children's group. The children are taught through the medium of a second language (the immersion programmes in Canada, specially known as St Lambert Project: English Canadian children to acquire French in a more natural manner). In 1962, Peal and Lambert, studied ten years old pupils in a Montreal school, all sharing similar socio-economic circumstances and home backgrounds. They indicate that:

- 1) bilingual children scored better than monolingual children in verbal and non-verbal intelligence tests,
- 2) they had a greater flexibility of mind and conceptual ability,
- 3) they were better achievers all round in school.

It is an additive bilingualism: the child's native language is intact and develops, even though the child has not had the same amount of instruction as its monolingual peers in dominant language schools. It adds a second language without threatening the first.

Perhaps, the immersion model can be used to enable students to become bilingual, but if they do not benefit from the level of practice equal to the native language, in social and cultural contacts necessary to develop functional competence in the language, it will become difficult for these students to initiate conversation in the language, perhaps even to maintain it while the dominant one progressively takes over. As Macnamara writes concerning Californian bilingual education programmes and the St Lambert Project:

"On looking more closely we find that what most depresses the Californian educators is the lasting difficulties which Chicano students have with English. What has most encouraged the Montreal educators is that the St Lambert children have not harmed their English in learning French. These results are not comparable. The St Lambert children have certainly learned a lot of French..., but they are decidedly inferior to native speaker of French in all aspects of French. What we do not know is how the French of the St Lambert children compared with the English of the Chicanos and the extent to which the differences are due to the programmes." (20)

As long as the dominant language continues to play an important role in the child's life, the native language will lose its importance, and the child will naturally revert to monolingualism.

iii. Maintenance model

For those who blame the native tongue for academic underachievement, Peal and Lambert point out:

"The picture that emerges of the French-English bilingual in Montreal is that of a youngster whose wider experience in two cultures has given him an advantage which a monolingual does not enjoy. Intellectually his experience with two language systems seems to have left him with a mental flexibility, a superiority in concept formation, and a more diversified set of mental abilities, in the sense that the patterns of abilities developed by bilinguals were more heterogeneous. It is not possible to state from the present study whether the more intelligent child became bilingual or whether bilingualism aided his intellectual development, but there is no question about the fact that he is superior intellectually. In contrast, the monolingual appears to have more unitary structure of intelligence which he must use for all types of intellectual tasks." (21)

The children are taught through the medium of their first language with a goal of maintenance and further development of the language and culture in interaction with the dominant language. This type of programmes has also been called a "language shelter". The model tries to develop and maintain the discriminated child's cultural heritage while he/she is introduced to the dominant culture. Thus it aims to help the child to become functionally bilingual in the two languages; It provides a linguistic and cultural continuity between the prejudiced and the dominated group, and prepares the child to live in a multilingual and multicultural society.

Hence, the objectives are set for the schools to retain and reinforce discriminated groups' traditions, culture and arts. In consequence, the method makes prejudiced against both bilingual and bicultural children, members of their own community but also of the dominant group. This is done by accepting both languages and cultures

and by recognizing that one can be bilingual and bicultural without endangering the entity of the society, if not the world.

A pupil's first native language in itself cannot be considered as a problem, but rather social attitudes towards the discriminated languages related to the disadvantaged socio-economic position of the prejudiced groups. In this view, the native language has a value of its own and is as important as the dominant language. Therefore, it cannot only be used as an initial medium of instruction for the prejudiced groups but also, in later classes, the native language shall occupy a more important position in an international curriculum as the dominant language. Because of the fragility of the native language; this will still have to gain public esteem inside and outside school as well as at the international level and will have to be supported strongly and unceasingly.

The model is expected to contribute considerably to maintaining attitudes towards a higher reading and writing proficiency. As regards educational attainment, Mc Laughlin argues that the development of the children's native languages, when given a good grounding in reading and writing before being introduced to a second, will not result in any negative effects. In 1975, the Bullock report also observed that:

"In a linguistically conscious nation in the modern world we should see bilingualism as an asset, as something to be nurtured, and one of the agencies which should nurture it is the school. Certainly the school should adopt a positive attitude to its pupils' bilingualism and wherever possible help maintain and deepen their knowledge of their mother tongues." (22)

In addition, a number of researchers have indicated that language learning does not take place in the bilingual context without acquiring the attitudes of the dominant language. If the native tongue is regarded as inferior in any way, progress will be impeded and resentment will result. Bilingual children when placed in circumstances characterized by strain and conflict, may suffer in attainment in both their native tongue and the dominant language.

Here is what an eminent scholar, himself a Norwegian and English bilingual, had

to say:

"I have been bilingual as far as I can remember, but it was not until I began reading the literature on the subject that I realised what this meant. Without knowing it, I had been exposed to untold dangers of retardation, intellectual impoverishment, schizophrenia, anomie and alienation, most of which I had apparently escaped, if only by a hair's breadth. If my parents knew about these dangers, they firmly dismissed them and made me bilingual willy-nilly. They took the position that I would learn all the English I need from my playmates and my teachers, and that only by learning and using Norwegian in the home could I maintain a fruitful contact with them and their friends and their culture. In the literature I found little mention of this aspect. What I found was a long parade of intelligence tests proving bilinguals to be intellectually and scholastically handicapped... My own happy experience with bilingualism, which enabled me to play roles in two worlds rather than one, was apparently not duplicated by most of those whom the researchers studied." Haugen (23)

e.4. Pedagogical strategy

i. Nursery-Kindergarten

The number of mixed children shall be limited to between fifteen and twenty. Teaching will be conducted by two teachers with both languages (L1 and L2). But L2 shall be progressively introduced to children. At the beginning, children will be permitted to use their native language until they are proficient enough in the L2.

Universal fairy-tales can be introduced in nursery school to help them have contact with the book. The reading of fairy-tale books can incite the fundamental structures of their imagination.

For the last year in nursery school, half of the teaching will be in the native tongue and half in the second language. This can allow the children to obtain a strong foundation for L2 before entering Primary 1.

Both teachers shall show that they understand the children's first language by reacting appropriately.

ii. Primary 1 and 2

The children will live in both languages. Yet, L2 shall benefit from one or two hours extra in order to obtain a balanced proficiency in both languages.

They shall learn to read, write and speak in both languages. They can use books which contain poems, short stories and extracts from bilingual books. They can also be trained to tell fairy-tales, to invent them, to say what they mean and understand what happens during the narration of the fairy-tales.

Each teacher will conduct his/her class alone to create a total proper linguistic context. It is essential to make the pupils conscious of their own ability and capacity concerning their learning of both languages to make them aware of their bilingualism.

Teachers will be language educators. This, of course, does not mean that they become expert in the sense that they command more than two languages, or are able to teach comparative linguistics. Rather, the demands is merely practical; they shall have at their disposal the necessary sensibility and methodological instruments to react adequately to abilities and weakness which will become obvious in the pupils' use of language.

Before the start of any course, both teachers shall be informed of the aims of the programme and shall be encouraged to collaborate and cooperate for their future task. Thus, regularly both teachers coordinate and agree about the work to be carried out. Only the language of instruction shall be spoken in the class.

Arithmetic shall be taught in both languages with the teachers working together to assist the pupils. The arithmetic class is alternatively conducted in each language. It is an alternate day approach and at the beginning of every class, the teacher in charge will have to summarize what has been done the day before to ease the language-switching from one language to another.

Science and sports will be in L1, while history and geography in L2. It has the alternative year approach. No translation is allowed and the language of instruction shall be respected.

iii. Primary 3 - 4 - 5 - 6

The two languages will share the same number of hours. A range of literatures reflecting diverse cultures will be introduced by both languages. Teachers may use poems, short-stories, folk tales and proverbs from different countries and extracts from different sources.

Pupils shall, gradually, be encouraged to write little stories and poetry, or write down folk tales or proverbs narrated by parents to be introduced to the class. Arithmetic follows the alternate day approach.

In the 3rd year teachers shall seek to create greater understanding amongst all their pupils of the range of languages within the school. Introduction of different greetings and apologies can occur in the classroom. Pupils may also be asked to do their own research concerning languages in use within the communities.

Teachers may organize games which will allow pupils to play with their two languages by making rhymes, inventing words, using certain words in appropriate contexts, translating idiomatic expressions or word for word into the other language. These exercises shall make them aware of the division of two separate languages, which may be related or unrelated - related such as Gujarati and Katchi or Punjabi and Miapuri, or unrelated like Urdu and English or French and Swahili; this shall make them realize that languages can be acquired in different ways and the degree of competency in each can vary. This shall also prepare them for the next stage, the language-switching from L1 to L2 (or the way round).

In the 4th, 5th and 6th years, the teachers of L1 and L2 are retained, while the teaching of all subjects are both in L1 and in L2. The classes are conducted by bilingual teachers. They will have to maintain two approaches; they alternatively have, at the beginning the class, to review the lesson in L1 and conduct it in L2 and the following day, the review shall be in L2 and the lesson in L1. In this way, hopefully, no pupils will lose out in concept acquisition as a result of different

language proficiency, when his/her L2 was used as the medium of instruction.

During each class, the language of instruction is respected and no translation is allowed, but a translation session can be introduced progressively to permit language-switching from L1 to L2 and reciprocally.

From Nursery school to the third year, pupils will establish a strong bond which will exist between pupils and each language teacher. In the eyes of pupils, a teacher will be associated with a particular language, so as not to confuse or cause some distress to the pupils. From the moment the pupils are in the process of differentiating between the two languages, but also the home and school language, they will be able to determine which language shall be spoken with whom and to keep that language. If the bond is broken too soon or abruptly, the pupil can be at a loss and become upset. As this phenomenon may continue well beyond the language differentiation stage, the language-switching may take place during the third year and be progressively carried out in the fourth and fifth year. Pupils can strengthen their oral and writing investigations by being encouraged to write a project on the central theme "culture" - family traditions, feasts, literatures, games, cookery, alphabets or languages.... The different cultures will introduce universality and the concept of difference with a view to enriching confrontations and respect for these different cultures.

In the secondary school, the two languages are taught separately and benefit from the same number of hours. The teaching of grammar and syntax will be furthered and both languages will have the potential to deepen the knowledge of world cultures and traditions. Pupils shall be introduced to a wide range of world philosophers, thinkers, writers - their life, their works and their achievements. A literature syllabus centred entirely on world literature has the power to reinforce international attitudes and can thus help to counter and overcome the negative stereotypes of prejudiced groups which lie at the heart of racism.

For the other subjects, except the teaching of foreign language(s), pupils may choose half of the subjects to be taught in L1 and the other conducted in L2. This approach will have to alternate after each academic year. With regards to exams, L1, L2 and foreign language(s) maintain their language of instruction and will be unilingual, while the other subjects will have the possibility of using L1 or L2 but it shall be balanced and exam papers shall be bilingual.

e.5. Policy recommendations.

Policy makers and educationalists have to be aware, in first place, that the educational, social, linguistic, economic and political situations in different countries differ from one nation to another. There can be more differences than similarities between immigrant African children in Europe than Quechua speakers in Peru, or between Shona speaking in Mozambique and Finnish in Sweden. Because of the far reaching changes affecting contemporary society, will it be possible to establish a bilingual education without analysing the social institutions and their components - educational structures; school, education, welfare measures - and diverse ethnic groups or identifying their numbers and territorial concentration.

In any decision, it is desirable to:

- obtain adequate information on the particular population regarding their country, social, cultural, linguistic and historical origins, their experience of emigration, their exact living condition within the "host" country, their needs and their aspirations,
- take a census of the diverse ethnic groups and a large scale investigation of home language use,
- analyse the interaction of several variables at work - communities as groupings within each society, the circumstances of their status but also the variable conditions of their integration into society and the duration of stay,
- anticipate if there can be a home-school mismatch which will have several negative consequences, for example, poor achievement - confusion between the

native language (i.e dialectal Arabic or Kabyle) and the cultural and national language (koranic Arabic), hence the need to specify precisely the difference between the concept of native and national language, or the school language offers more social, cultural, economic or political contact than the home language - with a lack of enthusiasm from parents, or the school language badly spoken by parents,

- identify the manner of acquisition of the two languages: simultaneous or successive. A child who has already acquired two languages in the home before entering school, is regarded as doing so simultaneously, whereas a child who acquires one language in infancy (in the home) and the second language when he enters school, is considered to be doing so successively,

- state the objectives of initial training for teachers which will be clarified according to whether the goal is:

- * training for mother tongue teaching
- * training for teaching of native language as second language
- * training for bilingual education, in curriculum development and teaching methodology.

- In language planning, different channels for learning and maintaining a language beside school and formal education, will be exploited as resources. Oral traditions, folk literature and the mass-media can be used in both formal and non-formal education. The oral tradition, important for inculcating cultural values, needs to be codified and included in literature to preserve these cultural values and further the mutual knowledge and understanding of the various ethnic and/or linguistic groups of nations,

- Ministries of education have the responsibility to encourage the formation of Language Teachers' Associations to deal with professional problems and thus develop the second and foreign language teaching and learning. The teachers' association can be requested to undertake:

- * studies to understand the process that governs the unification and separation of closely related languages,

- * specific studies on bilingualism or multilingualism among disadvantaged people - black or working classes - in rural areas and in economically/socially weaker sections,

- * actions for the improvement of language skills in languages,

- * identification and description of various methods of language teaching and learning practices in different countries,

- * research on effective methods of teaching and production of appropriate teaching material,

- National and international bodies will be requested to arrange for the exchange of specialists in different aspects of language teaching and language planning between North and South countries,

- establish a deeper diagnosis of the language ability and weakness of the child for both L1 and L2,

- coordinate and increase cooperation between all communities and concerned institutions at local, national and international level,

- establish, with particular insistence, a constant and very tight cooperation between industrialized and deprived countries to exchange sociocultural experiences and improve their mutual understanding and relations,

- consider actions and research carried on at international level by educational, inter- or non-governmental organizations, but activities shall also be effected at local and national level by educationalists, teachers, parents, students and communities,

- Over the recent decades, a huge increase in the literature in both first and second language acquisition and teaching of native tongues in different countries - U.K, France, Netherlands, Sweden, former East-block, can be noticed. Unfortunately, much of this literature is only documented in unpublished reports or written in the respective languages. As a consequence, access for an interested audience abroad is

very limited. This trend of inward orientation is expected to be reversed in order to promote crossnational and crosscultural communication and research.

"De nouvelles voies s'ouvrent à la coopération pédagogique internationale. Le discours idéologique s'est aujourd'hui décanté et il n'est plus que quelques esprits rétrogradés pour voir dans le développement des langues nationales une menace contre la francophonie. En revanche, tout ou presque tout reste à faire pour concevoir une véritable complémentarité fonctionnelle entre ces langues et le français - reçu en héritage de la colonisation mais revendiqué souvent comme langue du pays.

C'est sans doute la tâche de la didactique du français langue seconde qui ambitionne de substituer des hypothèses pédagogiques concrètes à des réformes idéologiques toutes faites qui ont trop souvent servi d'alibi aux pratiques les plus traditionnelles." Claude Olivéri*.
(24)

Cooperation and coordination can operate within the cadre of an educational system which takes into consideration the different structures, politics and norms relative to the planning, programming and the procedures of the education system of the concerned country, in order to guarantee a coherent education leading to a beneficial continuity for all children without distinction of origin, background, class or sex. A common means for achievement for bilingual education can be set up.

While, the transitional model is the most frequently applied, at least in the Western world as a result of the strong assimilative pressure of mainstream society, bilingual education will adhere to the maintenance model. Native tongue teaching will help to prevent the forced linguistic and cultural assimilation of immigrants, regional and ethnic minority groups. Cultural pluralism shall be seen as an enrichment of society, if not of the universe, as a whole. Native tongues are often a fundamental part of the discriminated groups' cultural identity and many groups derive their strength from this identity, especially when they are discriminated against in the larger society.

Furthermore, a country can profit from the fact that many languages are spoken in

* New means are open to international educational cooperation. Today, the ideological discourse has become clear and there are few reactionary spirits which see in the development of national languages a threat to the French-speaking communities. On the other hand, there is a lot or nearly a lot to do to conceive a real functional complementarity between these languages and French - inherited from colonization but claimed, very often, as the language of the country.

It is here, without doubt, the task of the didactic of French as second language which seeks to substitute concrete pedagogical hypotheses to already established ideological answers which have often served as alibis for the most traditional practices .

it, and therefore it has many bilingual citizens within its borders.

"Dans cette construction des personnes, le langage joue, bien entendu, un rôle éminent. C'est par l'appropriation raisonnée de sa langue maternelle que l'enfant structure et enrichit sa perception du monde. C'est par elle aussi que s'effectue sa 'socialisation'. Par ailleurs, l'école élémentaire peut être, dans un pays où l'aspiration égalitaire est forte, le lieu où les handicaps socioculturels doivent être compensés par l'accès à la maîtrise du langage."* (25)

Recognition of the languages of the discriminated groups may improve the social and cultural relations between these groups and the rest of society. Especially in "deprived" countries, native language teaching is considered to be the best way to reach isolated groups which may not participate directly in the mainstream society. However, when their native languages are only local languages, then these can be introduced into the curriculum. Members of such groups may gain literacy both in their native and the dominant language of the country, in order to learn about the country, if not about the outside world:

"Les langues du pays sont donc bien l'outil le plus efficace pour faire participer activement le système scolaire en général et les élèves en particulier à la vie économique, politique, familiale et religieuse du milieu. Elles rendent compte sans les appauvrir ni les déformer des réalités quotidiennes permanentes et elles cimentent l'école et son environnement humain en un groupe socio-culturel cohérent." Joseph Poth** (26)

On the government side, this will have the advantage that it will be easier to motivate these groups and collaborate with confidence for their social development.

F. History - Geography

f.1. The forgotten truth

To disclose without arousing strong feelings? Difficult, because the truth, denied by the holders of records, gives rise to passion. To dig up the past - these appalling secrets which governments and nations would like to "forget" - while the holders of the truths are not bent on lifting the cover of the dustbin of their history too high.

*Within this construction of people, the language plays, of course, an eminent role. It is by the well-thought-out appropriation of his/her mother tongue that the child structures and makes rich his/her perception of the world. It is also through it that his/her 'socialization' enriches. In other respects, the elementary school can be, in a country where the equalitarian aspiration is strong, the place where the sociocultural handicaps must be compensated by the access to the command of the language.

** Then, languages of the country are really the most effective tool to allow, in general the educational system and in particular students to participate actively to the economic, political, family and religious life of the area. They give an account without impoverishing or distorting them from continuous daily realities and they cement the school and its human environment in a coherent socio-cultural group.

Yet, shall history bring to light the inconceivable truths or hide, once and for all, those cruel years of shame with a thick veil? Shall history search in the past at the risk of discovering old trunks full of documents likely to awake as much bitterness and disgust as scepticism?

"The relation between the degree of destitution of peoples of Africa and the length and nature of the exploitation they had to endure is evident. Africa remains marked by the crimes of the slave-traders: up to now, her potentialities are restricted by under-population. Ahmed Sekou Touré Republic of Guinea, 1962 (27)

Wars and conquests have left in the Europeans' consciousness, the memory of glory while at the same time, there was a silence about the links of slave trade with colonialism. Today, it is astonishing to observe young people who do not know much about the real purpose behind the Empire - slavery, colonial conquests and independence, nor the logic which has generated rebellion in former colonies or the atrocities which went along with these events. More striking, one has to establish the fact that some fortune-hunters who have been considered as war criminals, who did not deny having killed and tortured, not only have not been charged but some have even achieved national fame. On the other hand, there are politicians who in the colonial epoch, went to the wars to fight "black" people, and people have never heard them acknowledging that they were wrong. This goes for politicians on the right and left and for those who have occupied or still occupy key posts, even the highest position in whatever State.

Also, wrong ideas spread about black people have brought into existence a fertile ground for all fears, all strings of old prejudices with regard to "miserable blacks, fanatics, terrorists, ungrateful, barbarians", not to say, infinitely dangerous and untrustworthy people. At the same time, history, passes over in silence shameless exploitation, disparity in salaries, and the denial to black people of education in their native language. All the truths were hidden while most people perpetuated the myth that colonized people were "apathetic, full of failings, fatalists". In short, Europe was successful in conquering "inferior" people but has not succeeded in "civilizing" them.

The policy of silence has not been by mere chance, on the contrary, its purpose was to keep the past dark. As result, it has, in a way, left young people defenceless because it has not allowed them to seize every opportunity to understand this past where racism has taken root. Accordingly, they are in no way armed with the full knowledge of the national and international political situation of their countries. Nobody has explained to them that what they see is the outcome of decades of exploitation, of lootings - human beings as resources, by slave traders and former colonizing nations. They hardly perceive that if thousands of workers and families have to cross the sea to find food for their children, it is the outcome of a past which has prevented these countries developing. This exploitation continues in other guises.

f.2. History and Geography: a decisive catalyst

To arouse pupils' awareness and a critical view of the world in which they live, it is advisable to review subjects such history and geography if people want to avoid negative and offensive references to discriminated people and countries. The teaching of history and geography shall be seen as contributing to the knowledge of the past and of the people of these countries who will become, in the process of time, discernible models - current in the educational process of most countries: a large number of children go to school to learn about white elite, to learn poetry, philosophy written by white people and learn about white political personalities, revolution, defenders of human rights through the eyes of "white experts" - ironically all of these are mostly males - and to use material written and edited by industrialized countries. This has largely accounted for the obvious gap in mutual appreciation between discriminated people - black, working class people and women - and the elite today.

In geography, an international curriculum is required to move away from the perception of industrialized countries as described in their own terms. "Deprived" countries are expected to be introduced in their own respect and not to be compared with industrialized countries. Geography will emphasize the diversity of most societies and the interdependence of the global communities. It is indispensable to

the understanding of the society people live; to foster pupils' awareness of the role of themselves, their families and communities in the birth of a nation, an era which itself involves other nations and people. A society is the product of centuries of change. Thus, history, in return, history has the responsibility to throw light on why things are now as they are.

On this basis, it is clearly essential that effective geography and history courses concern themselves with the patterns of the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution, slavery, imperialism, colonialism and post-independence which have created today's multiracial society, and consider in a balanced manner, the factors which have led certain groups from the time of the Roman Empire and earlier, to settle in Europe or U.S.A, if not in other part of the universe. It may also offer all pupils an understanding of the economic and political relationships which exist in the contemporary world, based on a sensitive appreciation of how and why these have arisen.

A pluralist approach to both the national and international dimension of geography and history can thus enhance a youngster's perception and comprehension of the tide of human experience through geography and history, and ensure that his/her horizons will not be limited by an exclusively white- or black-centred, Euro- or African-centric view, rooted solely in the legacy of Empire, a great civilization or myths concerning certain ethnic groups.

Geography and history are difficult subjects to teach. By bringing to light the origins of the contemporary multiracial society, and the political and institutional issues of the "deprived" countries, it will become clear that, whatever the legacy from the Europeans, "deprived" countries possess some of the least viable states in the world. These states are weakly integrated into the world market because they are endowed with so few qualified people and adequate resources worth relying on and exploiting.

In the last decade, moreover, most of them have suffered ecological trauma in the form of drought and famine. Areas of "deprived" countries are victims of natural catastrophes as well as civil wars. They also suffer from basic imperfections in economic planning: where have the crucial mistakes been made, and to what extent can they be related to decisions during the period of independence?

Everyone have to bear in mind that the origins of the present crisis mostly lie in the characteristics of the colonial state which can be traced back to the early stages of its expansion. The comprehensive nature of colonial hegemony was intensified by the interlocking structures of domination enforced by the corporations and the Christian missions, as well as states. Dominant in the sphere of cultural policy, the missions were the principal agency for executing the "civilizing mission" of the colonial state. The task of spiritual conquest was far reaching, the state and corporations needed only to use the body, whereas the church wished to capture the soul. Until now, educationalists, states and religious institutions have maintained a hazy knowledge of the past: henceforth, school institutions are obliged to bring their analysis closer to the truth. However hurtful it might be, it has the potential to provide a thought-provoking catalyst for teachers and pupils and the world community as a whole as well.

To really integrate an international dimension in an international curriculum, it is necessary to demystify national history and the mythical effects which manifest a certain cloistering within the greatness lived in the past and the building up of the great Empire. An international curriculum shall overcome the teaching of out-of-date history and geography by questioning the veracity of the formal version.

What has been described as the "forgotten truth" is only a drop in the ocean as the school geography and history syllabuses need to be reviewed and improved, because all the whole syllabuses, based as they are on former colonial cultural values, are something prejudicial which some young people cannot identify with. They can be viewed by pupils and parents as of great practical and material value.

They are encouraged to emphasize the interactions between the constituent groups in a pluralistic society and that political and economical systems cannot exist in isolation. They shall emphasize political and social history and consider such issues as Egyptian, Greek and Roman Empires, the French Revolution and the English Industrial Revolution as the turning points in the foundation of states in Europe and the role of women during these Revolutions. They shall attempt to dissect the Declaration of the Rights of Man and its effect on women and black people and highlight the Women's struggle for the acquisition of Civil Rights. They shall look at the history of education, the rising of independence movements in colonized countries and their reprisals.

History has the power to do black people and women justice for history textbooks have neglected the role of black people and women in the development of human societies, right from the early days of human civilization. History textbooks reflect the race and sex-discrimination which are today found rampant in all societies. At all levels, the textbooks are expected to reflect the equal role of white and black, men and women from time immemorial to the present day. The latter have participated actively in struggles for freedom and for emancipation and their participation shall be deservedly reflected in history textbooks.

In this way, pupils must be aware of the role played by women in occupied countries or under dictatorships; their resistance to brute force with their own weapons: words and solidarity. Young and old, Christians, Hindu or Muslim, black or white, the struggle of mothers, wives or sisters was identical - to gain the right to dignity. Black resistance movements for human rights, for their independence and their liberation should be acknowledged.

Yet, themes of participation in social institutions are difficult to grasp and measure as they do not have the full appropriate means of establishing the truth. By selecting a particular period of time and opening all questions concerning the era to students' inquiry, the class should begin the task of reconstructing multiple experiences by

unveiling the hidden events, by assessing the importance of European national health schemes, the importance of the slave to European history and the unprecedented industrial and technological development in Europe. By way of example, let us look at the 18th and 19th centuries.

The first questions may be: who were the peoples of those centuries? What were they doing? The teacher can leave the questions for the class to answer, but he/she will provide a guide of selected materials to be explored in libraries and other resources so the pupils can formulate their own programme of inquiry into the period concerned. As the class looks through what materials are at hand, information can be organized to answer the next question. How did the work and activity of people in all the situations identified contribute to the improvement and development of the whole society? This approach may not only provide a starting point for political and cultural awareness, but pupils will also discover the cultural and ethnic diversity of the times. Pupils will realize and establish the significance of population mobility within Europe, European emigrating in North America, the importance of women working in factories, the landing of slaves in North America, in the West Indies and South America and others adjusting to a new kind of world structure. Through descriptive and analytical discussion of each of these issues and many other types of experience, students will be aware of interactions between peoples in different situations, of contacts of different nations with regard to their political and social structure.

The purpose of an international curriculum is to teach the bases of the multicultural and racial society in which people live today. Hence, pupils are encouraged to carry out research on Toussaint Louverture, the women's march on Versailles, the February Revolution in Russia and the involvement of the "people" (not the working class yet). They can look at gender and education: for example Ms Buss and Mrs Beale founders of girls' schools; Mary Wollstonecraft - an English writer - who was a passionate advocate of educational and social equality for women and women's suffrage; Dame Millicent Garrett Fawcett who led the militant movement

for women's suffrage and founded the first English University College for women. In France, there were Claire Lacombe and Pauline Léon, the main leaders of the "Sociétés des Républicaines Révolutionnaires", who played a significant role during the French revolution; Marie de Gouges - known as Olympe de Gouges - who published "les droits de la femme et de la citoyenne" (woman and citizen right); Maria Deraisme who organized conferences on equality for women. With regard to "deprived" countries, they can focus attention on the emergence of political leaders in colonized countries such as James Baldwin...

Geography can play a key role in unveiling the global boundaries before the height of the partition, and the new boundaries after this partition which responded to the calculations of European economic self-interest and security: the collapse of the European Empire and its effects which could be linked with history: the emergence of new states - after the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Liberia (the land of free slaves from U.S.A), Kuwait and the State of Israel, former U.S.S.R... or the disparition of some states - e.g. Katanga.

In geography, it is important to point out the links between images of the "deprived" countries and multi-ethnic European ones. The presence in Europe of black people of West-Indian, Asian, Afro-Caribbean and African origins arises directly out of the European colonial past. Pupils need to ask how images of "deprived" countries' peoples in textbooks affect black people's self-image in Europe and also people's prejudice. Similarly how are black people referred to in text-books? In dealing with the economy, there shall be reference to the way in which the development of some ports - Bristol, Liverpool or Bordeaux - was based on the slave trade and France and Britain's colonial past. With regard to population studies, there shall be reference to the movement of people into and out of any country; in trade, it shall be shown that colonial exploitation played a large part in the development of the European trade at the expense of colonized countries; in work, what was the role of ethnic minority groups in the work place and in the community? The reason for migration can be clearly explained: e.g that it originally came into being when Europe needed cheap colonial labour. As for interdepen-

dence, it may explore in any detail the purpose of international assistance and highlight the fact that it is a situation for mutual benefit.

Geography can allow the approach of relating population to resources and trying to emphasize the bearing of the past on present issues: the plundering of labour forces in Africa for the New World, the settlement of European colonists seeking wealth and cheap labour, European migration fluxes between 1859 and 1914 generated by the French Revolution and the English Industrial Revolution, the first settlement of black people in Europe - towards the end of nineteenth century, 1914, during and after the Second World War and today. Hence, geography will attempt to highlight the importance of other countries and people which are to be seen primarily in term of "what did or have they provided and do they provide" for industrialized countries and shall also consider what have been the effects of these emigrations on "deprived" countries. The problems still faced by "deprived" countries, are not exclusively restricted to them. Thus solutions may be political or influenced by world economic systems.

Geography and economics textbooks have the potential to reflect fairly the roles and situations of both men and women. At the early stage in geography, a textbook can embody reality. It shall highlight the fact that women in "deprived" countries play a substantial role in agricultural and industrial production, and a large number actively participate in the unorganized sector of industry. In reality, women are doing hard and tough work, and economic geography, therefore, is expected to identify all the facts, while textbooks in geography and economics have the obligation to take note of women's share in work productivity. This will do women justice.

The interdependence of national economic and environmental concerns and their implication for the learning of the ecological processes and the conservation of the natural world, shall be part of the geography syllabus. It shall amount to using the environment as a means of offering direct and immediate experience from which particular skills and other attitudes can be acquired.

History and geography will have the task of fostering the view that poverty in most countries of the "South" shall be seen within the context of global politics and capitalism as a world economic system. It is important that pupils realize that the disparities in wealth and development are not "natural" but are the result of many social and political factors that have been brought into existence. In order to understand the world, it is necessary for young people to comprehend the processes by which inequality and prejudice came into being and by which they are perpetuated.

G. The importance of literature

If the international curriculum action makes reference to social communication, which at the same time is identified with cultural communication, then the principal aim of an international curriculum is to prepare the children to participate in cultural communication, thus enabling them to react in a suitable way to signs coming from the both natural and cultural environments in which they live. Most educationalists agree that literature is the most valuable form of the children's encounter with language, and progress in the development of cultural competence can be defined as acquiring in the course of education, an awareness of cultural communication rules. Understanding and awareness are undoubtedly linked with the acquisition of knowledge. Questions about specific cultural concerns can be answered through competence-analysis. This competence is composed of knowledge on values existing in culture and different ways in which they are transmitted, of knowledge concerning the mechanism of transmission operations. It also contains awareness of the past, traditions and changes that the culture was subject to and which gave rise to the present situation.

As part of the curriculum, literary education can be seen as an important element in the process of creating a proper level of cultural competence. It is literature which incorporates various elements of cultural reality, which conveys cultural traditions and humanistic values. Thus literature needs to be present in the international curriculum for the development of cultural awareness in children and young people. In a contemporary culture dominated by audio and visual media, mass culture litera-

ture - classics, novels and black literature - is expected to become more and more popular especially amongst the young generation. Literature can bring children into an encounter with language in its most complex and varied forms. The process of bringing children within the circle of awareness of all forms of prejudice and unfair discrimination is where the greatest value of literature will lie. It can provide imaginative insight into what the author is feeling; it may allow the scrutiny of possible human experiences which the reader him/herself has not met. It can give him/her the capacity to develop that power of understanding and confront the reader with problems similar to his/her own.

The development of this education presents the teacher with one of his/her most critical areas of teaching, and one where his/her skill and knowledge will play an extremely important part. One fact which becomes increasingly evident is the great extent to which success lies in the contribution of the teacher. With the emphasis on learning through discovery and personal interests, schools are encouraged to acquire collections of reference books to promote anti-discrimination and gender awareness.

A developed curriculum of literature for children and young people needs to be set-up. The curriculum will give a detailed programme of action by all-open-minded intellectuals - educationalists, teachers, policy-makers, politicians, parents and pupils - called upon to identify and eliminate all forms of prejudice and all forms of unfair discrimination. They will debate the literary materials, bringing out methodology and didactic literature to promote the development of the full potential of children and provide a high quality and stimulating learning environment.

The introduction of black literature can be used to question uncontested cultural assumptions. It may be a practical guide to alert students to and discuss with them issues of race, the political context of the text and the different messages - if there is a difference - need to be exploited and used to challenge the current approach towards black literature: e.g Toni Morrison claims the integrity of the black writer

and cries out for the right to self-definition:

" And let's put the record straight;
I am merely, solely additionally,
however you want to put it: a black
women writer...
Writing is about danger for me:
it's like life - you can go under,
like all art it has to be political and it
has to be beautiful... (28)

The approach to black literature may signal the historical, social and cultural context of its creation because students must be aware that contexts need to be provided for all literary textbooks. Angela Davis states that:

"There can be no mistake about the relationship between this artist's images and the real political struggles for the emancipation of oppressed people. The roots of his (Rupert Garcia) art can be discovered in an aesthetic tradition forged within the very heart of the Black and Chicano movements of the late 1960's. Indeed, some of his early works were produced in connection with the events surrounding the San Francisco State College strike of 1968, which won the right to establish programs in Black and Chicano Studies as well as Native American and Asian-American Studies." (29)

Black literature can be seen and defined as both cultural and artistic and a reflection of the political conflicts which are its context. Teachers will be trained to be aware of some of the language used and its content, as black writing may be expressed as an important part of the process of political liberation and may be therefore contextualised by it.

An international curriculum has also the power to improve the efficiency of the pupils' learning with regard to sex-discrimination and the teacher has the power to help them to develop gender awareness. The international curriculum attempts to pose new challenges for those concerned with class inequalities in education and also to identify sex-discrimination. In literature, it is no longer a question of immutable laws but just human relationships between themselves: e.g Michael Crichton in "Disclosure" (30) relates the sexual harassment exerted by a woman, a company head, on one of her subordinates. Most of the women in the book are evil except one who appears to be masculine. There is no doubt, the book is anti-feminist. While in "Backlash", Susan Faludi (31), a journalist on the 'Wall Street Journal', denounces the politicians, preachers, ideologists and doctors who have tried by all means to eliminate women from offices, factories and universities and to

confine them in the home, to fix them within their duty as wives and mothers. Although these two books represent a powerful challenge to people's knowledge, the task of teachers and educationalists is to ensure that these novels are read as they define themselves but their reading can not be used to confirm the stereotypes but to change the perceptions of children and to develop a positive awareness and understanding within schools, community and society.

The interpretation and analysis of the old knowledge can also be relevant to pupils as well as to societies because the development of such books may make them conscious as they have to be trained to question the veracity of the negative images. All textbooks shall guard against statements which may denigrate either sex; it is equally necessary to add explanatory exercises or notes establishing the contemporary and contextual situation reflected in statements which are literary pieces of academic value. Literature, at times, can be a mirror of its historical context: e.g. I. Kant, in his discourse, portrayed woman as a chatterbox, as a weak but crafty person, having domination over man. In the "Anthropologie du point de vue pragmatique", he justified the woman's desire to appeal to man:

"Cette inclination, bien que le nom de coquetterie lui fasse une fâcheuse réputation, ne manque pas de fondement pour la justifier, car une femme risque toujours de devenir veuve; et pour cette raison elle fait valoir ses attraits auprès de tous les hommes dont les circonstances pourraient faire d'éventuels époux; afin que, le cas échéant, elle ne puisse manquer de prétendants."* (32)

It is a charming thought that, when a woman returns a man's smile, you must realize that she is wishing for the death of her husband. For Kant, roles were also fixed; woman must restrain herself from demanding too much from the man whom she marries:

"C'est par le mariage que la femme devient libre; avec lui, l'homme perd sa liberté. (33)

Dans l'état de société civile, la femme ne s'abandonne pas au plaisir de l'homme en dehors du mariage..."** (34)

Of course, Kant's views reflect his epoch but pupils need to be aware of this

* This inclination, although she has a terrible reputation for coquettishness, does not lack foundation to justify it, because a woman always risks becoming widowed; and for this reason she exploits her appeal to all men whose circumstances would make them future husbands.

** It is through marriage that a woman becomes free; with him, the man loses his freedom. Within the civil society, the woman does not indulge in man's pleasure outside the marriage.

reality, and with a cautious and critical use of this kind of work, this may provide the teacher with materials to identify sex discrimination and also may offer forms for qualitative and quantitative analysis along with suggestions for generating non-sexist attitudes in pupils. Once again, to achieve this awareness with regard to sex-discrimination in textbooks and provide guidelines for its identification and elimination, all teachers require to have strong and regular training - both initial and in-service - with regard to sexism and school management as well as collective action - intellectuals, parents, teachers and representatives of the community and pupils shall work together for the choice of materials. This is to avoid any individual opposition to the systematic provocation which may arise from such an issue.

H. The rebirth of Art

Most African, Asian and South-American treasures stolen or damaged by the colonial authorities were doomed to diverse fate. Nowadays, Europeans keep these "objets d'arts" on the pretext that Art is universal and cannot be considered as belonging to anyone. Nevertheless, if Art, as a discipline, is universal, "objets d'arts" themselves belong to the country of origin. Objet d'arts are all that remain for historians, archeologists and ordinary people to admire and enhance their knowledge. Perhaps there was story telling in the countryside and music in the compounds of slaves that built the monuments, but we will never know.

Unfortunately, only the highest points of civilization bear witness to the culture of the past and shape our vision of what the real culture was. Having imposed European religions and derided native traditions, the Europeans left the "deprived" countries in the hands of people they had fashioned in their own image. Behind the black masks were white faces and white values - the values of white consumer culture. In the meantime, in every "deprived" country, archives and files were purged, while books and materials were taken away.

The real European's fear concerned a vast number of objets d'arts which have been held in their museums and libraries. Still more insulting is the belief that "deprived" countries are unable to appreciate, in any way, the objets d'arts, and once in their hands, they will be wasted and damaged. Thus, old and racist practices have made room for fallacious and hypocritical arguments. First, European countries denigrated and decimated the cultural heritage of "deprived" countries, and now, they proclaim that deprived countries have no right to their own objets d'arts. This established reality cannot last for long.

The deeper intention of an international curriculum will attempt to break cultural and ideological continuity by erasing a whole range of inculcated ideas from the consciousness of new generations. Art can be at the heart of the international and progressive movements which may grow in the international network. Young children can increasingly seek ways to break with the submissive and unimaginative institutions of the "dominant culture" which has characterised "deprived" countries.

In this way, an international curriculum is to stimulate an alternative movement which can bring into existence Art from popular traditions to build again an authentic multicultural Art. It shall reconcile artists and ordinary people to get the better of the dual culture: one imposing and venerated for the elite, the other, rejected or barely acknowledged for the people. The reconciliation is expected to win back the lost artistic confidence and the more people are involved in their own Art, the greater becomes their confidence to challenge the acceptance of the divided society and world.

An International Curriculum cannot over emphasize the importance of multilingualism and multiculturalism. They are a fact of life in most countries and it is, therefore, recommended to the various governments, national and international educational bodies of any country that multilingualism and multiculturalism require to be exploited as resources for each country. For this purpose, clear policy guidelines need to be formulated and implemented with regard to Language, History and

Geography and Art teaching, cultural enrichment and social cohesion, to ensure cultural and linguistic continuity of indigenous peoples, efforts are expected to be made to provide for the learning of these languages and cultures within the education systems, both formal and non-formal.

There is a need for further collaborative efforts between international educational bodies and regional linguistic and cultural centres which will give attention to language and cultural education development in multilingual and multicultural situations with regard to their own regions. It is recommended that these international bodies work through the existing bodies to identify other institutions in the regions which may function as a network for exchanging information and materials.

I. The road to consciousness

The identification of the link between the educational systems and the existing social institutions does not only concern school institutions, but also the participants - the family and the community as a whole - in short, everything which influences closely or from a distance the established apparatus. Like education itself, practices surrounding education require diverse approaches. That is why an action can never be without effect, even if the generated effect is not what everyone was expecting. That is, also, why there is never complete failure, but an achievement, only just perceptible, which people may sometimes tend to overlook. This is also valid for what people continue to label underachievement or ignorance, and this is, as well as, valid here in the circumstances concerning actions led against it.

"Every school and college has an important role to play in educating children and young people for life in a pluralist society..., racially mixed schools have changed most and white schools least. Yet ... it is the attitude of young white people emerging from white schools that will tell us most about the success of our search for justice and equality."
Derbyshire county Council, 1987 (35)

Hence, it will be a challenge to put forward an International Curriculum for achievement and equal educational opportunity which has the potential to lead to the elimination of all forms of prejudice and all forms of unfair discrimination. The success or the failure of an international curriculum will, inevitably, depend on its

force to support pupils and parents to regain their capacity to perceive and understand, to regain power over their daily life by having access to knowledge and to permit them to be fully aware of their capacity to view the world as a trustworthy reality.

However, school achievement and racism or sexism awareness do not only depend on what occurs in the classroom, but also on what pupils experience outside the school. From this angle, there exists an evident inequality of opportunity between those who benefit from parental support and the others who do not. Henceforth, a support association, on a voluntary basis, can play a key role. It calls upon teachers, educationalists, social workers, psychologists, scientists, sociologists... with a view to implementing an awareness training, and following up the progress of the tasks enforced. The intervention of the association will always endeavour to facilitate contact and collaboration between teachers, voluntary-tutors, parents, pupils and the community as a whole. The association shall endorse the theme of pupils' achievement and prejudices awareness with an emphasis on collaboration and solidarity with parents and teachers. The association shall not substitute itself for the parents; on the contrary, it shall reinforce the parents' educative role and remain the privileged interlocutor of the children as they are well placed to facilitate their achievement and respect for other cultures.

i.1. Reconciliation school-parents

"Bien des parents sont mal informés et certains ne sont non seulement pas conscients de leurs obligations légales, mais ils croient aussi que l'éducation est un domaine qu'ils doivent laisser à la responsabilité des écoles. Là, où dans le passé, les professeurs ont découragé l'établissement des contacts, la mauvaise volonté des parents à coopérer est plus forte et on entend souvent parler de l'apathie des parents! Le danger de se 'renvoyer la balle' quant aux responsabilités exist-t-il réellement, c'est-à-dire les enseignants accusant l'indifférence des parents et ces derniers l'indifférence des premiers?" Dr. A. Macbeth* (36)

Thus, the association's first task is to give a high priority to the dissemination of

* Many parents are ill informed and some are only not aware of their legal duties, but they also believe that education is a field which they have to leave to the responsibility of the school. There, where in the past, teachers discouraged the establishment of contacts, the parents' lack of goodwill to cooperate is stronger and we often hear about parents' apathy! The danger of blaming each other about responsibilities, that is to say teachers and parents accusing each other of indifference, does this danger really exist?

school policies and activities in a bilingual way to bolster the bilingual and/or multilingual society relevant to the parents' and pupils' situation. It will, then, attempt to establish dialogue with parents and:

- create awareness in parents which issues of all forms of racism, sexism and inequality can be addressed in a better effort to bring into existence their self-confidence but also to make them feel concerned with decision making of educational and political kinds. This shall provide a terrain from which struggles against racism, sexism and all forms of unfair discrimination within the community and the society as a whole can be fought out,
- offer a better understanding of the educational system to fit themselves in their educative role and complement the school culture,
- allow them to visit and collaborate regularly in the nursery school,
- re-establish communication within the family itself and in the relation of the family with the outside world by encouraging parents to have another relationship with their children, inciting them to talk to them, describing what they do or see..., even if they believe that the children do not understand. Parents and children have to communicate with each other,
- reduce the cultural estrangement from each other, the child in the process of becoming bicultural and the parents rooted in their native language and traditions. This can avoid the risk of a possible break (through incomprehension, incommunicability, shame, culpability) which often results from a cultural clash and it shall facilitate the linking of home and school cultures,
- help parents to familiarize themselves, with confidence, with the children's work and school resources. This will attempt to stimulate, for both, a strong desire to enlarge their knowledge and savoir-faire,
- make them aware that they can control the school culture of their children and the preparation for the future,

- assign the family nucleus to be the chief place for the cultural development of children of the present and for the future,
- assure parents of their rights to be the principal mentor of the education of their children,
- encourage them to convince the school and society as a whole, that, like everybody else, they want education for their children, for the full development of their human personality and for their full participation in social and cultural life of the society,
- generate in them the self-esteem and the belief in collaboration and team work.

i.2. Voluntary-tutor training

The association assists teachers, with the presence of parents, in the training of the voluntary-tutors who will have to realize, at the beginning of each academic year, the census of needs in training concerning the sector of voluntary-tutors, to avoid any difference between the training they will offer to voluntary-tutors and the needs expressed by the group to be trained. Yet, the training shall consider three factors:

- Knowledge of the social environment

By knowing the pupils' background or origin, the voluntary-tutors will give value to the children's background or origin and will permit the blossoming of their creativity and critical perception,

- Knowledge of their culture

By knowing the pupils' culture specificities, it will adapt the pedagogical activity to them and establish a better communication between cultures. As a fundamental, language is expected to be taken into consideration as a crucial element which structures the identity of each other.

The training may allow voluntary-tutors to have a better idea of their role, but also to understand the children with whom they will have to work. The knowledge of the children is very important because they do not compete with the school or

lecture the class again after school-time, but solely to assist the children who lack support from their family - through poverty, bad command of the school language, parents' incapacity or inadequacy to follow-up the school work.

- Acting as precursor

The training may involve parents associated in all activities closely connected with the teachers and allows and encourages parents to intervene regularly. The training shall generate a team-spirit and become a positive place to permit a revival of their learning by seeing these voluntary-tutors in a learning situation, but also by bringing in their savoir-faire and their culture through their collaboration and intervention. Progressively, the training can, indirectly:

- give them the means to become later the educators of their own children,
- make them conscious that they possess elements of knowledge which can be amplified to give a new image of themselves and generate in them a strong will for the development of the full potential of their children. To consider them as primordial partners for the realization of the training, allow them to realize that they are indispensable for the achievement of their children. But this shall, also, inspire them to look up again and revive their identity by drawing motivation for the promotion of their milieu,
- encourage consultation with teachers and voluntary-tutors as it can be revealed as a moment of irreplaceable training. Naturally, it shall distinguish the role of everyone, allow the sharing of knowledge and experience they will have regarding the curriculum. This can also serve as a platform for the battle against racism, sexism, all forms of unfair discriminations and underachievement.

i.3. out-of-school activities

The association, with the support of teachers, parents, voluntary-tutors and pupils can organize out-of-school activities with regard to the locality and resources available. It shall exert itself on these activities for confronting the contradictions between, not only school culture and cultures of different communities, but also of

other social classes. Everyone has to be aware of the existence of different types of culture, which manifest themselves within the same communities.

Hence, the team's prime objective is to harmonize all accompanying measures which lead towards the aims targeted. The team needs to establish a team-work and regular close cooperation with teachers and widen their activities to areas which have no direct connection with school work. The aim of scholastic diversification is to make pupils aware of the world in which they live and which surrounds them.

Thus, these activities may involve:

- the introduction of pupils and parents to reading. Many families are alien to books, their relation with writing has been difficult, not to say non-existent, and the communication between parents and children make little use of this advantageous instrument. The discovering of books can awaken the creative imagination of the pupils, stimulate their language, curiosity and the desire to understand and learn with pleasure. Progressively, the child will get accustomed to following an activity to the end. Hence, contact with the books (short-stories, poems, novels or media) before and in the school, may develop within the family, the taste and pleasure for texts.

- a demonstration to pupils how to use documents, how to learn to write (essay, poems, novels, fairy-tales, article), read maps, speak and interview by means of tape-recorders, use pedagogical games, listen to each other in a small group,

- the opening of studios specially designed for oral and writing activities, where diverse professionals enliven them. They alternate oral activities, the investigation and exchange of ideas and the reading of selected works to facilitate and strengthen pupils' access to writing. These activities shall stimulate, in the pupils' life, an enthusiasm coupled with the desire to enrich their knowledge and excite their imagination. They may extend their field of investigation, feed their imagination and build up their self-confidence. Professionals may also encourage and advise them in their writings (fairy-tales, poetry, novels or articles) or encourage them to

illustrate their writings or create some cartoons. Thus, the activities can lead to the creation of books to be edited by the school and may become pedagogical instruments. They can also create a school newspaper with information about school activities or community events. They will introduce poetry, fairy-tales or articles written by pupils and publish the titles of new books designed for all categories and all ages of the community. They can also highlight the daily broadcasting of literature for young people on the local radio. Exhibitions can be organized and open to other schools and communities.

The presence of professionals such as writers, poets, journalists or cartoonists will have a great and magical effect on the pupils. The contact with such personalities has the potential to raise their confidence and their ability, and boost their eagerness to learn,

- the establishment of language activities to overcome the difficulty or the unavailability of maintaining the native language, parents, students or teachers of other subjects shall be encouraged to stimulate children in the use of the language with adequate support and assistance provided, as necessary,

- the discovery of the world of showbusiness with the support of professionals from the cinema, music and theatre. It is encouraged to introduce them to the world of riches and diversity in each field, their transmission from generation to generation and the world exchanges as the inevitable rule for their enrichment. It will attempt to make them discover the fundamental processes of cultural interactions within a society which does not live in isolation and stimulates encounter between different cultures. The reality of diverse culture, the relativity of experiences whatever they may be, which people have to confront in the evolution of science and technology, can generate inspiration, imagination and inventive values. The artistic dimension which brings human life into play in the creation and interpretation can and shall become the essential parameter for creative meetings and exchanges between pupils and parents with the artistic and outside worlds,

- meeting with amateur or professional sportsmen to exchange point of interests

with the aim of stressing the internationalization of sports,

- organization of diverse outdoor activities: visit to museums, enterprises, the Zoo, to natural parks to discover the flora and the trees (names of plants and different species). Outdoor activities can be for the pupils, teachers, voluntary-tutors and parents the occasion for relaxation,

- organization of pupils' mobility in order to give them the opportunity to build-up cultural knowledge through positive experiences, but also to strengthen their knowledge of their native or foreign languages. Parents and communities are encouraged to become sensitive to these issues,

- the promotion of collaboration between school institutions which can lead to the exchange of material produced by pupils, the organization of expositions or conferences which will permit pupils to express their experience and their evaluation.

From these elements, the association with the collaboration of teachers-parents, voluntary-tutors, pupils and the community require to lay down their principles to avoid any misunderstanding and to assure the perfect development of and good coordination for the activities. The principles may bear these conditions:

- efficient and motivated voluntary partners, to make these activities lively and cheerful, may come to an agreement on their schedule and their involvement,

- attendance at schemes for scholastic support can be decided and asked for, with the agreement of parent, by the principal teacher. But, it shall be different from the compulsory school. The child will have to express his/her willingness. Hence, it cannot be imposed by parents or teachers: they will limit themselves by stimulating an initial motivation which can later be confirmed and strengthened if the child has adhered to the first schemes,

- agreement and collaboration of parents, while volunteers pledge their word not to substitute themselves for parents,

- close and regular collaboration with the school and local libraries,

- involvement, without condition, of the local authority and the communities as a whole,
- projects decided and brought forward by parents and pupils for the school will welcome volunteers and teachers: i.e. in festivities, excursions, regular parents meeting, refurbishment of particular areas, sports or artistic events, political or social debates,
- regular evaluation of each activity.

A realistic effort for achievement and awareness of the real world cannot be reduced to actions led within the education systems, because the pupils cannot be distant from the social context. They can be vital to this, but nevertheless, an International Curriculum will not be totally successful until it is not rooted in a global programme, taking account of all factors influencing school cultures. The mobilization of parents for school achievement and the battle against racism, sexism and all forms of prejudice shall reflect the importance of collectivity and the real desire to overcome these issues. Collaboration with them appears particularly appropriate and indispensable. It will be through their participation in the whole operation that parents and children will become, in their turn, activists in the universal policy to fight against underachievement, combat all forms of prejudice and eliminate all forms of unfair discrimination.

Parents play a crucial part in pupils' achievement. Positive home support in both the medium of instruction and the learning of the native language are vital. As good models of speech and verbal exchange, parents will have a significant contribution to make to native language and bilingual education. The level of home support can be raised for the mutual benefit of both parents and children in oracy and literacy. Thus, adult literacy and oracy classes can fulfil the need of those parents who require compensatory education. A general enlightenment programme on matters which concern them, such as illiteracy or lack of verbal skills can help them to participate actively in the overall education of their children.

As long as pupils and parents do not find themselves involved in all activities, the latter will not give rise to interest and the desire to overcome underachievement. The familiarization of parents and pupils with books, the frequency of their participation in different out-of-school activities: the meeting of pupils and parents with books - from poetry to political articles - through regular close cooperation with teachers and diverse professionals will build up the self-confidence of both parents and children. The constant contact with professionals of different origins can also build up parents and pupils' self-confidence and inspire in them a better understanding of the outside world.

J. Teacher-training

For the last decade, almost all parts of the world have had one common problem - the number of teachers could not respond to the needs of schools and they have been mostly qualified but inadequately trained. Thus, the problem of teachers has had two aspects; one quantitative and the other qualitative. The cause of the teacher problem has resulted from the fact that the educational systems have altered rapidly and radically. The extension of compulsory education in most countries, has made the secondary stage compulsory and has been included in the new comprehensive school. This has also produced some changes for the teachers. A new group of pupils has attended the school while the training of these teachers for the higher school has not been able to take into account the fact that every class would regroup pupils coming from different social and ethnic backgrounds.

Also, new subjects - vocational subjects, have been introduced, while teacher-training has not been provided. This has led to the separation of practical from intellectual education and to the creation of two distinct systems: primary-sector, available to the great majority of children from the working working class, immigrants and women, and secondary-higher; purely intellectual designed for the children of the ruling classes. The strengthening of the elitist education has forced teachers to concentrate their efforts more around the "gifted" individual pupil and his development, at the expense of the class or the group as whole. Thus, the emphasis

has been on intellect and character in order to develop individuals who would, supposedly, contribute to the establishment of the ideal society.

How can a sufficiently large staff of teachers be recruited? How shall these teachers be trained?

Assigned with the duty of taking part in the foundation and the approval of innovations within the education systems, teachers are, equally, required to develop new attitudes to permit them to contribute to the creation of the curriculum as a whole. To achieve this aim, teacher-training - both initial and in-service - shall be modified. Yet, the improvement of teacher-training and the bettering of the administration will not be sufficient to change the nature of the issues. On the contrary, they can even instal contradiction in the teachers' duty: on the one hand, maintaining the link with the past and tradition, and on the other, stimulating critical attitudes and a spirit for change. Thus, an international curriculum calls on teachers to take part in spontaneous actions and creativity.

The relative autonomy of teachers implies a certain level of active communication and collaboration with other elements of society as a whole. Innovation, in terms of curriculum, needs to be considered as an instrument for creating awareness and widening possibilities and abilities. Everyone has to be fully aware of the importance of education in the future society. More teachers shall be conscious of the politics of institutional conflict and change; their aptitude for autonomy and influence may increase, coupled with a mutual relationship with the economic and social spheres, and with the redistribution of tasks and roles within the educational system. Nevertheless, there are limits to what teachers can do or what they shall do, just as there are limits to the potential impact of the educational system.

The introduction of an International Curriculum may take into account ambiguities and inconsistencies which can impede the teachers' efficiency and self-confidence. Teachers will be confined within a certain degree of conformism but, at the same time, shall recognize the necessity to possess constructive attitudes leading to

changes and progress. Thus, their work shall not be restricted by the traditional schooling with its tendency to a narrative and feeding education as a result of its isolation from real life and its lack of objective clarity.

Thus, teacher-training (both initial and in-service) has the power to provide students with a better understanding of the institutions within which they work so that they will be able to exploit what space existed or to create opportunities which may not be immediately available. Teachers who ignore the social institutions and their components, or who are not conscious of political and social issues, will not be well prepared for an active role within schools. For this reason, Halsey pointed out as far back as 1972 the school can be treated as the waste paper basket for social policy, and he referred to:

"... social problems where solutions are uncertain or where there is disinclination to wrestle with them seriously. Such problems are prone to be dubbed "educational" and turned over to the schools to solve." (37)

That clearly states that it will be in the self-interest of teachers to focus on the shared nature of education and establish an educational partnership between parents and teachers. If teachers do not stress the joint nature of education, society will continue to insist that schools shall provide the entire education, and will carry on blaming teachers for a range of social ills beyond their control. Further, teachers are in the best position to initiate such a partnership and teacher-training can be an appropriate starting point. In other words, student-teachers can be trained in such a way that they will understand the complexity of the society in which they will teach in order to counteract the tendency to reduce educational, social, political and economic problems to a matter of cultural differences and deficiencies.

Henceforth, the teachers' role is to retain communication with the parents and pupils. Teachers shall not feel alarm at each step parents or pupils take, each doubt they express or each suggestion they offer. These shall contribute to the teachers' skill in adapting to the diversified population within school institutions and to take part in the necessary decisions for the new approaches of teaching. This freedom can be instilled during training and practical experience which will lean on social and psychological sciences, and also on the understanding of the use of the new

curriculum and means for instruction.

Social studies will comprise sociology, knowledge of political structures and the study of psychology which need to occupy a predominant place. Teacher-training shall also aim at providing elements for critical attitudes towards traditional practices and at giving practical value to research as a fundamental element of teacher-training, to prepare students to cooperate in the evaluation and innovation of the curriculum. The integration of practical training and theory with regard to the international curriculum can be complex, so it will necessitate an insistence on the comprehension of the international political and economic context in the larger sense.

Given the severe budgetary pressures currently experienced by teacher-training institutions in most countries, school can be a relatively inexpensive partner. It may involve school as a partner of the university as the main location for practical training. The university offers the social and psychological studies, with political studies, while the school is the site for research. The close partnership will assure the reconciliation between theoretical and practical competencies, and this shall not lead to conformist and unquestioning attitudes to the prevailing teaching orthodoxy. This shall, as well, lead to critical attitudes towards conventional practices and to give practical relevance to the theoretical studies. Hence, the change from the conventional attitudes to the needs of the teachers shall widen their horizon.

K. For better cooperation

"International organizations, whether universal or regional, governmental or non-governmental, are called upon to co-operate and assist, so far as their respective fields of competence and means allow, in the full and complete implementation of the principles set out in this Declaration, thus contributing to the legitimate struggle of all men, born equal in dignity and rights, against the tyranny and oppression of racism, racial segregation, apartheid and genocide, so that all the peoples of the world may be forever delivered from these scourges." Article 10 (38)

The collaboration between school institutions, parents, students, pupils and the community as a whole, will attempt to introduce, with a voluntarist policy and the change in the state of mind, a real international dimension within education. If

teachers recognize that the international dimension is not a new vision, however, they shall consider teaching to be an object for specific learning and practices, and also, to acquire a new frame of mind. They shall also be conscious that they will have to take into account a global form of pedagogy clearly based on teamwork - between teachers and with parents, pupils, students and the community as a whole, and shall defend the critical independence of pupils, which is not really in the education tradition in almost countries.

In this perspective, the Glasgow University Report to the European Commission, in 1984, made an appropriate statement about teacher- training:

"La relation entre milieu familial et l'école devrait devenir un des principaux aspect de la formation et du recyclage des enseignements. Celle-ci devrait comporter les techniques dont les enseignants ont besoin pour aider les parents en ce qui concerne la coopération éducationnelle active. Il serait très utile que des échanges de documentation sur la formation des enseignants se fassent au niveau international. De même qu'il est nécessaire de faire une recherche sur l'importance habituellement donnée à la coopération avec les parents dans les programmes de formation des enseignements."* (39)

After this statement, it is advisable to mention some points which appear to be particularly important:

- Anti-racist and sexist education shall be, regularly and with persistence, made available to teachers and teachers in training (both initial and in-service). This education needs to become a terrain on which the struggle against racism, sexism and all forms of unfair discrimination is fought. An endeavour to develop awareness in all pupils, in all schools, in all subjects which issues of all forms of prejudice and inequality shall be addressed in a better effort to make pupils aware of and involved in decision making of political and social issues. This education cannot only be restricted to those embracing the international dimension of education,
- Teachers require to be prepared to use, to coordinate, to lead all the information net-works and all the social and cultural resources available around the school and educational institutions. They must stay aware of political and social issues and changes in order not to reduce their role to a marginal position. Hence, they may

*Home-school liaison should become a central feature of teacher-training and retraining. This should include techniques by which teachers can assist parents in the process of educational partnership. International exchange of training materials would be helpful and there is need for research into the extent that teacher-training currently emphasises cooperation with parents.

take part, during their training, in voluntary-tutoring or out-of-school activities,

- Developing new pedagogical materials which take in the international dimension is necessary. If one viewed this necessity within a real international perspective, this will mean common work among many teachers - from "industrialized" as well as from "deprived" countries, with the collaboration of universities, educationalists and editors,

- Teachers are expected to be sensitive to the international dimension within education, especially by making universally available the adequate pedagogical materials, all documentation relative to the world economy, policy and the world as a whole and all information with regard to educational systems of other countries,

- Support for and development of teacher team work can influence a global approach of the international curriculum within education, with cooperation and exchange between educational institutions within the state as well as abroad,

- Promotion of an international network for conferences and seminars for students and teacher-trainers which will allow exchanges of individual's, as well as of team's experiences, widen their international horizon and define new means to improve the curriculum,

- Favouring the students and teachers mobility will give them the occasion to share cultural knowledge through positive experience. Opportunity can be offered to them to study abroad to acquire an international dimension to their out-look. The important aspect of studying abroad is related to the growth of competence, knowledge and personal maturity of the future teachers,

- Teachers will be encouraged to learn, voluntarily, a community language as it is necessary to cope with other cultures and to facilitate the social and cultural collaboration with pupils and school communities.

Evaluation needs to be continuous and include ethnographic and linguistic analyses of the classroom in order to prepare the way for eventual resumption of larger-scale

efforts which will give a high priority to disseminating articles and books in a bilingual way which will reinforce bilingual education experiences relevant to pupils situation. Teachers have the responsibility to engage themselves in explaining the benefits of bilingual education to parents; without their support no programme can succeed, as they can become supportive of bilingual education when they understand its objective.

Another prerequisite for larger-scale efforts will be maintaining permanently and closely with parents an anti-racist and sexist awareness within the schooling as well as outside the school. As Madan Sarup asserted:

"When considering state education and its institutionalization in the nineteenth century, it must not be thought that the English bourgeoisie was in favour of working-class 'education' in general; actually, it was only interested in teaching specific things in a specific way. Schooling was aimed at changing the attitudes and shaping the conduct of the working-class by the provision of bourgeois theories, morals, and religious codes. The placing of a middle-class teachers in loco parentis, for example, was an attempt to ensure that the child got a proper moral training in the place of 'bad' parental working-class upbringing. Working-class people, besides being made into a punctual, disciplined labour force, had to be 'uplifted' in order to stabilize the political and social order." (40)

Thus, the school is a site for the struggle. The view of the nature, urgency and strategy required in that struggle needs to be determined by the perspective to which anti-racist and sexist associations, parents, teachers, future teachers, pupils and all members of the school institutions and the community as a whole are expected to adhere.

"Anti-racist policies, in themselves, are not antidote to racism. To be effective they need to be drawn up by all the people involved in the school community, formulated and implemented with care, rigour and caution. Above all, they need the support of good management. Anti-racist policies can never be a substitute for good management." Gus John (41)

Hence, there is a demand to develop a common platform; courses, seminars, conferences and training which can direct everyone towards an understanding of overt and covert racism, sexism and all forms of unfair discrimination. Associations and professionals have to potential to train them in dissecting the position of racial, sexual and class groupings and the unequal basis of the bias society. Such courses and training can be implemented across the teacher-training curriculum (both initial and in-service). The effort to get an anti-racist and sexist awareness into all schools is rightly regarded as the next important battle.

Conclusion: "Ny fianarana ny lova soa tsara indrindra"*

What is worse for disadvantaged people than the feeling of being forgotten in the depths of the impoverished world, given over to the reign of arbitrary governments, hidden, powerless and left to their fate. As for the governments concerned, what an encouragement in persisting in biased and exploitive policies when they are blessed with safe impunity. Any solid initiative, therefore, shall help these people to revive hope allowing them to resist with their head held high. Experience has shown that, even in the most far-off areas, the echo of social and political injustices has crossed frontiers while the most obstinate governments can not resist strong firm international solidarity.

By manifesting solidarity, people can, together, contribute to create a positive future in the fight for the defence and backing of the right to education and equal opportunity in education for all. The rights to education and equal opportunity go hand in hand. It is, by any standard, a universal requirement and the refusal to take it into consideration needs to be fought whatever country it occurs in. In this sense, the initiatives for an international solidarity, if not biased, can be, of course, partisan. In the face of racism, sex-discrimination and underachievement, comes a Malagasy saying: "Izay adala noho toa an-drainy" (foolish is the one who does no better than his/her father) - a suitable concept for children's right to education, which identifies the right to real education with equal educational opportunity, a right which is to be provided by adults who own the essential lever - knowledge and people's power. It is why, within parents' limits, today's initiatives appeal common sense and solidarity to inculcate tolerance, a critical sense and knowledge in their younger generation to do better than themselves.

Yet, an International Curriculum does not seek cultural homogenization, to subdue the race and cultural diversities to intangible norms. It shall not be used as the sole authority and be regarded as the only reliable option. On the contrary, it will attempt

* A Malagasy proverb: Education is the inestimable and lasting heritage which would not let you down. So educated, anywhere you go and anything you do, nobody would take advantage of you.

to assure the protection of individual right and cultural specificities for men and women from different backgrounds and origins. It is encouraged to create new relationships with regard to themselves and others.

An International Curriculum attempts to give concrete expression to the universal sensitiveness of all measures which further an identity: an identity of a reasonable man or woman with universal rights for any member of a particular community. It will engage itself in the battle against the elimination or the take over of community identities, will progressively take precedence over the fight against racism, sexism and all forms of unfair discrimination, and the hierarchies which support them... Yet, it will also draw its fervour in the resistance to the harsh practices of institutional administrations and concentrate its attacks on the impasse on civil rights, which, on the one hand, do not offer any protection to disadvantaged people and women, because of the dual society generated by the elitist and capitalist world structure, and on the other hand, because of white and male hegemony. Thus, it has for a mission, making disadvantaged people's and women's voices heard.

Important changes can occur if everyone roots out racism, sexism and underachievement. These actions call upon real actions; they are not just declarations or decrees but everyone has to stop and condemn local wars. It is fundamental to give depth and deal with malnutrition and tackle desertification. It could be argued that one can look at radical reform against poverty and the scattering of the population and support for the young unemployed. Action follows from this; however an International Curriculum cannot, by itself, solve all the issues and cannot limit its actions to these issues.

Henceforth, the implementation of an International Curriculum will not aim at alienation, the loss of identity, exclusion or marginalization; it will only have any sense if it widens its field to non-professional activities within everyone - male and female - can convey their own experiences to instill awareness and critical perception. Tomorrow's world will need professionals who do not limit themselves to

their own fields, but also agree to collaborate in the study of the consequences of socio-economic issues on the life of human beings.

For the elaboration of educative policies, it is necessary to involve cultivated, open and creative peoples, but not people who have a limiting vision of life and the world. The necessary decisions with regard to educative policies may not exclude the demand for a permanent and vast amount of work for the definition and the finalization of education in the society of the future. The internationalization of the production, also, requires from society an international responsibility in the education domain. The educative projects which may contribute to dividing the international world, in the name of efficiency, is extremely perilous because they can only strengthen the gap between state and people. On the contrary, they are encouraged to have common responsibilities and interests in running the world.

Education shall be universal, everyone may become educators and educated. There shall no longer be a boundary between formal and informal education, initial and continuing education, with different professional actors within the educational systems. Those of the production may, also, invest an important part of their work in gaining the new awareness necessary to social and cultural life. Education which embodies culture, intellect and sense, rich in practical and theoretical knowledge, shall become indispensable to schools, universities and the training places of future generations. Educational systems which are confined within a national state, while economic activities do not encounter boundaries, will devote themselves to maintaining the dual world and perpetuate racism, sexism and inequality. The internationalization of the markets, which has created and continues to create human, technological, scientific and financial mobility, shall be encouraged to stimulate an international policy on education.

An International Curriculum, rooted in respecting specific cultures, requires grounded validation and possible reconstruction if it is expected to be usefully applied elsewhere. Learning from "deprived" countries and welcoming their expe-

riences are imperative for an International Curriculum which attempts to construct educational theories and practices of universal application. Yet, today, it is more than evident that international relationships are more favourable to a country where possibilities of negotiations are strong. However, cultural invasion is always an act of "symbolic violence" against the exploited countries, which face the threat of losing their cultures or their individuality. As opposed to physical violence, the symbolic violence is camouflaged in the form of help or assistance. In short, it takes the form of economic and cultural domination, which is practiced by a dominant society upon a dependent one, or can be absolute in the domination of one class or group over another within the same society.

Thus, an International Curriculum does not project the culture of a dominant country upon other cultures. It does not aim to impose artificial cultures, created to take over the others - fast-food, clothing uniformity, soap-opera -, and does not try to subjugate all human beings under the same yoke, wherever it may be - Los Angeles, Carracas, Bombay or Moscow. Or even less, it does not attempt to preserve certain cultures in museums or reserves, but it urges these cultures to stay alive and be active within the construction of the international dimension. In other words, it cannot permit any ideology or faith to represent a group or community, or to submit their claims for a programme, while the members of the group or population as a whole have not been consulted. A particular group or population cannot be, at the same time, the target and the exclusive receiver.

All populations can benefit from any positive action if solidarity and community values are to be maintained. Positive action can also strengthen community links and not be undermined by the threat of individualism and separatism. Meanwhile, nothing can in fact, appear more urgent than to lessen the internal tensions between diverse components of the multiracial and multicultural constellation. Yet, a more general "positive action" programme will be desirable in the future, this "positive action" shall be in favour of areas, and help everybody in those areas, whatever their sex, colour, origin or background. It does not mean only pumping money into

target areas, but also giving the population the opportunity to decide and act for themselves.

An International Curriculum welcomes the resistance of disadvantaged people - i.e. discriminated communities, working class and women - inside and outside school as positive steps although it does not suggest the provision of special alternatives for discriminated communities, working class or women's education inside or outside the patronising and enervating state system. At every opportunity, it is essential to insist on the value of student-teachers' awareness of the cultural backgrounds and expectations of underprivileged pupils and parents, as well as of their contributions to all the school activities. Also, teachers' openness to facilitate the involvement of disadvantaged pupils and parents can be encouraged to stimulate them to take part in school activities. Thus, it emphasizes consultation and collaboration of the parents and pupils, and the community as a whole.

Ettore Gelpi asserts that:

"Dans l'action internationale, la complexité est la règle. Elle est faite d'incertitudes, d'anxiétés, à long term, en même temps que des problèmes ponctuels à résoudre. Le refus des compromis - ou carrément de la corruption -, la cohérence intellectuelle, les prises de position peuvent signifier la mise à l'écart de leur auteur..."* (42)

The point of action lies in men and women themselves and a deepened consciousness of their situation shall engage them to resist all temptations. The resistance is expected to give way to the drive for transformation and inquiry to reach the core of the problems, and also to establish dialogue with those who commit themselves to the battle. With an increasingly critical awareness of their role as actors in the transformation, the real power - but not its agents - will have to negotiate directly with them.

In consequence, an International Curriculum does not imply that it is an unquestioned model, nor suggest that multicultural projects may not be relevant. Thus, it

* In international action, complexity is the rule. It is made of uncertainties, anxieties, in the long term, at the same time as exact problem to be solved. The refusal of compromise - or plainly corruption - intellectual coherence, the adoption of a clear position can signify the setting aside of the author.

will be a crucial test of "internationalism" as it considers that the participation of a wider number of professionals - multicultural and international educationalists, scientists... - will be of great importance, and shall even be welcome. It wishes to place the system of international cooperation in a global perspective and underlines the fact that in desiring international involvement and organization for collaboration and solidarity, an international curriculum is not turning its back on the rest of the professionals and those who authentically commit themselves to underprivileged people.

The challenge of making learning more meaningful to children of varying backgrounds and abilities, the challenges of learning from other countries when teacher-training institutions face pressures for fundamental changes, make more relevant the necessity of individuals as well as enlightened populations to seek new policies. An International Curriculum insists on the collective dimension because the battle for the respect for Human Rights and above all for Children's Right to knowledge, is the most fundamental political issue.

To be multiculturalist, multiracial, internationalist, anti-racist or -sexist carries such importance and a common aim which contribute to the strengthening of the landmark for others. This collaboration and solidarity have the power to implement commitments which go beyond a wide group within any institutions and establishments, with the aspirations for major achievements and contributions which witness a rising awareness that solving educational problems is becoming more and more an international task. Hence, it is clear that an International Curriculum in placing great importance on the unification and gathering of diverse professionals in the battle for the emancipation of discriminated pupils, for the overcoming of alienation and for the affirmation of our children, emphasizes the undeniable need to recognize that everyone's future has always lain with the children.

An International Curriculum implies such a view, that there is an objective mind, that it can be aware of a reality which is external to itself, and that pupils can

develop this faculty and strengthen the chain. Yet, if an International Curriculum has the responsibility to help pupils to develop this faculty, to help them to be suitable for a multi-racial and multicultural society, it must be judged on this basis, and not by its contribution to the world's ambitions in purely material terms. However, an International Curriculum is not for the world's material advancement but it attempts to offer the positive truth that human sense is essentially more capable of a deep perception than a shallow one, of a direct knowledge of facts of the universe outside the range of any specialised institutions.

If, finally, an International Curriculum is to endeavour to educate the future generations and to deliver a critical consciousness and morals to allow them to evaluate issues, it has an obligation to involve them, to inspire them with the necessary judgement and understanding to resolve these issues. The crucial role will fall to adults as they inculcate the significance of education in them. "Ny fianarana ny lova soa tsara indrindra" which can advocate parents to leave education as an inestimable inheritance for children. The real secret of success is education. Hence, everyone will have to be prepared to make any sacrifice to forge higher expectations available to future generations.

Notes and References.

Chapter VI. The Role of an International Curriculum

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